

STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume 38
Issue 1 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 38,*
Issue 1

Article 1

1959

Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 38, Issue 1

Florida Historical Society
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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1959) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 38, Issue 1," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 38 : Iss. 1 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol38/iss1/1>

The
Florida Historical
Quarterly

VOLUME XXXVIII

July 1959 - April 1960

Published by the

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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NORTHERNERS IN LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY FLORIDA: CARPETBAGGERS OR SETTLERS?

by MAURICE M. VANCE

INTERPRETATIONS, both popular and professional, of the influence of Northerners on the history of Florida have been characterized by two major concepts. Today the subject of northern immigration brings first to our minds the thought of the tourist and the settler, persons whose constructive roles in the development of the state need no affirmation. As we think of northern immigration in the late nineteenth century, however, our attitudes are colored by another label - that of the carpetbagger. The carpetbagger was of course a Yankee scoundrel up to no good, a corrupting element in southern society from the Old Dominion to the Lone Star State. The use of the term may be limited strictly to the northern born political opportunists who lived in, or moved into, the South at the end of the Civil War, but the term is often used with the implication that this blanket would cover about all of the Yankees to be found in Dixie during the postwar period.

These two characterizations are quite diverse - in many respects flatly contradictory. One dominates the present, the other dominates the period immediately following the Civil War; and both, in some degree, may be applied throughout the intervening century. One might ask, when did Yankees cease being primarily carpetbaggers and become primarily settlers? Although this question is susceptible to a great deal of individual interpretation, there are, as usual, certain facts pertinent to its consideration. It is the purpose of this paper, chiefly through a study of the vocations represented by northern immigrants into Florida, to examine this balance of settler vs. carpetbagger, especially in the decades immediately following the Civil War.¹

This study is to be considered against the broad background of the makeup of Florida's population, illustrated in Table I. Certain points are readily apparent.

1. Any definition of "Northerner" must be somewhat arbitrary. In this paper I have not considered border states as northern, but have considered as "Northerners" those persons born in the United States north of the Mason-Dixon line, north of the Ohio River, or west of the states of Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas.

TABLE I
Northern born and foreign born residents of Florida, 1860-1950

| | 1860 | 1870 | 1880 | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Total population | 140,424 | 187,748 | 269,493 | 391,422 | 528,542 | 752,619 | 968,470 | 1,468,211 | 1,897,414 | 2,771,305 |
| Percentage increase in preceding decade | | 33.7 | 43.5 | 45.2 | 35.0 | 42.4 | 28.7 | 51.6 | 29.2 | 46.1 |
| Northern born | 2,010 | 3,177 | 8,503 | 20,518 | 21,664 | 37,046 | 98,458 | 191,158 | 284,594 | 597,090 |
| Per cent of total | 1.4 | 1.7 | 3.2 | 5.3 | 4.1 | 4.9 | 10.2 | 13.1 | 15.0 | 21.6 |
| Percentage increase | | 58.1 | 167.6 | 141.3 | 5.6 | 71.0 | 165.8 | 94.2 | 48.9 | 109.8 |
| Foreign born | 3,309 | 4,967 | 9,909 | 22,932 | 23,832 | 40,633 | 53,864 | 69,747 | 77,839 | 131,065 |
| Per cent of total | 2.4 | 2.7 | 3.7 | 5.9 | 4.5 | 5.4 | 5.6 | 4.8 | 4.1 | 4.7 |
| Percentage increase | | 50.1 | 99.5 | 131.4 | 3.9 | 70.5 | 32.6 | 29.5 | 11.6 | 68.4 |

We sometimes hear Florida referred to as "the northernmost of the southern states." There is considerable evidence to support this description, both today and in the nineteenth century. The censuses of 1870 and 1880 showed that Northerners were proportionally more numerous in Florida than in any other state of the former Confederacy. Nevertheless, the northern born population, while increasing steadily in numbers over the last century, was never more than 6 per cent of the total until the decade of World War I.

During the 1860's Florida's northern born population increased from 2,010 to 3,177, a net increase of 1,167. From 1870 to 1880 the net increase was 5,326, and during the eighties (after Reconstruction) the net increase was 12,015. This continued increase suggests that something other than *political* opportunity was providing the strongest inducement to bring Northerners to Florida. In any case, the end of the Civil War did not touch off a large scale migration from the North to Florida. An influx of Northerners great enough to change appreciably the balance between northern born and southern born residents in Florida was not to materialize until well into the twentieth century.

Chiefly for purposes of comparison, the percentage of foreign born residents in Florida has also been recorded in Table I. It will be noticed, first, that this group has for many years represented about 5 per cent of the population of the state, and, second, that until the second decade of this century - the decade which marked the beginning of a significant increase in the northern born element in Florida - the foreigners outnumbered the Yankees. Although the consistent concentration of Bahamans, Cubans, and others of foreign birth in Key West accounted for from 30 to 50 per cent of this group, it was quite common before 1900 for the northern born residents in any community to be outnumbered by the persons of foreign birth.

To provide a closer study of the Northerners whom the census takers found in Florida in the late nineteenth century, an analysis was made of the population of nine counties on the basis of data from the censuses of 1860, 1870, and 1880.² The

2. The bulk of the data for the following paragraphs was obtained from the original enumerators' records for these censuses, which have been microfilmed by the National Archives.

counties which were examined in detail were Duval, Escambia, Hillsborough, Leon, Monroe, Orange, Putnam, St. Johns, and Volusia. These counties were not typical; rather, they were chosen because (1) they represented several sections of the state, (2) together they included most of the important cities of nineteenth-century Florida, and (3) together, they accounted for over half of Florida's Northerners. More typical were such counties as Gadsden, which in 1880 had 33 Northerners, or Polk, which had five; but when one is studying the habits of a species, there is a certain advantage in concentrating one's attention on the locale where the largest number of specimens are to be found.

Who then was the Northerner, this new Florida man? To begin with, he was not as likely to be a farmer as might be expected. Two-thirds of the gainfully employed Floridians throughout the decades under study were engaged in agriculture. But despite the predominantly rural characteristic of Florida, and of the entire United States, during this period, the Florida Yankees were not found primarily on farms. In the agricultural portions of the counties studied, and throughout other, more rural counties, one can turn page after page of the census enumerators' records without encountering anyone born north of Virginia. For example, in Tallahassee, whose population rose from 1,932 in 1860 to 2,494 in 1880, there were 67, 93 and 96 persons of northern birth in 1860, 1870 and 1880 respectively. But in the rest of Leon county, with a population which ranged during the same period from 10,411 to 17,168, the census takers never recorded encountering more than 41 Northerners. As Tables II-A-B-C show, the 1870's brought a recognizable group of Northerners into the new citrus cultivation in the northeastern part of the state, and a decade later they could be seen moving on downstate, for example into Manatee county. But the generalization may still be made that Florida's Northerners were not primarily agriculturists.

Were they politicians? Yes and no. In 1860, in these nine counties, 13 of 48 holders of public office, or 27 per cent, were northern born. Besides several lighthouse keepers and a few others whose offices were not political in the usual sense, this group included the judge of the Probate Court in Jacksonville, an assayer in the United States Land Office in Tampa, the judge and clerk of the United States District Court in Key West, and

TABLE II-A
Occupations of northern born residents in nine Florida counties, 1860

| | Duval | Escam- bia | Hills- borough | Leon | Monroe | Orange | Putnam | St. Johns | Volusia | Totals |
|---|-------|---------------|-------------------|------|--------|--------|--------|-----------|---------|--------|
| Law enforcement | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | — | 3 |
| Lawyers | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | 11 |
| Govt. service | — | — | 1 | — | 6 | — | — | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| Editors | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 0 |
| Teachers | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 3 | 1 | 14 |
| Physicians and Dentists | 5 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | 10 |
| Clergy | 1 | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | 2 | 2 | — | 7 |
| Farmers | 13 | 1 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 52 |
| Artisans | 36 | 62 | 6 | 14 | 33 | 1 | 7 | 10 | 7 | 176 |
| Laborers | 16 | 17 | 1 | — | 3 | — | 3 | 2 | — | 42 |
| Merchants | 32 | 23 | 4 | 21 | 11 | — | 9 | 5 | 2 | 107 |
| Clerks | 7 | 6 | — | 9 | 7 | — | 2 | — | — | 31 |
| Engineers | 1 | 5 | — | 3 | 1 | — | — | — | — | 10 |
| Mariners and fishermen | 14 | 30 | 5 | — | 56 | — | — | — | 1 | 106 |
| U.S. Armed Forces Dependents and miscellaneous* | — | 59 | — | — | 4 | — | — | — | — | 63 |
| | 84 | 136 | 8 | 26 | 36 | — | 17 | 71 | 7 | 385 |
| Totals | 217 | 346 | 36 | 85 | 161 | 9 | 44 | 101 | 28 | 1027 |

NORTHERNERS IN FLORIDA

*The term "miscellaneous" represents a small number of adults for whom no occupation was given, plus an occasional person whose occupation seemed difficult to classify: a few cemetery keepers, lamplighters, prisoners, actors, etc.

TABLE II-B
Occupations of northern born residents in nine Florida counties, 1870

| | Duval | Escam- bia | Hills- borough | Leon | Monroe | Orange | Putnam | St. Johns | Volusia | Totals |
|---------------------------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| Law enforcement | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | — | — | — | — | 13 |
| Lawyers | 9 | 5 | — | 2 | — | — | — | 5 | 1 | 22 |
| Govt. service | 4 | 5 | 1 | 20 | 10 | — | 1 | 2 | 2 | 45 |
| Editors | 1 | 2 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 4 |
| Teachers | 4 | 3 | — | 2 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | — | 12 |
| Physicians and Dentists | 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 26 |
| Clergy | 9 | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | 12 |
| Farmers | 45 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 13 | 37 | 7 | 26 | 149 |
| Artisans | 112 | 47 | 4 | 13 | 30 | 3 | 13 | 14 | 2 | 238 |
| Laborers | 38 | 41 | — | 2 | 17 | — | 12 | 1 | 1 | 112 |
| Merchants | 75 | 28 | 10 | 17 | 12 | 1 | 6 | 16 | 2 | 167 |
| Clerks | 32 | 6 | — | 3 | 4 | — | — | — | — | 45 |
| Engineers | 6 | 7 | — | — | — | — | 3 | — | 3 | 19 |
| Mariners and fishermen | 29 | 8 | — | — | 20 | — | 4 | 1 | — | 62 |
| U.S. Armed Forces | 1 | 68 | — | — | 163 | — | — | — | — | 232 |
| Dependents and miscellaneous | 533 | 164 | 27 | 37 | 51 | 16 | 66 | 81 | 25 | 1000 |
| Totals | 910 | 396 | 54 | 103 | 318 | 34 | 147 | 133 | 63 | 2158 |

TABLE II-C
Occupations of northern born residents in nine Florida counties, 1880

| | Duval | Escam- bia | Hills- borough | Leon | Monroe | Orange | Putnam | St. Johns | Volusia | Totals |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Law enforcement | 7 | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | 10 |
| Lawyers | 21 | 6 | — | 1 | 1 | 3 | — | 1 | 3 | 36 |
| Govt. service | 14 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 40 |
| Editors | 3 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 4 | — | — | — | 10 |
| Teachers | 12 | 3 | 1 | 2 | — | 3 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 33 |
| Physicians and Dentists | 29 | 1 | 3 | 2 | — | 9 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 61 |
| Clergy | 12 | — | 1 | — | — | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 31 |
| Farmers | 85 | 2 | 57 | 12 | 11 | 180 | 180 | 30 | 124 | 681 |
| Artisans | 173 | 55 | 12 | 14 | 20 | 39 | 35 | 15 | 42 | 405 |
| Laborers | 94 | 48 | 18 | 5 | 11 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 32 | 244 |
| Merchants | 198 | 21 | 13 | 14 | 25 | 17 | 18 | 12 | 20 | 338 |
| Clerks | 93 | 15 | 5 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 12 | 6 | 14 | 175 |
| Engineers | 18 | 8 | 2 | — | 2 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 43 |
| Mariners and fishermen | 49 | 19 | 5 | — | 8 | — | 4 | 2 | 5 | 92 |
| U.S. Armed Forces | — | 5 | — | — | 4 | — | — | 40 | — | 49 |
| Dependents and 1090 miscellaneous | — | 150 | 198 | 76 | 84 | 374 | 387 | 153 | 405 | 2917 |
| Totals | 1898 | 340 | 318 | 142 | 181 | 667 | 663 | 289 | 667 | 5165 |

NORTHERNERS IN FLORIDA

TABLE II-D

Occupational distribution by percentage of northern born residents in nine Florida counties, 1860, 1870, 1880.

| | 1860 | 1870 | 1880 |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Law enforcement | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.2 |
| Lawyers | 1.1 | 1.0 | 0.7 |
| Govt. service | 1.0 | 2.1 | 0.8 |
| Editors | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Teachers | 1.4 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Physicians and Dentists | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| Clergy | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Public professions (subtotal) | 5.5 | 6.3 | 4.3 |
| Farmers | 5.1 | 6.9 | 13.2 |
| Artisans | 17.1 | 11.0 | 7.8 |
| Laborers | 4.1 | 5.2 | 4.7 |
| Merchants | 10.4 | 7.7 | 6.6 |
| Clerks | 3.0 | 2.1 | 3.4 |
| Engineers | 1.0 | 0.6 | 0.8 |
| Business groups (subtotal)* | 35.6 | 26.6 | 23.3 |
| Mariners and fishermen | 10.3 | 2.9 | 1.8 |
| U. S. Armed Forces | 6.1 | 10.8 | 0.9 |
| Dependents and miscellaneous* * | 37.4 | 46.6 | 56.5 |
| Totals | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*This subtotal is only a rough approximation to represent the group involved in business. Some of the laborers (included in this subtotal) were agricultural workers; some of the mariners (not included) might reasonably have been included in the business group. The editors might have been included in this group, and some of the lawyers and governmental officials were engaged in business. Altogether, these subtotals probably err in underrepresenting the Northerners engaged in business rather than in overestimating their importance.

**One interesting feature of the northern immigration to Florida, reflected in these figures, was the steadily increasing proportion of wives and children of northern birth in the group under study. Apparently, in the earlier days, the Northerner who moved into Florida was more apt to be a young unmarried man in search of his fortune, who married and raised his family after he had settled down in Florida. But increasingly by 1870 and 1880 whole families were moving into Florida from the North. The increasing appeal which this state had, not only for the adventurous youth, but also for the more mature family man, probably reflected the gradually increasing entrepreneurial possibilities which accompanied the increasing settlement of the state.

Justice W. A. Forward of the State Supreme Court. Since Northerners made up only 2.8 per cent of the total population of the nine counties studied, it appears that they were, proportionally, more active in politics than their more numerous southern neighbors. On the other hand, since the thirteen office holders represented only about 1 per cent of the northern born residents of these counties, the label of "politician" was apparently not applicable to the group as a whole.

By 1870 the picture was noticeably changed. Harrison Reed, a former Wisconsin editor, was the governor. The lieutenant governor, William H. Gleason, and six of the eight cabinet officials were northern born, as were 13 of the 76 legislators and three of the eight state judges.³ Some Northerners, both before and after their arrival in this state, had clearly hoped and planned to gain control of Florida politics.⁴ But it is easy to overemphasize the significance of these northern politicians, both in relation to the political structure of the state and in relation to the total northern born element in Florida's population. Among 173 county officials, 134 were southern born and 39 were Northerners. Various contemporary observers estimated that in the elections by which these officials had been chosen there had been from 300 to 500 white Republican votes cast, a large proportion no doubt by Northerners.⁵ At this time there were about 3,200 northern born persons in the state. With adult males running 40-55 per cent of the total in various samples, there were perhaps 1,500 northern born adult males from whom these 300-500 votes could have been drawn. Thus, even in 1870-high noon, carpetbagger time—we do not get a picture of the northern born Floridians as a homogeneous group, actively engaged in politics or even united behind any one political party or program.

One group directly representing the federal government whose presence made a profound impression on the attitudes of Southerners in general was the military. In 1870 there were two

3. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 529, 534-35. Davis examined the makeup of the 1868-1870 legislature and Governor Reed's political appointments.
4. Robert L. Clarke, "Northern Plans for the Economic Invasion of Florida, 1862-1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII (April, 1950), 262-270; George W. Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," *FHQ*, XXVII (October, 1948, and January, 1949), 99-130, 260-299.
5. Davis, 479, 525.

military installations in Florida, one at Key West, the other at Fort Barrancas near Pensacola. Their combined personnel numbered slightly over 500 men, of whom census records indicated that 232 were northern born. (Fifty were Southerners by birth, and the remainder were foreign born, mostly Germans and Irishmen.) However, in assessing the total resentment which developed among Floridians as a result of the presence of federal troops, we can probably disregard the fact that not all of the men in uniform were technically Northerners.

By 1880 the northern influence in politics and government had declined. There were no occupation troops, and the only military post was Fort Marion, near St. Augustine. Its complement of one hundred-odd officers and men would typically have been about half Northerners; at the time of the enumeration of the census there were forty Northerners stationed there.

Among Florida's government officials, such federally appointed persons as postmasters, United States marshals, collectors of internal revenue, and customs officials were apt to be Northerners. The chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court, E. M. Randall, was a native of New York. In Jacksonville, the mayor and the captain of the police force were Northerners, as were the mayor of St. Augustine and the judge of Escambia County. But state elective offices, from the governor on down, and local offices such as mayor, sheriff, county judge, and county treasurer were predominantly in southern hands. In 1880 the Northerners were even less able than in 1870 to unite to dominate the state.

Florida's schools experienced a considerable expansion during the 1870's, but the number of northern teachers employed in the state increased much less rapidly than the number of teachers of southern birth. The attitude which eliminated Northerners from public offices may have affected the teachers also, though the evidence here is less conclusive. In 1880, 12 of Duval County's 34 teachers were northern born, but in Leon County there were only two Northerners to 26 Southerners. Only in one other county (Volusia) do the census records show more than three or four northern born teachers. However, neither in 1860 nor in 1870 had the census takers enumerated more than four northern teachers in any of these counties.

Henry L. Swint, in studying northern teachers in the post-war South, found records of over one thousand such persons, but

only 32 of them taught in Florida. ⁶ Nearly all of the 32 taught in Fernandina, Jacksonville, or St. Augustine, some apparently quite briefly. The fact that there were so few northern born teachers in Florida in 1880 does not, therefore, clearly show a cut back, and may have reflected the choice of the communities, or of the teachers, or both. In any case, it is clear that the northern migration to Florida during the period under discussion was not weighted heavily with Yankee schoolmasters or school-marms.

Florida's Northerners included even fewer ministers than teachers, a fact which probably more accurately reflected the unwillingness of Southerners to have a Yankee preaching at them in church than it supported their conviction that the Yankees were a godless lot. Physicians, dentists, and lawyers, however, moved in from the North in somewhat larger numbers. In most of the counties studied, in any of the three decades, one could have his pills rolled from the North or from the South, his teeth pulled from the South or from the North, or his case argued in court in a drawl or a twang. In most instances the northern born physicians, dentists, and lawyers found themselves outnumbered by their southern born colleagues, often greatly so. Probably the most meaningful comments here are that (1) at least in the urban centers, from 10 to 50 per cent of the members of the medical and legal professions had come from the North, and (2) this proportion varied more from city to city in any given year than from prewar to postwar times in the same city, or, apparently, in the state as a whole. All in all, as Table III shows, the Northerners had consistently higher representation in fields of public leadership than did either their southern born or foreign born neighbors.

The largest group of northern born breadwinners, in each of the areas and each of the census years studied, were occupied in business and the trades. Bookkeepers, butchers, carpenters, clerks, druggists, engineers, fishermen, grocers, masons, painters, sailors, saloonkeepers, seamstresses, shoemakers, tinsmiths, wheelwrights - these and many others were to be found. A few minor patterns could be observed: telegraph operators, engineers, insurance men and real estate agents were apt to be Northerners, while cigar

6. Henry L. Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (Nashville, 1941), 175-200.

TABLE III

Southern born, northern born, and foreign born persons in certain fields of public leadership in nine Florida counties, 1860-1880, as compared with the numerical strength of each of these groups in the total population of the same counties.

| | 1860 | | | 1870 | | | 1880 | | |
|-------------------------|--------|------|------|--------|------|------|--------|------|------|
| | S | N | F | S | N | F | S | N | F |
| Law enforcement | 8 | 3 | 3 | 24 | 13 | 10 | 40 | 10 | 12 |
| Lawyers | 49 | 11 | 2 | 54 | 22 | 11 | 89 | 40 | 8 |
| Govt. service | 16 | 10 | 8 | 29 | 45 | 6 | 43 | 40 | 4 |
| Editors | 3 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 10 | 2 |
| Teachers | 34 | 14 | 19 | 42 | 12 | 23 | 122 | 33 | 17 |
| Physicians and Dentists | 59 | 10 | 4 | 73 | 26 | 12 | 92 | 60 | 24 |
| Totals | 169 | 48 | 38 | 225 | 121 | 64 | 392 | 193 | 67 |
| Per cent* | 66 | 19 | 15 | 55 | 29 | 16 | 60 | 30 | 10 |
| Total population | 33,751 | 1027 | 2196 | 47,364 | 2158 | 4052 | 75,150 | 5165 | 8396 |
| Per cent* | 91 | 3 | 6 | 88 | 4 | 8 | 85 | 6 | 9 |

*Thus, for example, in 1860 southern born persons made up 91% of the total population of the nine counties studied, while southern born persons held 66% of the positions of public leadership cited.

makers seldom hailed from the North. But on the whole, a cross section of the northern born population closely resembled a cross section of the trades-and-business-and-professional portion of the southern born population.

This resemblance was marked in Pensacola and Key West, and especially in Duval County. Here the influx of Northerners made such an impression, on both natives and visitors, that one travelogue reported in 1874, "Fully half of the resident population of Jacksonville is northern, and has settled there since the war."⁷ This was a little exaggerated; both in 1870 and in 1880 the correct proportion was less than one in seven. The proportion of Northerners in such counties as Nassau, Duval, Putnam, Volusia and Orange stirred another writer to report in 1881 that "Florida is rapidly becoming a northern county."⁸ As far as could be learned from his account, he did not visit Taylor County, where the census takers of the preceding year had discovered ten Northerners, or Calhoun or Liberty or Walton Counties, in any of which the northern born residents could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

In 1902 Rowland H. Rerick published his *Memoirs of Florida*,⁹ one interesting feature of which was a series of biographical sketches of nearly one thousand leading citizens of Florida at the turn of the century. In a period when one Floridian in twenty was of northern birth, among Rerick's group, 196, or almost exactly one-fifth, were northern born. Without knowing something of Rerick's background and method of defining a leading citizen, we cannot accept at face value the implication that one fifth of Florida's significant citizens, were of northern birth, but the contrast between 5 per cent and 20 per cent cannot be ignored. In politics and government service the Northerners accounted for 16 of 141 persons and offices reported, or 11 per cent. The legal profession was also strongly dominated by Southerners, but in the fields of business nearly 25 per cent of Rerick's "leading Floridians" were Northerners. There were variations here, too, of course. The lumber industry had attracted few Northerners, but 40 per cent of the bankers and insurance agents listed were northern born.

7. Edward King, *The Southern States of North America* (London, 1875), 382.

8. George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids and Settlers* (New York, 1881), 225.

9. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (2 vols., Atlanta, 1902).

Although the samplings of Florida population which have been discussed here are not, individually, susceptible to very definite generalizations, it seems significant that they all point in the same direction, and here we can find at least four conclusions.

First, the census records show that, while Florida did have a higher proportion of northern born citizens during the late nineteenth century than other states of the deep South, the group was small-about 5 per cent of the total.

Second, the influx of Northerners into Florida during the late nineteenth century was not limited to, or even dominated by, the period of Republican control, but increased markedly in the 1880's.

Third, the largest number of the Northerners in Florida were artisans and businessmen. By the end of the century this group held a considerably stronger position in Florida business than their numbers would have suggested. That this represented a continuing trend seems apparent.

The hiatus of Reconstruction, in which northern persons and policies played a leading role, has had a lasting influence on southern sensibilities. However, in view of the relative strength of the trades-and-business element within the group of northern immigrants and its increasing influence in the state as a whole, and since the Yankee was to a considerable degree pushed out of Florida politics after 1877, it seems that his role in the development of Florida, even in the decades immediately following the Civil War, could more meaningfully be regarded, not primarily as political, but as economic.

ZESPEDES AND THE SOUTHERN CONSPIRACIES *

By HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

THE PEACE TREATY by which the American colonists gained their independence in 1783 created a situation along their southern border almost designed, it seemed, to provoke hostility. By the treaty, the provinces of East and West Florida, which had belonged to Britain for the previous twenty years and had remained loyal to the Crown, were returned to Spain. Thus Europe's oldest colonial power regained a foothold on the southeastern seaboard of North America, but now was threatened by an ambitious young republic - the first independent nation in the western hemisphere. Furthermore, a portion of the border remained in dispute until 1796. The controversy between the two governments concerned the northern limit of West Florida, from the Mississippi River to the source of the St. Mary's River, which was the northern border of East Florida.¹

Out of this background arose the series of plots, generated largely by southern frontiersmen and political leaders, which were for the most part opposed to Spanish interests although some schemes sought Spanish support. The objectives were mainly: to acquire land in the disputed area or in recognized Spanish territory; to secure the right to navigate the Mississippi River, which Spain had forbidden in 1783; to seize Spanish posts along the Mississippi; and even to encourage rebellion in the Spanish colonies. A pattern of border intrigue with periodic hostilities continued until the Floridas were wrested from Spain through diplomatic negotiation in 1819.

While the chief theater of action was clearly the Mississippi Valley, conspirators and informers were in contact with Spanish officials from New Orleans to New York, in Havana, France, and in Spain itself. Governor Zespedes of East Florida, located at the extreme southeastern corner of that 2,000-mile border, was inevitably involved in these frontier problems. One of the ambitious projects came to his attention during the fall of 1787.

The research and writing of this article was made possible by a grant from the American Association of University Women.

1. The background discussion is based on Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Spanish American Frontier* (Boston and New York, 1927).

Vicente Manuel de Zespedes, the first governor of East Florida during the Second Spanish Regime, came from Havana in 1784 and served until 1790. A veteran of over forty years service with the Spanish army,² he had served at Pensacola in 1761 during the previous war against England which had ended so ignominiously for Spain with the capture of Havana and the loss of the Floridas.³ He was stationed in Cuba, as colonel of the Havana Regiment, at the time he was selected to restore Spanish authority to East Florida.⁴ For Zespedes, this was a challenging opportunity, his first administrative appointment, and with it went an advancement to the rank of Brigadier of the Army.⁵ Although his primary concern was to hispanicize the few thousand polyglot inhabitants under his authority, he was also responsible for maintaining peaceful relations with the neighboring state of Georgia and for forwarding any rumors, facts, or observations of interest to His Catholic Majesty.

He was most apprehensive concerning the behavior of the Indians and the Georgians, and the secret designs of the court of London. He knew that during the first Spanish regime, hostile Indians had repeatedly forced the population of St. Augustine to remain within the fortified town, its land entrance protected by a moat and drawbridge. The Georgians, in military and naval expeditions into East Florida, had driven the residents to seek refuge within the walls of the Castillo overlooking the harbor. The

2. Zespedes to Jose de Galvez, Havana, Nov. 24, 1782. AI 86-6-7. Stetson Papers.

Documentary references are to photostats in the Stetson Papers and transcripts in the Lockey Collection, both at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History in Gainesville, Florida. The following abbreviations are used in the citations:

AGI: Archivo General de las Indias, Seville

AHN: Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid

ANC:F Archivo Nacional de Cuba: Florida

DAB: Dictionary of American Biography

EF: East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress. Numbers following refer to box numbers in the Library.

Est: Seccion Estado

Leg: Legajo

PC: Papeles de Cuba

3. Zespedes to Antonio Valdez, March 28, 1788, AHN Leg. 3901. Lockey Collection.

4. Zespedes to Jose de Galvez, Havana, Aug. 1, 1783. AI 86-6-7. Stetson Papers.

5. Jose de Galvez to Vicente Manuel de Zespedes, San Lorenzo, Oct. 31, 1783. ANC:F, Legajo 10. Translation printed in Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785* (Berkeley, 1949), 174.

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situation fortunately appeared less dangerous during his governorship, but he could not disregard the possibility that such events might recur.

In general he relied on annual gifts and a supervised trade to pacify the Indians, whom he expected to restrain the Georgians. In his direct contact with the Georgians and other English speaking people, Zespedes depended on the good judgment of Carlos Howard, who had the title of Secretary of Government but was a general administrative assistant. Howard was an officer of the Irish infantry regiment stationed at St. Augustine. He had a cosmopolitan background, spoke English, French and Spanish, and exhibited both diplomatic and military talent.⁶

Governor Zespedes readily perceived that activities in the trans-Appalachian wilderness directly affected the security of his own province, and the endless stream of disturbing rumors kept him constantly on the alert. For example, late in 1785 warnings came from Viceroy Bernardo de Galvez in Mexico⁷ and from Alexander McGillivray in the Creek nations concerning a proposed American invasion of the Natchez district. These were linked with the audacious attempt of the State of Georgia to establish a western county, called Bourbon, on the Mississippi River in territory still claimed by Spain.⁹ Zespedes feared that such action, if successful, might create an open break between Spain and the United States certain to precipitate military aggression by Georgia.

Even in times of nominal peace, the St. Mary's River was a troubled border. Antipathy persisted between the few former British Loyalists who remained in northern Florida as Spanish subjects and the Georgians who had opposed them in the recent revolution. Renegades, who had flourished during the breakdown of civil order accompanying the war, still infested both sides of

6. Zespedes to Jose de Galvez, Havana, March 3, 1784. EF:b 40, in Lockey, *op. cit.*, 183-184.

7. Zespedes to the Count of Galvez, St. Augustine, February 17, 1786. EF: B 41 b4, Lockey Collection. (He is acknowledging receipt of a confidential letter from Bernardo de Galvez dated Nov. 22, 1785).

8. Zespedes to Jose de Galvez, St. Augustine, Jan. 18, 1786. AHN:Est, leg. 3901. Lockey Collection. (Enclosed is a translation of a letter from Alexander MacGillivray to Zespedes, Apalache, December 10, 1785).

9. Zespedes to Jose de Galvez, St. Augustine, January 3, 1786. AHN: Est. Leg. 3885 bis. Lockey Collection.

the river in the inaccessible creeks and swamplands.¹⁰ Under cover of hostilities they could murder and plunder indiscriminately in raids more destructive than open warfare.

In 1786, Governor Zéspedes was horrified to read in an American newspaper an inflammatory article which contended that both the Floridas and Louisiana must fall under the dominion of the United States, and that this undertaking could be financed by conquering the rich silver kingdom of Mexico.¹¹ He hardly believed that such extravagant threats could be carried out, but he was thankful that internal problems preoccupied the new states. If these were solved, he was convinced, Spain must fear these energetic people. A year later the thirteen states did manage to overcome some of their difficulties and devise a stronger system of government.

By 1787, the general atmosphere was more critical. Governor Zéspedes found indications that England was trying to gain control of all the Indian fur trade from the Straits of Mackinac to the Gulf of Mexico, which would exclude both Spanish and American interests.¹² This new element in the picture was most disquieting, because Spain counted heavily on the friendship of the southern Indians. At almost the same time came a frontier rumor of the death of Alexander McGillivray of the Creeks, the only Indian chief in whom Spain had any measure of confidence.¹³ And in 1787, instead of perennial reports that the Creeks were going to attack the Georgians - or vice versa - the news was that war was raging all along the frontier as a result of American encroachment on Indian lands. Zéspedes knew that hostilities could easily spill over into Florida if the Creeks crossed Florida to attack Georgia communities, or if Georgians took refuge in Florida.

The Georgia Assembly wrote Governor Zéspedes asking his cooperation in preventing further bloodshed, and intimated that the Creeks were murdering Georgians with ammunition supplied

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10. Zéspedes to the Count of Galvez, St. Augustine, January 25, 1786. Box 41 B4. Lockey Collection.
 11. Zéspedes to the Count of Galvez, St. Augustine, May 6, 1787. EF: b 41, B4. Enclosing translation of an extract from an American newspaper, April 3, 1786. Lockey Collection.
 12. Zéspedes to the Marques de Sonora, St. Augustine, March 30, 1787. AHN:Est. Leg. 3901. Lockey Collection.
 13. Zéspedes to Jose de Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, October 27, 1787. AGI: PC, Leg. 1395. Lockey Collection.

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by the Spanish government.¹⁴ Georgia military forces also set up a camp on Cumberland Island a short distance across the water from the Spanish outpost at Amelia Island.¹⁵ The crisis passed as the smoothly phrased and reassuring letters of Zespedes and Carlos Howard eased tension.¹⁶

All in all, during his first three years as governor of East Florida, Zespedes learned of many plots, threats, and rumors. He was aware that a variety of factors could affect the stability of the border and the internal security of the province.

During the dangerous situation which developed in the early fall of 1787, Governor Zespedes received his first clues concerning a large scale conspiracy. A letter arrived from a Thomas Powell in Charleston, who claimed to have information of importance to the Spanish nation about a project which had originated in Kentucky. Zespedes thought that the man was probably an imposter of some sort, but almost simultaneously Carlos Howard received a letter from an Irish comrade in New Orleans¹⁷ saying a stranger had just arrived in town from Kentucky. His name was James Wilkinson, and he was said to be a former brigadier in the American army, though he claimed to be a doctor by profession. Wilkinson seemed an affable fellow, according to the report, who allegedly planned to settle among the Spaniards, but who probably had other motives.¹⁸

In view of this vague, but corroborating evidence of suspicious activities originating in Kentucky, Governor Zespedes hurriedly arranged for Thomas Powell to come to Florida for a personal conference. He sent a sloop to Charleston, with a trustworthy captain, to take him a passport for the voyage. The captain found Powell suffering from a severe throat infection, but brought word that he expected to be able to travel within ten days.¹⁹

14. George Matthews to Zespedes, Augusta, November 6, 1787. EF b108, D9. East Florida Papers, Lockey Collection. Also, George Mathews to the President of Congress, Augusta, November 15, 1787. Transcript from the Georgia Archives in the Lockey collection.

15. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, November 14, 1787. AGI: PC. Leg. 1395. Lockey Collection. Enclosure is Gregorio del Castillo to Zespedes, Amelia Island, Nov. 10, 1787.

16. Zespedes to George Matthews, draft of letter dated St. Augustine, December 10, 1787. EF:b108, D9. Lockey Collection.

17. Enrique White, the author, was later governor of West Florida, 1793-1796; and East Florida, 1796-1811.

18. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, Nov. 21, 1787. AGI:PC, Leg. 1395. Lockey Collection.

19. Captain was Lorenzo Coll, a Minorcan who had come to the New Smyrna settlement in 1767.

The young man who stepped ashore at St. Augustine early in December, 1787, was quite evidently in frail health, weak and trembling from recurrent attacks of fever. Carlos Howard accompanied him from the wharf across the open square bordered by orange trees to the Governor's house, and later recorded his testimony.

The plot which came to light in this fashion was so comprehensive that it merits close scrutiny. It suggests the casual manner in which a man in the eighteenth century could become involved in conspiracy. Also this project was probably one of the earliest plans to promote rebellion in the Spanish colonies of Central and South America.

Thomas Powell had a fairly eventful personal history.²⁰ Joseph Powell, his father, was a Welsh immigrant who had become an independent merchant in New York City, closely associated with de group protesting English oppression of the colonies. Thomas was born in 1759 at the family home on Bond Street and was raised as a Roman Catholic until he was twelve years old, when his father died and he came under the influence of his mother's Protestant convictions. His two brothers were given early introductions to trades—one as a sailing master, the other as a coach maker—but Thomas at sixteen was inflamed by youthful patriotism to join the revolutionary army. After eight months in the second regiment of New Jersey, he joined the New York corps of Colonel Marinus Willet,²¹ a close friend of his father. Three months later he transferred to the artillery regiment of Colonel John Lamb,²² who was married to a cousin. At

20. The Interrogation of Thomas Powell, St. Augustine, December 21, 1787, enclosed in Zepedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, January 16, 1788. AGI:PC Leg. 1395. Except as otherwise noted, Powell's story is based on this testimony.

21. Marinus Willet participated in invasion of Canada in 1775. Was left in charge of St. Johns after it was captured on Nov. 3. On Nov. 21, 1776, he was commissioned Lieut. Col. of the 3rd New York regiment. In 1790, he was George Washington's personal emissary to Alexander McGillivray, and succeeded in bringing the Creek chief back to New York. Zepedes sent Carlos Howard to try to dissuade McGillivray from entering into an alliance. See Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 136. In 1792 he declined an army commission because he opposed an Indian war. DAB.

22. John Lamb was married to Catherine Jaudine, of Huguenot descent. He was closely associated with Willet all of his life. They were business partners, worked together in Sons of Liberty organization; both participated in siege of St. Johns, Canada, in 1775. Lamb was captured at siege of Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775, imprisoned six months

the end of a year he held the rank of third lieutenant in the artillery, but his term of active service was short because he was soon captured by the British. At the end of six months of imprisonment he left the army, embittered because he thought authorities could have arranged his exchange earlier.³³

The next few years he lived with his mother in New Jersey, during which period he struck up a friendship with Light-Horse Harry Lee, whose dragoons carried out some of the most dramatic exploits of the Revolution. Lee was skirmishing in New Jersey from 1777 to 1779,²⁴ attacking British installations and rounding up supplies for Washington's army.²⁵

Near the end of the war, Thomas Powell joined the southern army of General Nathanael Greene,²⁶ which was closing in on Charleston. Arriving in South Carolina, he almost immediately came upon his friend Colonel Lee. At this time the American army was virtually destitute of clothing. Over a thousand men were unable to be assigned to duty because of their nakedness, and others had only fragments of garments pinned together with the thorns of locust trees.²⁷ The British in Charleston were equally destitute of food, since advancing Americans had cut their supply lines to the country. Under these circumstances, Colonel Lee recommended that Powell go through the British lines with a flag of truce and arrange for the exchange of the necessary food and clothing.³³ This was accomplished with the

before his parole, and later exchanged. In Jan., 1777, he was commissioned Lt. Col. of 2nd continental artillery. DAB. A group of his men were captured at Fort Montgomery, on the Hudson River, in October of 1777. See: Isaac Q. Leake, *Memoir of General John Lamb* (Albany, 1850), 176.

23. Powell blamed the American General Livingston. James Livingston also participated in the capture of Fort St. Johns, and the later unsuccessful siege of Quebec. On Jan. 8, 1776, he was commissioned colonel in command of a battalion on the New York line. He was with Willet on the expedition to relieve Fort Stanwix. DAB.
24. Thomas Alexander Boyd, *Light-Horse Harry Lee* (New York-London, 1931), 24 ff.
25. *Ibid.*, 30, 32.
26. Nathanael Greene assumed direction of the Continental force in the south on December 3, 1780, replacing Gates. John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, 1957), 251.
27. George Washington Greene, *The Life of Nathanael Greene* (New York, 1871. 3 vols.) III. 448.
28. *Ibid.*, 449. Powell's testimony is substantiated by the following quotation: "A contraband trade was carried on with Charleston under the eye of Lee and Laurens, and some articles of first neces-

mutual consent of both commanders²⁹ on the basis of the credit of John McQueen,³⁰ at whose plantation Lee had his headquarters.³¹

Powell also managed to smuggle out of Charleston, with McQueen's aid, such items as gunpowder, salt and spirituous liquors. Finally the British apprehended him and sent him to New York as a prisoner for the second time. He escaped into New Jersey almost immediately, and returned to Charleston at the end of the war to collect from the State of South Carolina the sum of three thousand pounds sterling due to him for furnishing supplies to the American army.³²

Since money was scarce in South Carolina, Powell received payment in goods which were disposed of on commission by a business associate, George Farragut,³³ captain of an American frigate, whom he had known during the war. In June, 1786,

sity were procured by the exchange of goods for rice. When the army advanced to Bacon's Ridge at the head of the Ashley, a communication was opened by water and a brisker trade was carried on, the authorities on both sides winking at the illegality in consideration of the mutual advantage Rum, blankets and hospital stores, some articles of clothing and the indispensable article of salt were obtained through these channels and paid in drafts on the Superintendent of Finance."

29. British Commandant at Charleston was Nisbet Balfour (1743-1823). He was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Twenty-third British Regiment in 1778 and accompanied Lord Cornwallis to Charleston, becoming Commandant when the city surrendered in 1780. *DAB*.
30. John McQueen of Charleston supplied the Continental Army with food and lumber in 1781 and 1782. See: *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to his family, written from Spanish East Florida, 1791-1807*, with a biographical sketch and notes by Walter Charlton Hartridge (Columbia, S. C., 1943), Introduction, xxiv. Powell's testimony refers to the fact that McQueen had moved to Sapelo Island, Ga., and was living there in 1787. He moved to Spanish East Florida in 1792.
31. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 141.
32. No evidence of this claim has been located. The claim for a Thomas Powell included in Return No. 15, filed Oct. 11, 1784, is that of a drummer, and amounts to only 70 pounds. It is listed in South Carolina, State Auditor. *Copy of the Original Index Book Showing the Revolutionary claims filed in South Carolina between August 20, 1783, and August 31, 1786, kept by James McCall, Auditor General* (Columbia, Janie Revill, 1941). Photostat in possession of author.
33. George Farragut was a captain in the South Carolina Navy from May 12, 1780, to March 10, 1783. His claim for payment of services amounted to 442 pounds sterling. Original is in South Carolina Archives, Document No. AA2309, Acct. 7 F. A petition to secure payment was presented to the state senate of February 13, 1786, signed by Jacob Milligan, Charles Crowley, Joseph B. Matthews, Edward Allen, and Crowley signing for George Farragut, and John Milligan signing for Jacob Milligan. Photostats in possession of author. Farragut's claim is listed in the Index Book cited in Footnote 32.

Powell traveled about eighty miles on horseback to Farragut's home in Orange County, on the North Fork of the Edisto River, to settle their accounts. Other members of this household were Farragut's uncle, Gaspar Trolty and another nephew, who both spoke broken English with a suggestion of an Italian accent. At a distance, Powell could recognize Farragut, with his black hair drawn back in a queue, and his left arm hanging awkwardly due to gun shot damage to the bones below the elbow. Coming closer, he realized that his friend's thin, dark face betrayed extreme agitation, and before long Farragut revealed the conspiracy in which he was already associated.

A number of gentlemen of property and military talent in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia had subscribed a hundred thousand pounds sterling to purchase uniforms and ammunition in Europe for equipping five thousand men. They were to infiltrate the Spanish settlements under the pretext of colonizing and ultimately combine with a force from Kentucky to overthrow Spanish rule. This whole process might take several years to accomplish, of course.

Another branch of the intrigue had already extended to the Caribbean area where a New Yorker named Thomas Brown had established a lodging house at Trinidad with the manifest intention of becoming a Spanish subject. This base was to be a springboard for operations into Central and South America with the object of inciting those colonies to rebellion against Spain.

At Farragut's invitation, Powell agreed to join the project and contribute to the fund the only wealth he possessed, which was the credit still due him by the State of South Carolina. He was interested to hear that another member was Thomas Brown, whom he remembered from his school days as a tall, auburn-haired fellow with clear blue eyes. He knew that Brown had taken a schooner to the Island of Santa Eustacia, but of course had not learned earlier of his other connections.

Farragut was eager to secure Powell's participation and wanted to leave immediately for North Carolina to meet the leader, Colonel Tate, also of Orange County, South Carolina. Powell said he would have to make a quick trip to settle some business affairs in Charleston, and he really intended to return immediately to the Edisto upcountry. But he came down with an attack of fever, which was so prevalent along the rivers in the

summer,³⁴ and was severely ill during most of the winter. He was still battling a high fever in November, 1786, when Farragut came to Charleston to see if he could attend the first general meeting of the conspirators to be held in North Carolina. Farragut even brought along pen-drawn maps of the Mississippi Valley indicating the Spanish establishments which were the objects of attack and the places where they anticipated cooperation from Spanish subjects.

Farragut went on to North Carolina alone and disappeared from Charleston until March, 1787, when he slipped into town at night to bring Powell information about the developments of the intrigue. To maintain absolute secrecy, and since Farragut was well known in Charleston, they conferred at Farragut's lodging during the day, but after dark transferred their discussions to Powell's quarters.³⁵

At the first general meeting, plans for the overseas venture had matured. Three men were to carry the action into Central America. Farragut was assigned to this job because of his nautical and linguistic skill, and Powell because of his unusual business experience. The third man was Thomas Brown of Trinidad. Other details were to be settled at a second meeting in the early summer, again in North Carolina-and again Thomas Powell was unable to attend because of illness. But in June of 1787 he received a letter assuring him that everything was organized and urging him to be ready for action in January of 1788. Colonel Tate had appointed subordinates in North Carolina and Virginia. Traders were ready with goods to deal with the Indians. On the rivers all supplies except nails had been accumulated for building boats. Farragut assured him that the Creoles would receive the conspirators with open arms. He also made a vague reference to a shipload of indigo from country to the south, which had been shipped to Europe via Charleston to pay for some of the equipment.

34. David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina, from its first settlement in 1670 until the year 1808* (Charleston, 1809, 2 vols.) Appendix No. 4. "A statistical account of the Orangeburgh district, chiefly from the communications of Dr. Jamieson and Dr. Shecut. The District lies 79 miles northwest of Charleston. Stagnant ponds and river swamps are a scourge of the country settlements. Inhabitants are annually visited with fevers."

35. Among the people mentioned, Powell recalled Major Tate, a brother of Colonel Tate, and a group from Virginia: Captain O'Sullivan, Captain Anderson, a man named Morgan and another named Dickens or Dickenson.

Either the imminence of the action, or the vast proportions of the scheme, or the melancholy results of persistent attacks of severe headache and fever-or a combination of all three-reduced Thomas Powell to a soul-searching frame of mind. Alone in his quarters, he felt tortured by personal problems and moral issues which involved his early religious training. He visualized that this activity could result in shedding human blood, and perhaps open warfare between the United States and Spain. Yet, if he backed out of the conspiracy at this late date, he feared for his life. He couldn't bring the plot to the attention of the American authorities without testifying against his friends, which could also bring retaliation. In his wretched state, he turned to a Catholic priest ³⁶ who brought the first letter to Governor Zespedes in St. Augustine giving an intimation of the conspiracy.

After Carlos Howard had taken down the testimony of Thomas Powell, he made a Spanish version for the Governor. Zespedes must have recognized some of the names. John MacQueen visited St. Augustine in 1784. General Greene had been Zespedes' guest in 1785 for several days of festive entertaining, and was provided with a military escort for his trip back to the St. Mary's River border. The Spanish governor should probably have taken note of the name Thomas Brown. In June of 1787, Gardoqui, the Spanish representative in New York, had given permission to a Thomas Brown, who had arrived with a valid passport from the governor of Trinidad, to return to Trinidad by way of St. Augustine. ³⁷ Brown stopped briefly in St. Augustine in August, a few weeks before Zespedes received his first letter from Thomas Powell. This coincidence was never mentioned in Zespedes' subsequent correspondence with higher colonial officials.

36. Powell refers to the priest as the Rev. Roan, superintendent of the Catholic parish in Charleston. Official history does not mention such a man as early as 1787. See: John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, embracing the History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1763-1815* (New York, 1888), 316. "In 1788 Dr. Carroll sent to Charleston the Rev. Mr. Ryan, a very pious Irish priest who found the Catholics, few, poor and timid. He hired a ruined building, once used by protestants. Here the Catholic religion was first publicly exercised in Carolina." A footnote on page 317 says, "It is somewhat strange that the good priest the Rev. Mr. Ryan has been ignored." The writing of the name as "Roan" is probably a copyist's error.

37. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, August 3, 1787, AGI:PC Leg. 1395, enclosing Gardoqui to Zespedes, New York City, June 8, 1787. Lockey Collection.

The whole story still seemed preposterous to the Governor, who wondered if Powell were of sound mind, but once more he received corroborating evidence from other sources. Gardoqui wrote of definite indications that a band was gathering on the Ohio and Tennessee rivers to attack New Orleans. Also, the *Richmond Gazette* of May 10, 1787, had printed an editorial which appeared to be the work of the conspirators.³⁸

Zespedes decided to keep in contact with Powell, so he arranged for him to correspond in cipher with Carlos Howard. He also suggested to Gardoqui that it might be a good idea to have a subordinate consul of His Majesty's government established at Charleston, since it was a seaport of considerable importance for the southern states.³⁹

Before leaving St. Augustine, Thomas Powell was urged to accept a hundred pesos to cover the expenses of his trip, and he was assured that asylum was always available in His Majesty's dominions. Zespedes emphasized that he particularly wanted definite information as to the time of Farragut's planned departure from America, his destination, and his prospective time of arrival in the Spanish Indies. He further promised Powell that if Farragut were apprehended, he should not suffer capital punishment. Powell could not bear to be responsible for the death of a person who had placed confidence in him.

After Thomas Powell returned to Charleston, an acquaintance named Dr. James O'Fallon inquired about his trip to St. Augustine, and Powell said he was thinking of settling in Florida. The idea appealed to O'Fallon, who was momentarily discouraged because his party—the more plebian faction—had lost out in the recent municipal election. Powell arranged for O'Fallon to correspond with Carlos Howard, sending along the warning that O'Fallon was probably associated with the western projects.⁴⁰

38. Enclosures in Zespedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, Jan. 16, 1788. AGI:PC, Leg. 1395. Lockey Collection.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, Oct. 11, 1788. AGI:PPC, Leg. 1395. O'Fallon became the agent of the South Carolina Yazoo Land company and managed to pervert the company's colonizing plan, which had some Spanish sanction, into a projected attack on Louisiana in 1793. He was exposed by James Wilkinson, whose suspicious arrival in Pensacola had impressed Governor Zespedes earlier. Wilkinson, after a vacillating career as a Spanish agent to separate Kentucky from the Union, was the American general who received the Spanish post at Natchez when it was evacuated in 1798. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 141, 221. See *supra*, n. 18.

ZESPEDES AND THE SOUTHERN CONSPIRACIES 27

The unrealistic schemes for populating Florida developed by Dr. O'Fallon were of no interest to Governor Zespedes, who tried to get rid of the spirited Irishman by honoring him with a letter of recommendation to Gardoqui.

Carlos Howard's letters from Powell brought no further information about the plans. January of 1788 passed without any sign of the action which had been forecast,⁴¹ but by March he expected to have news of Powell's attendance at the third general meeting of the conspirators. Zespedes finally decided that this rumored conspiracy was outside his jurisdiction, since it did not directly concern the internal affairs of East Florida. He suggested that Gardoqui follow up the matter, and sent Thomas Powell a letter of recommendation for that purpose, but there were no further developments.⁴² Thomas Powell disappeared - a conscience-stricken eighteenth-century adventurer with a brief career. He may have returned to New York to join his brother in the business of making coaches, but more likely he succumbed during the next fever season.

Zespedes concluded that the matter would probably end in the back country - a final judgment which coincided with his first reaction. He completely ignored the references to securing independence for the Spanish colonies.⁴³ Such motivation was

41. The anti-royalist sentiments in the upper Edisto river came to the surface again in the 1790's, stimulated by the fall of the French monarchy in 1789. One group volunteered their services to the representatives of Republican France in Charleston and offered to fight in Austria, but were not accepted. William Tate - possibly one of the Tates whom Farragut knew - was commissioned by Citizen Genet colonel in charge of the legion of South Carolina, which was to march into West Florida in 1793. They were successfully opposed on the frontier by Carlos Howard, who had just been transferred from East Florida. See Richard K. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796* (Berkeley, 1951), 13-14.

42. Zespedes to Ezpeleta, St. Augustine, May 14, 1788. AGI:PC, Leg. 1395. Lockey Collection.

43. "In 1786, while negotiations were taking place (between Jay and Gardoqui concerning navigation of the Mississippi River), John Adams wrote to Governor Bowdoin of Massachusetts, cautioning American officials against 'intrigues of individuals . . . said to be on foot to set South America free from Spain. But I hope that States will not only be prudent but compel individuals to be so too.' " - Adams to Bowdoin. James Bowdoin, *Papers* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Series VI, Vol. IX; Series VII, Vol. VI, 97.) See Harry Bernstein, *Origins of Inter-American Interest, 1700-1812* (Philadelphia, 1945), 28.

incomprehensible to a loyal Spaniard, who found real glory in serving his King as a faithful vassal.

He saw no reason to doubt the perpetual validity of monarchy as a system of government. In Spain, Charles III had ruled for over a quarter of a century, during which the empire had progressed continuously. Her overseas dominion, since de acquisition of Louisiana and reoccupation of the Floridas, was at the peak of geographic expansion. In France, another Bourbon monarch was still secure on his throne. England, Spain's colonial rival, was humbled slightly by these upstart colonists. But the American states still appeared floundering and disunited, with every prospect that another political grouping would form in territory west of the Appalachians.

Zespedes was insensitive to the contagious spirit of independence and self-government. He had no respect for these turbulent and ambitious frontiersmen who knew no law but their own caprice. In the plot revealed by Thomas Powell, Zespedes saw only further indications of the boundless avarice of adventurers who believed that in the Spanish dominions one had only to scratch the earth to find gold and silver, and who therefore were capable of the wildest schemes to realize their foolish dreams.⁴⁴

44. Zespedes to Valdez, March 24, 1788, AHN:Est. Leg. 3901. Lockey Collection.

THE SHAKER COMMUNITY IN FLORIDA

by RUSSELL H. ANDERSON

MANY RESIDENTS of Osceola County, Florida, recall a kindly though strange religious group, the Shakers, who once lived near present day St. Cloud-but the memory of these good people is fading. It should be recorded that beginning in 1894, Osceola County was the scene of one of the later efforts of an outstanding utopian movement in America-that of the Shaker religious group.

The Shakers-a short name taken by the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing-trace their beliefs to the early traditions of the church, and more particularly to a seventeenth-century group of French Protestants known as Camisards or Prophets. Protesting against the persecution of the Huguenots, they were driven from France to England by Louis XIV. They disappeared from view, but not before they had passed on their torch to a group of Quakers who were attracted by this somewhat similar faith. To the organization led by James and Jane Wardley, sometimes referred to as Shaking Quakers, came Ann Lee in 1758. Ann had an unhappy childhood and marriage and her experiences greatly influenced her religious beliefs. After a period of persecution she came to the conviction (she would have said that she had had a vision) that she should lead a band to America to develop a proper society in a land not encrusted with prejudice and intolerance.

Accordingly she led a group of eight persons to America in 1774 and left the English remnant to drop quietly from sight. Her group found it necessary to separate and work for two years in preparation for their united venture - a communal domestic establishment, at present-day Watervliet, New York.

What beliefs and principles led these people into this unusual experiment in a strange land? Mother Ann, as she was called, looked about and saw much trouble resulting from greed. The elimination of greed by communal ownership of all the property of the group was her first principle. Sex seemed to her to be the mainspring of many evils, and her second principle was to sublimate and overcome it by celibacy. The third was humility, the

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practice of which was to avoid the damaging consequences of personal pride.

These fundamental ideas were overlain with a humanitarian point of view, a sincere pacifism based on the belief that every form of strife and violence was unchristian, profound respect for the dignity of man, a sense of the immediacy of God, and a passionate belief in the dignity of labor. They had no distinct body of theology—the essence of their theological thinking being a pietistic interpretation of the King James Version of the Bible—but much of their everyday religion was expressed in their often repeated maxim: “Hands to work and hearts to God.”

An English group, beginning their efforts along peculiar lines in 1776 as the colonists were drawing swords with England, they found an atmosphere of suspicion and hostility. Persisting, in spite of persecution, they grew, and in time they had seventeen well-organized communities in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky; two smaller settlements were absorbed by the major Ohio communities, and near the close of the last century two communities were established in the deep South, at White Oak, Georgia, and near Ashton, Osceola County, Florida.

The overall organization was under the general direction of what was termed the “Ministry,” but there was a certain responsibility and independence for each of the units or communities, which commonly adopted a spiritual name such as “The Valley of Gods Pleasure,” “Valley of Wisdom,” or “Olive Branch,” as the Osceola community was styled. Land was owned in common and each person had his or her responsibility to work for the good of all. In varying degrees they kept to themselves to preserve and strengthen their spiritual convictions, but in all cases they maintained a pleasant but proper contact with what they termed “the world.” On a material plane they sought to be as nearly self-sufficient as practicable, and they produced goods for sale according to the talents of their members and the resources of their communities. All farmed, some produced garden seeds, some produced medicinal and culinary herbs, and many made furniture. The Osceola County group near Ashton relied chiefly on the production of pineapples, citrus fruits, vegetables, fish, and later, timber and cattle.

Work was a part of their religion, but the more customary forms of spiritual expression were the especial charge of selected

groups in the organization, although a simple intense piety was the charge of all. New members signed a novitiate covenant and after a time signed the full covenant of all those who had been "gathered," as they expressed it. They practiced their simple religion with a distinct lack of ostentation and a kindliness of spirit which endeared them to their neighbors, once they were understood. The Shakers, using a devoted corps of workers and a highly cooperative system of division of labor, were able, in the period before the Civil War, to hold their own in the rural and semi-industrialized situation of the day. With a steady, devoted group of workers, whose primary aim was spiritual not monetary, they prospered in both realms, reaching a high point somewhere near the close of the Civil War with a total membership of about six thousand adherents. Subsequently they declined until at present there are three communities with about forty members. It was in the declining days of the order that the Southern experiments were undertaken.

Whatever the immediate motivation, a small delegation came from the Watervliet Community near the Albany, New York, area in 1894 to establish a group in the salubrious southern climate. Benjamin Gates appears to have been the leader of this band which included Andrew Barrett and Charles Weed. This advance guard apparently found temporary quarters in or near the village of Narcoossee, Osceola County, Florida, a village which is about two miles from the property which the Shakers were soon to buy.¹ Brother Andrew Barrett wrote from Narcoossee on January 20, 1896, that he feared they were not building "a spiritual household as well as the temporal." The question of land speculation was apparently coming to the fore. He continued, "When I see the greed of money step in and engross our whole attention I begin to think we have forgotten the primary object of our *exit* into *Florida*. . . . To me this was not intended as merely a *speculative scheme* for a quiet and comfortable home with a chance to make a few dollars to still keep the thing a running. If God is in it I don't believe he wants any such Business."²

1. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, November 26, 1909; *National Tribune*, July 8, 1909; Ezra J. Stewart, Ashton, Florida, to Brother Alonzo [Hollister], May 31, November 1, 1909, Cathcart Shaker Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Unless otherwise stated, all manuscripts cited are from this source.

2. Andrew [Barrett], Narcoossee, Florida, to Elder Joseph [Holder] Jan. 30, 1896.

Brother Andrew was troubled and welcomed the forthcoming visit of Elder Isaac Anstaat and hoped for a visit from Elder Joseph Holder. He wrote that a visit from the latter "seems an imperative duty as a releasement to the minds and feelings of us all. We are here as it were, knowing nothing of what is to be our fate."

He wrote that when Gates "left this time, Nancy [Dow] spoke to him about another sister coming down to help in the work. He replied: 'I guess we won't have any more come down here to support for you don't know yourself [whether] you will be here a month longer.' . . . Now if this is the object of our staying here merely for a home I question very much whether there is much of the movement and sooner or later it will be a huge Elephant on our hands to look after and eat its head off- and finally die of the dry rot as some of our other great possessions have and are doing."

Elder Isaac Anstaat did come (but not Holder) and on November 2, 1896, bought a tract of land from the Disston Land Company-perhaps the prospective land deal which had caused Brother Andrew such soul searching. For \$94,500, receipt of which was acknowledged, this company, which had secured an enormous acreage in Florida, sold to Anstaat (without any reference to the Shaker organization) a total of 7,046 35/100 acres in Osceola County, comprising fractional sections, 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, and 13, sections 4, 8, and 9, and 280 acres of section 17 in Tier 26S., Range 31E. This lay some twelve miles southeast of Kissimmee and included a number of lakes: Trout Lake, Lake Lizzie, Live Oak Lake, Sardine Lake and the upper portion of Alligator Lake. Later surveys to correct errors changed these exact locations to some extent.³

On this large tract was located the Shaker "Colony" - a common designation which befitted its seeming dependent status. They chose to live on section 8, near Live Oak Lake, where the Billy B. ranch is now located. The two large cottages which they built (one for the women and one for the men) were where Mr. Beck's house is now, on the south side of Route 192 just east of Ashton. Much of the area was either in lake or swamp, or was covered with heavy vegetation requiring extensive clear-

3. Osceola County Deed Record Book "O", 233-235.

ing. As a result of this circumstance and the small number of persons in the colony, only a small portion of the land was put in cultivation by the Shakers. The soil was good and the Shakers, here as elsewhere, were excellent farmers. The lakes were teeming with fish; and game, especially deer, turkey, and quail were common.⁴

Spiritual matters were of more importance to the Shakers than temporal possessions but the latter are easier to measure. Furthermore, since it was one of the cardinal Shaker principles to give their "hands to work and hearts to God," work for the sustenance of their way of life and beliefs was an integral part of their religion. During these early years Benjamin Gates, said to be the oldest member of all the Shaker communities, was the leader of what was referred to locally as the Narcoossee Colony. Later, when the Ashton station was built on the Sugar Belt Railroad, the location was commonly given as Ashton. Although his name does not appear in the transaction, Gates was in the colony at the time of the purchase of the Disston land. He left for a time soon after and he journeyed back and forth to the north frequently. The Kissimmee newspaper frequently spoke of his coming to town, referring to him as "the Shaker," or "the venerable Shaker," or "the Shaker of Narcoossee," or "prominent citizen of Narcoossee," but always with a favorable connotation.

The Shaker publication, *The Manifesto*, described the establishment in the following "selected" quotation, apparently from a non-Shaker:

In Runnymede Township, one mile from Ashton station on the Sugar Belt Railway, lies the splendid domain of the Shaker Colony known as Olive Branch. To call it a farm would belittle the place in a section where farms are so small as here, for it contains nearly seven thousand acres of which sixteen hundred are enclosed with a substantial fence and arrangements are about completed for fencing as much more.

. . . The writer recently inspected the place through an invitation from the business manager, Mr. Benjamin Gates and came away convinced it only needed the patient, intelligent industry manifested here to make farm life not only a delightful, but a remunerative occupation. In the grounds

4. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, April 21, 1899; interview with Will Tyson.

connected with the house and business office are orange, peach, apricot and persimmon trees with a large number of flowering plants. It seems to be the policy of this community to unite the beautiful with the practical; so you find here fruit trees, vines, shrubs and flowering bulbs all in one group relieving the lawn of that stiffness noticed in public parks. An irrigating plant supplies the five acres immediately adjoining the house. For field crops they are this season growing Irish and sweet potatoes, cane, velvet beans, cow peas, beggar weed, rice and pumpkins. All of them look well, the cane being remarkably good.

The design of the community has always been to make cattle growing the great industry, and for this the place is admirably fitted. It has numerous and abundant water for every pasture. Stockmen who have had cattle on this range claim it is one of the best in Florida. At present there are about nine hundred head of cattle in the portion enclosed. With the additional pasture to be enclosed this fall they can carry 2000 head.⁵

Andrew Barrett, a well-respected brother who was to become the head of the colony before he went to Union Village, Ohio, in 1902, was the right-hand man of Gates. Charles Weed, Nancy Dow, Elizabeth A. Sears, and Amanda Tiffany were in the group at or about the time of the land purchase. This small band, augmented from time to time, carried on both the spiritual and workaday affairs, but at no time did the resident population of the colony exceed a dozen and indeed we cannot document even that small number.

Honest work was a traditional feature of Shaker religion and the Olive Branch colony in Osceola County was no exception. During the early part of their operation, emphasis was placed on fruit culture with some commercial fishing. Later they turned somewhat more to cattle and timber. Of all their products the Shakers were most famous for their pineapples, which were at first the principal commercial crop. Within two years of their purchase of the Shaker tract, they attracted newspaper notice by attempting to propagate a crownless pineapple sport and in 1899 Gates was investigating a system to protect the growing of pineapples at the Shaker colony. As early as 1901 they were sending pineapple plants to Cuba and the local newspaper commented in 1898, "The Colony is putting out a new pinery covering about an

5. *The Manifesto*, XXVI (October, 1898), 153-154.

acre. The pines raised by these people are recognized as being the finest grown in this section which reputation has justly been earned.”⁶ By 1904 they were building a new pinery shed and in August, 1906, they were selling from 300 to 400 pineapples each week at Kissimmee, and they expected to have about a hundred pines a week until Christmas and a small production until March. These, which were of the smooth, Cayenne variety, were from a pinery of four-fifths of an acre which in that year grossed \$750. The local editor commented, “The Shakers have an established reputation of furnishing only the best of everything which they grow or manufacture and their pineapples are fully up to this standard.”

This same high quality won for their pineapples a gold medal at the Jamestown Exposition in 1907. The cultivation of pineapples continued to be an important part of their crop until the end of their Osceola County enterprises.⁷

After the first few years they began the cultivation of bananas. In 1908 they had a patch of 150 plants and were planning to build a protective fence ten feet high on the north and west sides. They were prepared to build fires of “rosin” to protect the plants if the necessity arose. The next year they cleared and fenced five acres of new land and set it to 1,500 banana plants. The freeze of the winter of 1909-1910 hindered this crop but in 1915 and 1924 this patch at the east end of Live Oak Lake was described as a twenty-acre banana plantation.⁸

During the period of the Osceola County Shakers’ greatest activity, from about 1904 to 1910, their letters and local newspaper accounts comment on the fruit and vegetables being raised—oranges, peaches, watermelons, strawberries, blackberries, mulberries, onions, potatoes, corn, and vegetables.⁹ Much of this

6. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, November 25, 1898; October 13, December 22, 1899; April 29, 1904; May 28, October 18, 1908.

7. Andrew, Narcoossee, Florida, to Elder Joseph, Feb., 1900; July 14, 1901; Ezra J. Stewart, Ashton, Florida, to Brother Alonzo, May 30, 1904; August 12, 1906; April 1, November 1, 1909; *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, August 3, September 21, November 9, 1906; *National Tribune*, March 8, 1909.

8. Ezra J. Stewart, Ashton, Florida, to Brother Alonzo, August 9, November 22, December 18, 1908; April 1, May 9, 31, 1909; November 27, 1910; *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, Feb. 4, June 10, 1911; Osceola County Deed Record Book 39, 638; Bk. 56, 575; Ezra J. Stewart in *National Tribune*, July 8, 1909.

9. Ezra J. Stewart to Brother Alonzo, May 30, 1904; October 6, 1907; May 28, November 22, December 19, 27, 1908; May 31, November

produce was sold in Kissimmee, and in St. Cloud, where the Shakers maintained the most cordial relations with the veterans who had established this thriving community at the foot of East Tohopekaliga Lake. Stewart writes, "I go to St. Cloud once or twice a week with a load of provisions and yesterday had on, besides honey and syrup, cabbage, radishes, turnips, eggs, mulberries and banana plants all of which sell readily nowadays. The old soldier is very loyal to his friends and since we have helped them boom St. Cloud they buy freely whatever we have to offer."¹⁰

Living on and among a number of lakes, it was natural that the Shakers should turn to fishing. Elder Egbert Gillette handled the fishing about 1907-1909, while Stewart managed the other affairs. Sometimes alone, or with four hired men, he fished regularly and in one morning caught 2,800 pounds of fish. After supplying their own table they shipped fish from the local station at Ashton or from Kissimmee. On one occasion they caught a ten-foot alligator and sold its hide for \$18.75.¹¹

The summer of 1909 appears to have been the high point in the life of the Olive Branch Shaker Community in many ways. Stewart wrote in November 27, 1910, that he had been depressed for many weeks, adding, "I have been busy since arriving home as we have had a series of mishaps, and new means of making a living have been inaugurated. Between the freeze of last winter and the storm of recent days our fruit business was knocked sky high. [We are] now depending on cattle, lumber and wood business."

They had installed in 1904 a small sawmill with a capacity of from 2,000 to 4,000 feet per day, a great convenience in supplying the local demand for lumber. The next year, for a time, they were sawing about two days a week for a neighbor and continued to saw for themselves and the neighborhood. In addition they were interested to some extent in turpentine for a time.¹²

1, 1909; May 1, 1911; *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, June 8, 1906; June 10, 1910.

10. Ezra J. Stewart to Bro. Alonzo, May 9, 1909; *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, June 8, August 3, September 21, November 9, 1906.

11. Ezra J. Stewart, Ashton, Fla. to Bro. Alonzo, August 12, 1906; October 6, 1907; March 16, April 1, May 17, 28, 1908; Dr. Charles A. Graves, Estero, Fla., to Ezra J. Stewart, September 29, 1907.

12. Ezra J. Stewart to Bro. Alonzo, May 30, 1904; October 6, 1907; November 27, 1910; Elizabeth A. Sears, Ashton, Fla., to the minis-

Mention should be made of the relationship of the Shakers of Osceola County with another religious group, the Koreshan Unity, at Estero in Lee County, Florida. This organization had been founded there in 1894 by Dr. Cyrus R. Teed, who brought the nucleus of the group from his home in Chicago and who convinced his disciples that he was immortal. Like the Shakers, the Koreshans practiced celibacy and communal ownership of property and held a belief somewhat similar to the Shaker concept of a male-female godship, but here the resemblance ceased. The Koreshans professed a belief in reincarnation and seem to have attracted a strange lot of followers, many of whom held peculiar beliefs regarding the form of the world, life, etc. Because of a general agreement in some fields, each community was interested in the other and there was much visiting between them. At one time, in 1908, Ezra Stewart spoke of the Koreshan movement as a "racket" but the Shakers supplied information regarding their own beliefs and in 1909 Stewart wrote that "indications are that we may gather some of them" (i.e., receive them as members).

Interest among the Koreshans in Shakerism seemed to increase as dissension arose at Estero, yet only one of their adherents, Mary E. Daniels, joined the Shaker community. Generally the Shakers were sympathetic but cautious in regard to the Koreshans. For example, Edgar S. Peissert was furnished a copy of the Shaker novitiate covenant and given an invitation to visit. He indicated that he was in thorough accord with the covenant. Yet when he arrived he was found quite unacceptable. The point of view of the Shakers in such matters may be seen from the comment of Ezra J. Stewart who wrote in May, 1901, "As a result of an interview with the elders here . . . [it was thought best] that Edgar should depart [for Estero] next morning by train . . . as his views were found to be quite different from ours . . . He evidently hoped to set up a little kingdom here with himself as leader. [He] wears finger rings, and has much distaste for work, altho fairly strong and in good health".¹³

try, November 19, 1905; *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, April 29, 1904. Mr. Young Tindall of Kissimmee recalls that the Shakers used the "J.V." brand and one other.

13. Ezra J. Stewart to Bro. Alonzo, May 30, 1904; October 6, 1906; September 29, October 6, 1907; April 1, October 18, November 22, 1908; April 1, May 9, 20, 31, 1909; April 17, 1910, May 1, 1911; Dr. Charles A. Graves, Estero, Fla. to Ezra J. Stewart, September 29, 1907.

The Shakers, in Florida as elsewhere, did not become a cloistered group, forsaking all contacts with the "world" as they put it. While they maintained the special standards and procedures of discipline in their own establishment, they cooperated with their neighbors, occasionally hired laborers from the "world," and bought from and sold to outsiders. Perhaps the small size of the community in Osceola County made contacts with the outside greater than in many of the older and larger Shaker groups.

In 1908 Elder Ezra J. Stewart was hired by the county commissioners to go to Tampa and take charge of the county exhibit at the State Fair. The Shakers displayed pineapples and syrup while other farmers sent fruit, vegetables, and fish. While conscientiously looking after the exhibit, Stewart found opportunity to discuss religion and sociological questions with many persons and some of the contacts with the Koreshan Unity members arose from this trip. On one occasion he wrote that he expected to attend revival services at the Methodist Church.

One of Stewart's most interesting contacts at the State Fair was with Carrie Nation, whom he had the pleasure of escorting through many of the exhibits. He seems to have had a mixture of admiration for her courage and her principles - commenting, "She reminds me more of Mother Ann than any woman I have ever met," - and an amused kind of tolerance of some of her actions. She constantly admonished smokers-and in Tampa, the cigar center, she had a field day. He related that "while in the fair building I saw her assist in removing a cigar from a man's mouth, throw it on the ground, and stamp it to pieces. He said, 'Madam, that cigar cost me 15 cts.' She replied, 'Yes and it would have used up 15 cts. worth of your brain had you finished smoking it.'" She demanded that pictures of nude or near-nude women on display at the fair be removed and "visited saloons . . . and handed them out an idea or two."

To Stewart's invitation to visit the Shakers, whose beliefs he explained, she replied, "Can you get me an auditorium? I must have people to speak to." Stewart noted that Miss Nation did not "comprehend the use of celibacy" and thought it likely that there would be some discussion of it when she visited the Koreshans at Estero - a celibate group.

He commended her for her instruction on the sex question and commented that "she seems not to lack courage or strength

to attack and rebuke anyone if they happen to trespass in regard to cigars, etc. right in the street. [She] has the appearance of a dear old mother whose interest are for the wellfare [sic] of her children. One of her expressions is 'Arrest that thought!' ”¹⁴

Stewart reported that she “is down on [T.R.] Roosevelt. She says every nation is welcome at the White House but Carrie. She says he cries peace, peace, then war, war and is too much given to bear hunting.”

Even after his comments in regard to Carrie Nation, it is somewhat surprising to find him commending Bernarr Macfadden and sending to his colleague, Brother Alonzo, a copy of the magazine *Physical Culture* with the comment that it “is good reading. He teaches sex purity. That is cohabitation for offspring only. [He] is doing a great deal to instruct young men and women regarding sexual matters and how to conserve their forces instead of wasting them in secret vice, etc. He is now being prosecuted by Anthony Comstock for trying to open the eyes of the people in regard to sexual matters.”¹⁵

It is an ironic circumstance that the kindly Shakers, who eschewed the law and who had hitherto never been called to answer a criminal charge in Florida should have received their most widespread notice from the “mercy killing” of Sadie Marchant, who, in the last stages of tuberculosis, had asked for and received chloroform at the hand of Brother Egbert Gillette on August 22, 1911. A consideration of this case covers many facets of Shaker attitudes, customs, and beliefs and the regard in which the Shakers were held by the community.

The Sadie Marchant story begins with the tuberculosis sanatorium started at Narcoossee, between East Lake and Lake Hendon, by Dr. John A. Ennis and placed in use during the winter of 1904-05. The sponsorship was broadened into an association of which Sister Elizabeth A. Sears of the Shaker Community was vice-president and a conscientious supporter. Dr. Ennis attested that Sister Sears had been “a sister truly to many an invalid in our camp. She has never been absent from a meeting of the board; never failed to cheer us up in our darkest hour.”¹⁶

14. Ezra J. Stewart, Tampa, Fla. to Bro. Alonzo, February 9, 1908.

15. Ezra J. Stewart, Ashton, Fla. to Bro. Alonzo, November 1, 1909.

16. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, January 19, 1906; August 13, 1909. The organization was reported to be a legal branch of a national associa-

The notices regarding this home came to the attention of Sadie Marchant in Providence, Rhode Island. The doctors had declared her to be in an advanced stage of tuberculosis with only four months to live. She came to Narcoossee on January 23, 1905, and remained there for some months. When other patients returned to their northern homes Sadie remained, since she was penniless. At the urgent solicitation of Dr. Ennis, the Shakers, largely through the influence of Elder Egbert Gillette took her in although they knew her condition. She was given no duties to perform but did such work as she felt she could do.

Such food was prepared for her as was considered best for one in her condition and she was frequently carried on excursions on the lake and into the woods in the hope that the ravages of the disease might be stayed, the Shakers even going to the expense of buying a gentle pony for her to ride, and she was given the privileges of going when and where she pleased. The work of caring for Sadie Marchant fell mostly upon Sister Elizabeth A. Sears and Brother Egbert Gillette and many were the occasions when these two people neglected their duties on the farm to perform a kindness for their unfortunate sister. There was never a time during this more than six years that Sadie Marchant did not suffer from pain, which at times was so intense that she attempted suicide and on every occasion she was prevented from accomplishing her purpose and tenderly nursed until she was able to be up and around.¹⁷

Unfortunately the disease was not arrested and on August 20, 1911, the crisis came. In the last stages of her illness she suffered intensely and she asked Brother Gillette and Sister Sears to kill her to end her misery. At first Gillette gave her an opiate and then a ght dose of chloroform. She asked for a second and final application of chloroform, and while under its influence she died.

When this information reached the ears of the authorities, they investigated. Under the law they had no choice but to ar-

tion, The Tribune Sunshine Society of New York. It existed as a corporation from 1906 to August 1, 1909 when the institution was transferred to the State of Florida.

17. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, September 1, 1911. See also the issues of January 19, 1906 and August 13, 1909. The account given here was confirmed in a personal interview with Will Tyson who worked with the Shakers during this period and who managed their property later.

rest Gillette and Elizabeth A. Sears. The word was out and the debate began. New York, Boston, Cleveland, Cincinnati and other papers carried the story. Were they justified in shortening her life in this way to ease her pain even in an admittedly hopeless case?

Local reaction was immediate and decisive. It is well expressed by the *Kissimmee Valley Gazette* in this way:

The Shakers . . . are well regarded as the personification of honesty, uprightness and peacefulness. They never take part in politics, never have use of the courts, treat all people with respect and reverence, and never commit a dishonest act or an infringement of the law. Therefore it is hard for our people to believe that anything but love could prompt these good people to take the life of one of their number. In all the years the Shakers have lived in this community this is the first time any of them have been called on to answer a criminal charge. They know nought but right, their religion teaches them to fear God and love their fellow men and they live up fully to their teaching. They tell the truth at all times and under all circumstances, let the result be what it will, and in this instance, we believe, they have lived up to their reputation. There is nothing but sympathy expressed on every hand for these unfortunate people even though they have committed one of the gravest offenses in the eyes of the law - that of taking the life of a fellow being.¹⁸

They have lived at peace with their neighbors and have never been before the courts of this country for an infraction of the law. They are honest, truthful and worship God and love all mankind. They never take part in politics and the latch-string always hangs on the outside to anyone in distress. They do not incur any debts but buy and sell on a cash basis and their word is as good as any gold. . . .¹⁹

We doubt if ever before a man was placed in jail and denied bond that the people of his community were as unanimous in their belief of his innocence of evil intent as they are in this case. The County Commissioners met in this city Monday and without exception expressed themselves as favoring the release of the brother on a nominal bond or even on his own word to appear for trial. . . . And that opinion is expressed on every hand . . . for there is not a jury in Florida that would convict him of a greater crime than technical manslaughter. . . . Would that Osceola County had ten thousand such people within its borders.²⁰

18. September 1, 1911.

19. September 29, 1911.

20. October 6, 1911.

The case came up for discussion before a conference of governors, and Governor Gilchrist of Florida expressed the opinion that the minds of the people were such that the accused would not be convicted, and added, "I doubt whether they will ever be indicted." Such was to be the case. Will Tyson now recalls that even when Gillette was nominally held in jail he was given the utmost freedom. The grand jury refused to indict either of the parties but the state's attorney insisted that both be held without bail. He was overruled and Gillette, who found many willing bondsmen left for the Shaker community on December 5, 1911. The judge refused to hold Sister Sears. In January, the chief witness for the state suggested that the charges be dismissed, which was subsequently done.²¹

It can scarcely be said that the Marchant case caused the abandonment of the Florida Shaker venture but there was certainly little energy put into it after that time, and in some two or three years it was to be closed. Will Tyson recalls that there never were more than "a dozen or so members at the most," and available records indicate that the number at any one time was much smaller. Their numbers were small indeed and the parent organization was declining. The Osceola County community and the White Oak colony in adjacent Georgia represent the last efforts of this religious group to extend its territorial limits - into what was thought to be a more propitious climate than that enjoyed by the older communities to the north.

In 1908 Stewart bewailed the fact that they were then receiving no applications for membership and that the colony consisted of four old members and "our proselyte, Sister Sadie." The following year there was a burst of interest and several came to Olive Branch with the apparent intention of joining the order, but in 1910 Stewart wrote that "we are getting to be a mere handful sustained by faith in great principles."²²

At the time of the trial the local newspaper reported that while they cultivated sugar cane, bananas, pineapples and citrus fruits "so far [they] have been unable to clear more than thirty or forty acres of land as their members have at all times been few, there being only four there at the present time."²³ Elder Ezra J.

21. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, December 8, 1911, January 12, 1912.

22. Ezra J. Stewart, Ashton, Fla., to Bro. Alonzo, May 9, 31, 1909; April 17, 1910.

23. *Kissimmee Valley Gazette*, September 29, 1911.

Stewart, who was one of the mainstays of the community is a strange figure. He came to the Olive Branch Community in 1902 from the Mt. Lebanon group from whence he had published a religious article in the *Manifesto*, and was there until after the dissolution. Seemingly out of keeping with the Shaker concept, he wrote to his old friend Brother Alonzo Hollister at Mt. Lebanon in 1908, "As you know I have always entertained grand notions about living in a fine house but thus far circumstances and the devil have conspired to thwart all aspirations in that direction. Perhaps we poor folks will have an inning some of these fine days after all."²⁴ Although a member of a communal organization at the time, Stewart bought two lots in St. Cloud in 1910, and in 1915 and 1917 bought other lots in the Shaker Colony Subdivision. He had remained for a year or so after the formal dissolution, apparently in charge. He appears to have gone to Tampa by 1924, when as a resident of Hillsborough County he bought the east half of section 4 of the Shaker tract in Osceola County. From 1924 to 1931 he bought and sold property in Tampa, and owned and managed an apartment house there, seemingly until 1934.²⁵

In the absence of day-by-day accounts, such as are available for other Shaker communities, we must rely largely upon the official records in preparing an account of the break-up of the Osceola County venture. Section 4 of the Shaker tract was sold to Clifford W. Bruns and his brother-in-law, a Mr. Crouse from Indiana and platted as the "Shaker Colony Subdivision" in 1913. In 1914 Isaac Anstaat, in whose name the land was still held, deeded to Clifford W. Bruns and others. the larger part of the Shaker holdings, apparently for \$97,680, but on action of November 21, 1917, the mortgaged lands - 5,765.9 acres (the entire tract minus sections 4 and 8 and 20 acres of Section 9) were taken over by James A. Van Voast of Schenectady, New York, trustee for the Shakers, for \$85,000, apparently the outstanding indebtedness. By a series of clearing transactions from 1915 to 1924 the entire tract, except Section 4, was placed in the hands of Sister Emma J. Neale, as trustee. On April 15, 1924, a group of investors, including Mr. and Mrs. George M. Rickard and Dr.

24. *Ibid.*, November 22.

25. Deed Books, Hillsborough County, Fla.; *Tampa City Directories*, 1922-1936; recollection of Will Tyson.

Charles Ross of Alliance, Ohio, under the name of the "Shaker Land Company" bought the land which had been held by Van Voast. This Company, so Will Tyson recalls, sold land to the amount of \$150,000 but failed to secure a safe margin of down payment. When the land boom collapsed in the late 1920's the land again went back to the Shakers.

By 1924 the property still remaining in Shaker hands seems to have been largely in the care of Will Tyson, a non-Shaker who had worked for them for many years and who was selected to look after Section 8 for them. As late as August, 1933, Sister Emma J. Neale wrote to Tyson asking him to continue to look after their Florida property as he had been doing. She added, "I would sell the property now but see no good chance." Egbert Gillette, who had left the fold and married Mabel Marston after the dissolution of the colony and who was living nearby, joined Tyson in recommending certain improvements. The final land settlement seems indistinct but that is somewhat beside the point - the venture was over. Stewart was to go to Tampa. Egbert Gillette continued to live in the country. Will Tyson recalls that others joined one of the New York groups but the identity or even the existence of such persons is uncertain.

Perhaps the most suitable comment might be that which Eldress Emma King made to the writer on one occasion. She said in effect that the few remaining Shakers realized that in numbers they were a declining order, and were no longer capable of sustaining themselves by their current efforts, that they were firm in the belief that their spiritual principles and values were sound, and that they would again be recognized and cherished and become an influence in the world.

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26. Osceola County Deed Record Book, "O", 233-235; Bk. 39, 638; Bk. 47, 78-79; Bk. 56, 55-59, 636-637; Flat Book, No. 1, Plat of Shaker Colony Subdivision; personal interviews with Will Tyson and James Johnson.
 27. Sister Emma J. Neale, Mt. Lebanon, N. Y. to William P. Tyson, May 30, June 13, December 15, 1924; Bennie DaRoo, Mt. Lebanon, N. Y. to Tyson, April 9, 1931 - letters in the possession of Tyson, St. Cloud, Fla.

MANRIQUE DE ROJAS' REPORT ON FRENCH SETTLEMENT IN FLORIDA, 1564

translated by LUCY L. WENHOLD

THE FRENCH Huguenot Jean Ribaut had led an expedition to Florida in 1562, where he set up stone columns bearing the arms of France and established the tiny settlement of Charlesfort at Port Royal.¹ Philip II of Spain protested to the French government against this threat to Spanish trade and territorial claims, and then, in 1563, he directed the governor of Cuba to remove the French markers and to destroy the French fort. The mission was assigned by the governor of Cuba to Hernando Manrique de Rojas. Captain Manrique's instructions and his report, given here in translation, were taken from the General Archives of the Indies at Seville.²

In the town of San Cristobal, Havana, on the ninth of July, 1564, after midnight, there entered the harbor of this town the frigate called *La Concepcion*, in which arrived Hernando Manrique, formerly captain in Florida. Later, on the tenth of July, before His Excellency Diego Mazariegos, Governor and Captain General by appointment of His Majesty, and in the presence of myself, Francisco Zapata, government scrivener by royal appointment, the said captain, Hernando Manrique de Rojas, appeared and declared that he went, by command of His Excellency, to Florida and Point St. Helena, with a certain expedition, with instructions from His Excellency and with a royal letter from His

1. An engraving of one of the original markers and photographs of the reconstructed columns at Mayport, Florida, and Parris Island, South Carolina, are reproduced in Jeannette Thurber Connor's *Jean Ribaut, The Whole & True Discoverye of Terra Florida, a Facsimile Reprint of the London Edition of 1563* (DeLand: The Florida State Historical Society, 1927).
2. *Relacion e informacion de los Franceses*. San Cristobal, Havana, July 9, 1564, General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Simancas, Secular. Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Letters and legal documents transmitted by the governors of Havana and Cuba, taken up in the Council between the years 1522 and 1599, est. 54, caj. 1, leg. 15. This report was given in part by Woodbnry Lowery in *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida, 1562-1574* (New York and London, 1905), 45-8. A translation of the report was also made by Jeannette Thurber Connor but apparently it was never published.

Majesty; that he went and fulfilled his commission and was accordingly reporting to His Excellency the Governor what he had done. He returned the royal letter he had received, and delivered a stone marker bearing the arms of France, the inscription R., and four Arabic numerals. These things the Governor received in the presence of witnesses.³

The report made by Hernando Manrique is as follows:⁴

Diego Mazariegos, Governor and Captain General by royal appointment in this Island of Cuba, to you, Hernando Manrique de Rojas, citizen of this town of San Cristobal, Havana.⁵ Know that His Majesty has been pleased to state in a royal letter that certain Frenchmen have established themselves on the coast of Florida and taken possession there. He desires and commands that I obtain information concerning these persons and what settlement they have made, according as he directs me in the royal letter, the original of which you will carry with you. For the fulfillment of His Majesty's command I have decided to send to Point St. Helena a frigate with twenty-five men. As the royal service demands for this matter a qualified person who shall explore the territory and gain information as to what is happening there, I, believing you to be such a person, qualified and trustworthy, who will do in all things what is most advisable for the service of His Majesty, hereby name and appoint you captain of the said frigate, of the twenty-five men and of all others who may go in her or be required for the needs of this affair. You will go as captain under the flag, commanding and controlling the men, ordering them in whatever may seem to you most to the service of His Majesty and the success of the expedition, and punishing the disobedient for whatever offenses they may commit, as is your right. When you shall have embarked in this port, for the ordering of this expedition and the carrying out of His Majesty's command you shall keep and follow instructions signed with my name and countersigned by this present scrivener. In all respects you will act as becomes a good and loyal captain, and I will give you full

3. This document is a series of affidavits and a description, but to avoid repetition and facilitate smooth translations the names of witnesses and formal certifications of the several scriveners have been omitted wherever possible.

4. As is seen, the captain's report is preceded by a reading of the instructions given him by the governor.

5. San Cristobal, usually referred to as a *villa* but sometimes as a *pueblo*, was the governmental center of Havana.

and complete power according as I have it from His Excellency, with all its incidents and accessories, appurtenances and rights. If you enter any port of call, whether in this island or in Hispaniola or elsewhere, I command all justices, knights, gentlemen, officials and good men of the place that they give you favor and aid and such supplies, men and ships, as you may need. If you enter ports in the island of Hispaniola or in other parts of these Indies, I beseech the judges of those towns and ports that of their grace and in my name, requiring it of them also in the name of His Majesty, it being a thing so important for the royal service, that they give you whatever needed assistance you may request. In case of such necessity you will formalize your request by means of the royal letter which you carry, leaving a copy of it and keeping with you your original which was made in the city of Havana on the twenty-ninth of April, 1564.

Diego Mazariegos.

Francisco Zapata, scrivener, By order of
His Excellency the Governor.

That which you, Captain Hernando Manrique, are to do on this expedition to Point St. Helena and the coast of Florida, of which expedition I place you in charge, is the following:

Having gone out of this harbor, with fortune favoring you you will enter the Bahama Channel and sail along the Florida coast until you arrive at the shore of La Cruz which is in the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude. There you will land men to seek a stone column or marker bearing the arms of France, which is set up there. Having found it you will remove it and destroy it, or, if it proves to be a thing that can be transported in the frigate you will bring it with you. This is to be done in the presence of witnesses, and of a scrivener whom you will appoint for this and other necessary occasions.

Then you will continue along the shore of Las Corrientes which is on the thirtieth parallel and there you will find another of the same sort.

You will proceed thus along the coast until you reach the Saint Helena River which is in latitude thirty-two. You will enter the river and attempt to find a wooden fort which is there, and to learn whether there are any French in it, and if so, their number

and quality, what artillery they have, where they are established,⁶ what are their relations with the Indians, what force they have, and what preparation will be necessary in order to expel them. If you find the circumstances such that you can drive them out of the fort you will do so, bringing to me as prisoners those of them whom you can capture. You will also bring all the artillery, arms and booty which you may take from them, razing the fort so completely that no trace of it shall remain.

If by chance you encounter in Florida some captain of His Majesty with Spanish soldiers who may have gone out for the same purpose, you will require of him in His Majesty's name and with the royal letter which you carry that he allow you and your men, without depriving you of any of the latter, to explore the Florida coast in order to report to His Majesty concerning it as is his command.

If you should hear that elsewhere there is some enterprise such as the aforementioned, or should discover a settlement of French or of any other people who are not vassals of His Majesty, you will endeavor to reach the place where they are and to acquaint yourself with all the facts, acting in the matter according to the above directions. In all respects you will act as a good and loyal captain, with due regard for the royal service and in conformity with the trust and confidence I place in you.

On board the frigate called *Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion*, at present anchored in the river called Las Corrientes which is in latitude twenty-seven on this Florida coast, on May 24 of this year 1564, Captain Hernando Manrique de Rojas, commander of the frigate and its men, in the presence of me, Juan Guerra, scrivener of the frigate, and of other witnesses,⁷ declared:

That in accordance with the instructions given him by the Governor, after he left the harbor of Havana he came to explore the coast of Florida in latitude twenty-seven and a half, and proceeded from that point along the coast to this harbor which is in latitude twenty-nine, without going more than half a league away from land, going northward and sailing only by day in order to have a better view of the coast. The frigate being anchored in

6. This seems to refer to a possible settlement aside from the fort.

7. These particular witnesses, whose names are omitted in the translation, signed practically all the affidavits that make up this narration.

the mouth of the harbor, he ordered Gonzalo Gayon, her pilot, to calculate the latitude. This was done by Gayon and several other persons who had the necessary knowledge, on the night of last Monday, the twenty-second of this present month, and they found the latitude to be twenty-nine. As this is the latitude in which, according to the Governor's instructions, the shore of La Cruz is and where one of the columns bearing the arms of France should be found, the captain went ashore to seek it and remove it according to his orders. He explored the shores of the harbor on the side next to the sea and on the inner, river sides and went to an Indian village which is on the bank of one of the rivers. Nowhere did he find the column nor anything that would appear to have been placed there for that purpose by the hands of Christians. He communicated with the Indians, but as neither he nor any of his men could understand their speech he could not learn anything from them about the matter. As he had been two days in that harbor and wished to go out at high tide ⁸ to continue the voyage, in order to put on record the fact that he had carried out the directions given him he commanded me, the scrivener, to make an affidavit concerning all the above, I being one of those who went ashore with him. Even so he commanded me to make a true report of all that might occur in the harbors into which he might enter, of what he might find there and what might be done, and to certify it as an eye-witness in order that His Majesty may be informed of everything. Witnesses being those aforementioned, he signed: Hernando Manrique de Rojas, before me, Juan Guerra, scrivener.

That same day the captain ordered the anchor weighed, set sail and anchored again somewhat further north. After this, on the twenty-fifth of May, he again ordered the frigate put under sail and ran along the coast until he found a river of some eight or nine leagues from the one mentioned before. He sailed the frigate in and when it was anchored he calculated the latitude and declared it to be twenty-nine and a half. Thereupon he went ashore to some Indians' huts which he saw close to the river mouth, on the arm which is on the north side. Neither in them

8. This is purely a conjectural translation. The word used here is *tiempo* which means "time" and "weather" and, less frequently; "tide", but the sense would indicate that the turn of the tide is what is here meant.

nor anywhere on the coast thereabout, on river or seashore, did he find Indians or any other people, nor any trace of them, nor did he find any of the French columns. Crossing to the other bank of the river he explored it completely, going more than a league along the other arm which is on the south side, and neither there nor in the other directions in which he explored could he find the column nor anything that appeared made for such use by Christian hands.

The same day, having sailed a league further north, the frigate anchored overnight. Next day, the twenty-sixth, we sailed along the coast northward to a river which the captain and Gonzalo Gayon, the pilot of the frigate, said was in latitude thirty. The frigate having run in and anchored in the river, the captain went ashore to an Indian village which is on the arm that runs south. There he found about eighty Indians, and from their signs he learned that there had been on that river three ships of Christians and that these had gone northward to where the point and river of St. Helena are said to be. In one of the huts of the village he found a wooden box with a lid, made by the hands of Christians. The Indians gave it to be understood that this and other things found among them had been given them by bearded men who came in the ships. The captain searched the village and the river banks from one extreme to the other, as also the river mouth, for the French column, but did not find it anywhere.

On May twenty-ninth he ordered the frigate's anchor weighed. But as the weather conditions⁹ were not good for coastwise sailing he anchored again on the coast a league north of the river just mentioned. In the afternoon of that same day, as he believed the vessels to be in a dangerous position anchored on the coast in the shallows of the river mouth, he ordered her out to sea until the night of the next day, May thirtieth, when he again anchored on the coast in latitude which he and Gonzalo Gayon declared to be thirty-two.

On May thirty-first he again set sail and entered a river which was said to be the St. Helena. There he and Gonzalo Gayon again calculated the latitude and declared it to be thirty-two.

That same day the captain went ashore and found three Indians two of whom came willingly with him to the frigate. From

9. Possibly the reference here is again to the tide.

their signs it was learned that ships of Christians had been in the harbor of St. Helena and had gone to an Indian village which, these Indians said, was called Guale, and which is situated on an arm of a river that flows out of another that is north of this harbor. This they indicated by signs and by speaking the name. Then the captain put them ashore and went to the place they indicated, which could be seen from the frigate. On June first, while in this harbor, he took the frigate's boat and went up the arm of the river. He landed near the aforementioned village and went to the *micoo*¹⁰, as he is called there. In the house of the *micoo* and in his possession were found two felt hats of the kind made in Spain, and in possession of other Indians were found other things also from Spain. Speaking by signs with the *micoo* he learned from him and from the other Indians that the aforementioned ships had been in the harbor and the Christians, whom he described by signs as bearded as we are, had been in the village and had gone away northward up the coast. The captain, with me, the scrivener, searched the entire village and its huts. Neither there nor on the shores of the rivers or the harbor did he find the fort which the governor, in his instructions, says the French built. Nor did he find any structure at all which could have been built by the French or by any other Christians for that purpose.

On the second of June he ordered the frigate sailed out of the arm of the river and anchored at a point in the harbor, above an arm on the southern side, to look for the fort and the French. He landed and explored all the shore from the mouth of the river to the seashore, along the banks and inland, and found nothing.

On June third twelve Indians came by land, among them the *micoo* of their town which is called Yanahume and lies to the south. They gave it to be understood that they wished the captain and the other people to go to their village, and they pointed with their hands to show where it was. The captain made signs to the effect that he would go there at once. He ordered the frigate under way and anchored above their town, went ashore to it and found neither French nor fort, nor anything Spanish in the possession of the Indians. From the signs made by the *micoo* and the other Indians it was learned that the Christians had gone to the

10. *Micoo*, "chief".

village of Guale and had not come to this one nor to any other of the seventeen which, according to the signs they made, are on this harbor.¹¹ They pointed with their hands to show the directions in which these villages are located and spoke their names. Other Indians who came in canoes and by land to see the frigate confirmed by their signs what the first ones had said. For this reason, and because he could not find the French nor their fort, the captain declared himself convinced that there was no French settlement there.

On the sixth of June he went ashore and explored the coast northward for about two leagues, but found neither fort nor French nor trace of them nor of any other Christians. Then, aboard the frigate *Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion* anchored in the harbor, on the same day, month and year, in the presence of me, the scrivener, and of witnesses¹², the captain declared:

That as he had evidence, furnished both by the testimony of the Indians of the village called Guale and by the presence among them of things of Spanish make, that Christian vessels had been in that harbor and had gone out of it and sailed up the coast; that as he had obtained the same information from the Indians of the river which is in latitude thirty, these may be the ships of the French of whom the governor speaks in his instructions, in spite of the fact that they have not left the markers on the former harbors nor built on this one the fort and settlement which the instruction say is in latitude thirty; that it may be possible that the French left the markers on this harbor and the Indians have taken them away, or that the fort and settlement are in some place where it has not been possible to find them, or that they have been located on another harbor or other harbors further to the north,¹³ and that it is proper for the service of His Majesty to seek them well in order to report accurately to him concerning the matter. He therefore ordered Gonzalo Gayon, pilot, there present, to weigh anchor as soon the weather¹⁴ should

11. Literally: "are on the bay of this harbor," probably meaning that they were along the inner shore.

12. Names omitted.

13. *Ma's adelante*, literally: "further along," which in this case was certainly further to the north.

14. Here again the word *tiempo* is used, but the reference may have been to the tide.

allow and set sail northward along the coast until he should find another harbor, or harbors, where the French and the fort might be, or where he might obtain more exact information.

On the seventh of June Gonzalo Gayon, as ordered, weighed anchor, went out of the harbor and sailed up the coast to another harbor some three or four leagues further on. He entered it and sailed the frigate along its shores. The captain then ordered Gonzalo Gayon and me, the scrivener, and others, soldiers, to go ashore and look for the French, the fort and the marker. We explored but we found neither these nor any settlement, either of Christians or of Indians. Smoke ¹⁵ was seen inland, apparently at a distance and where the frigate could not sail because of the shallows and flooded land, and thus it was not possible to go there to make inquiries of the Indians.

That same day the captain ordered the frigate out of that harbor and sailing along the coast entered another harbor two leagues further on, where he found neither French nor fort nor Indians nor houses nor any sign of what he sought. Next day he had the anchor weighed and proceeded on his voyage to another harbor two leagues further up the coast. There he disembarked and found traces of Indians in a pine grove which is between two rivers that the harbor has. He found no huts nor Indians, though smoke appeared far inland, and neither fort nor French were found anywhere on the shores of the harbor.

On June the ninth he sailed a league further up the coast and came to two harbors joined in one. ¹⁶ He entered with the frigate and went through one of them a distance of about two leagues. Nowhere thereabout did he find the French nor the fort nor Indians nor any settlement except two abandoned houses.

On June tenth he sailed a league further to where appeared two mouths of harbors which are close one to the other. ¹⁷ Into these he did not enter as it was late and he wished to reach another harbor which was visible further on, and after sailing two

15. The word "smoke" which has no plural in English can be plural in Spanish and is so both here and where used farther on, obviously meaning that the smoke seen was rising from several fires instead of from one.

16. It seems likely that this is the meaning here, though the construction is not very clear.

17. This construction, slightly different from the one above, would seem to intimate mere juxtaposition.

or three leagues along the coast he entered harbor ¹⁸ in which he anchored.

On June the eleventh he weighed anchor to go to a river which is on a point on the south side of the harbor. ¹⁹ As they sailed along those in the frigate saw a canoe anchored at the point, and immediately two Indians came out of the forest and got into the canoe to go away. The captain ordered Mateo Diaz, master of the frigate, to go to speak with them and to bring them to the frigate if they would come without being made captives or harmed. They came aboard willingly with Mateo Diaz and showed by signs where their village was, on the northwest side of the harbor. The captain took the frigate to that place, and at once other Indians came on board. The captain landed and went to the Indian village. There he found in the possession of the Indians two iron axes, a mirror, some pieces of cloth, small bells, knives and many other things made by the hands of Christians. The Indians explained by signs and some intelligible words that there had been at their village thirty-four men with a ship; that thirty-three of them had gone away and one had remained with them in that land and was now in a village which they said was called Usta. They said that they would send for him and he would come the next day when the sun should be high. The captain, having understood, sent two of the Indians to the other village to summon this Christian and gave them a piece of wood with a cross made upon it which they were to give the Christian as proof that there were Christians in the land. The Indian messengers departed at once, and at noon on the twelfth of June there appeared before the captain, in the presence of me, the scrivener, and of witnesses, the said Christian, clothed like the Indians of that country, who declared himself to be a Frenchman.

Immediately the captain ordered Mateo Diaz, master of the frigate, to calculate the latitude in order to know the location of the harbor. Mateo Diaz calculated it by the sun, the captain being present, and found it to be thirty-two and a third. Then the captain said that inasmuch as it was desirable to find out some

18. Whether the one described as visible is not clearly stated.

19. The translator concludes that the point was inside the harbor, but it is not specifically so stated. However, the captain must have seen the point from where he was anchored in the harbor.

things from this Frenchman in order to know what was to be done in this matter he was giving command that the man be sworn and his deposition taken. He therefore summoned him and called Martin Perez, one of the frigate's sailors who said he was French, who should translate into Castilian the things the Frenchman might say in his deposition which might not be understood. The two were then put under oath. The Frenchman swore to speak the truth in whatever he knew and might be asked concerning the matter in which they wished him to give evidence, and Martin Perez swore to translate into Castilian whatever the Frenchman might say what was not understood, without excepting or reserving anything. In acquittal²⁰ of the oath they said: "Thus I swear" and "Amen!"

The Frenchman was asked whether he is a Christian, what is his name and of what country he is a native.²¹ He replied that he is a Christian, that his name is Guillaume Rouffi,²² and that he is a native of Unfein²³ in the kingdom of France. Asked who brought him to these parts he replied that Captain Ribaut did. Asked by the captain from where was this Captain Ribaut, with what ships he came to these parts, what force of men and what artillery he brought, he replied that Captain Jean Ribaut was a native of Dieppe, France, that he came to these parts with two armed galleasses,²⁴ one of about 160 tons and the other of sixty, a shallop with three lateen sails, and two other, smaller shallops which, at sea, were carried on board the galleasses; that the large galleass carried a hundred men, twenty-five of whom were sailors and seventy five were arquebusiers, fifteen large brass cannon and two of smaller size and eight brass falcons,²⁵ besides other arms and ammunition; that the small galleass, captained by the Frenchman Finqueville, carried fifty men, three large guns, one smaller one and six falcons, all of brass, twenty-five arquebuses and other arms and ammunition.

20. This is a literal translation, but the translator does not know what is meant.

21. This ungrammatical sequence of tenses used in the original has been retained for the sake of its vividness.

22. Written *Rufin* in the Spanish original.

23. A mis-writing of some name. No such place appears on any map of France. The small town of Envermeu, near Dieppe, is as good a guess as any.

24. *Galazas de armada*, which might mean "navy galleasses."

25. The falcon was the light ordinance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

He was asked in what season and from what port they left France, and he replied that they sailed from New Havre ²⁶ in the kingdom of France on the first day of Lent of the year 1561. Asked by whose command and at whose cost the expedition had been arranged and what had been its destination, he replied that he understood the expedition to have been made up and sent out at the command and cost of the Queen Mother ²⁷ of France, the Admiral ²⁸ and Monsieur de Vendome, and that each of these gave one thousand ducats to equip the expedition; that it came directly to this coast of Florida to settle on the Point and River of St. Helena, and to discover whether it was a good location for going out into the Bahama Channel to capture the fleets from the Indies. This he knows because he heard it said by everyone and it was common knowledge.

He was questioned as to whether they explored any other territory or harbor of the Indies or any other parts before they arrived at this coast, and how long they were on the way. He said that after they left New Havre they neither entered any other harbor nor explored any other territory than this coast of Florida; that he had heard the pilot call the first land they saw Cape Florida near the Bahama Channel; that they were two and a half months on the way from France to this land. Asked whether they met on the ocean any other ship, he replied that he heard it said that the large galleass, having gotten separated from the small one in which he was, had met off Bermuda a Spanish vessel which was returning from the Indies, but that the French captain and his men did not wish to take the ship nor attack her; that they saw no other ship during the voyage.

He was asked whether any Spaniard came in the galleasses or whether the people were all French, also whether they were Protestants. ²⁹ He replied that the pilot they brought was a Spaniard called Bartolome who had with him a son called Bartolome, and that he heard it said that they were from Seville; that there was one Englishman and that all the rest were Frenchmen and almost all were Protestants; that there was one among them who preached the doctrines of Luther.

26. *Abranova*, which can scarcely be any other than Le Havre.

27. Catherine de Medici.

28. Coligny.

29. *Luteranos*, literally "Lutherans"; a term applied by the Spanish indiscriminately to all Protestant sects.

He was questioned as to whether the Frenchmen made a settlement or built a fort or set up anywhere any markers bearing the arms of France, and if so, in what places and on what harbors they placed them and where they are; whether there are other Frenchmen besides himself or what has become of the others. He answered that they set up a stone marker bearing the arms of France in the place on the coast where they first explored; that the galleasses entered a harbor three or four leagues south of this one and there set up another marker like the first one, that on a river a little nearer this way, on the same bay they built an enclosed house of wood and earth covered with straw with a moat ³⁰ around it, with four bastions, ³¹ and on them two brass falcons and six small iron culverins; that twenty-six men remained in this house and fort and the others returned to France; that Captain Ribaut commanded them to remain there and promised that within six months, for which length of time he left them supplies, he would return from France with more ships and many people, with cattle and other things, to settle that land. They did not set up any more markers, and of the five they brought from France three were taken back in the galleasses.

Asked whether he would know how to go where the fort and the markers are and in what latitude they are, he replied that he would know quite well how to go to the fort and to one of the markers, that it was possible to go up the river to them without going out to sea; that he saw the Spanish pilot and two Frenchmen calculate the latitude in the harbor, that the Spaniard said it was thirty-two and a quarter and that the two Frenchmen said it was exactly thirty-two; that the other marker is where he has said, but that he does not know in what latitude it is nor whether he could find the spot unless he could see the river there which he would recognize.

Questioned as to whether the twenty-six Frenchmen whom the captain left there are still in the fort, or what has become of them, he said that two of them were drowned in crossing a river in a canoe; that the one who had been left as captain over

30. *Cava* "dug-up earth"; probably a dry moat.

31. Fort Caroline was triangular; this one seems to have been built on the more usual quadrangular pattern.

the others one day struck a soldier with a club, that the soldier drew his sword and in struggling with him killed him; that he and the twenty-two others who remained, seeing that Captain Jean Ribaut did not come nor did any other Frenchmen, decided to go away to France and for that purpose built a twenty-ton boat near the fort; that when it was finished the Indians of the country gave them a number of ropes made of the strong bark of trees and they rigged the boat with these. The Indians also supplied them with native produce and fed them until they went away in the boat to the province of Guale which is just south of this place. There they were given some native blankets which they made into sails for the boat. Those Indians also gave them supplies. They then returned to this harbor, and the declarant, realizing that there would not be in the boat anyone who understood navigation, was not willing to go with them and remained among the Indians of this section where he has been until now. It is about fourteen months since they went away and no news of them has ever been received.

He was asked whether the two falcons and six culverins and the other arms they had were carried away in the ship or were left in the fort or in some other place. He answered that to his knowledge everything was taken away in the boat and nothing at all was left. Questioned with regard to the harbor where they built the fort and where the galleasses entered, whether it is a good harbor with a good entrance, he replied that he knows it to be a very good harbor with a good entrance and five fathoms or more of water in the channel, for he saw it sounded and is himself acquainted with it.

He was asked whether the galleasses entered any other harbor of this coast. He answered that they did not, for the shallows, used also for communication with the Indians, were used for sounding the mouths of the harbors further south to see whether there was enough depth for the galleasses which were anchored outside meanwhile; that a harbor with enough water in its channel was never found, or so said those who did the sounding.

Asked whether the French took away from this land any silver or pearls or other things, he replied that Captain Jean Ribaut took two or three small pieces of silver that a sailor had gotten in barter among the Indians of the province south of Guale, that he also took some pearls, deerskins, blankets and other native

things; that the twenty-two soldiers who went away in the boat took a hatful of pearls which their captain said he had obtained in trade with the Indians.

Questioned as to whether since he had been in this country he had seen or heard it said that there had come any ship or ships, Spanish, French or of any other nation, he answered that he has not seen any ship in this country except those he has described and the one in which he now is. He said that some two months ago, as he was going out in a canoe with some Indians to hunt deer and bears, they went out to a seacoast a league from this harbor and found thick timbers of a ship and rotted fragments of sail and four kegs³² of the sort that they call *corbillon* in France and he believes that the vessel was French, both because the French are accustomed to carry in their ships these kegs to take out biscuit and because the arms of France were stamped on them and on one of them was traced with the point of a knife a name, Jean Marin; also because the Indians of the section have told him that some fifteen days before, in a province called Suye which lies some thirty leagues to the north near a large river, they saw two large ships and two small ones out at sea, that one of the small ones, which little vessels the declarant thinks must have been the ships' boats, came to the shore and the Indians fled and would not communicate with those in the boat. That likewise he had heard the Indians say that something like two and a half years ago a large ship came to a province on this coast called Amy, which is a little way beyond the province of Suye; that it entered the harbor and the ship's people killed most of the Indians who were there, that very few escaped and fled;³³ that then the ship went away leaving there a fragment of iron cannon. He has not heard from these Indians that any Christians other than those mentioned have come to these parts. He swears to the truth of what he has said and declares himself to be about seventeen years of age. He did not sign the deposition as he says he does not know how to write, and the captain signed it. Some

32. The word translated "keg" is *cesta*, "basket", and is followed by the words, *de una palla cadu una* which are probably a reference to size, but the word *palla* is not in dictionaries. A *corbillon* used on ship-board is a keg for ship biscuit.

33. The Spanish construction, difficult to render in English, implies that these Indians sought refuge among those who were Guillaume Rouffi's informant's.

things in the deposition which he, Guillaume Rouffi, did not make clear in Castilian Martin Perez explained. The latter did not sign as neither does he know how to write. The deposition was read and was certified by Hernando de Rojas before me, Juan Guerra, scrivener.

That same day, on board the frigate, the captain declared that as Guillaume Rouffi was shown to be French and had come with the other Frenchmen to take possession of this land of Florida, had built a fort and placed there markers bearing the arms of France, he should be held prisoner under close guard on board the frigate and taken to the town of San Cristobal, Havana, and delivered to the governor to be dealt with as justice might demand. He then ordered that the fort and the markers which the French had built and placed be razed and demolished so that no vestige of them may remain. On June the thirteenth, in the presence of me, the scrivener, he declared that as it seems that the fort and the one marker bearing the arms of France are near this harbor and can be reached by going up the river, and as the tide ³⁴ is contrary and it is not possible to take the frigate there, and as it is proper for him to go in person to remove and destroy the fort and the marker in the presence of a recorder who shall certify the act according to the governor's orders, he has decided to go up the river in the frigate's boat. He then commanded Gonzalo Gayon, the pilot, that during his absence he, Gonzalo Gayon, was not to allow ashore anyone of those who remained with the frigate, that he was to maintain the usual watches and take all proper precautions for the safety of the frigate and the men in his charge. This command was formally pronounced in the presence of the said Gayon and duly witnessed.

That same day the captain embarked in the boat, taking with him me, the scrivener, and other persons from the frigate. Guillaume Rouffii, the Frenchman, led the captain to the place where was the fort ³⁵ the Frenchmen built. The place is distant two leagues on the arm of a river on a large harbor, one of two ³⁶ which are close to the southern edge of it. On arrival the cap-

34. *Tiempo* again.

35. *Casa*, "house." There is something faintly derisive in the application of this term to the French structure, which must indeed have been a very flimsy piece of construction.

36. Presumably, "two rivers."

tain and the persons with him found a house and fort ³⁷ which they entered, together with me, the scrivener, and witnesses. In it was found nothing at all. Then the captain commanded that the building be set on fire and burned, and he ordered me, the scrivener, to certify in writing that the house was burned and destroyed. I, the said scrivener, hereby certify and declare that it was burned and destroyed in my presence. Witnesses: Pedro de Torrea, Salinas, Martin Perez and others.

Then the captain went in the boat to another harbor where the stone marker was said to be, to the place where Guillaume Rouffi said it was. It was found on an elevation above an arm of the river of the harbor, somewhat back in the forest. It is of white stone, about the size of a man, and on the upper part of it is inscribed a shield with a crown above it and on the shield three *fleurs de lis*, and below these the character R. which Guillaume Rouffi says is the name in cipher of the Queen Mother of France whose name, he says, is Catherine. ³⁸ Below this are four Arabic numerals which read *1561*. By order of the captain this marker was taken down and thrown to the ground. ³⁹ Thereupon the captain, in the presence of me, the scrivener, had the stone marker put into the boat to be taken to the frigate and carried to the governor at Havana. This was done and witnessed.

On June the fourteenth, on board the frigate, the captain said that as it appeared evident that the French had not made any settlement beyond his harbor and had gone back to France, it was advisable to render to his Majesty prompt account of what has been found on this coast; that since time ⁴⁰ does not allow of re-exploration of the coast already passed in order to take away the other marker which Guillaume Rouffi says the French set up in the vicinity of the Bahama Channel, because Guillaume Rouffi says he does not know in what latitude it is, that therefore he is commanding Gonzalo Gayon, pilot of the frigate, present, to sail next day for Havana by the best and shortest route; that if before

37. A combination of dwelling and bastioned stockade, one gathers.

38. The character looks more like the letter R than like anything else and can scarcely have had anything to do with the name of Catherine de Medici. Probably it was merely the usual R, the symbol of royalty that stood for *Rex* or *Regina*.

39. Throwing the marker on the ground seems superfluous since it was to be taken up again, but doubtless it was a gesture meant to indicate the offense of its presence there.

40. Time or tide or weather. The word is once more *tiempo*.

passing the other side of Bahama the wind should again become favorable for long enough to allow of running the Florida coast he should put into harbor to go in search of the marker and do with it as was done with the other one, this being to the royal service.

On June the fifteenth Gonzalo Gayon sailed the frigate out of the harbor and announced his course as *via* the Lucayas *en route* for Havana, as the conditions were not favorable for coasting Florida.

Having inspected these proceedings of Captain Hernando Manrique de Rojas, His Excellency the Governor commanded me, the notary, to make an authorized transcript of them, signed and sealed, to be sent to His Majesty in order that he may know what has been done on this expedition to Florida. Thus he commanded. Witnesses: Juan de Ynestrosa and Antonio de la Torre, residents of this town, before me, Francisco Zapata, notary.

This transcript was made from the submitted copy of these affidavits.

Nicolas Lopez, secretary of the Royal Camara
(With his rubric)

* * *

Laudionniere relates that during his second (1564) visit to Florida he "sent Capitaine Vasseur to discover-along the coasts lying toward the north, and commanded him to sail unto a river, the king whereof was called Andusta, which was lord of that place-where those of the yere 1562 inhabited. . . . and make inquiry what was become of another, called Rouffi, which remained alone in those parts, when Nicholas Mason, and those of the first voyage embarked to return into France. They understood, at their arrival there, that a bark, passing that way, had carried away the same soldier; and afterward, I knew, for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had carried him to Havana." *A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida. Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, translated by B. F. French. (New York, J. Sabin and Sons, 1869), 285.

BRIEF ARTICLES

“EARLY BIRDS” OF FLORIDA

by WALTER P. FULLER

ST. PETERSBURG IS the proud and jealous owner of the title of home port of “The first regularly scheduled commercial Airline in the world.” This despite the fact it acquired the title quite accidentally; the unexpected result of a rather casual and typical publicity stunt sponsored by one of its early day flamboyant “characters,” one Noel A. Mitchell.

Mitchell hailed from Providence, Rhode Island. From the moment he arrived in St. Petersburg, in about 1909, until his death three decades later, he was the center of a gay and irresponsible whirl of publicity and personal promotion, usually harmless but frequently beneficial. For instance, in promoting his real estate business located at the corner of Fourth Street and Central Avenue, he placed green benches splashed with personal advertisements on the broad sidewalks of Central Avenue. These ended up as the now famous Green Benches of St. Petersburg. And fittingly enough, Mitchell was found dead on one on lower Central one gray morning after a long gay night.

Mitchell's first promotion of an airplane stunt ended in comic failure. He brought W. L. Bonney, one of the nation's first daring man birds, to St. Petersburg on February 19, 1912, for the advertised purpose of “looping the loop” and doing other stunts with his Wright biplane. A sandspit at Bayboro, the town's hopeful new harbor, was roped off, an admission of fifteen and twenty cents charged, with the plane to take off from the spit. Customers' cash totaled only \$186.75, as thousands stood outside the ropes at and on various vantage points instead of coming inside the ropes. Benney made a short tame flight, declaring he didn't propose to loop the loop at the risk of both his neck and his own money. Mitchell obligingly made up the deficit.

Naught deterred, Mitchell tried another aerial promotion almost two years later, which succeeded far beyond his original hopes.

Mitchell, enthusiastically aided by L. A. Whitney, later secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, and still later one of the

pioneer promoters of the Tamiami Trail, induced the Tom Benoit Flying Boat Company to send two of its new ships to St. Petersburg in charge of Percy E. Fansler. The boats arrived in crates on December 31, 1913, and they were hastily assembled by Anthony Habersack Jannus, the prospective chief pilot, and Jay Dee Smith, a local mechanic. Scene of operations was on the south side of the Second Avenue North Mole, now a part of the Central yacht basin.

A native of St. Louis, Missouri, Jannus had become famous on December 28, 1912, when he had flown a plane 2,000 miles from Omaha to New Orleans in continuous but not sustained flight, then the world record. He had been assisted by his brother Roger. Colorful, friendly, ebullient; he was the star of the whole show for its duration. Smith, still alive as this is written, a resourceful, sturdy mechanic, was primarily responsible for the remarkable record of punctuality for the scheduled flights eventually maintained.

Fansler arrived December 14, and the promotion was on. Twelve local citizens were first induced to pay \$100 each to subsidize the enterprize. The Chamber of Commerce matched this sum. The first official passenger flights on January 1 were auctioned off in as gaudy and exciting a performance as the little town had ever seen. Abe C. Pheil, mayor, and phosphate miner and dredger by profession, bid in the first flight for \$400. Victim of his own enthusiasm, Mitchell paid \$175 for the second, and H. Walter Fuller, active in steamboats, street cars, electric power, hotels, real estate, got the third as a \$100 bargain. The three men were flown to Tampa and back, Pheil going over against a head wind in twenty-three minutes, back in twenty-a distance of almost exactly twenty miles each way. The plane set down at Tampa in the Hillsborough River, south of the Lafayette Street bridge.

Actually, the day before the official "first flight," the first passenger had flown for free, he being James G. Foley, old showman turned real estate agent. The flight had been for the purpose of reassuring a very skeptical crowd of potential customers that the frail little craft could actually carry two persons.

Mrs. L. A. Whitney, wife of one of the promoters, was the first woman to take an "official" flight on the line, on January 8, despite the fact that on January 2 Miss Mae Peabody, of Dubuque,

Iowa, made a regular pay flight. The first night flight was made January 19.

Daily after January first, for a period of some eleven days, flights were made irregularly as pay passengers were available, sometimes to Tampa, sometimes not, depending on the nerve and cash outlay of the passenger. But the idea was born that actually gave historical significance to the episode which resulted in validating the claim to be the first scheduled airline in history.

On January 12, 1914, Edgar Ivey, St. Petersburg agent of Swift & Co., arranged for several hams and strips of bacon to be flown for pay from the Tampa warehouse of the company in answer to a legitimate order from Hefner's Grocery for a hurry up shipment of meat to counter some unexpected competition. The pay load was twenty-two pounds of ham, eighteen of bacon. There had been a semblance of commercial use before that; the St. Petersburg *Times* not having an engraving plant at the time had begun on January 2 to send its pictures to a Tampa engraver for processing. It had also begun to send daily a bundle of twenty-five copies of its paper to Tampa, as a feeble gesture of service and competition.

So about mid-January regularly scheduled round trip flights were run from St. Petersburg to Tampa, usually four a day, but a total of eight on January 20. Business was excellent during the Gasparilla celebration in Tampa, and the De Soto celebration a bit later. The daily flights continued until May 5, 1914, by which time the tourists had departed; the novelty wore off and the enterprise was discontinued.

But sturdy efforts had been made for permanent success. Two added boats had been brought down, on January 30 a pilot's training school had been started, and exploratory and promotional trips had been made to Pass-a-Grille and even as far as Sarasota. Only on February 21, when a storm badly roughed the Bay, were the daily schedules not met. The enterprise had been incorporated as the St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Company. Competition even had appeared in the form of a Curtiss plane. Tom Benoist himself had appeared on the scene and remained for several weeks.

The pilot's school attracted several students, the first graduate was Byrd M. Latham, Sr., who bought a ship, went to Conneaut Lake, Pennsylvania, for a successful summer of barnstorming, until a near fatal wreck suggested to him that the future

of the business was not too stable, whereupon he abruptly and permanently retired as a flier. He later achieved a distinguished business career that eventually included the presidency of the company owning the Gandy toll bridge connecting St. Petersburg and Tampa, and the presidency of the Florida Power Company. Mr. Latham is one of the few living survivors of the enterprise. His license was dated May 19, 1914.

As for Jannus, he eventually ended up as a flying instructor for the Russian government and was killed October 12, 1916, while testing a plane.

An amusing incident highlighted the unprecedented nature of the venture, when on January 6, a Mr. Whitney, port inspector at Tampa for the Steamboat Inspection Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor, demanded that the airships be equipped and licensed in accordance with the regulations for water ships. And he followed up on January 19 with a demand that the pilots be licensed and be fully equipped in accordance with water navigation laws.

The "ships" were biplanes with linen wings, 44.5 feet from tip to tip, powered with a 75 horsepower motor, pushing a single wooden propeller. Their total weight, unloaded, was 1,250 pounds.

Actually the over-water flight from St. Petersburg to Tampa even by 60 mile-an-hour airboats, had all the logic of success. The most effective competition was from the Favorite line of steamers, with two round trips a day at a dollar; trip time was about two and a half hours. The boats were practically never on schedule since they hauled freight as well as passengers. They were safe and comfortable, but a business errand to Tampa consumed a minimum of a day. By train the circuitous land route, some sixty-four miles, was slower and dirtier. The trip by automobile at that day was mostly a theory, actually tried mostly by daring sportsmen. But the time of reliability of motors and acquired flying habits by travelers was not yet, so the line died when the steam of enthusiasm ran out.

But it was eventually ruled that the line had operated long enough and with sufficient regularity to justify the title of "first," and a full-sized replica of the ship graces the Smithsonian, and a reduced replica, the St. Petersburg Historical Society.

REMINISCENCES OF A FLORIDA
PIONEER: JOHN M. MCINTOSH

by SAMUEL PROCTOR

COMPARATIVELY FEW PIONEERS of nineteenth-century Florida left accounts of their lives or the times in which they lived. So engrossed were they in constructing the material and cultural foundations of a new state that they had little time for recording their experiences and observations.

John McIver McIntosh, in his brief biography, relates the facts of his early life. Born in North Carolina of Scotch parentage, he moved to Tallahassee, Florida, when he was twenty-three. During the Seminole War he worked in the Quartermaster's Department and then drove an express stage between what is now Gilchrist and Taylor Counties. He settled in Marion County in 1842 and lived there until his death in 1888. During his lifetime he held a number of public offices in his county—justice of the peace, judge of the probate court, and chairman of the board of county commissioners. He served as secretary of the board of trustees of the East Florida State Seminary, the first state-supported institution of higher learning in Florida.

If his diary is any indication, McIntosh did not have much formal schooling. He was a man, however, who understood the responsibility that a citizen owes his community. He played an important role in the establishment and development of the public school system in his county and in the passage of many laws pertaining to police and fire protection, the securing of county records, the licensing of businesses, the grading of public roads and construction of bridges, and the advertising of Marion County. It is believed that he donated the land upon which the county courthouse was constructed and he helped stimulate the agricultural and business activity of the area. When he died on October 23, 1888, he was the oldest resident of the county. He was buried in the Jim Carter cemetery, about six miles west of Ocala on state road 27.

The diary, as McIntosh refers to it, was really a small, pocket-size book in which he wrote a resume of the first forty-six years of his life. It is likely that all of it was written at one time, rather than over a period of years. The book is presently in the possession of McIntosh's granddaughter, Mrs. Ralph Hamlin,

Tallahassee, Florida. A typed copy of the diary is in the University of Florida Archives.

John McIver McIntosh, the son of Murdock and Isabella McIntosh (deceased), were both natives of Scotland, but were brought to the state of North Carolina by their Fathers, Roderick McIntosh and Roderick McIver while in their infancy. Murdock¹ was raised an orphan in Wilmington and Cross Creek now called Fayetteville.² He lived there when Allen [sic] and Flora McDonald were the only citizens of the place before and at the Commencement of the Revolutionary War.³

Isabella McIntosh was raised in Moore County on Buffalo Creek⁴ where she was married and died on 20, 24, or 26th [of] Sept. 1824, and was buried on her Fathers old place by his side. Murdock McIntosh died 7th [of] March, 1843, and was buried at the same place. He was upwards of eighty years of age.

John M. McIntosh the youngest of nine children was Born the 2d of August, 1807,⁵ and Emigrated to Tallahassee, Florida in January, 1830, where he lived until 1831.⁶ In the fall he went to St. Marks,⁷ and in the month of July, 1832 him [sic]

1. Murdock McIntosh was born about 1763.
2. Fayetteville dates from 1739 when Scots, led by Colonel Alexander McAllister, settled a small community along the banks of the Cape Fear River named Campbelltown. In 1746-47 another group of Scotsmen established a gristmill and village at Cross Creek, about a mile northwest of Campbelltown.
3. Allan and Flora MacDonald lived in Fayetteville for a few months in 1774-75. Flora is famous for her support of Bonnie Prince Charlie, last of the Stuart pretenders to Britain's throne. After Charles' defeat at Culloden in 1746, Flora helped smuggle him to the Isle of Skye and then into France. Later she became a toast of London society and married Allan MacDonald, son of the Laird of Kingsborough. They emigrated to North Carolina in 1774 and participated in the Battle of Moore's Creek during the American Revolution. Allan was taken prisoner at this battle along with some 850 other Tories.
4. Moore County is in the south central part of North Carolina, and is about seventy miles northwest of Fayetteville.
5. McIntosh's birthplace is presumed to be Moore County, North Carolina.
6. Florida had been taken over by the United States in 1821, and its population grew rapidly. Most of the settlers moved in from the other southern states. Tallahassee, which had been selected in 1824 as the capital, and the surrounding area was the fastest growing section of the territory.
7. St. Marks was on the Gulf coast, twenty-eight miles south of Tallahassee. As early as the territorial period it was an important port town.
8. The Seminole War had begun December 31, 1835, and apparently

and C. L. Carruth went to Hicks Town in Madison County where [sic] he claimed as home until the middle of February, 1837, when he was employed by Capt. D. H. Vinton, United States Quarter Master as his Agent in the U. S. Qr. Masters Department for nine months at three dollars per day,⁸ and afterwards carried an express once a week from Fort White⁹ to Fort Pleasant¹⁰ four months at the same price, at the Expiration of which time I was induced to put up a Sutlers store¹¹ at Fort Macomb¹² on the Suwanee River where I lived in Camp until November 1839. I then went to Fort Fanning¹³ and remained there until 1840. I built a store at Wacahoota¹⁴ where I lived until 1842. I settled at Little Orange Lake in Marion County¹⁵ under the Act of Congress known as the Armed Occupation Act.¹⁶

In the year of 1843 I was appointed a Justice of the Peace and in 1845 Florida became a State and was changed from a Territorial government to a State government.¹⁷ The first State

McIntosh's work was connected with supplying the troops.

9. Fort White was on the south bank of the Santa Fe River, about two miles from its mouth, in what is now Gilchrist County. (Referred to on Drake's Map, 1840.)
10. Fort Pleasant was on the east bank of the Econfinee River in what is now Taylor County. (Referred to on Westcott's Map, 1857.)
11. A privately owned and operated army store in which provisions, whiskey, and supplies were sold to army personnel.
12. Fort Macomb was on the west bank of the Suwannee River below Charles's Ferry in what is now Lafayette County. (Referred to on Colton's Map, 1855.)
13. Fort Fanning was on the east bank of the Suwannee River, about five miles south of Wilcox, in what is now Levy County. (Referred to on the Topographical Engineering Map, 1856.)
14. The name of a station on the Seaboard Airline Railroad in Alachua County near Levy Lake. It appeared on the Taylor Map, 1839, as Watkahoote Fort.
15. This was one of the two oldest communities on Orange Lake. Before the Civil War it was one of the richest communities in Florida and many large plantations were located along the lake. The father of General J. B. Gordon of Georgia owned the plantation where the town of Orange Lake is now situated. (See *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, Special Edition, February, 1896, 50-51.)
16. The Armed Occupation Act of August 4, 1842, offered a quarter section of land to "heads of families and single men over eighteen years of age, able to bear arms, who should, within one year of the passage of the Act, make an actual settlement in that part of Florida lying south of the line dividing townships nine and ten." This line ran three miles north of Palatka and ten miles south of Newansville and included Marion County. (See Dorothy Dodd, "Letters from East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV [July, 1936], 50-51.)
17. After settling the controversy over whether Florida was to be one or two states, she came into the Union as the twenty-seventh state on March 3, 1845.

Legislator [sic] sat in July, 1845, at which Session I was appointed, and being the first, Judge of Probate for Marion County, and served 4 years.

In the year of 1847 I was Married on the 4th of October to Sarah Elizabeth Carter of Thomasville Georgia ¹⁸ I had got tired of keeping Bachlors [sic] hall which I had done for about 5 years and a part of the time my nearest Neighbor was 7 miles from my place.

In 1851, I sold my farm at Orange Lake and concluded to move to Ocala, and on the request of many of my Friends consented to be a candidate for the office of Judge of Probate, the law or constitution being altered so as to give the Election of all Judges to the People, and the first Monday in October, 1851, I was elected Judge of Probate for the two years by 65 votes. In 1853, I was again elected Judge of Probate by a majority of nearly two to one over my oponent Major Dixon the candidate of the Whig party. ¹⁹

My Brothers name is

Daniel M. McIntosh

P.O. Jones Borough

Moore Co. N. C.

My sisters are Margaret Coffee & Nancy McDuffee

P.O. Morristown N. C.

(In pencil on next page)

Isabella McIntosh born April 16, 1876

Died 1905

29

18. Sarah Elizabeth Carter was born in 1833, and died October 5, 1880, at the age of forty-seven. She was the daughter of Blake Anderson Carter, an early settler of Ocala, who died in 1858. Sarah Carter and John McIntosh were married in Ocala, October 8, 1847, by a Reverend Mr. Jones. There were five children born of this union: James Know Polk McIntosh (September 11, 1850-October 2, 1854), Asa McIntosh (March 2, 1853-May 21, 1953), John Mays McIntosh (March 22, 1854-January 28, 1855), George McIntosh (February 13, 1870-February 16, 1870), and Isabella McIntosh (April 16, 1876-June 18, 1905).

19. In 1848 the Whig Party in Florida elected Thomas Brown as governor by a majority of 499 votes and continued its control of the legislature. The party carried four counties in East Florida, including Marion County. The Whig Party, nationally and in Florida, was destroyed by the slavery controversy and related political issues. In the election of 1852 the Democrats of Florida carried the election. See Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "The Florida Whigs" (Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 194, and Edwin L. Williams, Jr., "Florida in the Union, 1845-1861" (Doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1951), 496.

FRED N. VARN'S ACCOUNT BOOK, 1869-1875

During the period following the Civil War, Florida slowly regained her economic balance, and a few industries began to prosper in a moderate sort of way. The interior part of the lower peninsula was hampered by a shortage of currency, and many persons resorted to a barter system. The records kept by Fred N. Varn, who operated a store and tannery on his farm situated two miles from Fort Meade, illustrate this type of barter.

Many of the pioneers of Hillsborough and Polk Counties were customers of Mr. Varn. A partial list of the names includes John Collier, J. B. Crum, Warren Carlton, William Durrance, Eli English, Francis A. Hendry, William Hayman, Albert Lanier, William Varn, E. B. Sparkman, William Ralerson and Willoughby Tillis.

Fred Varn's grandchildren recall his stories concerning the tannery and the store. Many Seminoles, led by Chipco, living on the shores of Lake Pierce, came to the store and traded skins for manufactured articles. One Indian woman even wanted to trade her brown-skinned baby for a blue-eyed, blonde, white-skinned child, but the storekeeper could not oblige her.

Mr. Varn was born in Lake City, August 30, 1847, and came to Polk County with his parents in 1852. He served in the Confederate Army and purchased a farm near Fort Meade in 1868. He died in 1929. His son, D. H. Varn of Fort Meade, allowed the use of the account book for the *Quarterly*. It must be noted that only parts of the accounts are used; consequently no reader should conjecture that his grandfather owed money to Mr. Varn which could not be collected.

| DR. | | W. WILLINGHAM | CR. | | |
|---------|------------------------|---------------|---------|--|---------|
| 1870 | | | 1870 | | |
| July | 1-Leather | \$ 3.75 | June | 27-hides | \$ 2.00 |
| Aug. 15 | Deer skin | 1.75 | Aug. 27 | - | 21.50 |
| | 26-repair saddle | 9.00 | | -3 bu potatoes | 1.50 |
| Sep. | 1-2 pr. shoes | 7.50 | | 30-3 ¹ / ₂ bu potatoes | 1.75 |
| | 3-repair saddle | 10.00 | Sep. | 1-hides | .80 |
| | 30-leather | 3.00 | | 30-hides | 2.05 |
| | - repair saddle | 10.00 | Oct. | 4-beef | 10.00 |
| Oct. | 4-repair boots | 2.00 | | - hides | 2.00 |
| | ----- | | Nov. | 6-hides | 1.60 |
| | | \$47.00 | | ----- | |
| | | | | | \$44.20 |

BRIEF ARTICLES

73

HENRY SEWARD

| | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------|-------|---------------------|
| 1870 | | | | |
| July | 26 | —amt forwarded | 16.30 | DR. |
| " | | —Cash | .40 | —tub |
| 28 | | —3 yards osnaburg | .81 | —½ bu meal |
| " | | —3 bu potatoes | 2.25 | —1 qr beef |
| Aug. | 3 | —1 qr beef | 3.00 | —order (unreadable) |
| " | | —bucket | .40 | —1 pr slippers |
| 6 | | —washboard | .50 | —2 lbs tallow |
| 9 | | —pr shoes | 3.00 | —coffee |
| 11 | | —5 bu potatoes | 3.75 | —bedstead |
| 15 | | —coffee | 3.00 | —12 lbs leather |
| 20 | | —2 bu potash | .80 | —order |
| " | | —cash | 1.00 | —½ bu meal |
| " | | —spoons | .50 | —tub |
| 25 | | —plates | .75 | —1 pr shoes |
| " | | —salt and beef | 6.75 | —tobacco |
| " | | —1 pr brogans | 3.00 | —½ bu meal |
| " | | —ink | .10 | —mdse |
| | | —2 bu potatoes | 1.00 | —coffee |
| | | —matches | .10 | |
| | | —L & R's account | 30.93 | |
| | | —3½ bu potatoes | 1.75 | |
| | | | | CR. |
| | | | | Amt. forwarded |
| | | | | 236.58 |
| | | | | 414.03 |

BOOK REVIEWS

Sun Circles and Human Hands: The Southeastern Indians Art and Industries. Edited by Emma Lila Fundaburk and Mary Douglass Fundaburk Foreman. (Luverne, Alabama, 1957. 232 pp. Plates, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

TWO OF THE MORE distinctive ritual design motifs of the prehistoric Southeastern Indians form an appropriate title for this pictorial survey of the archeology of our region. This is a different book, an unusual book, and above all an interesting book.

Essentially it is a picture book covering the crafts, decorative art, and symbolism of the area. The emphasis is on archeology from the earliest time to the historic period, with some use of more recent Indian material and depictions of Indians by the early European explorers to complement the prehistoric picture.

Chapters on Stone and Copper Work, Pottery, Wood, and Animal Products (Bone, Antler Shell) all depict a wide coverage of crafts. While art styles and designs are incidentally presented in the consideration of other topics, a special chapter is devoted to Symbolism. Here a great variety of design motifs, especially those associated with the Southern Cult are illustrated. This probably represents the greatest concentration of these motifs in a single publication.

The introductory chapter and some of the plate captions were written by Miss Fundaburk; the remainder of the text and captions, all of which occupy less than half of the total pages, is a composite of short and long quotations from the work of many writers on the area. As a result the text is uneven in presentation, and unfortunately it fails to present an integrated summary of Southeastern archeology.

However, the real value of the book, and it is considerable, lies in the illustrations. In pure photographic value almost all are excellent in quality and reproduced on an adequate scale on fine paper. Here we have brought together for the first time the largest cross section of Southeastern material culture. Few local specialists have complaint that their area has been slighted.

For the casual reader or amateur archeologist this pictorial assemblage will open a whole new world. Most of the specimens

illustrated are familiar to the professional, yet to have some of these items brought together for the first time is illuminating. In this respect one major contribution of the volume is its coverage of Alabama. Little material on this state has been published before and most of that in obscure journals. The reviewer, at least, has found the material here very helpful.

The Florida reader will find his state well represented. One whole chapter is devoted to the exotic wooden material from Key Marco, including pictures of specimens, and long quotations from Cushing's little known report. Other aspects of the state are also considered, and the coverage of wooden artifacts is recent enough to include the newly discovered Owl "totem pole" from the St. Johns River.

For artists and designers this book will provide an unending source of authentic material, for the amateur scholar and collector it will provide abundant comparative material, and for the general reader an awareness of the richness of our aboriginal heritage. I would strongly recommend that this book be placed in every school and public library in Florida. It will answer many of the questions that are posed every day to teachers and librarians.

The editors should be complimented on the considerable task of gathering so much material from many sources and organizing it so well. Not the least is the excellent design and format of the book. It is esthetically pleasing and easy to read and handle. We can look forward with much anticipation to the editor's next book - the Southeastern Indians as seen pictorially by the early travelers and explorers.

JOHN M. GOGGIN

University of Florida

The Travels of William Bartram. Naturalist's Edition. Edited by Francis Harper. (New Haven, Yale University Press. 1958. 727 pp. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, annotated index, general index. \$8.50)

THE LABORS OF A REVIEWER entail many more problems than reading a book and writing something about it. The above work haunted this reviewer for almost a month and the present report represents more searching and re-evaluation of opinions than six

books should provoke. Part of the strain comes from the fact that the present reviewer is an historian and not a botanist or an ornithologist. But the long reading of books does serve as a basis of judgment on this particular book.

The present volume is not a run of the mill production. Its 727 pages contain a great deal more than merely another edition of Bartram's *Travels*. For Mr. Harper, the work is a capstone of an interest of forty-odd years in Bartram and the area of the *Travels*. He retraced the Bartram journeys and laboriously located and collated supporting scholarship around the classic which is still the reason for the book. Of course, Harper had the inside track to produce such a work as he did. Being in the Bartram Association, he was in a fine position to promote his life's ambition and he worked hard and well toward his goal. He received two grants for the field work necessary for his book. A grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society financed field trips in 1939 and 1940. A two-year Guggenheim fellowship in 1950-2 aided in the editorial phases of the book. Cost of printing the work was underwritten by the Bartram Association, the John Simon Guggenhteim Memorial Foundation, the Longwood Foundation and eleven individual donors. With this kind of backing, the book could be just what Mr. Harper wanted it to be. Costs were not a factor, editorial direction was not an impediment or a restraint and Yale Press did not care how long the book was.

The plan of the book is an elaborate one. The space given to reproducing the original edition of Bartram's *Travels* in its 1791 form constitutes less than half the length of the book. The present printing of the *Travels* takes up 332 pages for the 522 pages of the original. Mr. Harper reconciles this difference by inserting into the present text the original pages of the first edition in square brackets even if he has to break up a word to do it. Succeeding the Bartram story is a Commentary of 89 pages which is largely the account of Harper's retracing Bartram's route of 1773-7 through modern southeastern United States. This he felt necessary in order to locate in modern, definite locations the various plants, trees and animals which Bartram mentioned.

The Commentary is rough going for Botanist Harper, as well as the reader, but the author never loses courage and approximates

where he cannot be definite. Mr. Harper, with modern maps and local guides, always knew where he was, but he frequently could not locate Bartram. Proof for this claim can be had by reference to pages 371-2 of the Commentary on Bartram's journey from Big Wacassassa River toward Long Pond in northern Florida in June 1774. In a fourteen line paragraph on these pages, Harper is conjecturing where Bartram was. He resorts five different times to vague expressions to cover for his hero: "seems to have extended," "as evident, in part, at least," "perhaps in part," "apparently," and "seems to have been."

The language of the Commentary, since Harper supports his opinions by references to authority is very involved and intricate. The following example illustrates the contention and also shows the author trying to locate where Bartram had been:

He seems to mention either one too many or one too few crossings of the river. The main path down the Vale of Cowee was evidently on the west side of the river (Hunter's Map of 1730; *Crown Coll.*, ser.2,3: 35, 1910; Drayton, 1821,2: map facing p.343). The crossing in the vicinity of Estatoah Falls must have been from east to west, although the narrative seems to indicate the opposite.

The Commentary is followed by a 240 page Annotated Index. Here again the author refers to the pages in the edition of 1791 rather than to the edition of the *Travels* in the book. This part of the work lists the scientific names of flora and fauna, locations, persons and other index material. In spite of the elaborate detail of this section, Harper later gives a 24 page index to the complete, present volume. The Annotated Index, due to its exact nature, has the curious reader shaking his head, just as he did in the Commentary. When Harper lists a bird by its common name, he then directs the reader to look up the scientific name. The index lists 11 ducks by their common or vulgar names. In each case, the reader is directed to the scientific name in the index. This system of referral obstructs the reader from finding out what he wants to know and tires him out in the search. The reviewer, having read every word of this book, will venture the observation that all readers, even the members of the Bartram Association, are more familiar with the common names of plants and animals than they are with their scientific listings. The readers, amateur and professional, are separated from their curiosity and interest by these professional roadblocks.

In final retrospect on Francis Harper's labor of love, perhaps an observation on William Bartram will not be out of place. William Bartram was a lover of nature in the French fashion of Rousseau, who believed that there was both plan and purpose in nature and humanity and that man could learn much from a study of plants and animals. Before he became a writer of botany, Bartram had been a triple failure in commercial enterprises. His father took him on a trip to Florida in 1765-6. Later, in 1773-7, he undertook his southern journey for a patron, Dr. John Fothergill of London who subsidized the *Travels* at 50 pounds a year and expenses. Bartram was to discover useful plants in the south and send specimens and drawings to Fothergill. He did this for three years until the outbreak of the American Revolution terminated the arrangement. Some of the Bartram drawings and specimens are still in the British Museum. Bartram was advised to keep notebooks of his travels and observations which, in part, he did but we do not have his notes for his four years in the south complete. The *Travels*, thus, were partly written from memory which accounts for wrong dates and location errors.

A reading of the *Travels* quickly shows that Bartram was easily transported by the beauties of nature he saw. He would stop all travel to observe the customs of a bird or an animal and would memorize photographically the technical features of a new plant. He has a great amount of botanical listing of plants and trees he identified. But these appear as whole paragraphs in the text and usually as a sort of summary of what he saw on a day's journey. However, his sharp eye always caught the beauty of the countryside and he rhapsodized in timeless poetic prose things he thought worth passing on to posterity.

NATHAN D. SHAPPEE

University of Miami

Memphis During the Progressive Era, 1900-1917. By William D. Miller. (Memphis, Memphis State University Press; Madison, American History Research Center, 1957. xiii, 195 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$4.50.)

THE UNITED STATES should have more local history writing of this caliber. In this book, Professor Miller has given us one of the best balanced, most thoroughly documented, and completely

readable histories of a locality which this reviewer has seen. Though dealing with but a seventeen year span of Memphis history and focusing on the progressive movement, the author introduces his story with a chapter that surveys the decades leading up to 1900 in such a manner as to set the general scene in very satisfying style.

The story is not exclusively political, nor is it a mere catalogue, a chronicle of happenings. It is a well balanced narrative which weaves together the strands of social, economic, and political history in such a compelling way that the reader actually seems to glimpse the physical appearance of the city and its changes; he senses the vibrant and chaotic life of Beale Street with its color, its squalor, its teeming social disorganization; he views with understanding the mixed cultural currents of old South, frontier West, uprooted rural whites, and freed Negroes which unite in an urban melting pot which more often resembles a witches' bubbling cauldron; he vicariously visits the saloons, the gaming houses, and the brothels, and can almost hear, with the author, the old-timers recounting "with pride their personal roles in establishing its reputation for sin"; he watches with satisfaction the growth of city water systems, electricity, gas, sewerage, parks, and a public health authority; and through it all the reader is made to see how temporary, how outward, how ineffective were so many of the "reforms" of the progressives.

Professor Miller portrays the progressive reform movement as a pragmatic, superficial, and indeed fitful movement which was concerned with forms rather than realities, with symptoms rather than deep-seated causes. He seems to imply that such a movement was bound to leave little permanent change (except in material things) on a city beset with the deeply rooted problems that faced Memphis in the early twentieth century. He draws his story to a close with the rise of Edward H. Crump to power. "Boss" Crump rose on the wave of the progressive movement, which Miller judges to have been but one phase in the man's political career. Though Crump had been moved by the humanitarian aspect of progressivism, its social welfare notions, and its contempt for vested interests and special privilege, he saw that strong leadership would be needed to bring about the desired changes in his reckless, lusty, brawling young city-and he was

willing to forge that leadership. In the doing he improved tremendously the material welfare of Memphis, but he simultaneously nurtured a virtual despotism in city hall which deposed its opponents and persecuted them even after rendering them harmless.

With the coming of World War I the progressive movement dissolved in Memphis and elsewhere and Memphians closed their eyes to local evils in order to see better distant ones. The author closes on a thought-provoking, but depressing, account of the way Memphians brutally burned and dismembered an idiot Negro, suspected of murdering a white child, during the same days that they were attending patriotic rallies to hear that the great issue facing them was the threat of Germany's destroying civilization. "Memphis," Professor Miller concluded, "was still chasing devils in the easy way of the progressive movement, blind to the devil in its own heart."

One more familiar with the sources of Memphis history than is this reviewer might be critical of the author's major reliance on only one newspaper, the *Commercial Appeal*, but he does not seem to have allowed this reliance to cloud his viewpoint or unbalance his judgment.

Floridians will regret that Professor Miller, a native of Florida and a graduate of her University, has not turned his talents to the writing of Florida history. Nonetheless, any prospective writer of local history will do well to examine this volume before beginning his researches.

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

University of Florida

Inside the Confederate Government; the Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean. Edited by Edward Younger. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1957. xxxvi, 241 pp. Frontispiece. \$5.00.)

THIS HITHERTO unpublished manuscript is an important contribution to Confederate history. From now on, one would not dare to write the story of the Confederacy or even make conclusions regarding leaders of the Confederate government without consulting this diary. It joins two other important contemporary accounts, John B. Jones,' *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* and Mary

Boykin Chesnut's, *A Diary From Dixie*, to form the basis of study of the internal workings of the Confederate government. Robert Garlick Hill Kean, as reflected in his diary, was a well-informed, analytical official who wrote well and who attempted to be honest in his writing.

An attorney, Kean had graduated from the University of Virginia. His wife was formerly Jane Nicholas Randolph, niece of George Wythe Randolph. Kean served in the Home Guard unit of Lynchburg, Virginia, his home town, and began his diary while in the army in September, 1861. For five and-one-half months he wrote of military life, even then showing an analytical mind in military matters. When his uncle (by-marriage), General Randolph, was made Secretary of War, Kean accompanied him to Richmond, where he soon became Head of the Bureau of War. The greater part of the diary covers this period from February, 1862, to April, 1865, while he held the office. The last part of the diary describes the defeat and occupation of the South, and the beginnings of Reconstruction.

The diarist rather confirms many suspicions and conclusions about activities "inside the Confederate government," of which both Chesnut and Jones have informed us. Kean, like the other two, expressed the despair, gloom, and feeling of futility common in Richmond in the late war years. Like the war clerk and Charleston analyst, Kean expressed a very strong tie to his home state, a feeling common in the South and one which weakened the Confederacy. He wrote, "Virginia must fight her own battles, defend as best she may her own soil and in so doing defend the whole eastern part of the Confederacy." Explaining that this could be done if her soldiers were given back to her, Kean declared, "I love her [Virginia] dearer in her days of tribulation than in her prosperity, and while life is spared me I will fight in her behalf as long as a foe is on her soil." Indicating his honesty in not rewriting his diary at a later date, Kean penciled in the margin of the above remark "Alas! Alas!," dated January, 1866. If the value of the Jones and Chesnut works is diminished by their being "gossipy," the value of Kean's work as a description of the internal workings of the government is decreased because of his intense preoccupation with the military, and sometimes wrong conclusions in regard to it. Of course, one suspects after reading Kean's diary, that Jones and Chesnut have no monopoly on gossip.

There is value in the succinct descriptions of personalities of the Confederacy which are found in Kean's diary. Seddon is described as "physically weak . . . a man of clear head, strong sense, and firm character but from long desuetude, wanting in readiness in dispatching business." A pen picture of Judge Campbell is effected by saying of him, "Judge Campbell is invaluable; his capacity of labor infinite; his breadth of view great. His endorsements are so judicial, deciding questions rather than cases [that] they perplex the red tapists who complain that they do not decide the case." Other personalities received the action of Kean's sharp mind and pen.

The diary offers an important contribution by describing the evacuation process and the flight of governmental officials from Richmond. From Kean's description, and if his experience were typical, here were few authoritative directions or orders given in regard to records and archives in the act of evacuation. Kean confirms the premise that there was a lack of constructive and persevering Confederate statesmanship (especially in the Hampton Roads Peace Conference, but generally throughout the war), that there was an absence of "a Representative [*sic.*] Man [*sic.*], a leader in the council as well as in the field who should comprehend and express the movement." Kean concluded, "We had no one who approached it." The diarist, in treating of the causes of the South's failure and defeat, asserts that the above was a pervading cause.

Kean is trustworthy, but must be considered as having minor prejudices, whether known or unknown to himself. The reader, for example, cannot help noticing a slight antagonism toward Davis from the beginning. Kean's favoritism for Randolph, a relative and an object of admiration, also creeps through, as does a slight bias toward Campbell. This is to be expected in any diary, of course, but the reader must be aware of these and other slight leanings in order to appraise rightly the writing. Despite these minor prejudices, Kean was usually fair enough to admit in his diary that on occasions he had been wrong. The remark, "I incline to think this suspicion of mine did General Cooper injustice," appearing in the margin beside a charge formerly made against the Adjutant and Inspector General, whom Kean seemed especially to dislike, confirms this honesty.

An additional value of Kean's diary, overlooked by some of the reviewers, is the last section, which concerns the emancipation in Virginia; its effect on the labor supply, on the Negro, the planters, and the beginning of Reconstruction, when "the most intricate and variously conditioned of all social problems is dealt with off hand by petty officials, mere youths, without enlightenment or culture and profoundly ignorant of the subject over which they assume to legislate."

The editing of Professor Younger increases the value of the diary. His commendable introductions, footnotes, bracketed explanations and index make the work more readable and usable. All Civil War historians, especially, are indebted to him for making this diary available.

DURWARD LONG

University of Florida

NEWS AND NOTES

News of Local Historical Societies

Before it is too late. The startling pace of fast-moving Florida today affords the history-minded Floridian an exceptional obligation to record the passing scene before it is too late. The tape-recording of reminiscences is especially important. A collection of current photographs (newspaper editors can be most helpful) with detailed identifications, will prove an invaluable addition to your archives. There are ways in which you can collect today for your historical library of tomorrow.

For the initial organization of a historical society, or as a refresher, the following publication will be of special help: *Organizing a Local Historical Society* by Clement M. Silvestro, Executive Secretary, The American Association for State and Local History, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin. Additional copies to members of that Society, \$.50; non-members, \$.75 a single copy.

The Lake Worth Pioneers Association elected Will H. Sanders, Inverness, as its president at the May meeting of the group held at Pioneer Park, West Palm Beach. Other officers elected were Thomas T. Reese, Jr., Palm Beach, first vice president; Mrs. D. F. Dunkle, West Palm Beach, second vice president; Stafford B. Beach, Hypoluxo Island, treasurer; Mrs. Louis P. Spencer, West Palm Beach, secretary and Mrs. Claramae Allen, West Palm Beach, historian.

The meeting featured several talks reminiscing of the early days in the area and in other parts of the state. Approximately 130 persons were in attendance at the meeting and picnic lunch.

The Martin County Historical Society has started a "Library of Living History." The Old-Timers May meeting and picnic at the Civic Center in Stuart was fully tape-recorded for the library. Plans have been made to interview many of the area's pioneers.

Ernest F. Lyons, speaking before the Society's annual meeting, called attention to the rich history of the county and sug-

gested that a book be written on its little-known early history, after thorough search of source materials. He credited David O. True of Miami with uncovering evidence that the first land-fall in Florida could well have been in the vicinity of Martin County.

Claude O. Rainey is president of the Society. Serving with him are Mrs. John W. Stokes, vice president; William Porter, treasurer and Miss Lillian Armstrong, secretary. Stephen Schmidt is the director of the House of Refuge Museum. The Martin County Historical Commission, created in August of last year, operates the museum jointly with the Society.

Mrs. C. E. Shaw of Eustis was reelected president of the Lake County Historical Society at its April meeting. Miss Elizabeth D. Burleigh, Tavares, was named vice president; F. E. Owens, Tavares, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Doris Babb, Tavares, corresponding secretary and Miss Jean Macdonald, Tavares, librarian. The following will serve as directors: Mrs. Albert Goodwin, G. G. Ware, Leesburg, L. D. Edge, Groveland, J. C. Cowart, Mascotte, Oakley Seaver, Clermont, C. B. Treadway, Tavares, O. M. Simpson, Mount Dora, T. Stin Haselton, Eustis, H. Light-foot, Umatilla and Fred Cross, Altoona.

The Society publishes an interesting leaflet, "Lake County Then and Now," on the history of the area.

Charlton W. Tebeau of the University of Miami was the guest speaker at the January meeting of the St. Lucie Historical Society in Fort Pierce. Dr. Tebeau reviewed his recently published book, *Florida's Last Frontier*, and showed colored slides of the southwestern coast of Florida, the scene of the book.

Although this Society is relatively new, its interesting monthly meetings have resulted in a growing membership. Sound recordings of programs and of interviews are featured.

The Palm Beach Historical Society heard lively stories of the early days in Palm Beach at its January meeting. Charles L. Pierce of Fort Lauderdale, whose grandfather pioneered in

the area a mere 80 years ago, was the narrator. How the palm trees came to Palm Beach, the first schooner service to Jacksonville, the first hotel, the excitement of the first election and unusual features of the mail service were among the many incidents told.

Rembert W. Patrick, who holds the first Julien C. Yonge graduate research professorship at the University of Florida, spoke before the April meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society. Research materials and facilities at the University available to local historical groups were discussed by the speaker.

James C. Craig, Society president, and other officers were reelected for the coming year. The Society plans to issue *Papers*, Volume IV, late this summer.

Plans for the publication of a short history of Fernandina Beach have been made by The General Duncan L. Clinch Historical Society of Amelia Island. President William Galphin has appointed the following members to serve on publications and finance committees: William L. Webb, Mrs. Carol Barcus, George Hitchcock, Jr., Robert White and Reed Lewellen.

A membership newsletter, inaugurated last year, has aroused special interest with news of source material discoveries. For example, Charles W. Arnade and Bill Griffen, working in the Stetson Collection at the University of Florida, found detailed records of a wooden stockade known as the "Mission of St. Catherine." The Society is now busily searching for the site of this structure. William I. Hair, Florida State University, a recent speaker before the Society, has supplied evidence that still another flag, the ninth, flew over Amelia Island.

Samuel Proctor, University of Florida, author of *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat*, spoke before the Society in March on filibustering activities at Fernandina Beach during the Spanish American War. Hale Smith, Florida State University, has assisted the Society in excavating a recently discovered site and spoke to the group on "Archaeological Methods of Dating."

Wayne E. Withers, Miami, was elected president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida at its annual meeting in April. Charlton W. Tebeau, elected vice president, is also editor of the Society's excellent annual publication, *Tequesta*. Other officers are August Burghard, second vice president; Justin P. Havee, executive secretary; Miss Virginia Wilson, recording and corresponding secretary; Robert M. McKay, treasurer and Mrs. Andrew J. Moulds, librarian.

Dr. Richard D. Mudd spoke at the Society's February meeting before an enthusiastic and record audience. His paper, "The Lincoln Assassination and Imprisonment of the Conspirators" brought out new facts surrounding the imprisonment at Fort Jefferson of his grandfather, Dr. Samuel Mudd who treated John Wilkes Booth.

The St. Augustine Historical Society is undoubtedly the most active group in the state in the fields of historic publication and of research. Translation of pertinent documents in the Stetson Collection and archaeological excavations currently highlight the Society's research projects. Hale G. Smith, Florida State University, in cooperation with the St. Johns County Commission, has uncovered the foundations of the old power magazine used during the second Spanish occupation. The discovery of glazed roof tile fragments was the first evidence of its use in St. Augustine. This summer Dr. Smith will conduct investigations of other sites within the Old City area.

Mrs. Marmaduke Hamilton Floyd of Savannah spoke at the April meeting of the Society on "The Island of Minorca Today, its Archives and the Historical Background of the Minorcans of Florida." Mrs. Floyd spent the last six months in Minorca.

A leaflet outlining the principal events in the history of St. Augustine has been released by the Society. This "Capsule History" is designed for readability and attractiveness. (Other historical societies could well take note . . . and write the St. Augustine Society for copies.)

The Restoration of St. Augustine Program

Copies of the report on the restoration of St. Augustine are available from the Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, Tallahassee.

hassee. The report was prepared by a Special Advisory Committee to the Park Board, appointed by Governor LeRoy Collins.

A Gift From Spain

In a colorful ceremony at the Spanish Embassy in Washington on October 11, 1958, Under Secretary of the Interior Elmer F. Bennett accepted for the United States a gift of a rare set of antique Spanish military weapons from the Government of Spain presented by the Spanish Minister of the Army, Lt. Gen. Antonio Barroso Sanchez-Guerra.

The weapons, seven in all, are similar to those used by Spanish soldiers at various times during the Spanish-English struggle for southeastern America from the mid-16th through the 18th century. They will be used by the National Park Service as exhibits at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument in St. Augustine, to help interpret for the American people the story of the Spanish garrisons that were stationed at the famous old Spanish fort for periods covering 250 years. Other antique arms shipments will follow.

In appreciation for the unique gift, Under Secretary Bennett presented to General Barroso, in behalf of the Department of the Interior's National Park Service, a gold-sealed gift certificate and a framed copy of an 1835 Audubon color engraving of a shore bird against the background of Castillo de San Marcos.

Under Secretary Bennett commended General Barroso for his efforts in having the arms shipped from the Museum of the Spanish Army in Madrid, where they have been preserved over the years, and for taking time out from his inspection tour of U. S. military installations to make the presentation. He also paid tribute to the Spanish Military Attache, Colonel Miranda, whose first visit to Castillo de San Marcos two years ago inspired him to seek the gift of the weapons from his government.

One of the most interesting of the museum pieces is a 16th century matchlock musket, the principal arm of the Spanish infantry from about 1540 to 1710. The octagonal-barreled musket was discharged by bringing a lighted wick into contact with the powder.

Other weapons in the donated collection include a 16th century knife by the celebrated Spanish knifemaker, Juan Sedacho of Toledo; a 16th century wheel lock musket encrusted with

copper and brass; three 18th century pieces: a flintlock pistol, a Spanish halberd with four-sided point and axehead, and a brass-mounted knife adapted for placing in the bore of a gunbarrel for use as a bayonet; also, a 19th century flintlock carbine. (From a National Park Service News Release, October 11, 1958.)

The Francis Copp Home

A few years ago, the late Dr. Francis Copp offered his historic home (known as the Chalker House) in Middleburg to the Florida Historical Society. The Society regretfully declined the gift for financial reasons. It is a pleasure to learn that the house will be preserved by its present owner, Randolph C. Griffith of Orlando. Mr. Griffith is a descendant of the Chalker family of Middleburg.

The Audubon House in Key West

Colonel Mitchell Wolfson of Miami has purchased the Audubon House in Key West thereby saving this historic building from destruction. The house will be restored and converted into a museum honoring John James Audubon. It was in the garden of this house that Audubon painted "The White Crowned Pigeon," one of the paintings in his *Birds of America*. Colonel Wolfson's generosity is worthy of the sincere appreciation of the people of Florida.

A Plea

Your News and Notes Editor needs copy from all local historical societies. Please send information on activities, meetings, elections. Details on newly formed societies are especially desired. The same for historical commissions.

College history departments are urged to send personal notes on new staff members, activities of personnel, publications.

Address correspondence to News and Notes Editor, Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 3645, University Station, Gainesville, Florida.

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LUCY L. WENHOLD was Head of the Romance Language Department at Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and during her lifetime contributed many articles to the *Quarterly*. Her report on the French Settlement was given to the *Quarterly* by her daughter, Mrs. E. A. Veazie of Summit, New Jersey.