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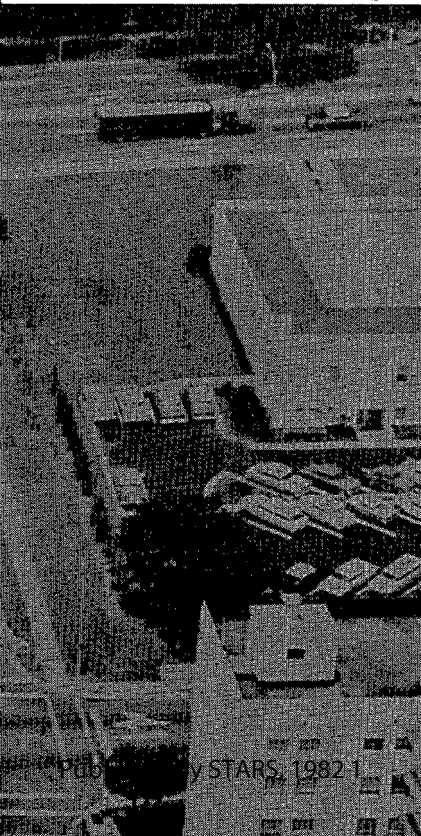
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COVER

Aerial view of the Florida State Capitol, as it appeared during the mid-1960s, prior to the construction of the new capitol building. Photograph is from the Florida Photographic Collection of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

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## FLORIDA'S CAPITOLS

by LEE H. WARNER

**I**N mid-1982, after years of debate over the ultimate fate of its old capitol, a decision to restore part of the structure, over \$7,000,000 spent, and four years of actual restoration work, the old building was again opened. By that time the executive and legislative branches of government were well settled in the new capitol and, surprising no one, expecting to construct still more office buildings to house their activities.

For the first time in its history Florida has two capitols. Both, in their own way, are magnificent structures, and in their juxtaposition they are more pleasing, more valuable, and more symbolic than they could be alone. The contrasting architecture gives visual confirmation of their essential unity— and diversity. Together they speak to the past and the future of the state and its people.

What is now the state of Florida was, under Spanish and British dominion, two political entities with two capitols— St. Augustine and Pensacola. Following the transfer of sovereignty to the United States in 1821, the Territorial Council first met in Pensacola the following year, and then in St. Augustine in 1823. Recognizing the obvious problems in institutionalizing such an arrangement, the council set in motion events which resulted in Tallahassee being proclaimed the seat of government on March 4, 1824. The third session of the Territorial Council assembled there in November of that year.<sup>1</sup>

With these acts began the history of Florida's capitols. The first was a log cabin, hastily built by Jonathan Robinson to serve temporarily. It was located, tradition says, just to the south of

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1. "Journal of Dr. W. H. Simmons, Commissioner to Locate the Seat of Government of the Territory of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* I (April 1908), 28-36; "Journal of John Lee Williams, Commissioner to Locate the Seat of Government of the Territory of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* I (April 1908), 37-44; (July 1908), 18-29.



the present capitol square. The second capitol was constructed in 1826, a masonry building designed by Robert Butler, a military aide and friend of Andrew Jackson.<sup>2</sup> It was planned as the northern portion of a much larger building to be completed sometime in the future. Money for the structure would come from the sale of lots in the town that was then being laid out. These funds, however, were insufficient to complete even the portion of the design ultimately erected, and the council was forced to provide additional funds from other sources to complete that part of the building.<sup>3</sup>

The Butler capitol was visually pleasing, and it could probably have been successfully integrated into the larger building. But it was not to be. As the battles over Florida statehood approached their inevitable conclusion, there was a demand for a new capitol. By 1838, Charles Downing, Florida's delegate to Congress, was bemoaning the dilapidated state of the Butler capitol.<sup>4</sup> He and his Tallahassee sponsors wanted Congress to appropriate money for a new building.

It is hard to accept Downing's characterization of the decrepit state of the building. Perhaps it was in poor repair— although the Comte de Castlenau's picture of it in 1838 gives an opposite impression. But in any case, if there were craftsmen in Tallahassee capable of creating a new capitol, they could have easily and economically repaired and completed the Butler capitol.

That course, apparently, got little consideration. Most of the appeal for the new building came from conservatives (proto-Whigs)— not Democrats, although the latter made no effort to prevent any congressional appropriation. Conservatives had won control of the national House of Representatives in 1838, and they also controlled the Florida territorial government. These men undoubtedly realized that spending public money was one

---

2. See *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, March 12, 1825, for the general specifications required by the commissioners of the Tallahassee Fund.

3. It was a masonry structure. The only known graphic illustration of it is by Francis de Castlenau who sketched it in 1837-1838. The drawing appeared in his *Vues et Souvenirs de l'Amerique de Nord* (Paris, 1842). Butler also evidently drew the plans for at least part of the First Presbyterian Church in Tallahassee.

4. C. Downing to I. H. Bronson, January 16, 1839, in U.S. Congress, House *Reports of Committees*, No. 229, "Public Buildings in Florida" (Committee on Territories), 25th Cong., 3d Sess.

proven way to build political parties. They were also aware that the nation and the state were floundering into a serious depression. Any method of getting new money into Florida was worth consideration. Knowing that other territories had received money for new capitols, that the expense for renting space outside the capitol was increasing; and that the next session of the council would be the first time that there would be a two-house legislature in Florida, it seems only natural that the politician would plan big. Territorial Governor Richard Keith Call, in his 1839 message to the legislature, repeated the obvious: either complete the Butler capitol or build a new one.<sup>5</sup> This time Congress responded with \$20,000, and the Florida legislature promptly authorized a new building.<sup>6</sup>

The territorial government did not construct the capitol itself. Instead it authorized the commissioner of the Tallahassee Fund to do the job. This same institution, with slight changes only, had built the Butler capitol. It was still active since it had not yet settled all the lawsuits arising from the decade-old construction.<sup>7</sup> Now it would build the new capitol. The choice of the commissioner of the Tallahassee Fund for the task had much to recommend it. The legislature met only briefly each year, and it was not able to oversee the job. It was clear, moreover, that Governor Call—now disaffected from the Democrats—held his position precariously.<sup>8</sup> Construction, it was felt, could not be trusted to him. The conservative legislature would not chance allowing capitol construction (spending) to fall into the hands of Call's successor who was certain to be a loyal Democrat.

Hence the selection of the commissioner—safely conservative and easily—dominated since his appointment was subject to legisla-

5. Call's reference to the capitol may be found in *A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1839), 13. Call was removed from office December 2, 1839, and was reappointed March 19, 1841.
6. Congress appropriated the money on March 3, 1839.
7. Details of attempts to settle financial problems remaining from the earlier construction may be found in "Report of the Commissioner of the City of Tallahassee," Appendix, *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the Territory of Florida at its Second Session* (Tallahassee, 1840).
8. D. Levy, "Brief Remarks Concerning the Democratic Cause in Florida . . .," in Martin Van Buren Papers, microfilm edition, filed after December 1839, Robert Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

tive approval.<sup>9</sup> There was, however, an initial problem of leadership: the pay of the commissioner was low and until the new building was authorized there was no firm sense of duty. With the uncertainties of the political situation after Governor Call's removal and the appointment of his successor, Robert Raymond Reid, the problem was not easily solved. But with the appointment of Dr. Charles G. English, and then Thomas Baltzell (later a justice of the Florida Supreme Court), the Tallahassee Fund had first-rate direction.

The commissioner quickly decided on a competition for the building's design. That kind of scheme had produced the Butler capitol in 1826. Besides there was no obvious choice for an architect. Robert Butler, while still active, was a Democrat, and that eliminated him as a choice. It seemed likely that if handled well a competition would produce a handsome design and also escape charges of favoritism. So the commissioner advertised for "Architects & Mechanics" to submit plans for the building.<sup>10</sup> It was to be of brick and of sufficient size to accommodate 100 representatives and fifty senators, and not cost over \$100,000. The prize for the design to be approved by the governor was to be \$200— a respectable, if not grand, amount. The proposal was advertised in New Orleans, Mobile, and Milledgeville as well as in Florida newspapers.

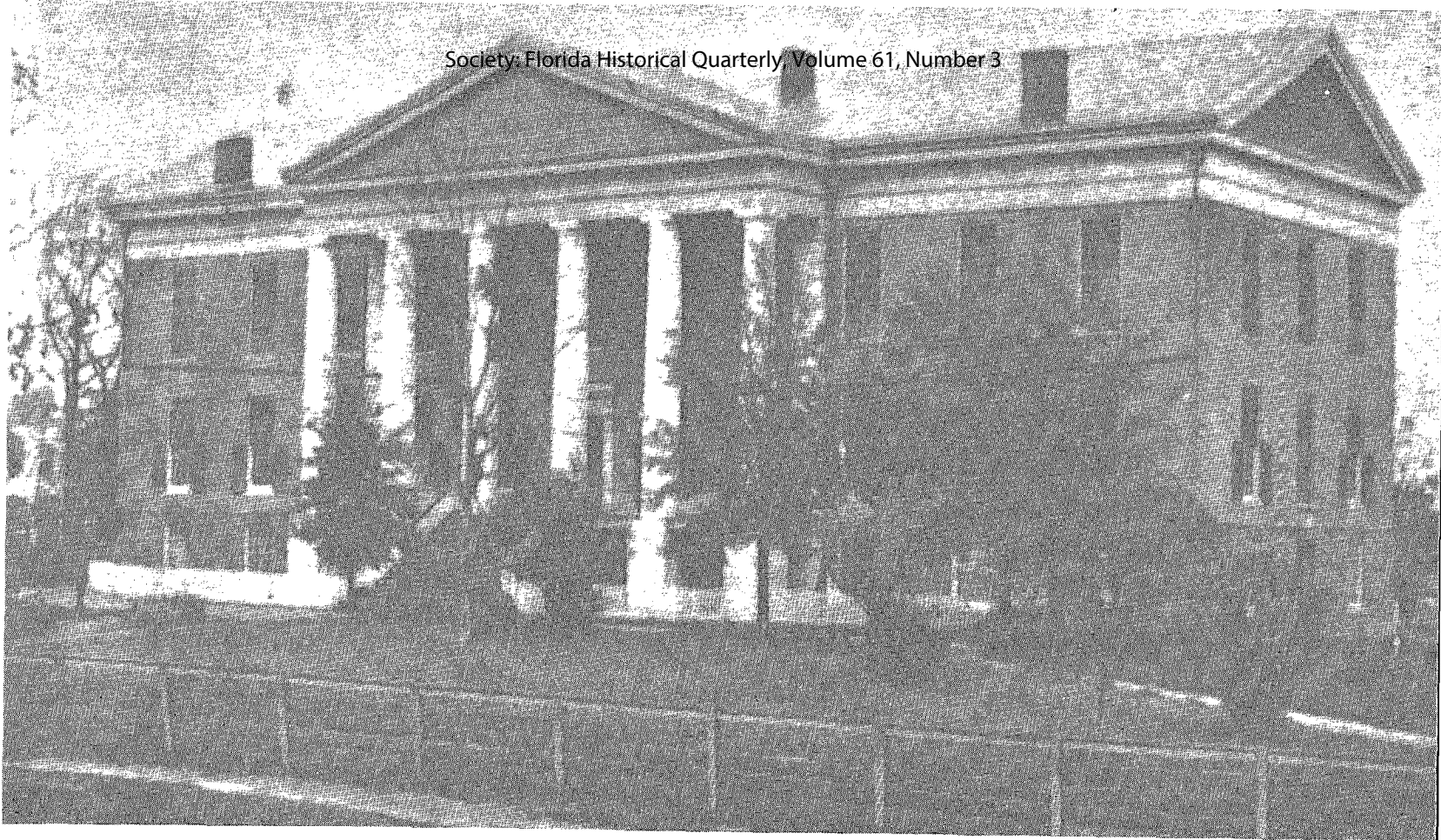
The advertisement appeared June 1, and proposals were due by July 15. Before the end of August the plan drawn by Cary Butt of Mobile was declared the winner.<sup>11</sup> Butt had arrived in Mobile from Norfolk, Virginia, about 1836 to work with Charles Dakin and Brother, Architects.<sup>12</sup> Charles and James Dakin had come south from New York in the mid-thirties. James had been a partner in Towne, Davis and Dakin, one of the outstanding architectural firms in the United States, and Charles had been a draftsman. The Dakins maintained offices in Mobile and New

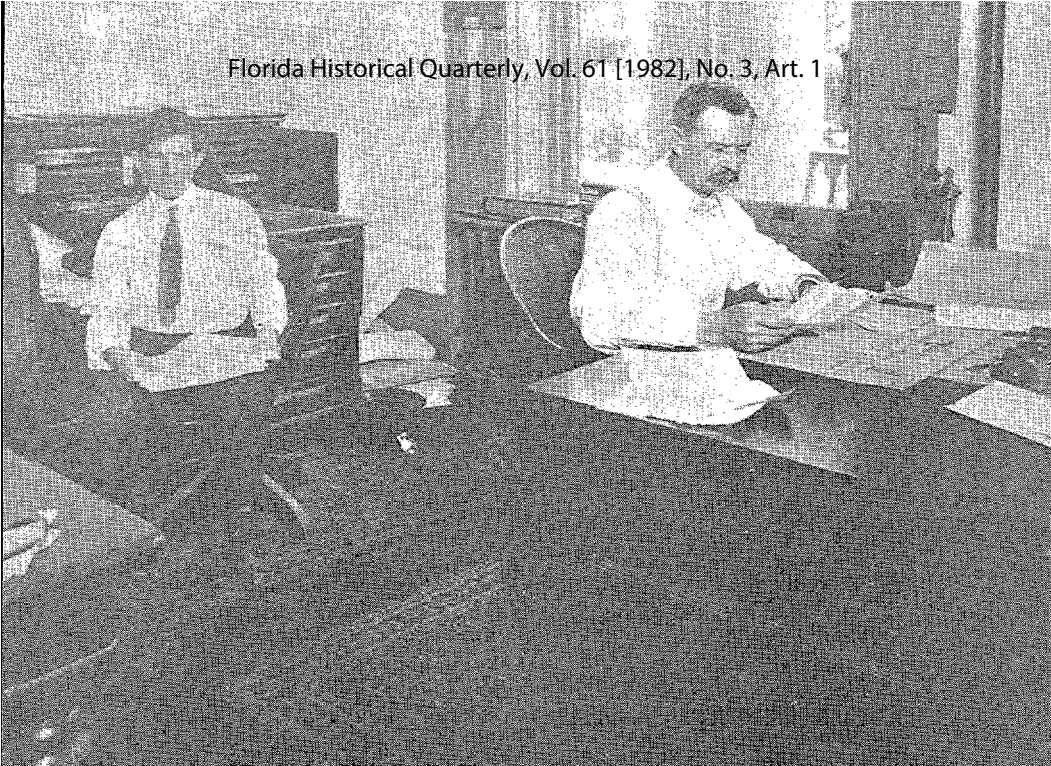
9. See Governor Robert R. Reid's message to the senate in 1840 for an illustration of a Democratic governor trying to please a conservative senate. "A Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Florida, In Secret Session," in *Journal of the Senate at its Second Session*, 3-4.

10. *Tallahassee Floridian*, June 1, 1839.

11. See Voucher No. 1 and Voucher No. 10 in "Report of the Commissioner of Tallahassee " 60-61

12. Butt's obituary is in the *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, July 30, 1844. Arthur Scully, Jr., takes a restricted view of Butt's ability and accomplishments in his *James Dakin, Architect* (Baton Rouge, 1973), 80-81.



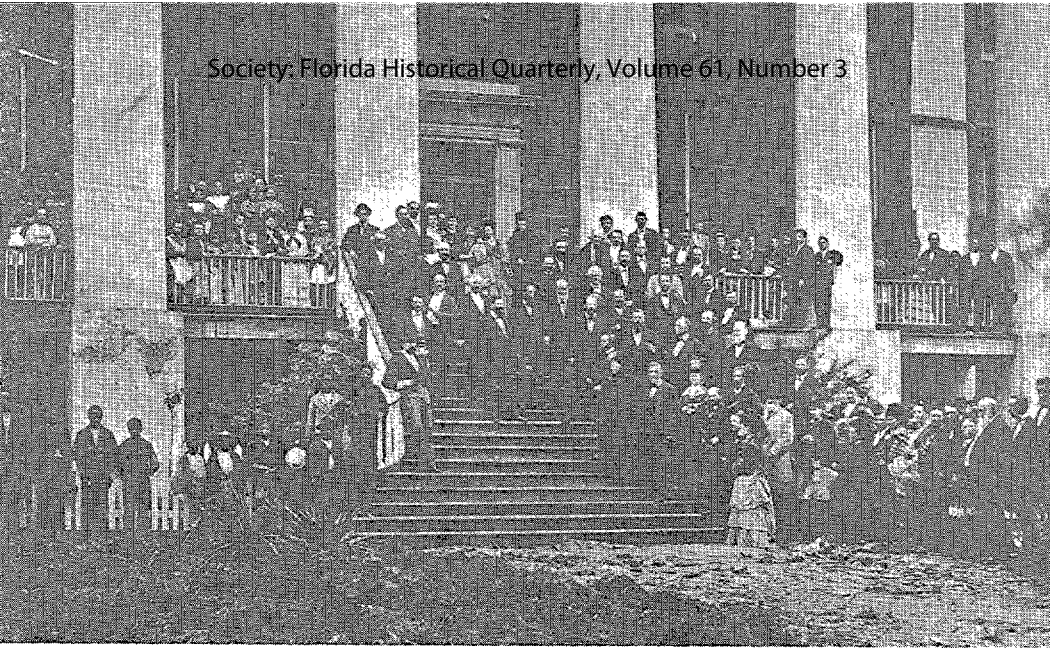


View of the office of the Secretary of Agriculture, taken in the capitol building about 1900.

James B. Whitfield (first on left) served as State Treasurer 1897-1903. Photograph shows him in an office at the capitol in January 1898.

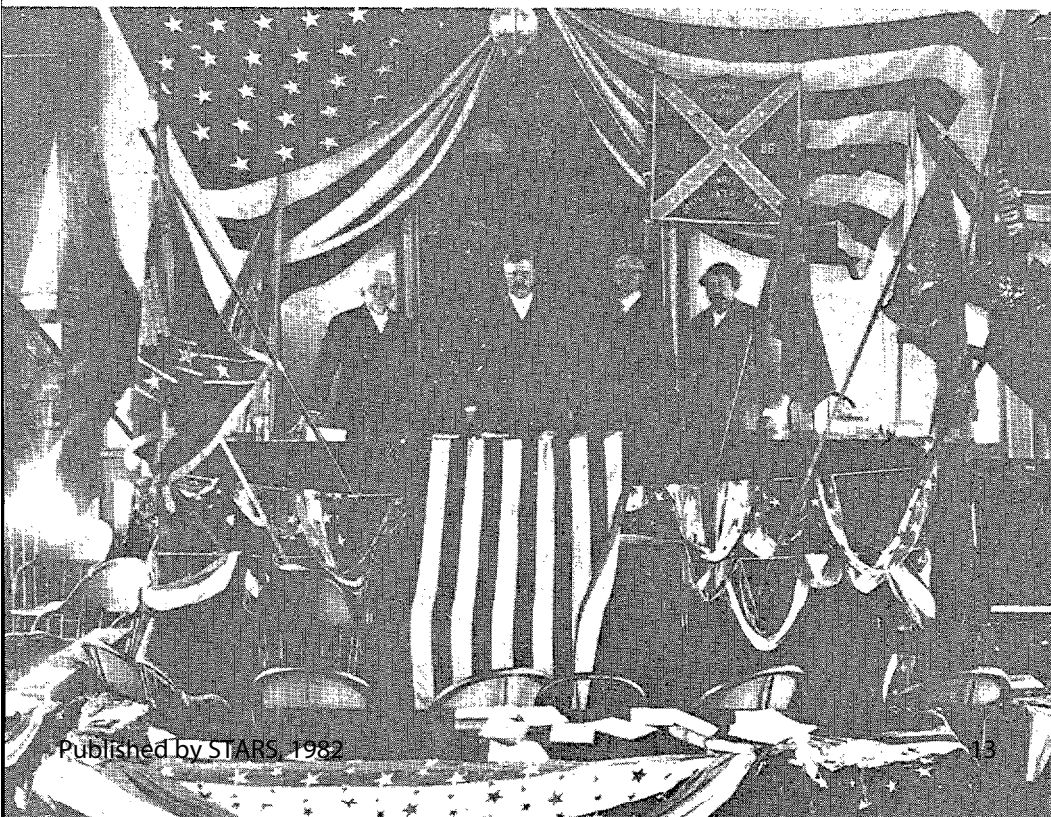


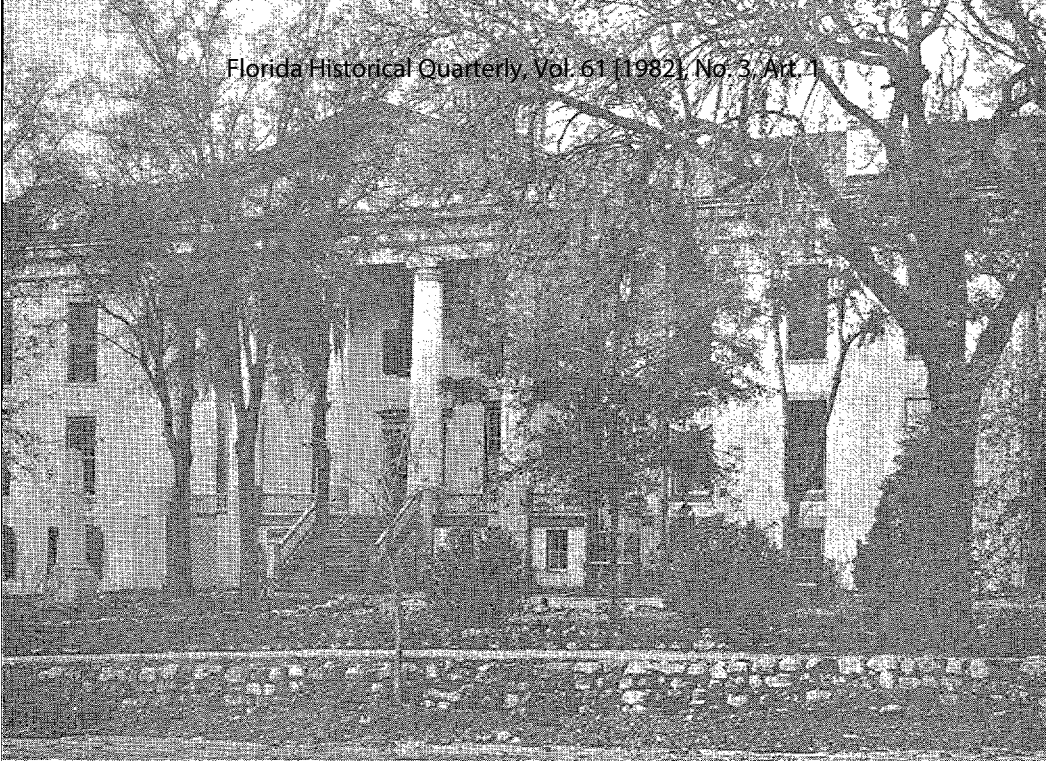




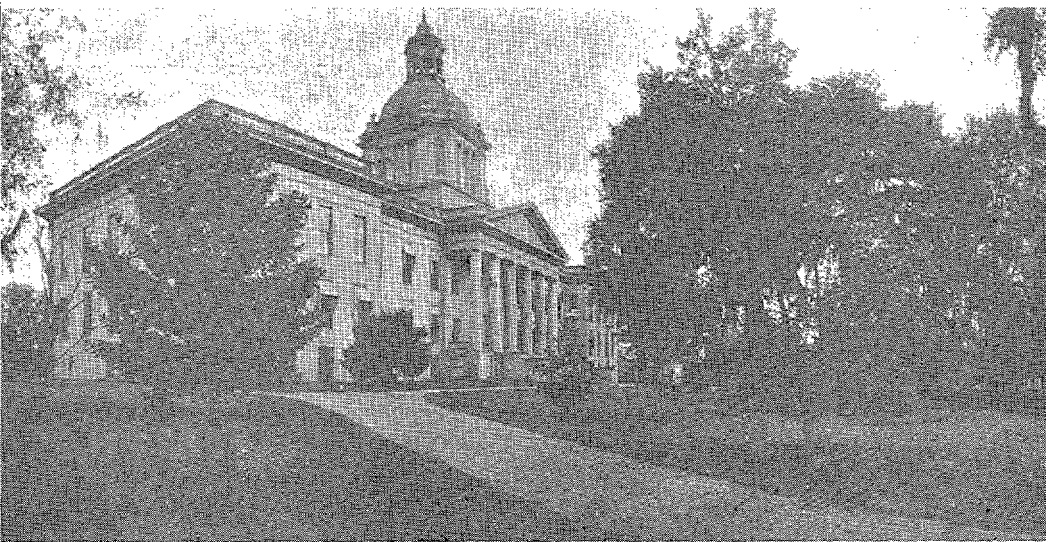
Harriet Beecher Stowe (lady in black on sixth step) is greeted by Governor Marcellus L. Stearns (center front on steps) during her visit to the capitol in 1854.

Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward and former Governor Francis P. Fleming (center, left and right) accept the return of Florida's battle flags, captured during the Civil War. Photo taken in the House Chamber, 1905.





East front of the capitol as it appeared between 1891 and 1901. This photograph was taken in February of 1900.



West front of the capitol building, as it looked after the 1902 addition of the dome. This picture was made about 1906.

Orleans.<sup>13</sup> By 1838 the Dakin firm had left Mobile; indeed, Charles had sailed for Europe. Despite the excellence of their designs, they had been hit hard by the panic of 1837. Cary Butt, however, remained in Mobile as an architect— although he would later become a “botanic practitioner” and a minister.

The plan Butt submitted for the Florida capitol was based closely on a Dakin design. Its similarities to the south front of the Barton Academy in Mobile (designed and constructed by the Dakin firm 1835-1838) are striking. Both are three-story brick buildings covered by concrete. Both are entered through a portico with six columns beginning at the second floor level. The entablatures are identical. There are differences: the Barton Academy has a dome on its ridge roof (the roof has hipped ends), and its columns are Ionic and fluted rather than simple Doric— but the original specifications for the Florida capital called for fluted columns. The only other building in existence credited to Cary Butt— Christ Church Episcopal in Mobile— has Doric columns. There are six bays on each side of the Barton Academy. The Florida capitol appears to be a plainer version of the Dakin building.

The competition had worked well. Despite its probable antecedents, Butt's plan was admirable. Indeed, it is a testament to the architects who would later enlarge the capitol that they recognized the excellence of his design and chose to elaborate on it rather than to eliminate it. The whole design process, in fact, had gone well.

Architect Butt, however, did no more than present the original plan. To assure that the work was done quickly and well, the commissioner needed someone in Tallahassee, and the man selected was Richard A. Shine. Captain Shine, as he was called, officially was no more than the primary contractor for the job, but in effect he functioned as a supervisory architect.<sup>14</sup> He modified plans as necessary and made decisions that certainly placed him in that capacity.

Shine was a respected Tallahassee figure. He, too, was a conservative rather than a Democrat, a member of the party's inner

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13. For information on Dakin, see Scully, *James Dakin, Architect*.

14. An unsigned draft report of the Committee on Territories calls Shine the architect. Record Group 233, HR27A-D23.1, National Archives.



circle, and from time to time a member of the legislature and the Tallahassee City Council. While he was a real establishment insider, he was a man of probity and ability. Several of his other structures remain in use in Tallahassee today.

The building as planned and constructed was impressive. Set in the precise center of the town square with its major axis running north-south, it was "150-5/12" feet long by "52-5/12" feet wide at ground level. It was made of brick (three brick lengthwise thick at ground level) covered with concrete and made to look like ashlar. The ridge roof was to be slate covered, and the main entrances were through porticos of classic Doric design— six large columns supporting a full masonry entablature with a wooden cornice and unadorned pediment at the center east and west sides. The doors themselves were at the second floor level and were reached by broad wooden stairs.

The interior of the capitol was covered with white plaster, ornamented where appropriate. The legislative council met on the top floor; the senate's chamber lay across the width of the building at its south end, a room about fifty by thirty feet.<sup>15</sup> The house of representatives occupied the entire north end in a space approximately fifty feet by fifty-four feet. Clerks for both houses also had offices on the top floor leaving a central hall (today's rotunda), probably then about forty feet wide across the building.

The entrance floor undoubtedly saw the most use. The governor occupied a space about eighteen by thirty feet on the northwest corner with the secretary of state in an identical office on the northeast. Next to those, south, were the treasurer and comptroller in smaller (probably eighteen by twenty-two feet) offices. A lengthwise hall through the north end of the building was approximately twelve feet wide. These were separated from the south end of the building by an open center about forty feet wide. Running across the south end of the building (beneath the senate chamber, was the supreme court room (fifty feet by twenty-three feet) and between it and the open center, the attorney

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15. The interior dimensions were worked out using the space requirements of individual offices published in the "Report of the Commissioner of the City of Tallahassee."

general's office (eighteen feet by twenty-two feet) and a second space of the same dimensions, again divided by a twelve-foot hall.

When it came to using the bottom floor, the state ran out of officers; it was no longer a matter of too little space but rather of too much. The state rented out most of the eight offices at \$100 per year.<sup>16</sup> They were occupied by doctors, lawyers, painters, and others who advertised their offices "in the Capitol."<sup>17</sup>

Construction was a drawn-out affair. In November 1839, contracts were let to Shine for masonry and to John W. Levinius for carpentry.<sup>18</sup> Shine fulfilled the major portion of his contract, but money ran out before Levinius could complete his work. As a result the building's northern one-third remained exposed to the weather for lack of a roof.<sup>19</sup> Thus when the legislative council met in 1841, the state government was crowded into the south part of the capitol.

Construction problems were not entirely a question of money. The nation and the state were suffering the effects of a severe economic depression. In 1841 an epidemic of yellow fever took a tragic toll of lives; there were damaging hurricanes in 1842 and 1843; and a fire in 1843 burned the entire business section of Tallahassee.<sup>20</sup>

A second congressional appropriation of \$20,000 in 1844, and an improvement of conditions in Tallahassee, enabled the contractors to have the capitol ready for Governor William Moseley's inauguration, June 25, 1845, at a cost of approximately \$55,000.<sup>21</sup> It must have been a grand and imposing structure in the small frontier town. Tallahasseeans were called upon to help beautify it by donating shrubbery for the capitol square.<sup>22</sup> This "truly splendid edifice" as one editor put it, was indeed "a magnificent structure." Pride ran very high, even to the point of producing

16. C. H. Austin to J. McN. Baker and F. C. Barrett, December 6, 1859, *Senate Journal* (Tallahassee, 1859), 113.

17. *Tallahassee Floridian*, January 15, March 18, 1848; March 21, 1852.

18. Shine's contract was copied and sent to Congress. Record Group 233, HR27A-D23.1, National Archives.

19. Richard Shine to D. Levy, February 21, 1842, Record Group 233, HR27A-D23.1, National Archives.

20. Many of the records of the commissioner of the city of Tallahassee may have been burned in this fire. One book of financial records survives in the Florida State Archives.

21. *Tallahassee Floridian*, November 29, 1845.

22. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1846.

public complaint about visitors who “defiled” the structure with tobacco juice.<sup>23</sup>

It had the usual problems of a new building— the ground floor was damp; the roof leaked; a dispute about construction of the entry stairs dragged on for years— but it was a good and useful structure. A hurricane caused considerable damage in 1851, and there were minor changes over the years, but the core of Florida’s capitol was complete.<sup>24</sup>

The next forty-five years brought no significant changes to the capitol. Neglect during the Civil War years produced continual maintenance problems for the next two decades. In 1872 Governor Harrison Reed called the building’s condition a “disgrace to the state and a dishonor to republican government.”<sup>25</sup> The maintenance problems were overcome, but ultimately, the capitol would not serve; it was too small. Indeed, the story of the twentieth century was to be a continual pressure against the confines of the building. Actually the pressure began before the new century. In 1891 the legislature decided on an extensive renovation. The Tallahassee construction firm of Gilmore and Davis built two new offices to encroach on the upstairs lobby, covered the whole building with a new roof, installed water closets (gas lights had come two years earlier), added a cupola, and repainted the whole building. To improve the setting, fountains were installed in front of the east and west entrances.<sup>26</sup>

In 1899 a small brick building was constructed within the south side of the square, but this was only planned as a temporary facility. Still, before capitol expansion could come, the state had to fight another of its capitol location battles. And it was only after Tallahassee won out over its rivals again in 1900, that the legislature decided to spend more money on construction.

Early in the 1901 session a joint legislative committee was appointed to consider the question of capitol expansion. It appears, however, that expansion was a foregone conclusion and that the committee had only two matters to consider: whether to add on to the existing building or construct a second one, and how to handle design and construction.

23. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1845; *Tallahassee Star*, June 13, 1845.

24. *Tallahassee Floridian*, August 30, 1851.

25. “Governor’s Message,” *Senate Journal*, 3rd Sess. (Tallahassee, 1870), 26.

26. *Tallahassee Floridian*, July 4, December 26, 1891; November 19, 1892.

The design question was solved first. It is unclear how many architects the joint committee considered. It is known that it had early made a commitment to employ a professional architect, and by early May the conceptual design submitted by Frank Milburn had been accepted.<sup>27</sup> It was Milburn who convinced the committee to add on to the existing building rather than begin a second large structure. To handle construction, the joint committee wrote a bill setting up a Capitol Improvement Commission headed by the governor. The commission was instructed to choose a contractor by competitive bidding and to follow the plan developed by Milburn.<sup>28</sup> The commission moved quickly: the act to enlarge the capitol become effective on August 7, 1901, and three days later the commission employed Milburn. The architect presented his sketch plans on August 16, and final plans were approved September 6, 1901. The speed that characterized the process suggests that most of the decisions and details had been agreed upon before the legislature adjourned in the spring.

Franklin Pierce Milburn was a thirty-three year old professional who maintained his office in Columbia, South Carolina. Later he moved his operation to Washington, D.C. He had grown up in Kentucky and had gone to college at the University of Arkansas. He was perhaps best known in the years that followed as the architect for the Southern Railroad Company, but he was also recognized for his design of public buildings, including numerous courthouses, schools, and the dome of the South Carolina state capitol. In all he designed some 250 major structures in the eastern half of the United States.<sup>29</sup>

Milburn's approach to the Tallahassee building was essentially a tasteful elaboration of the 1839 design, but an elaboration in terms that were then popular. Architectural historians describe Milburn as a "major late nineteenth century American architect in the Beaux Arts Eclectic tradition," and to expect anything

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27. *Weekly Tallahasseean*, May 9, 1901.

28. A summary of the enlargement procedure is found in the "Report of the Capitol Improvement Commission," in the *Senate Journal*, 1903, 89.

29. On Milburn, See Lawrence Wodehouse. "Frank Pierce Milburn (1868-1926). A Major Southern Architect," *North Carolina Historical Review*, L (1973), 289-303; Frank Pierce Milburn, *Designs from the Work of Frank P. Milburn, Architect, Columbia, S.C.* (Columbia, 1903).

else from his work is unfair.<sup>30</sup> Given a construction figure of \$75,000 to work with (his fee was \$2,535.60), he came up with a dome and two wings which maintained the building's classic spirit. The wings to the north and south were one bay wider but of the same height as the original structure. A dentiled cornice, bracketing underneath the eaves and a roof balustrade, each extending around the old and new sections, lent unity to the design. Milburn retained the east and west Doric porticos, but placed sculptured metal elements of the state seal in the pediment of each portico. He replaced the old wooden entrance stairs with two flights of stone stairs. The most striking change was the addition of a dome which necessitated restructuring much of the roof to accommodate its weight. With it the whole facade of the capitol reflected the Classical Revival tastes of the early twentieth century. Underneath his dome, Milburn created a rotunda by cutting a well in the floor of the second story so that one could see into the dome from the entrance floor. To provide an element of grandeur, entirely in keeping with the age and his previous work, Milburn provided for a stained glass inner dome at the level of the second floor ceiling. He also replaced the steep, narrow, wooden stairs to the top floor with a graceful grand staircase at the west of the rotunda.

Enlargement of the capitol was an important event. Despite the fact that the legislature had not searched far afield for architects, it had done well by its choice. The legislature had not done the work itself, but had passed the responsibility to a commission which, although temporary in nature, managed well. The bidding process produced a range of options and brought into Florida the J. E. Parrish company from Lynchburg, Virginia. The whole process seemed satisfactory to those who watched and audited it, both in terms of its total cost and the manner in which it was administered.<sup>31</sup>

The atmosphere at the cornerstone ceremony, January 14, 1902, was festive. Attorney General W. B. Lamar, the main

30. Wodehouse, "Frank Pierce Milburn," 302; interview with John M. Bryan, January 20, 1977.

31. Milburn's drawings and specifications may have survived as late as 1952. When his son Thomas Yancey Milburn retired in 1952, he "was paying \$200.00 a month storage on them and had to pay to get rid of them, too." Louise Hall to Lee H. Warner, February 8, 1977.

speaker, set the tone with the prediction, "as the river meets the sea, so will this old building and the new unite here forever." But he was reflecting on the knowledge that the building provided a symbolic expression in space of man's achievements in time. It was significant, for he found and expressed the monumental and symbolic side of the structure.<sup>32</sup>

Yet even the enlargement of 1902 was not sufficient. As the state's population increased so did governmental activities, duties, and responsibilities. By 1912, however, the state government decided not to expand the capitol, but instead to build a separate structure. It would be the supreme court building on Jackson Square in Tallahassee. At the same time as that construction took place, there were interior changes in the capitol itself. The plaster ceilings in the top floor halls and the legislative chambers were replaced with pressed metal, and an interior dome was constructed to match.<sup>33</sup>

Floridians were satisfied with that capitol only briefly. By the third decade of the twentieth century events were in motion which would again lead to a major modification in the building. For most of her history Florida had been an underpopulated state with an unrealized potential: the 1920s saw a boom which seemed to herald Florida's arrival as a place of explosive growth. No one knew that the hurricanes of 1926 and 1928 would abruptly halt south Florida expansion and that the collapse of the Florida real estate boom and The Great Depression would impede a revival of the state's prosperity. The fact was that Florida was growing rapidly in the early 1920s and state government realized that growth would require expansion of its services. Besides, building costs were low at that time.

As had happened each time previously when the subject of capitol expansion arose, there was a simultaneous attempt to move the capitol away from Tallahassee. That question was disposed of within the legislature which instead authorized its second major expansion of the structure. In 1921, however, the legislature left all questions about design and procedure up to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions. By mid-July

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32. *Weekly Tallahasseean*, January 17, 1902.

33. "Resolution," Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, January 17, 1911, Minutes, Book C, 268, Florida State Archives.

the board, speaking through Attorney General Rivers Buford, announced that it would select an architect at its July 28 meeting. He explained that the board had invited presentations from some specific firms, but that any architect was welcome to attend and make a presentation.<sup>34</sup> At the board's meeting in Tallahassee, five firms made presentations: Henry J. Klutho, Jacksonville; E. A. Ehman, Jacksonville; T. M. Bryan, Gainesville; P. Thornton Marye, Atlanta; and Hal F. Hentz, Atlanta. The board selected Klutho that day.<sup>35</sup> Klutho, who was born in southern Illinois and had studied in New York and Europe, was a friend of Frank Lloyd Wright. Wright was emerging as the major twentieth century architectural figure, and elements of his influence would continue to show themselves in Klutho's work. Klutho came to Jacksonville in 1901, a city which still bears his distinctive imprint. He arrived in the year of the city's great fire, and his designs soon began to appear on important structures and in large number in the reemerging city. His work attracted favorable attention, and it was he who was chosen to design the governor's mansion in Tallahassee in 1906.<sup>36</sup>

Klutho was an obvious choice to preside over the capitol enlargement. His design retained the classical spirit of the original of 1839, and Milburn's 1902 work, but it substantially increased the usable space. He provided a new wing to the east and another larger one to the west which necessitated the wrecking and removal of the east and west porticos. Klutho pointed out that "the Committee in charge, at the time of the alteration, for sentimental reasons, wanted the old front reproduced as near as possible which was done." Thus the east portico was replaced and recreated in similar Doric design.<sup>37</sup>

Reconstructing the portico was a highly significant act. As with Attorney General Lamar's thoughts in 1902, and the choice of a classical design for a new state capitol in 1839, the state

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34. *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 16, 1921.

35. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 28, 1911.

36. Klutho, who died in 1962, was paid \$2,500. That figure was for design only. There is as yet no scholarly appraisal of him or his work. He printed a kind of scrapbook of his designs to use as an advertisement, *Some Buildings Designed by H. J. Klutho Architect 1901-1941*. An article by Robert Broward about Klutho appeared in *Jacksonville*, XI (September-October 1974), 40.

37. H. J. Klutho to W. T. Cash, February 23, 1934, Florida State Library.

government had now come to appreciate the blend of past and future. They realized the symbolic nature of the capitol building and consciously chose to preserve as much as possible of the original, despite the fact that it involved the expenditure of extra money.

The interior was entirely refurbished and rearranged. The well under the dome remained open, but Milburn's stairs were taken out of the rotunda. Klutho substituted a white marble staircase just west of the rotunda with wrought iron inserts and rosettes. He complimented the staircase with marble wainscoting in the main halls. The legislature moved its chambers again— the house to the west wing and the senate to the east wing— as did most of the cabinet officers. It was a good job: the finished product well-reflected the current intellectual tastes, but it remained basically harmonious with what had come before.

There were two final additions to the old building: new wings were added for the legislative chambers in 1936 and 1947, both following the exterior design of M. Leo Elliot of Tampa. By this time there was no thought of radically changing the design. It was a foregone conclusion that the basic style would remain constant. Elliot retained the characteristics of the capitol as it stood and simply repeated, for the most part, the classical stylistic devices on its wings.

By the mid-1960s, however, it was evident that the capitol had reached a point where simply another addition would not be tolerated— whether for aesthetic or physical reasons. Hence the decision to create an entirely new and separate structure.<sup>38</sup> After much debate as to the kind and location of the structure and another unsuccessful attempt to move the capitol out of Tallahassee, officials began the serious business of architectural selection.

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38. The structural soundness of the old building is not open to serious question. Although opponents of the preservation of the old capitol charged that it was either falling apart or about to, the restoration process confirmed the soundness of the building. See Wayne H. Colony to W. E. Trendel, November 30, 1973, quoted in "Preservation of Florida's Capitol" (Tallahassee, 1975), 49-55; "Final Report, Structural Investigation, 1845-1902 Capitol Building, Tallahassee, Florida" [Bishop Report], May 3, 1978, Florida State Archives; "Report of Structural Findings, Bishop Report, 1845-1902, Capitol Building," prepared by Historic Preservation Section, Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, Division of Archives; History and Records Management, Florida Department of State, Florida State Archives.



This time the successful applicant was Edward Durell Stone of New York in a joint venture with Reynolds, Smith and Hills of Jacksonville. What resulted was a twenty-two story executive tower with flanking legislative office buildings. In the process of design, however, no decision was made as to the disposition of the old capitol.

In his design development drawings, Stone had made two suggestions: either completely demolish the old capitol and create a magnificent plaza in its place or to demolish all those parts of the structure that had been added since 1845, leaving only the original portions of the building in place. Both suggestions were the result of purely aesthetic judgments. The executive and legislative branches of government showed little reaction to either alternative, in effect signifying acquiescence.

By the mid-1970s, however, many persons in and out of government showed they were questioning the demolition of so much of the old capitol. Most of those raising doubts were in Tallahassee, although events would show that there was substantial agreement throughout the state. Secretary of State Bruce Smathers became the focal point for these feelings. Son of former United States Senator George Smathers, he had served in the Florida Senate before moving on to what would become his single term in the Florida cabinet. By 1976 work had begun within the Division of Archives, History and Records Management of the Department of State to develop what were called "conservation alternatives" for the old capitol. This meant, essentially, that an agency of state government was trying to convince the government that preservation of a significant part of the old capitol was in the best interests of Florida and its citizens. These arguments fell on receptive ears. The building was symbolic of the state's heritage and for that reason alone deserved to be saved, especially in a state where so much of the population was new and where the landscape was changing so quickly and dramatically. It was also shown that there was a significant amount of space in the old building that could be utilized for government offices.<sup>39</sup>

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39. In 1982 the legislative leadership decided that the space of the top two floors of the old capitol should be devoted solely to restoration and interpretive space.

The response to these conservation alternatives was dramatic. Individuals and groups from all parts of the state responded rapidly and effectively. As a result, legislation was introduced in the 1977 session of the legislature by Representative Herbert F. Morgan of Tallahassee and Senator Pat Thomas of Quincy which would have preserved some portions of the old capitol.

That year Thomas was able to get the bill through the senate, but Morgan was unable to overcome the determined opposition of the house leadership, opposition endorsed by Governor Reubin Askew. The next year, however, the groundswell of popular support was too strong to be resisted. The Morgan-Thomas measure passed both houses by overwhelming margins with an appropriation of slightly more than \$7,000,000 to restore the building to its 1902 configuration.

The result is the Florida capitols as they appear in 1982, an imposing and functional combination of structures that serve the state's functional and symbolic needs well. The observer might be tempted to suggest that the history of Florida's capitols shows that this is but another temporary answer to the state's needs. But that may not be the case. The people appear to have convinced governmental officials that they want the old capitol preserved as it now stands and the state seems committed to the policy of building additional structures to serve its needs rather than changing its capitol building. Those factors may, in the end, make this solution a permanent one.

## **TIMUCUAN REBELLION OF 1656: THE REBOLLEDO INVESTIGATION AND THE CIVIL-RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY**

by FRED LAMAR PEARSON, JR.

**T**HE Timucuan Indians rebelled in 1656 because they had been mistreated by the Spaniards. In particular, the Indians reacted against the forced labor policy which Governor Diego de Rebolledo had sought to impose on them. Forced labor had not originated in Florida during the Rebolledo Administration, but the manner in which the governor sought to carry out his policy proved galling to the Indians. Often when St. Augustine experienced frequent food shortages because of the uncertainty of the *situado*, governors turned to the provinces to procure corn to see the settlers through the difficulty. Apparently such a shortage existed in 1656, for Governor Rebolledo ordered the Indians in Timucua and Apalachee to bring grain to St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup> The Indians, who had no beasts of burden, had little choice; if they obeyed the order, they would have to transport the cargo themselves. Further, providing food for the St. Augustine settlement cut seriously into the Indian's reserve. Poor soil, especially in Timucua, and the marginal agricultural practices the Indians utilized frequently meant that the Indian reserves were precariously low. Any demands tended to upset the balance. The Indians resented Rebolledo's actions, and they complained to the Franciscans. Not only did the Indians protest having to share precious food resources, they protested the potential distance involved in transporting them to St. Augustine. For the Apalachee

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1. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, Bulletin 73 (Washington, 1922), 338; Fray Juan Gómez de Engraba to Fray Francisco Martínez, March 13, 1657, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI) 545-10/73, John B. Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida (hereafter SC).

Indians it was a distance of 100 leagues each way. The Timucuan *caciques* particularly resented the Rebolledo directive, because it did not distinguish between rulers and subjects. The governor had insisted that the Indian *principales* had to help transport the grain. Whereas the church fathers had recognized social distinctions in Indian society, Governor Rebolledo did not. The *caciques* pointed out that they had no intention of subjecting their *principales* to such indignities; there were servants to perform such tasks. Rebolledo however was not willing to modify his demand.<sup>2</sup>

The *cacique* of Tarihica refused to send his *principales* along with the other servile Indians, all of whom were to carry three *arrobas* (seventy-five pounds) of corn.<sup>3</sup> His fellow *caciques* agreed that Rebolledo's demands amounted to an insult to the *principales*.<sup>4</sup> This arrogance was simply too much. Accordingly, the *cacique* of Santa Cruz de Tarihica decided to do something about the matter. He informed the Timucuan *caciques* of his intention to disregard Rebolledo's order and to resist its execution with war if necessary. The *caciques* were of one accord; they would not obey the governor. When the *cacique* of San Martín took up arms against him, he was joined by the rebellious *caciques* of Sante Fe, San Francisco de Potano, San Pedro, Potohiriba, Machaba, San Francisco de Chuaquin, Tarihica, San Matheo, and several others, a number of whom lived in Apalachee province.<sup>5</sup> Rebolledo had no success at first in subduing the Indians. He then dispatched Sergeant-Major Adrian de Cañizares y Osorio and sixty infantrymen to put down the uprising. Cañizares quelled the rebellion with undue severity, executing eleven

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2. Gómez to Martínez, March 13, 1657, AGI 54-5-10/73, SC.

3. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1657, AGI 54-5-10/74, SC.

4. Rebolledo would argue later that he did not order the Indians to do this, that he had asked for 500 Timucua warriors to bolster St. Augustine against an impending English invasion. The governor would also deny that he had ordered the Indians to bring corn to St. Augustine for the Spaniards, but that he had requested them to bring food for their own consumption. Rebolledo would hold that the Indians had refused to help at all, but rather that they had elected to profit from the situation which had tied his hands and that they had rebelled against Spanish authority. See Rebolledo to the crown, May 25, 1658, AGI 54-5-10/79, SC.

5. Charles W. Spellman, "The 'Golden Age' of the Florida Missions, 1632-1674," *Catholic Historical Review*, LI (October 1965), 362-63; Gómez to Martínez, April 4, 1657, AGI 54-5-10/74, SC.

caciques.<sup>6</sup> He did not punish the Apalachees because they had not played a major role in the rebellion. Rebolledo, to insure against future disorders, stationed a garrison of twelve soldiers and a lieutenant in Apalachee.<sup>7</sup>

The Timucuans resented bitterly the soldiers' harshness. The execution of the caciques crushed morale, and this excessive action appalled the Franciscans who saw years of religious work in Timucua undone by this display of coercion. Many Indians abandoned their villages, and a mood of pessimism affected the friars. Six brothers quit the Apalachee province and took ship for Havana. They died at sea in a storm.<sup>8</sup>

Governor Rebolledo departed for the scene of the rebellion in November 1656. His ostensible purpose was to conduct a *visita* or inspection of Timucua and Apalachee. The conclusion that emerges however is that he rigged the investigation in an effort to cover up the inadequacies of his administration. Strangely the governor chose to begin his inquiry in Apalachee rather than Timucua, the seat of the rebellion. It is difficult to understand why he spent almost a month in Apalachee and less than a week in Timucua. Equally hard to comprehend is that the governor made little or no effort, while in Timucua, to ascertain the causes of the rebellion. The testimony of the Timucuan Indians, strangely silent on the revolt, dealt with domestic matters. These Indians, no doubt fearful of further punishment, volunteered little information to shed light on the matter. Rebolledo collected evidence only from Indians and did not question any Franciscans. However, upon his return to St. Augustine, the governor charged the Franciscans with responsibility for the rebellion. Rebolledo's reluctance to collect Franciscan depositions suggests strongly that

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6. Gómez to Martínez April 4, 1657, AGI 54-5-10/74, SC. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, 338.

7. Testimonio de la visita clue se hizo en la provincia de apalachee y Timucua fha por el Señor Don Diego de Rebolledo Caballero del horden de Santiago, governador y capitan general de las provincias de la Florida por su Magestad, Auto para hacer [la] Visita General en la provincia de Apalachee, January 16, 1657, SC. AGI. Escribanía de Camara [hereafter EC] leg. 155. Rebolledo to the king, October 18, 1657, in A. M. Brooks, *The Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine*. Copied from the Spanish Archives in Seville, Spain, by Miss A. M. Brooks and translated by Mrs. Annie Averette (St. Augustine, 1909), 102-05.

8. [Governor Rebolledo's] Notificacion y Repuesta [to the Franciscans], August 5, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg. 155.

he did not want to risk any evidence which might be contrary to his objective, namely to place responsibility for the disorder on someone else.<sup>9</sup>

Rebolledo commenced his investigation at the Apalachee village of San Damián de Cupahica (Escambi) where he issued a decree January 16, 1657, outlining the objective of the visita. This decree, subsequently read in all of the towns visited, instructed the Indians to assemble if they so desired.<sup>10</sup> The governor began to hear witnesses on January 17, 1656. Altogether he collected evidence in eleven of the Apalachee towns. Indians in six villages declared the Franciscans had compelled them to serve as cargo bearers. Unfortunately some of the Indians who had been forced to labor had died without the benefit of last rites. The testimony consistently singled out the Franciscans as guilty, but none of it indicted the soldiers for their harshness. Rebolledo, in response to these allegations, issued a decree prohibiting the use of Indians as cargo bearers without authorization from the lieutenant and guaranteeing payment for their services.<sup>11</sup>

Franciscan interference with tribal dancing was an especial concern in three of the Apalachee villages. The Indians informed the governor that the Franciscans had not, until the present, proscribed dancing. The current friars, however, according to the testimony, had beaten and kicked caciques and principal men when their subjects attempted to dance. This unusual treatment of tribal leaders had alarmed the dancers who had fled to avoid similar treatment. The Indians resented this treatment, and they asked the governor to permit them to resume the performance of their ancient dances. Rebolledo granted their request but stipulated that the dances must not be obscene or lewd.<sup>12</sup>

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9. Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., "Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida 1602-1675: Some Aspects of Selected Visitas," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LII (January 1974), 267-71.

10. Auto para hacer [la] Visita General en la provincia de Apalachee, January 16, 1657, SC.AGLEC.leg.155.

11. Visita de San Damián de Cupahica, January 17, 1657. Visita del lugar de San Pedro de Patali, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Luis [de Talimali], January 22, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Martín de Tomoli, January 23, 1657; Visita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Francisco de Oconi, February 6, 1657; Aranzas que se dio a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AGLEC.leg.155.

12. Visita de San Damián de Cupahica, January 17, 1657; Visita del lugar de

Franciscan prohibitions against playing the Indian ball game resulted in complaints in two villages. The game was rough, and serious injuries occurred frequently. Since the Indians covered their bodies with paint to resemble animals identifying their clan totem, the priests felt that the ritualistic practices were diabolical. Rebolledo, however, granted the Indians permission to resume the game as long as the participants did not injure themselves.<sup>13</sup>

The Indians of eight Apalachee towns protested that the Franciscans had attempted to prevent them from providing food or lodging for soldiers passing through the area. Purportedly they were offended by the friars' actions because the soldiers had treated them kindly. The Indians of San Luis de Talimali claimed that the priests had whipped one of their principal men and had threatened to punish the cacique because the Indians had given food to soldiers. The governor ruled that Indians could, if they wished, supply food and lodging for the military.<sup>14</sup>

In three villages the Indians claimed that the Franciscans had bought food from them at low prices, sold the commodities, and then had used the profit to purchase ornaments for the church. The Indians protested also that the friars had appropriated food on occasion and had not paid for it. The people of San Martín de Tomoli, in particular, had resented the actions of Father Juan de Paredes. According to their statement, food had been planted to sustain Father Paredes, but any excess was to go to Indians who needed it. There had been a good harvest, but Father Paredes had shipped most of it out of the province. This meant that

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San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Martín de Tomoli, January 23, 1657; Aranzas que se dió a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

13. Visita de San Damián de Cupahica, January 17, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Martín de Tomoli, January 23, 1657; Aranzas que se dió a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg. 155. For an excellent discussion of the ball game see Amy Bushnell, "That Demonic Game:" The Campaign to Stop Indian Pelota," *The Americas*, XXXV (July 1978), 1-19.
14. Visita de San Damián de Cupahica, January 17, 1657; Visita del lugar [San Antonio] de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Pedro de Patali, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Luis [de Talimali], January 22, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Visita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Visita del lugar San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, February 7, 1657; Aranzas que se dió a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

many Indians had gone hungry, and the inhabitants lacked sufficient seed to plant the friar's field the following spring. The Indians made no such accusations against the military, avowing in each village that the soldiers had treated them well. Rebolledo issued instructions to correct the grievances.<sup>15</sup>

The San Damían de Cupahica inhabitants informed Rebolledo that the Franciscans had interfered with the trading privileges they had formerly enjoyed at San Marcos de Apalachee. The Indians customarily had worked on the docks as stevedores, for which they had received compensation. Also, they had traded with the sailors. The priests, however, had stopped this practice. They had bought the Indian trade items at low prices and sold them to the soldiers. Additionally, the fathers had required the Indians to carry the products to the wharf and without compensation. Rebolledo did not question the Franciscans in this instance; rather, he ordered no one to interfere with the Indian trade at San Marcos, and he reiterated that Indians must be compensated for services rendered.<sup>16</sup>

The Indians of eleven Apalachee towns asserted that the soldiers with whom they had had contact had treated them very well, and they had responded by furnishing them with food. Accordingly, the Indians requested Rebolledo to retain the garrison on a permanent basis to provide protection.<sup>17</sup> Indians in seven Apalachee pueblos expressed their appreciation for the governor's decision to increase the size of the provincial garrison. The stronger military contingent would prevent such enemies as

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15. Visita de San Damían de Cupahica, January 17, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Martín de Tomoli, January 23, 1657; Visita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Aranzas que se dio a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AG.I.EC.leg.155.
  16. Visita de San Damían de Cupahica, January 17, 1657; Aranzas que se dio a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AG.I.EC.leg.155.
  17. Visita de San Damían de Cupahica, January 17, 1657; Visita del lugar [San Antonio] de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Pedro de Patali, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Luis [de Talimali], January 22, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Martín de Tomoli, January 23, 1657; Visita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Francisco de Oconi, February 6, 1657; Visita del lugar de [La Concepción] de Ayubali, February 6, 1657; Visita del lugar San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, February 7, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Miguel de Asile, February 8, 1657; Aranzas que se dio a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AG.I.EC.leg.155.



the English and French from establishing a salient at San Marcos. More directly the soldiers would provide protection for the Christian Apalachee against attacks of heathen Indians.<sup>18</sup>

In six Apalachee villages the inhabitants complained about corporal punishment which purportedly they had received from the Franciscans. In several instances, the Indians charged, the friars had stopped ceremonies, destroyed food containers, and lashed them for no apparent reason. The Indians protested that the Franciscans had punished caciques, principal men, and subjects without regard to rank. This humiliation of Indians led to disciplinary problems. Rebolledo heard the complaints and ordered that no one could punish a cacique or principal man without permission of the governor.<sup>19</sup>

The problem of soil sterility manifested itself in only one village, San Antonio de Bacuqua. Here the Indians reported that they had experienced a food shortage, that their village site was an old one, and that the fields had, accordingly, lost much of their fertility. Also, the wooded area around the town had been reduced to the point that firewood was difficult to obtain. Consequently, when the Indians requested permission to relocate their village, Rebolledo granted the request.<sup>20</sup>

The inhabitants of two villages complained that Franciscans had destroyed personal property without reason. Purportedly Friar Francisco Pascual had broken food dishes on one occasion when the Indians of San Antonio de Bacuqua had attempted to honor a neighboring cacique. The Indians had fled to avoid possible physical punishment. And in San Luis de Talimali the

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18. Visita de San Damían de Cupahica, January 17, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Luis [de Talimali], January 22, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Visita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Francisco de Oconi, February 6, 1657; Visita del lugar de [La Concepción] de Ayubali, February 5, 1657; Visita del lugar San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, February 7, 1657, SC.AGLEC.leg.155.
  19. Visita del lugar [San Antonio] de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Pedro de Patali, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Luis [de Talimali], January 22, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Visita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 5, 1657; Visita del lugar San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, February 7, 1657; Aranzas que se dio a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657 SC.AGLEC.leg.155.
  20. Visita del lugar [San Antonio] de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657, SC.AGLEC.leg.155.

Indians charged that the friars had destroyed cooking vessels supposedly because they cooked too slowly.<sup>21</sup> Rebolledo assured the Indians of his intention to prevent future recurrences.

Three villages did not currently have a priest, and they protested that fact. Three caciques lamented that their subjects had been insubordinate. The cacique of the San Juan de Azpalaga pueblo declared that his principal men had been disobedient. Rebolledo promised to do all that he could to procure priests for villages lacking them, and he ordered the principal men to obey their caciques.<sup>22</sup>

Prior to his departure Governor Rebolledo issued an edict for Apalachee. It required the return of all male and female Timucuan Indians in Apalachee to Timucua within fifteen days; the punishment for noncompliance was the lash and forced labor for males, the lash only for females. The governor placed responsibility for execution of the decree upon the caciques and principal men.<sup>23</sup> Rebolledo's apparent motivation for this ordinance was to minimize contacts between the Timucuans and the Apalachee, supposedly to contain future rebellious tendencies.

Rebolledo thus concluded his inspection of Apalachee province. He had spent almost one month conducting an investigation in an area peripheral to the focus of the rebellion. Due to the great distance between the towns of Timucua, Rebolledo dispatched Captain Luis de Florencia to the various villages requesting the caciques, principal men, and others to assemble in San Pedro de Potohiriba for the purpose of investigation.<sup>24</sup> On February 13, 1657, the Timucuans arrived in compliance with the governor's request. Diego de Salvador, who served as interpreter, explained to the Indians that Rebolledo

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21. Visita del lugar [San Antonio] de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Luis [de Talimali], January 22, 1657; Aranzes que se dio a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

22. Visita del lugar [San Antonio] de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657; Visita de San Joseph de Ocuya, February 6, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Pedro de Patali, January 19, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Luis [de Talimali], January 22, 1657; Visita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga, January 22, 1657; Aranzes que se dio a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657; SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

23. Bando que publico por la provincia de Apalachee, February 10, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

24. Auto, February 13, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

had come to Timucua to determine the cause of the rebellion and to hear their complaints. Few problems emerged from the testimony. Governor Rebolledo granted the *cacicazgo* (chieftanship) of San Francisco to the Indian, Francisco, and he ordered an insubordinate Indian to obey his cacique. Not a single Timucuan registered a complaint to the governor about the soldiers which was consistent with the testimony Rebolledo had obtained in Apalachee. Accordingly, Rebolledo gave the Timucuan the same directives he had issued in Apalachee, thus speedily concluding his inspection of the province.<sup>25</sup> Consistent with his practice in Apalachee, Rebolledo did not question the Franciscans.

Rebolledo returned to St. Augustine shortly afterwards, apparently convinced that he had collected sufficient evidence to prove that the Timucuan had rebelled because of Franciscan mistreatment. The testimony he had gathered supported that belief. The reports Rebolledo had received from his officers in Apalachee seemed to bolster his case still further. On May 8, 1657, Sergeant-Major Adrian de Cañizares y Osorio, who had suppressed the Timucuan rebellion, reported to the governor that the Florida Franciscan Father Provincial, Francisco de San Antonio, had appeared in Apalachee province shortly after the governor's departure and had behaved mysteriously. Cañizares aware of the evidence that Rebolledo had collected, suspected that the father provincial had come to Apalachee for some purpose, and that he would ascertain what purpose it was. The soldiers reported that the provincial had received letters from a friar and an Indian in Timucua which apparently had prompted his trip from St. Augustine to visit the Timucuan and Apalachee missions. The soldiers, however, did not know the contents of the letters.<sup>26</sup>

The soldiers' report had alarmed Cañizares who suspected that the provincial might be conducting an investigation. Ac-

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25. Visita del lugar de San Pedro [de Potohiriba] y demas caciques de Ustaca [Timucua], February 13, 1657; Otra Visita [San Pedro de Potohiriba], February 13, 1657; Aranzas que se dio a todos los lugares de Apalachee, January 17, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

26. Cañizares to Rebolledo, May 8, May 21, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

cordingly, he asked Father San Antonio about conditions in Timucua. At this point, however, the provincial became evasive, and while admitting that he had received letters from Timucua, he refused to comment concerning them. This reticence disturbed Cañizares for he suspected that the letters and Father San Antonio's arrival had a relation to the Timucuan rebellion and Rebolledo's investigation. Also, the provincial's reluctance to discuss Timucua and his subsequent insistence on raising probing questions about Apalachee bothered Cañizares. Father Provincial San Antonio asserted in essence that a false peace now prevailed in Apalachee and that serious Indian unrest existed behind a facade forcibly imposed by the presence of a strengthened garrison. Cañizares assured Governor Rebolledo that he had not permitted the provincial's assertion to go unanswered, and that he had charged the Franciscans with intriguing with the Indians in an effort to get the soldiers withdrawn. The friars had, he believed, especially concentrated attention on Cacique Martín of San Antonio de Bacuqua, hoping indirectly to influence Don Luis of San Luis de Talimali, the cacique of Apalachee's most important village. Cañizares reported with pride that the Franciscan effort had failed.<sup>27</sup>

Cañizares indicated that, at first, he had suspected Franciscan efforts with Cacique Martín, who had informed him of a supposed food shortage in Apalachee. At the same time, the cacique had urged a reduction of the garrison from twelve to six soldiers to prevent undue hardship on the Indians. Cañizares, disturbed by this request, waited until the Father Provincial San Antonio had departed for St. Augustine before trying to ascertain if other Apalachee caciques shared Cacique Martín's sentiments. He then reported that there was nothing to fear; the caciques had reiterated their gratitude for the manner in which the soldiers had treated them. Cañizares believed that the provincial had no other purpose in mind than to cause the governor difficulty, for apparently the Franciscans had been envious of the esteem the Indians held for the military. Cañizares reasoned that it must have been galling for the Franciscans not to have been able to

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27. *Ibid.*

influence Cacique Luis and through him the other Apalachee chiefs.<sup>28</sup>

Adjutant Pedro de la Puerta's report to Governor Rebolledo, July 12, 1657, confirmed Cañizares' conclusions concerning the conduct of the Franciscans. Puerta had no doubt that the Franciscans opposed the presence of the military in Apalachee and that the father provincial had obviously attempted to conduct a surreptitious investigation of the military rather than to survey the needs of the missions. Puerta had investigated Father San Antonio's claim that the soldiers had mistreated the Indians, but found that it was the friars who had really been responsible for the abuse.<sup>29</sup> Puerta informed the governor that two friars had been especially active in the attempt to turn the Indians against the soldiers. He cited Father Alonso del Moral, an Apalachee priest, and Father Bamba, who served in Timucua. Puerta singled Fray Joseph Bamba Galindo out as a person of such disruptive influence that he excited Apalachee Indians from afar. Such priests, Puerta thought, should be recalled.<sup>30</sup> Cañizares, on July 18, 1657, in essence, reiterated Puerta's charges.<sup>31</sup> Neither officer made an effort to question the priests concerning the allegation of their impropriety.

On August 4, 1657, Father Provincial Francisco de San Antonio and four friars—Juan de Medina, Sebastián Martínez, Jacinto Domínguez Alonso del Moral, and Juan Caldera—presented a petition to Rebolledo. This document, they claimed, had resulted from a request by the Indians to act in their behalf. Specifically, the Indians did not want the governor to increase the size of the Apalachee garrison, an action already taken, because the soldiers had mistreated them. The Apalachees reasoned that more soldiers meant more abuse. The Indians' statement to the Franciscans differed sharply from the testimony which they had given to Governor Rebolledo when he had visited the provinces. The Apalachees, it now appeared, had, apparently out of fear, told the governor what he wanted to hear, namely

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28. *Ibid.*

29. Puerta to Rebolledo, July 12, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Cañizares to Rebolledo. July 18, 1657, SCAGIEC.leg.155.

that the soldiers had treated them well and that friars had abused them. Once Rebolledo left the province, the Indians had expressed quite different sentiments to the Franciscans.<sup>32</sup> The probability that the governor had attempted to use the visita to cover up inadequacies in his administration becomes increasingly difficult to dismiss.

The Franciscans agreed that the Timucuan rebellion of 1656, and the discontent which spread to Apalachee and still existed there, had hurt the interests of the church and the crown in the provinces. The Timucuans, the friars asserted, had revolted not against the church but against the crown because of the intense hostility which they felt toward the soldiers stationed there. This feeling had resulted because of the work which the soldiers forced the Indians to do against their will. The soldiers, not the Franciscans, had required the Indians to serve as cargo bearers and to perform all kinds of menial tasks. In effect, the soldiers had reduced the Indians to an approximation of slavery. The friars vigorously denied that they entered into the rebellion picture at all and argued that the only reason the poor Indians had testified against them was the fear of further reprisals from the military. The Indians felt that Sergeant-Major Cañizares had used a very heavy hand when he put down the rebellion; execution of eleven caciques seemed to the Timucuans an extremely harsh retribution. The petition noted that Father Provincial San Antonio had written to the crown in an effort to make known the terrible state of affairs which existed in the provinces prior to the Timucuan rebellion. These conditions, the father provincial asserted, had existed before the appointment of Rebolledo as governor, but the situation had reached its nadir during his administration. Unfortunately, San Antonio observed, the crown had done nothing to correct the situation, and, consequently, the Timucuans had revolted. The friars told Rebolledo that they had also dispatched a letter to the crown protesting his decision to increase the size of the Apalachee garrison. The presence of

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32. [Franciscan] *Peticion* [to Rebolledo], August 4, 1657; See also *Visita del lugar* [San Antonio] de Bacuqua, January 19, 1657; *Visita del lugar de San Pedro de Patali*, January 19, 1657; *Visita del lugar de San Juan de Azpalaga*, January 22, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

more soldiers would mean more mistreatment of the Indians, and their discontent would not abate as long as the garrison remained large.<sup>33</sup> The friars questioned whether Apalachee needed twelve soldiers. They agreed that the presence of two soldiers and a commander for observation purposes did not pose serious problems, but twelve soldiers would produce nothing but hostility. The soldiers, they felt, would require the Apalachees to serve as virtual slaves, and this situation might produce another rebellion.<sup>34</sup>

The following day, August 5, 1657, the public scribe, Juan Moreno, read the contents of the Franciscan petition to Governor Rebolledo. The friars had laid blame for the 1656 rebellion on his shoulders, and he did not hesitate to defend his position. Rebolledo replied that the Franciscan mission program had begun in Apalachee during the administration of Governor Luis de Horruytiner (1633-1638) and that his successor, Damían de Vega Castro y Pardo (1638-1645), had sent the first contingent of soldiers to Apalachee where they had remained until Pedro Benedit Horruytiner assumed the governorship in 1648.<sup>35</sup> The latter, who governed for only a year, Rebolledo pointed out, had recalled the garrison in response to a Franciscan request, an action which had left the province without adequate protection. There had been no one to administer justice to the Indians, or to keep an eye on the ships that entered and departed from the harbor at San Marcos. As a result an excellent opportunity had presented itself for the English, or some other foreign power, to establish a base of operations in the province.<sup>36</sup>

Rebolledo noted that when he assumed the governorship (1651) officials in Havana and St. Augustine had urged him to return a detachment of soldiers to Apalachee. Only the military, they believed, had the means to prevent the Indians from supplying alien vessels with food in exchange for trade items, a type of activity in which the Apalachee had engaged after the troops

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33. [Franciscan] *Peticion* [to Rebolledo], August 4, 1657, SC.AGLEC.leg.155.

34. *Ibid.*

35. [Rebolledo's] *Notificacion y Repuesta* [to the Franciscans], August 5, 1657, SC.AGLEC.leg.155; See also Rebolledo to the king, October 18, 1657, in Brooks, *Old St. Augustine*, 102-05.

36. *Ibid.*

withdrew in 1648. More important the presence of a garrison would insure against any enemy attempt to occupy places such as San Marcos, the principal port of Apalachee.<sup>37</sup>

In view of those reasons, Rebolledo had decided to send Captain Antonio de Sertucha and two infantrymen to Apalachee in 1651. He felt this would enable him to deal more effectively with the problems of St. Augustine and Guale. Captain Sertucha had wasted no time once he had reached Apalachee. He sent word to the governor that a pirate ship had sailed into the harbor at San Marcos and that he needed reinforcements. Rebolledo had responded quickly and dispatched Captain Gregorio Bravo and thirty soldiers to render assistance. In the meantime, Sertucha had summoned the Apalachees to defend the province against the pirates, who, facing resistance, had departed before Bravo arrived with reinforcements. Because there was no longer an emergency, Bravo obtained a supply of food and returned to St. Augustine.<sup>38</sup>

The Apalachee garrison numbered only three until the Timucuan rebellion of 1656. At that time Governor Rebolledo decided to place more than an observation team in Apalachee. Rebolledo indicated that factors in addition to the rebellion had influenced the need for additional protection and that the Franciscans had asked for soldiers also. All of these had influenced the governor's decision. He had exercised considerable care in the selection of the Apalachee commandant, he claimed, and had selected Cañizares because of the Franciscans' high regard for him.<sup>39</sup>

Rebolledo felt that any intrusion in Apalachee had to be checked because of its potential as a food producing area. He realized that if the English gained a foothold they might undermine the mission program. The Franciscans, he believed, did not realize that St. Augustine was so far away that troops could not be dispatched in time to ward off an attack. He also pointed out to the friars that San Marcos was only thirty leagues distance from the area where the galleons rendezvoused to go to Havana

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37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*



and thence to Spain. Obviously an English base at San Marcos would represent a serious threat to Spanish shipping in the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>40</sup>

Rebolledo admitted that there would be difficulties if Father Provincial San Antonio decided to send friars to the Apalaches and Choctaws. Apalachee, in particular, required a strong garrison of soldiers, and a fort would need to be constructed at San Marcos before the mission effort could be extended.<sup>41</sup> He denied the Franciscan assertion that the Apalachees did not want soldiers in their province. He bolstered his argument with the claim that no Indians had complained about the soldiers during the course of his visita. Additionally, letters from Cañizares and Puerta had not mentioned any ill will that the Indians harbored toward the soldiers. In fact, the officers had reported that good relations prevailed. The priests, he asserted, had stirred up the Indians because they resented the friendship between the Indians and the soldiers. The churchmen, he believed, wanted the province without a defensive system.<sup>42</sup>

Rebolledo pointed out to the Franciscans that a large delegation of Apalachee Indians had visited him shortly after the conclusion of the visita. He insinuated that the loyalty of these Indians had played a major role in the Apalachees not joining Timucuan rebellion. Not only did Indians come to St. Augustine, but they had communicated important information about provincial affairs. Don Luis, for example, the important cacique from San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco, had sent word that Father Alonso del Moral and Fray Miguel Garcon de los Cobos had traveled about Apalachee in an effort to persuade him and other caciques to protest and perhaps secure the withdrawal of the soldiers. Rebolledo recalled that he had specifically asked the father provincial not to send these particular priests to Apalachee for he had foreseen the possibility of their causing difficulty.<sup>43</sup>

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40. *Ibid.*

41. [Rebolledo's] Notificación y Repuesta [to the Franciscans], August 5, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

42. [Rebolledo's] Notificación y Repuesta [to the Franciscans], August 5, 1657; Cañizares to Rebolledo, May 8, May 21, July 18, 1657; Puerta to Rebolledo, July 12, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

43. [Rebolledo's] Notificación y Repuesta [to the Franciscans], August 5, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

The governor did not intend for anyone, friar or soldier, to mistreat Indians, and he had instructed his officers to supervise the conduct of their men and to investigate Indian complaints against Spaniards. Rebolledo asserted that he had made every effort to guarantee that the Indians did not have to serve as cargo bearers, but admitted the difficulty of preventing this practice. For example, the soldiers, on one occasion, had asked the Indians to help them complete a defensive system at San Luis, but had no money to pay them when they had finished their task. Rebolledo conceded that this doubtless had caused discontent, but that the Indians had received compensation when the subsidy arrived from New Spain.<sup>44</sup>

The governor acknowledged that the Spaniards could not maintain an Apalachee garrison nor construct a fortress at San Marcos without Indian cooperation. Rebolledo doubted that the survival of a mission program was possible without protection. He pointed to the rebellion of 1646 when Indians had killed friars and soldiers indiscriminately and had burned churches. The uprising had occurred, he believed, because of an insufficient force to deter rebellious tendencies. The best interest of the crown required the presence of both the church and the military.<sup>45</sup>

The governor suggested that the Franciscan attitude toward the military varied so much that it was difficult to determine its true feelings. The friars had favored erecting a fort and strengthening the garrison when the Timucuan revolted in 1646. Eleven years later, they had changed their minds, although the defensive needs of the province were no less urgent. Rebolledo maintained that he did not want to dispute with the father provincial or the friars; he only wanted peace in the provinces, and for that it was essential to maintain a strong garrison. Also, it was imperative that the San Marcos port be continuously observed and that a presidio be constructed quickly.<sup>46</sup>

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44. Instrucion [Rebolledo for Apalachee], August 8, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

45. [Rebolledo's] Notificacion y Repuesta [to the Franciscans], August 5, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155; Lucy L. Wenhold, "The First Fort of St. Marcos de Apalachee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* XXXIV, (April 1954); 301-13.

46. [Rebolledo's] Notificacion y Repuesta [to the Franciscans], August 5, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

Governor Rebolledo selected an incident which had occurred in Guale to emphasize the need for soldiers in Apalachee. When Father Sebastián Martínez had returned from Guale with reports of English activity there, the father provincial had inquired anxiously whether Rebolledo would protect the mission. The governor declared that he had every intention of ensuring the safety of the missionaries, but he did not let pass the opportunity to chide the Franciscans with the allegation that they evidently had wanted soldiers in the mission area only when an invasion threatened.<sup>47</sup>

Rebolledo defended stubbornly his position. He reminded the Franciscans that they had a responsibility to encourage the Indians to like the soldiers. But he attempted to soften his stance and suggested that an increase in the garrison size was not likely. Also, the governor postponed, for the time, construction of the fort at San Marcos, not because he wished to please the Franciscans, but because he had insufficient funds with which to build it, and suggested a possible reduction of the Apalachee garrison from twelve to eight soldiers. Rebolledo did point out that, contrary to reports, there had been a good harvest in Apalachee and that the Indians had received payment for food sufficient to feed a twelve-man garrison. There is no evidence that Rebolledo actually reduced the garrison force; by 1662, its size had increased to forty.<sup>48</sup>

Governor Rebolledo hoped that the Franciscans would cooperate with the soldiers rather than work at cross-purposes, for the conduct of some of the friars had been deplorable. He acknowledged his desire to work with all of the priests, but made his intent clear not to stand by and watch the Franciscans undermine his efforts to secure Apalachee militarily. He assured the father provincial that any individual who mistreated the Indians would be punished. This concluded Governor Rebolledo's lengthy response to the Franciscan petition of August 4, 1657, which the scribe, Juan Moreno y Segovia, read to the Fran-

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47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.* See Governor Aranjuez y Cotes to crown, August 8, 1662, SC.AGI. 58-2-2, Document 8.

ciscans.<sup>49</sup> Rebolledo had not provided the Franciscans with a written answer to their petition.

After Rebolledo had answered the Franciscan petition he prepared a set of instructions for Lieutenant Sertucha, directing him to ensure the good treatment of the Indians. Especially was the lieutenant to see to it that the Indians received compensation for employment and payment for food which they provided to Spaniards. When situations arose which the Franciscans felt required punishment for the Indians, the friars had first to inform the province lieutenant concerning the nature of the offense. Then, the officer would determine if the situation warranted correction. Only older neophytes who had become lax in fulfilling their religious obligations would be excepted from this rule. Rebolledo ordered Sertucha to assure that the Indians obeyed the religious instructions which the friars gave them. Province lieutenants, henceforth, were not to permit anyone to punish a cacique or principal man regardless of the act which the Indian had committed. Rather, the lieutenant was to transfer that individual to St. Augustine where the governor was to decide the case.<sup>50</sup>

Sertucha received specific instructions with respect to the port at San Marcos. When a vessel arrived he was to ascertain the purpose for which the ship came to Apalachee and forward the information to St. Augustine as speedily as possible. While awaiting the governor's direction, the lieutenant was to furnish the crew with food if necessary but was not to allow the ship to depart. Rebolledo indicated his intention to send ships annually to Apalachee to procure provisions for St. Augustine. No doubt this was to bolster the annual subsidy sent to Florida without which survival would have been difficult. Also, these vessels were to bring whatever supplies the officials in Havana wished to send the Franciscans. If a ship came to San Marcos, after the needs of St. Augustine had been satisfied, the lieutenant was to allow the Indians to sell food and other trade items. The lieutenant re-

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49. [Rebolledo's] *Notificacion y Repuesta* [to the Franciscans], August 5, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

50. *Instrucion* [from Rebolledo for Apalachee], August 8, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155

ceived explicit orders to inform the governor should the friars attempt to impede the execution of the instructions.<sup>51</sup>

On August 11, 1657, Rebolledo sent a strongly-worded statement to Father Provincial San Antonio, charging him with responsibility for disorder in the province. Rebolledo reiterated that he advised against the decision to send Friar Alonso del Moral and Friar Miguel Garcon to Apalachee, for the province had no shortage of priests. Additionally the friars were not qualified for the assignment because they had not acquired fluency in the tribal language and had little experience in mission work. Rebolledo affirmed that he had urged the father provincial to send priests to Timucua where a need existed. This advice Father San Antonio had chosen to ignore. Moral and Garcon had not been long in Apalachee province before they had caused difficulty. Rebolledo emphasized that he had received reports from Sergeant-Major Cañizares and Adjutant Puerta which confirmed that Father Moral and Father Garcon had influenced other Franciscans to stir up the Indians and thereby get the soldiers withdrawn. The friars, the governor insisted, had distorted the picture and misrepresented the facts. Their efforts had not succeeded; the Indians had refused to be influenced. Rebolledo avowed that the priests deserved to be recalled.<sup>52</sup>

Segovia, the scribe, read Governor Rebolledo's second message to the father provincial. Father San Antonio heard the verbal communique and requested a copy of it, but the scribe refused. The father provincial made reference to the August 4 petition which the Franciscans had sent to Rebolledo and expressed his displeasure with the governor's reluctance to provide him with a written answer.<sup>53</sup> Segovia expressed the father provincial's sentiments to the governor, and Rebolledo, obviously irritated by Father San Antonio's attitude, declared in essence that he had discussed the matter as much as he intended and that the Franciscans could appeal to others if they desired.<sup>54</sup>

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51. *Ibid.*

52. Exortacion y Requerimiento, August 11, 1657; Cañizares to Rebolledo, May 8, May 21, July 18, 1657; Puerta to Rebolledo July 12, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

53. Peticion [of the Father Provincial and the Franciscans to Governor Rebolledo], August 11, 1657, SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

54. Repuesta [of Governor Rebolledo to the Franciscan Peticion], August 17, 1657. SC.AGIEC.leg.155.

On August 18, 1657, the scribe delivered orally the governor's reply to the provincial. The father provincial handed the scribe a petition to deliver to the governor. Father San Antonio acknowledged that he had received Rebolledo's demand to re-assign Fathers Moral and Garcon, but regretted that the governor had provided no firm evidence other than the reports of the military in the province. Father San Antonio stated that he intended to keep the friars in Apalachee until the charges against them were proved.<sup>55</sup>

Rebolledo, upon receipt of Father San Antonio's reply, asserted that there were sufficient reasons for the recall of Fathers Moral and Garcon. The whole controversy, in the governor's opinion, had resulted in nothing more than confusion and an unpleasant state of affairs. The governor charged that the father provincial had skirted the issue consistently and had not acted in the best interest of the church or the crown by assigning and retaining priests such as Moral and Garcon in Apalachee. Rebolledo admitted the controversy which had developed could not be resolved in Florida. Accordingly, he forwarded the documents and related papers to the Council of the Indies.<sup>56</sup>

The Franciscans took their case to the council also. They accepted no responsibility at all for the Timucuan rebellion. In their view it had resulted from Governor Rebolledo's heavy-handed policies. The soldiers, for example, had forced the Indians to carry heavy cargoes from Apalachee to St. Augustine. Because of the hardships thus imposed on the Indians many of them had died. Such administrative policies, the friars felt, did nothing more than undermine years of arduous labor in the mission fields. Rebolledo, the friars admitted, had not inaugurated the custom of using the Indians as porters. Fray Gómez de Engraba claimed that during the administration of his predecessor, Governor ad interim Pedro Benedit Horruytiner, 200 Indians had been required to carry burdens to St. Augustine, and only ten of them had ever returned to their homes. The Franciscan charged that the Indians had not been given enough to eat and had starved to death. Rebolledo refuted the friar's claim by pointing out that

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55. Petición [of the Father Provincial San Antonio]. n.d., SC.AG.IEC.leg.155.

56. Repuesta [of Governor Rebolledo to the Franciscans], August 19, 1657, SC.AG.IEC.leg.155.

there had been a smallpox epidemic in Florida and that disease, not mistreatment, had killed the Indians. The Franciscans maintained that soldiers had treated the Indians like slaves, which the Indians had deeply resented. This quasi-enslavement had caused the Indians to rebel and undo the religious work which had been progressing so well in Timucua before the rebellion. Father Gómez felt that Cañizares had put down the rebellion with unwarranted severity. There was no justifiable reason, in his opinion, to execute eleven caciques.<sup>57</sup>

The visita papers and the Franciscan reports reached the Council of the Indies, and that body took the matter under consideration. There was also an unsigned letter which protested the way Governor Rebolledo had treated the soldiers in the presidio at St. Augustine. The council studied the evidence against Rebolledo, as well as the documents which he submitted to defend himself. In July 1657, the council recommended to the crown the replacement of Governor Rebolledo and an investigation of his administration. The governor, however, died before crown officials had the opportunity to take punitive action against him.<sup>58</sup>

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57. Letter from Friar Juan Gómez de Engraba, March 30, 1657, AGL 54-5-10, Document 73, SC; Rebolledo to the king, October 14, A.G.I. 58-2-2; Same to same, October 24, 1655, in Ruth Kuykendall, tr., North Carolina Historical Commission, North Carolina Historical Records Survey, Reel 24. Gómez to Father Francisco Martínez, Comisario de la Provincia de Florida, April 4, 1657, AGL 54-5-10, Document 74, SC.

58. Council of the Indies to the crown, June 15, 1657, AGL 53-1-6, Document 68; Council of the Indies to the crown, July 1, 1657, AGL 54-5-10, Document 75; Council of the Indies to the crown, July 7, 1657, AGL 53-1-6, Document 70, SC.

## POTTER COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION OF THE DISPUTED ELECTION OF 1876

by KAREN GUENTHER

**O**N Saturday, March 3, 1877, Chief Justice Morrison B. Waite, in a private ceremony at the White House, swore into office Rutherford Birchard Hayes of Ohio as the nineteenth president of the United States. This event, culminating four months of controversy, resulted from the decision of a special electoral commission and a subsequent agreement known historically as the Compromise of 1877. Nevertheless, many Democrats still refused to concede the legitimacy of the Republican victory. When Congress reconvened shortly after the inauguration, several prominent House Democrats demanded a thorough investigation of the election. Consequently, in May 1878, the House established the Potter Committee for that purpose. For the next ten months this committee examined evidence relating to possible corruption in the determination of electoral votes for Hayes's triumph. The investigation, however, only served to discredit several state election officials and to uncover conflicting and inconclusive evidence of electoral fraud.<sup>1</sup>

The election of 1876 belonged to a period in American politics in which voters provided few solid mandates either to parties or to individuals. During this era, no president won reelection after his four years in office nor did any presidential candidate receive a majority of the popular vote. Further, congressional control was continually exchanged between the two main parties. Factional conflicts, often based on personal rivalries rather than on differences of opinion, were common within the parties.<sup>2</sup> In this climate occurred one of the closest and most dis-

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1. Sidney I. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," in *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789-1968*, 4 vols., Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., ed. (New York, 1971), II, 1428.
2. John A. Garraty, *The New Commonwealth, 1877-1890* (New York, 1968), 222-23, 239.



orderly elections in American history. Prior to the election of 1876, both candidates, Rutherford B. Hayes of the Republican party and Samuel J. Tilden of the Democratic party, had achieved fame as reformers. Tilden, formerly governor of New York, emerged with a clear plurality of the popular vote, receiving approximately 250,000 more votes than his opponent. In the early returns, he seemed assured of a clear majority in the electoral college vote as well. However, the discovery of twenty disputed electoral votes made the outcome uncertain. One of these came from Oregon, where officials had declared one elector ineligible. Nineteen were from the three southern states which still had "carpetbag" governments: Florida, four; Louisiana, eight; and South Carolina, seven. To win the election Hayes needed all twenty disputed votes.<sup>3</sup>

The Constitution provided that the official counting of the electoral votes be conducted in the presence of both houses of Congress, but the Republican-controlled Senate and the Democratic-controlled House could not readily agree on the procedure for authenticating the returns. Finally, two bi-partisan committees, one from each house, jointly proposed an electoral commission bill on January 18, 1877, to solve the dispute. As authorized, the commission consisted of fifteen members— five from each house and five from the Supreme Court. The purpose of the electoral commission was to determine how the disputed votes should be counted. Its decisions on the election returns of the four disputed states were to be final unless a separate vote in both the Senate and the House sustained an objection.<sup>4</sup>

During February and March 1877, it became clear that the special commission, consisting of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, would decide the dispute strictly along partisan lines. The decision of the electoral votes of the first state, Florida, resulted in an eight-to-seven victory for the Republicans. This pattern continued throughout the rest of the decisions. Congress

3. George Dangerfield, "The Historical Warning of the Hotel Wormley," *New Republic*, CXXV (December 31, 1951), 18; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1404-10.

4. C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction* (Boston, 1951), 150-52; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1415. For a list of the members of the Electoral Commission see *Congressional Record*, 44 Cong., 2 Sess., "The Proceedings of the Electoral Commission." The activities of the commission are also related here.

received the official announcement of the commission's decision on Florida on February 10. That same day the Democrats voted by strict party vote to recess until the following Monday. Many subsequent recesses would have had a filibustering effect of delaying the completion of the electoral vote count.<sup>5</sup>

An ominous political crisis was averted when Republican concessions and promises persuaded southern Democrats to accept the commission's decision for Hayes, which ended the filibuster on February 24. In the compromise, the Republicans promised to withdraw federal troops from the South, to leave the state governments in the control of the conservatives, and to appoint a southern Democrat to Hayes's cabinet. Other conditions of this agreement included federal expenditures for the construction of a railroad through the South and southern Democratic support for a Republican speaker of the house. Neither of these latter promises materialized.<sup>6</sup>

As a result of the bargaining, political and military Reconstruction ended. Within a few months after the inauguration of Hayes, however, confessions of persons involved in the elections in Florida and Louisiana pointed to widespread corruption and produced a clamor for an impartial investigation of the election in these states. Reacting to the intensifying public debate, Democratic Congressman Clarkson N. Potter of New York, a personal friend and next-door neighbor to Tilden, presented to the House of Representatives on May 13, 1878, a resolution calling for a new investigation of the 1876 elections in Florida and Louisiana.<sup>7</sup> At first, the Republicans refused to vote on the issue, leaving the House and preventing a quorum. After several anxious days, the Democratic-controlled House approved the resolution by a 146 to 2 vote. The committee, headed by Potter, was "to inquire into the alleged fraudulent canvass and return of votes at the last Presidential election in the states of Louisiana and Florida."<sup>8</sup> By

5. Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction*, 156, 164-65; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1419-20.

6. Dangerfield, "Hotel Wormley," 19.

7. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1427-28; Harry Barnard, *Rutherford B. Hayes and His America* (New York, 1954), 467. South Carolina was not considered because no proof of Republican corruption existed in that state, save the interference in the 1876 gubernatorial election.

8. U.S. Congress, House, *Investigation of Alleged Electoral Frauds in the Late Presidential Election*, H. Rept. 140, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., 1879, 1; *Con-*

subsequent resolution, the committee could also investigate alleged frauds in any of the other states. The motion to investigate evidently passed only because Potter disavowed any intention to impeach or unseat the president. Indeed, two weeks after the establishment of the committee, the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives, bowing to public apprehensions about a possible political coup, declared in a formal resolution that "no subsequent Congress . . . has jurisdiction to revise the action of the Forty-fourth Congress in the electoral dispute."<sup>9</sup>

Two principal reasons seemed to exist for the establishment of the Potter Committee. The main purpose of the investigation for the Democrats was to expose the corruption of Republican state officials in the counting of votes, thus making a record for election campaign purposes. Also, by keeping the question of the election dispute alive, these Democrats hoped that Hayes's title to the presidency would be further doubted, thus enhancing the prospects for a Democratic victory, possibly led by Tilden, in 1880. Therefore, the Potter Committee's leaders initially intended to embarrass and harass both Republican politicians and President Hayes.<sup>10</sup>

Although the eleven-member Potter Committee was reputed to be impartial, both the majority and minority membership reflected an anti-Hayes bias.<sup>11</sup> For example, one of the minority Republicans, Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, resentful of

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*gressional Record*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., May 13-17, 1878; *New York Times*, May 14-18, 1878.

9. H. Rept. 140, 1-2; *Congressional Record*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., 3665; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1428; Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 469-70.
10. H. Rept. 140, 70-71; Alexander C. Flick, *Samuel Jones Tilden: A Story in Political Sagacity* (Port Washington, 1939), 427. President Hayes commented in his diary that the investigation was "a partisan proceeding for merely partisan ends" that was "not in the best interests of the country." Rutherford B. Hayes, *Hayes: The Diary of a President, 1875-1881*, T. Harry Williams, ed. (New York, 1964), 141.
11. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1429. The members of the Potter Committee were J. C. S. Blackburn, D-Kentucky; Benjamin F. Butler, R-Massachusetts; Thomas R. Cobb, D-Indiana; Jacob D. Cox, R-Ohio; Frank Hiscock, R-New York; Eppa Hunton, D-Virginia; John A. McMahon, D-Ohio; William R. Morrison, D-Illinois; Clarkson N. Potter, D-New York (chairman); Thomas B. Reed, R-Maine; and William S. Stenger, D-Pennsylvania. William M. Springer, D-Illinois, later replaced Cobb. The Republican bias against Hayes was primarily because of opposition to his southern policies.

the president's appointment policies, revealed more antagonism toward Hayes than any of the Democratic members.<sup>12</sup>

During its ten-month investigation, the Potter Committee examined over 200 witnesses. Hearings formally began on June 1, with testimony taken by the committee in Washington, D.C., Florida, Louisiana; and New York throughout the summer and fall. In testimony, statements, and documents, witnesses from Florida and Louisiana presented deplorable accounts of fraud in the canvassing of the election returns.<sup>13</sup> Ben Butler insisted that the committee stress the unsavory dealings between the Republican hierarchy and southern Democrats. The main investigation, though, concentrated on voting irregularities in Florida and Louisiana.<sup>14</sup>

The interest in Florida centered on revelations which had first been made prior to the formation of the Potter Committee by Samuel B. McLin, a member of the returning board. McLin "confessed" to having been "influenced" by Republican party promises of a major political appointment. In fact, after serving as a member of the returning board, he received an appointment as associate justice of New Mexico. However, upon denial of his Senate confirmation, McLin had decided to expose the irregularities, in the Florida election.<sup>15</sup>

To pursue the allegations of McLin, Potter appointed a subcommittee consisting of William Springer of Illinois, Frank Hiscock of New York, and Eppa Hunton of Virginia as chairman. McLin's testimony included specific examples of vote alterations in several Florida counties after the election. One example of such misconduct occurred at L. C. Dennis's house in Gainesville. Richard H. Black and Thomas H. Vance, two black precinct workers, conspired with Dennis to alter votes in favor of Republican candidates in Alachua County. Also, in Jefferson

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12. Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 470.

13. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1428-29. For the majority and minority reports on Florida see H. Rept. 140, 6-22, 77-84; (for the reports on Louisiana see 23-67, 84-92).

14. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1428.

15. H. Rept. 140, 80; U.S. Congress, House, *Presidential Election Investigation, 1878-79*, House Miscellaneous Document No. 31, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., 1879, II, 1; Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 466-67; Paul Leland Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876* (Cleveland, 1906), 308-09.

County, the local election official had withdrawn at least one stack of Democratic ballots and substituted in their place 100 Republican ballots. For his timely assistance, this official had received a position in the Department of Interior. McLin also testified that General Lew Wallace, then a future governor of New Mexico, and Governor Edward F. Noyes of Ohio had informed him that if Hayes was elected, the members of the Florida Returning Board would receive handsome appointments. Based upon his knowledge of these and other irregularities, McLin informed the subcommittee that he believed that the electoral votes of Florida really belonged to Tilden.<sup>16</sup>

The Potter Committee also discovered evidence which indicated that in the original Florida returns Tilden electors had received a majority of ninety-one votes. The Florida Board of State Canvassers apparently overcame this pro-Democratic deficit by excluding approximately 1,000 votes from Hamilton, Jackson, Manatee, and Monroe counties, which allowed Hayes to win the state by 920.<sup>17</sup> Other testimony before the Potter Committee revealed that Democrats in Florida had also engaged in improprieties. Some witnesses accused Democrats of altering votes and of attempting to bribe local election officials. When Florida electors from both parties voted on December 6, many leading Democrats allegedly tried to obtain the certificate of election for Tilden electors by force or bribery. As a result, a member of the Returning Board demanded police protection due to threats of violence.<sup>18</sup>

16. H. Rept. 140, 11-12; H. Misc. Doc. No. 31, II, 101; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 310. For a list of Florida election officials who received appointments, see H. Rept. 146, 21-22. More detailed accounts of the activities in Florida during this period may be found in Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 314-39, and in Shofner, "Fraud and Intimidation in the Florida Election of 1876," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLII (April 1964), 321-30.
17. H. Rept. 140, 68. In *Nor Is It Over Yet*, Shofner contends that if the Florida Canvassing Board had only declared Hayes the victor and had not also tried to elect the Republican candidate, Marcellus L. Stearns, as governor, the decision of the Canvassing Board might not have been contested. (Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 326-27). In a telegram to Colonel W. T. Pelton, Manton Marble, agent for Tilden in Florida, reported that the Canvassing Board was "absurdly disregarding facts and flagrantly violating law" in performing its duties. (Manton Marble to W. T. Pelton, December 7, 1876, Samuel J. Tilden Papers, New York Public Library).
18. H. Rept. 140, 80-81; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 311.

In Washington, members of the Potter Committee expended an enormous amount of time analyzing the Florida voting scandal. Because of a divergence of opinion among members and the conflicting evidence which it gathered, the committee had difficulty in drawing conclusions. Evidence indicated that Tilden supporters in Florida resorted to extreme measures of voting fraud and violence. In particular, local blacks had been intimidated from voting. To combat this, the Board of State Canvassers usurped discretionary powers and reversed the result of many of the votes cast. As a result, the Potter Committee, despite its diligence, could not reach a clear verdict as to which party was most guilty of misconduct. Therefore, the effect of its investigation into the Florida controversy was left unclear.<sup>19</sup>

Besides Florida, the Potter Committee also investigated election discrepancies in Louisiana. Members of the Potter subcommittee investigating in this state included William Stenger of Pennsylvania as chairman, J. C. S. Blackburn of Kentucky, and Thomas B. Reed of Maine who was later replaced by Jacob Cox of Ohio. These committee members investigated a host of charges including those alleging dishonesty on the part of several prominent Republicans who visited Louisiana after the presidential election; instances of violence and intimidation during the election; the making of a second set of election certificates by the electors in Louisiana and the forgery of the names of two of the electors to the second set of certificates; and unethical agreements between friends of the Hayes administration and the representative of the governor of Louisiana. Thus, the Potter Committee took on a sizable task in investigating these matters.<sup>20</sup>

The subcommittee investigated illegalities in two large parishes, East Feliciana and West Feliciana, where election officials had discarded almost 3,000 votes on the grounds that intimidation had taken place.<sup>21</sup> One of the most intriguing Louisianans to

19. H. Rept. 140, 2, 6-22, 77-84; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876 " 1432.

20. H. Rept. 140, 84; H. Misc. Doc. No. 31, III, 1. For the election in Louisiana see Fanny Z. Lovell Bone, "Louisiana in the Disputed Election of 1876," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIV (July 1931, and October 1931), 408-40, 549-66; and T. B. Tunnell, Jr., "The Negro, the Republican Party, And the Election of 1876 in Louisiana," *Louisiana History*, VII (Spring 1966), 101-16.

21. Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 465. In East Feliciana Parish 1,736 votes were rejected; in West Feliciana 1,101 votes and in Ouachita 1,517 votes

appear before the committee was James E. "Scamp" Anderson of East Feliciana, who presented a sordid account of vote manipulation. Anderson's accusations even included references to complicity by prominent Republican "visiting statesmen" who were in New Orleans from November 15 until December 2, 1876. Foremost among these guests was John Sherman, Hayes's future secretary of the treasury. According to Anderson and other witnesses, these Republican officials had assured them of federal jobs in a letter written by Sherman, which was subsequently misplaced. When queried, Sherman denied sending such a letter.<sup>22</sup>

The Potter Committee also investigated several blatant irregularities in the electoral process. The Louisiana returning board, which illegally consisted of only Republicans, displayed, according to witnesses, partisan, arbitrary, and unjust behavior. After sitting for twelve days, the board apparently excluded enough of the Democratic votes to ensure a victory for Hayes. The Potter Committee also heard testimony concerning improper conduct in the casting of Louisiana's electoral votes. The electors in Louisiana did not vote for the candidates separately, a violation of the twelfth amendment to the Constitution. Also, the Republican electors prepared a second set of returns, which included forged names, and then tried to suppress the original certificates.<sup>23</sup> In spite of its discovery of these irregularities, the committee discovered nothing in Louisiana serious enough to justify criticism of the honor of President Hayes. The most serious action attributed to Hayes concerned his subsequent appointment of several Louisiana election officials to positions in the national government.<sup>24</sup>

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suffered the same result. Out of a total of 4,354 votes rejected by the Returning Board, only 259 were Republican. (H. Rept. 140, 39).

22. H. Rept. 140, 41; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 312. A copy of the letter supposedly written by Sherman, along with his views on the investigation, may be found in John Sherman, *John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1895), II, 653-58. For a study of the role of the "visiting statesmen" see: Ralph J. Roske, " 'Visiting Statesmen' in Louisiana, 1876," *Mid-America*, XXXIII (April 1951), 89-101.
23. H. Rept. 140, 39-40, 50, 58, 89. Copies of the certificates may be found in the *Congressional Record*, 44 Cong., 2 Sess., "The Proceedings of the Electoral Commission," 292-93.
24. Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 472-73. For a list of these appointments see the report of the majority in H. Rept. 140, 22, 48-49. In 1891, Abram S. Hewitt, Tilden's campaign manager in 1876, asserted, "The state of

Despite the dubious reliability of men such as Anderson of Louisiana and McLin of Florida, the Democratic members considered their findings to constitute a fatal blow against the Republican party and the presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes. Sensational publicity of the committee's findings by the Democratic press gave promise of political victories in 1878 and 1880. However, despite its apparent intent to scandalize the Republicans, the Potter Committee's investigation unexpectedly ended with an indictment of the integrity of Democrats. Republican strategists, by exposing coded messages of Tilden's associates, succeeded in converting the final phase of the committee's investigation into a devastating exposure of Democratic intrigue in Florida and South Carolina.<sup>25</sup>

During the initial controversy between Hayes and Tilden in 1876, Congress had subpoenaed from the Western Union Telegraph Company the copies of dispatches relating to the presidential election. The House Committee on Louisiana Affairs had requested the telegrams relating to the election in that state, and the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections had subpoenaed the Oregon dispatches. The company delivered not only the Louisiana and Oregon dispatches, but also the entire 30,000 telegrams regarding the election, many of them written in cipher. After these investigations, the committee supposedly returned all of the dispatches to Western Union which in turn burned them. However, approximately 750 were kept by George E. Bullock, a Republican clerk who had worked for the Senate committee.<sup>26</sup>

In May 1878, Bullock gave the telegrams to Representative J. L. Evans, who distributed copies to prominent Republican

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Louisiana has determined the result of a Presidential election. The vote of that State was offered to me for money, and I declined to buy it. But the vote of that State was sold for money!" Samuel J. Tilden, *Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden*, 2 vols., John Bigelow, ed. (New York, 1908), II, 482.

25. Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 314; Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 461, 474.

26. H. Rept. 140, 77; U.S. Congress, House, "The Cipher Dispatches: Their History" (Majority Report on Cipher Dispatches), H. Rept. 140, Part II, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., 1879, 2, Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1430; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 315. For the election in Oregon see: Harold Dippre, "Corruption and Disputed Vote of Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, LXVII (September 1966), 257-72; and Philip W. Kennedy, "Oregon and the Disputed Election of 1876," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, LX (July 1969), 135-44.



congressmen. Accordingly, copies of these telegrams made their way to Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*. Reid assumed the task of deciphering the dispatches, which had been sent in at least six different systems of cryptography. With the aid of John R. G. Hassard and Colonel William S. Grosvenor, Reid deciphered about 600 of the telegrams. These communications revealed a Democratic conspiracy to bribe election officials, especially in the states of Florida and South Carolina. The most shocking discovery was that Colonel W. T. Pelton, the nephew of Samuel J. Tilden, had directed these activities from the New York party headquarters, which was located in Tilden's home. These telegrams also demonstrated that the same men who had been loudest in their denunciations of the Republican election officials had themselves attempted to bribe these officials.<sup>27</sup>

Just at the time when the publicity of the Potter Committee's findings was having its most devastating impact on Republicans, the *Tribune* published, over a ten-day period, a full description of the cipher systems used and the keys to their interpretations, covering telegrams between New York headquarters and Democratic agents in California, Oregon, and the southern states. At first the *Tribune* published only a few of the messages in cipher, inviting readers to try their hands at decoding them. Finally, the *Tribune* carried a detailed history of the ciphers and their translations in the October 7, 1878, issue. One-half of the dispatches were written in plain English, and the rest in cipher. Most of the telegrams concerning the activities were addressed to No. 15 Gramercy Park, New York, which was Tilden's address.<sup>28</sup>

The publication of these dispatches created intense national interest. Most Democrats at first refused to believe that the telegrams were genuine. However, once validity was established, the Democrats tended to denounce the underhanded manner in which they were obtained and to deny their significance.<sup>29</sup> After

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27. H. Rept. 140, 72; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 315-16; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1430-31; *New York Tribune*, passim.
  28. *New York Tribune*, October 7, 1878; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1431; Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 475; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 317. The main types of cipher systems are fully described in the *Tribune*.
  29. Flick, *Tilden*, 430. Public opinion to the publishing of the dispatches is contained in the *New York Tribune* issues of October 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, and 23, 1878.

a two-month delay, Congress prepared a resolution calling on the Potter Committee to inquire into the cipher telegrams. Congress instructed the committee to determine what, if any, illegal methods were employed to influence the electoral canvass in Florida, South Carolina, and Oregon.<sup>30</sup> The Potter Committee assigned the task of deciphering the codes to Edward S. Holden, professor of mathematics at the United States Naval Academy.<sup>31</sup>

Party politics played an important role in the cipher investigation. Republican committeemen wanted to embarrass the Democrats by exposing the corrupt acts of Tilden and his agents and by proving that their party had not engaged in similar activities. On the other hand, Democratic committeemen proceeded to gather dispatches and to take testimony which might reveal Republican dereliction in the disputed states. Fortunately for the Republicans, no evidence existed of Republican dispatches similar to those of Tilden's agents. If they had ever existed, Republican dispatches containing incriminating evidence were probably destroyed.<sup>32</sup>

After the unsuccessful investigation into Republican ciphers, Democratic members of the Potter Committee had to face embarrassment from the illegal activities of their own party members. The translation of the ciphers indicated that Tilden's confidential agents in Florida, C. W. Woolley and Manton Marble, at first tried legally to arrange for Tilden's election. Failing in this goal, these men apparently attempted to bribe election officials. For example, one telegram from Marble to Pelton issued on December 2, 1876, indicated that the decision of the Florida Returning Board could be secured for \$200,000.<sup>33</sup> Yet no evidence was found to indicate that bribes were actually paid. On February 7, 1879, Marble explained that these negotiations took place

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30. H. Rept. 140, "Cipher Dispatches," 1-6; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1431.

31. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1431. For the report of Professor Holden see H. Misc. Doc. No. 31, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., IV, 325-85.

32. H. Rept. 140, 71; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 323. Copies of Republican dispatches sent are in Albert M. Gibson, *A Political Crime: The History of the Great Fraud* (New York, 1885), 75-76, with discussion of this topic on pp. 75-78.

33. *New York Tribune*, October 8, 1878. The official text of this telegram in cipher and in translation may be found in H. Misc. Doc. No. 31, IV, 176. This amount (\$200,000) also appears to have been the price of the Louisiana Returning Board. See Flick, *Tilden*, 341.

only to test the integrity of the election officials. Marble acknowledged the telegrams attributed to him, but he was very guarded in his admissions. He insisted that he had not bribed anyone. The dispatches, nevertheless, discredited Democratic activity in Florida and served to embarrass Democratic members of the Potter Committee.<sup>34</sup>

The Potter Committee faced an even more disconcerting problem in regard to South Carolina. The committee discovered that agents of Tilden, led by Smith M. Weed, unequivocally attempted illegalities to manipulate the vote in South Carolina. In testimony before the Potter Committee, Weed admitted that at a cost of \$60,000, the canvassing board could have been secured. Both Weed and Pelton attempted to justify their roles in the negotiations, claiming that they only intended to "ransom stolen goods from thieves."<sup>35</sup> Public interest in the cipher revelations greatly increased with the investigation of the dispatches from South Carolina, creating a greater sensation in Washington than those from Florida.<sup>36</sup>

The climactic point of the Potter Committee's investigation was the examination of Samuel J. Tilden, which occurred on February 8, 1879. An experienced lawyer, Tilden chose his words carefully, asserting his innocence to any of the damaging dispatches during his testimony of two and one-half hours. When responding to a question about the bribes alluded to in the cipher dispatches, his voice rose suddenly to a dramatic intensity. He asserted that he knew nothing of the Florida offers until long after they were made. Also, he swore under oath that he had never seen any of the Oregon dispatches except one from the governor of Oregon stating that he would pick a Democratic elector from that state.<sup>37</sup> Tilden admitted that intimate associ-

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34. *New York Tribune*, October 8, 1878. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1432; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 323; Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 477.

35. H. Misc. Doc. 31, IV, 110; *New York Tribune*, October 16, 1878; Haworth *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 323.

36. *New York Tribune*, October 17, 1878. Full stories of the dispatches from Florida and South Carolina, as well as keys and vocabularies of the secret ciphers may be found in the *Tribune*, Extra No. 44, published October 19, 1878.

37. Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 324-26; Flick, *Tilden*, 433. A copy of the telegram sent by Governor Grover of Oregon may be found in the *Congressional Record*, 44 Cong., 2 Sess., 1910.

ates such as Pelton, Weed, and Marble had deceived him by conducting these dastardly negotiations. When Tilden learned of such activity, he ordered its immediate termination. In addition, the Democratic candidate stated that the Republican administration had resorted to the exposure of the ciphers to offset the Potter investigation. With the denials of his involvement, Tilden emphatically expressed the belief that he had been denied the presidency by massive fraud and corruption.<sup>38</sup>

Tilden's testimony indicated a remarkable disinterest in the activities of Colonel Pelton and others who worked for his election. Pelton admitted complicity in the dispatches, but he would not comment on Tilden's involvement. Republican members of the committee deduced that because of Pelton's penury, Tilden had to have been involved in the activities.<sup>39</sup>

The testimony before the Potter Committee indicated that the attempted bribery was not authorized by the Democratic National Committee, nor by any of its officials, especially the presidential candidate.<sup>40</sup> However, the revelations of the committee, did irreparable damage to the reputation of Tilden. *Harper's Weekly* wrote off Democratic pretensions to being the "party of reform," absolving Republicans of any corruption. The magazine also praised Hayes as an authentic statesman and downgraded Tilden as a "shrewd politician."<sup>41</sup> After the deciphering of the dispatches, the American public seemed to hold the Democrats equally responsible for the election irregularities of 1876. The martyrdom of Tilden was no longer an election issue.<sup>42</sup>

The cipher investigation also nullified the importance in the public mind of the final majority report of the Potter Committee. This report informed an incredulous public that Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks had been the true choice of a majority of the electors.<sup>43</sup> The Republican minority refused to

38. Flick, *Tilden*, 431; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 326. For Tilden's testimony see: H. Misc. Doc. No. 31, IV, 272-94.

39. H. Rept. 140, 74; Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 477.

40. H. Rept. 140, "Cipher Dispatches," 2.

41. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1432.

42. Malcolm C. Moos, *The Republicans* (New York, 1956), 156; Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1430.

43. Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 478. Summaries and conclusions of the majority, minority, and Butler reports may be found in H. Rept. 140, 67, 92-93, and 117-18.

admit that the electors were as purchasable as the Democrats had claimed. Also, the Republicans stated that if Tilden had been innocent of participation in the negotiations, then he should have divorced himself from the affairs of Pelton rather than let him continue the negotiations.<sup>44</sup>

The findings of the Potter Committee revealed a disgraceful chapter in American political history. The transition from the ordeal of Reconstruction to the normalization of politics had put the nation to the severest test since the Civil War itself. The mad scramble for political power and economic advantage resulted in the corruption of honorable men and the weakening of party principles. The original purpose of the Potter Committee, the embarrassment of the Hayes administration by raising the fraud issue of the 1876 election, was never realized. Instead, the Democrats implicated themselves, thus dashing Tilden's chances of running again in 1880, and removing much of the propaganda alleging Hayes as the fraudulent victor in 1876-1877. While the revelations of the committee did not remove the stain of corruption from the Republican party, it did show independents that the Democrats were not much better. Another consolation to Republicans was that Hayes had not been personally accused of wrongdoing. Even so, the Potter Committee hearings were an ordeal for him, as they permitted Democratic newspapers to emphasize that top Republican officials had been reluctant to notice the obvious voting irregularities.<sup>45</sup>

By an accident of history, it fell to the Hayes administration to embark on a program of political regeneration and high moral purpose. The stigma of the "stolen" election unfortunately obscured the real accomplishments of Hayes. Whatever its original intention, the Potter Committee uncovered damaging, if conflicting, evidence that only brought the electoral process into disrepute and put both political parties on the defensive.<sup>46</sup> As

44. H. Rept. 140, 73; Haworth, *Hayes-Tilden Disputed Election*, 326-27.

45. H. Rept. 140, 72; Flick, *Tilden*, 436; Kenneth E. Davison, *The Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Westport, 1972), 166; Barnard, *Hayes and America*, 471. Incidentally, the Democratic candidate for vice president in 1876, Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, was not involved in these activities. Later, in 1884, he was elected to this position, successfully running on the Democratic ticket with Grover Cleveland of New York. Hendricks died in office in 1885.

46. Pomerantz, "Election of 1876," 1430.

a result of the investigation, the cry of "fraud" had lost its effectiveness by 1880. In that year, James A. Garfield, the Republican candidate and one of the members of the infamous electoral commission, won election over his Democratic opponent, Winfield S. Hancock. The Potter Committee had indeed sown "the wind and reaped the whirlwind."

## **IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN TAMPA: THE ITALIAN EXPERIENCE, 1890-1930**

by GARY R. MORMINO AND GEORGE E. POZZETTA

**T**HE historical study of women, particularly immigrant women, has advanced dramatically over the past decade. Recent scholarship has rescued from neglect a great deal of historical material and has placed in clearer perspective the important roles played by women in American society. Ultimately, women's history will be fully integrated into the pageantry of the American experience. Sufficient specialized studies to accomplish this goal, however, do not yet exist. More regional and local investigations detailing the histories of women in many different locations, time periods, and life situations are required.

During the period 1890-1930 the state of Florida possessed no more cosmopolitan mix of population and culture than that which existed in Tampa. Residing there, and working primarily in Tampa's cigar industry, were thousands of immigrant Spanish, Cuban, and Italian men and women. The necessities of coming to a new land, coping with a strange culture, and adapting to new demands resulted in the creation of a unique ethnic community called Ybor City. Immigrant women added their own distinctive contributions to the quality of life existing in this enclave. During the tumultuous strike of 1910, one reporter took note of "bevvies of gayly dressed Spanish, Cuban, and Italian women," waving their red bandanas as striking cigar makers marched to the *Internationale*. In 1931, the year of Tampa's last great cigar strike, a German visitor marveled at the city's "Spanish India [Ybor City] . . . What a colorful, screaming, shrill and turbulent world! Spanish and Cuban women and cats— both equally beautiful, equally exotic . . . a veritable narrow ghetto, rich with life's

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smells."<sup>1</sup> The hints of romance and radicalism that such images put forth belie the more fundamental roles played by women.

The Italian women who came to Florida traced their roots back to a cluster of small villages in the western part of Sicily; it was here that the outlooks and values of the immigrants took shape.<sup>2</sup> These remote, hill-top settlements had a history that was tintured with fatalism and gloom. For them, the unification of Italy in 1870 had only changed rulers not masters; power emanated from wealthy landowners who controlled the area's wheat, olives, vines, and sheep. From these urban-villages numbering 6,000 or more inhabitants, peasants walked several miles each day to tend their plots of earth. In Sicily, peasants lived not on the land but in "agro-cities," and because of this rural-urban mixture, a crude middle class of artisans and shopkeepers had evolved.<sup>3</sup>

"If you want a large family," a Sicilian proverb instructed, "begin with a girl, but she may not live beyond the first year."<sup>4</sup> The bittersweet message this folk wisdom imparted is evocative of the vital role played by women in the Sicilian agri-urban system. Pleasant women derived their esteem from their domestic prowess and economic contributions. In general, Sicilian men preferred that women not work outside the home, since the women's status as a wage earner jeopardized family honor and male prestige. In 1907 only fifteen per cent of all Sicilian women labored outside the home in non-agrarian occupations.<sup>5</sup> A 1909

1. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, August 12, 1910; Anne France-Harrar, *Florida, Das Land des Überflusses*, trans. by Georg H. Kleine (Berlin-Schöneberg, 1931), quoted in "The Suncoast Viewed through German Eyes," *Tampa Bay History*, III (Fall/Winter, 1981), 80.
2. In order of their importance to Tampa, these villages were Santo Stefano Quisquina, Alessandria della Rocca, Bivona, Cianciana, and Contessa Entellina. The authors spent academic year 1980-1981 in Italy, including time in these villages and archive centers in Rome and Florence.
3. Sidney Sonnino, *I contadini in Sicilia*, Vol. 2 of Leopoldo Franchetti and Sidney Sonnino, *La Sicilia nel 1876* (Florence, 1877), 171-72; Denis Mack Smith, *A History of Sicily* (London, 1968); Jane and Peter Schneider, *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily* (New York, 1976); Giuseppe Giarrizzo, Gastone Masacorda, et al., *I fasci Siciliani* (Bari, 1976); Calogero Messina, *S. Stejano Quisquina: Studio Critico* (Palermo, 1976); Salvatore Salomone-Marino, *Customs and Habits of the Sicilian Peasants*, translated from *Costumi e usanze dei contadini di Sicilia* by Rosalie Norris (Rutherford, N.J., 1981).
4. Charlotte G. Chapman, *Milocca: A Sicilian Village* (New York, 1971), 30.
5. *Annuario Statistico, 1905-1907* (Rome, 1907), III, 40; Anton Blok, *The*



government survey conducted in Tampa found similar patterns in force: 10.5 per cent of the city's Italian women had worked outside the home for wages before coming to America, and another 18.4 per cent had toiled as farm laborers.<sup>6</sup> The work experience for these women, therefore, resided principally in the context of the family.

The key point basic to understanding the Sicilian family is its function as a collective producer, a common pool of familial resources. The family was the Sicilians' state. The Church had joined forces with the *galantuomini* (upper classes), the government had betrayed the people, justice was corrupt, only the family could be trusted. Sicilians denigrated and denied individualism for the greater family good. Parents regarded their children as economic assets whose incomes helped stave off disaster and added to the family fortunes.

An over abundance of children, however, exacerbated the island's many problems. In 1800, Sicily's population stood at 1,000,000; by 1900 the island groaned to support 3,500,000 inhabitants.<sup>7</sup> Emigration functioned as an endemic rather than epidemic phenomenon, decimating some villages while leaving others untouched by its pressures. One of Tampa's points of origin, the village of Santo Stefano Quisquina, provides a textbook case of the dynamics of demography. Local birth and census records, preserved in the parish church and town hall, reveal the classic pattern: in 1861 Santo Stefano listed 5,464 citizens, the number climbing to 6,315 in 1881, but falling to 6,087 in 1901, and 5,897 in 1931.<sup>8</sup> The decline after 1881 points to heavy rates of emigration beginning in that decade. Birth records reinforce this picture. In 1867, 232 births were recorded at the parish church, La Madre della Chiesa. In 1887 a near record 292 babies were born; but in 1907— at the very climax of Italian emigration—

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*Mafia of a Sicilian Village, 1869-1960: A Study of Violent Peasant Entrepreneurs* (New York, 1974), 49-50.

6. U.S., Congress, Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission, Immigrants in Industries*, pt. 14, "Cigar and Tobacco Manufacturing" (Washington, 1911), Table 132, 199. The table referred to foreign-born females who were sixteen years of age or over at the time of immigration.
7. Schneider, *Culture and Political Economy*, 115.
8. Istituto Centrale di Statistica, *Comuni e loro popolazione ai censimenti dal 1861 al 1951*, "Provincia di Agrigento" (Roma, 1960), 266. With some temporary rises and falls, the statistics for the other villages confirm this pattern.

only 160 children were registered, the fewest births in three generations.<sup>9</sup> Santo Stefano confirmed historian Frank Thistlethwaite's thesis that "there is a direct correlation between the rates of emigration and the natural increase twenty years previously."<sup>10</sup>

Emigration severely dislocated the rhythms of village life in the old country. In the process women accepted new challenges and assumed new responsibilities. This was particularly true in light of the heavy male predominance in the early phases of the immigration experience. The masculine imbalance wrought by migration altered sexual roles in the villages. When the men left, women often became managers for the estates, handling business needs and working in the fields.<sup>11</sup> Oftentimes with husbands away in Tampa, women held together the unbroken international circle, underscoring the peasant proverb, "If the father should die, the family would suffer; if the mother should die, the family ceases to exist."<sup>12</sup> Other women chose to chart entirely new directions for themselves.

The case of Salvatore and Agatina Cannella illustrates the immigrant experience and its effects upon the participants. Salvatore Cannella operated a dry goods store in Santo Stefano, a business which he resumed in New Orleans after emigration. Like many of the early immigrants, the Cannellas returned to Sicily after earning several thousand dollars. Unfortunately, Salvatore died shortly after repatriating. Agatina Cannella, shrouded in black, contemplated a life of mourning as custom dictated, but she opted to break away from convention. Rosalia Cannella Ferlita, her daughter, explained her mother's decision, an alterna-

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9. Liber Baptizatorum Sancti Stephni Ad Quisquinam, La Madre della Chiesa, Santo Stefano; Archivio Comunale, Santo Stefano, Agrigento.

10. Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Herbert Moller, ed., *Population Movements in Modern European History* (New York, 1964), 90.

11. Anna Maria Ratti, "Italian Migration Movements from 1876-1921," Walter Willcox, ed., *International Migrations* (New York, 1969), 451-52; Emiliana P. Noether, "The Silent Half: *Le Contadine del Sud* Before the First World War," in Betty Caroli, Robert F. Harney, and Lydio Tomasi, eds., *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America* (Toronto, 1978), 3-14; Robert F. Harney, "Men without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930," in Caroli, Harney and Tomasi, eds., *The Italian Immigrant Woman*, 79-103.

12. Quoted in Leonard Moss and Walter Thomson, "The South Italian Family: Literature and Observation," *Human Organization*, XVIII (Spring 1959), 38; Robert Foerster, *Italian Emigration of Our Time* (Cambridge, 1917), 449.

tive inconceivable to an earlier generation: "My mother was used to the business. . . . Well in Italy she had to stay in the house. There was nothing to do. . . . There was no communication. Sit and sit. Finally she decided to come back to America. But she didn't want to go back to New Orleans— too many memories— so she came to Tampa."<sup>13</sup>

In Tampa, Sicilians joined Spaniards and Cubans to develop Ybor City. The creation of Vicente Martinez Ybor, this enclave was carved out of palmetto scrubland in 1886 to become the capital of hand-rolled cigarmaking in the United States. Incorporated into Tampa in 1887, this ethnic settlement by 1905 was composed of about 6,000 foreign-born "Latins." In order of numerical importance, they included Cubans, Italians, and Spaniards.<sup>14</sup> Ybor City evolved into a unique experiment: a company town financed by foreign capital; an industrial community amidst a rural South; and a Latin workforce in a state dominated by WASPs. Such was the environment which greeted the Sicilian immigrants who arrived between the late 1880s and the 1920s.

Evidently, and the records are sparse, the period of predominantly male settlement was short-lived. Several early records document the female presence in Tampa. In May 1892, the Italian consul of New Orleans reported nearly 300 Sicilians in Tampa, approximately one-third of whom were women.<sup>15</sup> The 1900 manuscript census provides a more in-depth portrait of an emerging Italian community. The fraction of females in 1900 remained at one-third, but the overall colony numbers had increased to over 1,300. The typical Sicilian female was sixteen, re-

13. Interview with Rosalia Cannella Ferlita, May 13, 1980. A number of Tampa's earliest Italian immigrants had come to the city indirectly after initial stays in New Orleans and St. Cloud, a sugar plantation to the east of Tampa.

14. L. Glenn Westfall, "Don Vicente Martinez Ybor, The Man and his Empire: Development of the Clear Havana Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1977), 55-75; *Third Census of the State of Florida, 1905* (Tallahassee, 1906), Table 17, "Foreign Population According to County," 112, 120, 124. Many Latins also settled in West Tampa, forming an ethnic community very similar to Ybor City. The figure cited represents an estimate arrived at by deducting residents in West Tampa and various other county and city locations not included in Ybor City.

15. Ricardo Motta, "Nuova Orleans, Rapporti del R. Consolare," May 14 1892, *Emigrazione e colonie, rapporti di agenti diplomatici e consolari* (Roma, 1893), 464.

flecting the youthful character of the colony. A scant two per cent of the Italian women were listed age fifty and older. Most Italians, men and women, were illiterate. Husbands on the average were five years older than wives.<sup>16</sup> The 1905 Florida State Census listed 2,574 Italians in Tampa—1,370 males and 1,204 females. By 1909, one report indicated that ninety-nine per cent of the Italian husbands in its survey had been reunited with their wives.<sup>17</sup>

Curiously missing from the 1900 census, as it related to Italians, were two standard immigrant institutions, the boarding house and the extended family living under one roof. Several explanations may clarify this absence. The year 1900 may have been too early to capture the extended family, since the Italian community was in the process of establishing itself. The census did reveal a pattern of boarding on the part of Italian men, but not in homes managed by Italian women. This again is undoubtedly a function of the early stage of family immigration then in place for Italians.<sup>18</sup> Provision must be made also for the presence of boarding houses that went unrecorded because of bureaucratic omission or group commission. Census takers have always had difficulty in recording the newest immigrants. Given the abominable spelling of Italian names by census takers, there would be difficulty in obtaining completely reliable information from the mobile residents of a boarding house, particularly if a group felt a sense of alienation.<sup>19</sup>

16. U.S., Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900* (Washington, 1902). Population, II, Florida, Table 27, 214; also see *Twelfth Census, Florida*, Hillsborough County, Manuscript Census Schedules, microfilm reel 170, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
17. *Immigrants in Industries*, Table 105, 432; *Third Census of State of Florida, 1905*, 112, 120, 124.
18. Helen Smith, "Immigrant Women in Ybor City, 1900" (seminar paper, University of Florida, 1982). Also influencing this factor may be the fact that housing in Tampa was remarkably inexpensive, both in terms of rentals and overall purchase price. The 1930 census listed Tampa at the very bottom of a list of 100 cities in terms of median value of non-farm homes (\$2,882). U.S., Census Office, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, (Washington, 1933). Population, VI, Florida Table 67, 60. Also see *Immigrants in Industries*, Table 159, 232, for information on rentals.
19. City officials in Tampa, then as now sensitive to the barometer of population count, complained in 1900 that "practically no count was made of the Spanish and Italian residents." *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 8, 1900.

Nearly sixteen per cent of Tampa's Italian households maintained boarders in 1909, as documented by a United States Senate Immigration Commission survey. In these arrangements, women played a central role. The owner's wife, oftentimes with the support of female children, tended to the boarders' many needs, including washing, cooking, mending, and various other household tasks. These jobs were added, of course, to the duties required in caring for the woman's own family. Among Italian households supporting boarders in the survey year, an average of seven boarders were found per residence.<sup>20</sup> While at home, Italian women somehow found time to continue the handicraft arts of sewing, crocheting, and embroidering.

Italians were counted most heavily where their presence was courted— at the city's burgeoning workplace. Ybor City boasted in the early twentieth century nearly 200 cigar factories which, by 1911, were producing in excess of 1,000,000 hand-rolled cigars daily. Each week the more than 10,000 workers earned \$250,000 dollars in wages.<sup>21</sup> Women played a significant role in making Tampa synonymous with quality cigars, a function that went beyond just posing for the comely cigar labels that advertised Tampa Girl and Farnesia to the world.

Latin *patrones* such as V. Martinez Ybor and Ignacio Haya welcomed women on a number of levels. Their presence stabilized what once appeared as a wild, male frontier community; more importantly, women demonstrated their expertise in the cigar factories. Unlike the Spanish and Cubans, Italians brought with them no previous experience in the tobacco industry save a sheer doggedness to work hard and long. Their tenacious commitment to work, combined with values such as frugality, dependability, and abstention from hard liquor, made Italians ideal workers. Women shared this acceptance of the work ethic. "Work hard, work always, and you will never know hunger," a proverb promised.<sup>22</sup> As early as June 1900, nearly seventy per cent of all gainfully employed Italians in Ybor City

20. *Immigrants in Industries*, Table 162 and 163, 234.

21. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 18, 1911; *Immigrants in Industries*, 187.

22. Salomone-Marino, *Customs and Habits*, 48; Foerster, *Italian Immigration*, 342; Richard Gambino, *Blood of My Blood* (New York, 1974), 84, 273, 319, 339.

were engaged in the cigar industry. By 1909 Italians accounted for almost twenty per cent of the total cigar workforce.<sup>23</sup> If one added the numbers involved in *chinchales* (storefront workshops), the figures would be even greater.

The 1900 census revealed patterns characteristic of Italian immigrants. Italians, whether in New York, San Francisco, or Tampa, almost always started at the bottom of the occupational ladder and faced a long upward climb. In 1900 most female Italian cigar workers labored as unskilled tobacco strippers, widely regarded as the least desirable position in the industry.<sup>24</sup> Tobacco stripping involved removal of the hard stems from the tobacco leaves, a job that many observers felt was particularly suited to the nimble fingers of women. Because of poor pay, unhealthy working conditions, and lowly status, the position of stripper often fell to those women who could find no other employment. One Tampa labor newspaper observed in 1917 that stripping attracted, "Orphan girls, maids who have no male helper, widows with young children, the victims of divorce, the daughters of large families, the victims of vicious men or of sick and disabled men."<sup>25</sup> Italian women, however, used the stripping tables in the early years as springboards to launch themselves upward into the ranks of cigarmakers. So successful were they that by the second decade of the new century they posed a serious threat to displace male cigarmakers.

To become a skilled cigar worker, many Italians underwent a long apprenticeship lasting at a minimum eight months but sometimes extending to well over a year. An Italian consul once suggested that this requirement reduced the number of prospective Italian cigarmakers because, while apprenticed, candidates received no assistance.<sup>26</sup> Having endured the training period, how-

23. Earl R. Hendry, "A Revisionist View of the Italian Immigrants of Ybor City in 1900" (seminar paper, University of Florida, 1982), 10; *Immigrants in Industries*, Table 128, 195.

24. Hendry, "A Revisionist View," 7-8, 10; Helen L. Sumner, *Women and Child Earners in the United States*, 19 vols., IX; "History of Women in Industry in the United States," 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., Sen. Doc. 645 (Washington, 1910), 196-97; *Twelfth Census, 1900*, Manuscript Census Schedules, microfilm 170, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

25. Tampa *El Internacional*, March 2, 1917.

26. Cav. G. Fara-Forni and Luigi Villari, "Gli Italiani nel distretto consolare di Nuova Orleans," *Emigrazione e Colonie*, III (Roma, 1909), 217-18. The same report indicated that workers often required three years to become fully skilled in the craft.

ever, Italians could expect handsome wages. "Italian women have become very adept at this craft," noted the same consul in 1909, with some earning \$25.00 a week. "On average, the workers average sixteen to eighteen dollars a week."<sup>27</sup> Those cigarworkers who received pay on a piecework basis earned substantial wages compared to other skilled workers during this period. The curious fact that apparently Tampa's Italian women earned more than men (certainly a rarity in industrial history) was buttressed by a 1913 report in *Bolletino dell'Emigrazione* indicating that Italian men averaged \$15.00 to \$18.00 a week while women earned \$15.00 to \$20.00 a week, but some "even to twenty-three dollars a week." Children earned between \$6.00 and \$12.00 a week.<sup>28</sup>

If women were limited in their work roles—no woman was ever elected to the prestigious post of *lector* (reader) and few have been discovered in the leadership of the local labor movement—a remarkable number of Italian women did work. In 1909, sixteen per cent of the foreign-born women in America were employed for wages; in Tampa, just under one quarter of the Italian-born women were so occupied.<sup>29</sup> The latter figure was almost certainly undercounted. The 1900 census, for instance, revealed many examples of Italian girls, aged ten to sixteen, whose occupation (one could generally expect "at school") was left blank. One surmises that these girls worked but, because of minimum age work laws, the figure went unreported. Government reports further substantiated the Italian proclivity for work. In 1900 substantially more Ybor City Italian women were employed in cigar factories than their male counterparts. Fully sixty per cent of the foreign-born women employed in the cigar industry were Italian.<sup>30</sup> In Tampa, Italian wives were twice as likely to hold jobs

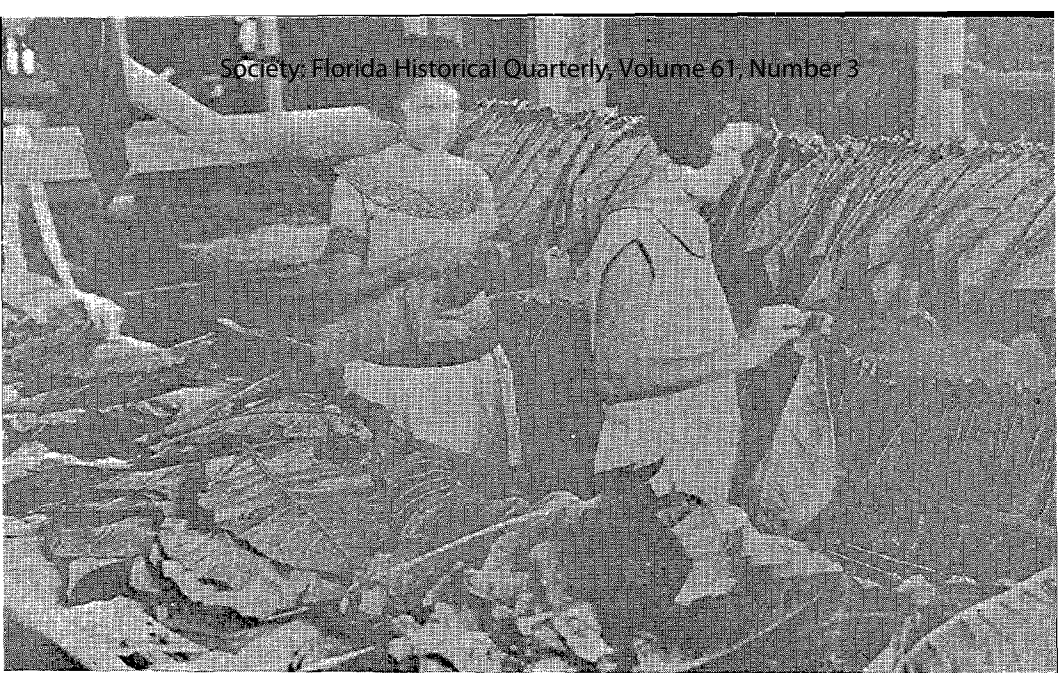
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27. *Ibid.* Also see, E. Mayor des Planches, *Attraverso gli Stati Uniti: Per l'emigrazione italiana* (Torino, 1913), 117.

28. G. Moroni, "L'Emigrazione italiana in Florida," *Bolletino dell'Emigrazione*, I (1913), 40. Other sources have indicated that Italian men earned generally higher wages than women. See *Immigrants in Industries*, Tables 139 and 140, 209-10.

29. Corrine Azen Krause, "Urbanization without Breakdown," *Journal of Urban History*, IV (May 1978), 291-305; *Immigrants in Industries*, Table 150, 219.

30. Hendry, "A Revisionist View," 7-10; Louise C. Odencrantz, *Italian Women in Industry* (New York, 1919), 48-49. In both 1920 and 1930 Tampa ranked first nationally among cities of 100,000 or more residents in terms of the percentage of married women gainfully employed. The



Women cigar strippers working at the Perfecto-Garcia factory. Stripping the tobacco leaf attracted a large number of Italian women, who used the position as a bulwark. (From Burdet Brothers Collection, Tampa Public Library).

Cigar Label, La Rosalia. Santo Rosalia, the patron saint of Sicily and a native of Santo Stefano, commanded fervent respect and devotion from the Sicilians. (From Glenn Westfall Collection).







Women cigar makers at the Perfecto-Garcia factory. The factory's large, black water tower dominated the Ybor neighborhood. Three generations of cigar workers labored at the factory. (From Gary Mormino Collection).

A woman worker at the Salvadore Sanchez factory (today the Arturo Fuente plant). Sanchez popularized the "Charles the Great" brand, incidentally, the only pure Havana cigar with an English name. (From Gary Mormino Collection).



as Cubans, three times more likely than Spanish *senoras*, seven times as likely as such women in Pittsburgh, and twelve times more likely to work as Italian wives in Buffalo.<sup>31</sup> Why?

Clearly, to understand why women worked, one must first understand not only the meaning of work, but also its significance in the local, structural and ethnic group context. In her study, *Family and Community*, Virginia Yans-McLaughlin concluded that Italian women in Buffalo preferred seasonal occupations, such as canning, fruit picking, and homework rather than more lucrative and steady industrial employment. "Italian immigrants," wrote Yans-McLaughlin, "transformed the canning factories into communities where Old World social attitudes and behavior could continue, maintained by kinship ties."<sup>32</sup> Tampa's Italians similarly accommodated themselves to the new industrial order. Tampa's cigar industries beat to a different rhythm compared to northeastern mills and foundries. The *galeria* (work floor) loomed less threatening than the Bessemer blast furnace. The cigar industry offered a congenial atmosphere punctuated by frequent doses of *cafe con leche*, dramatic readings from popular *novelle*, the companionship of *paesani*, and the heady solidarity of strong unions.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, there existed in Tampa no established native or immigrant class, such as the Irish or Germans, to supervise or intimidate Latin women—at least in Ybor City. Thus, in this setting traditional Italian values could survive, albeit in somewhat altered form, and rapid economic development could occur within the context of social conservatism.

Even the city's turbulent, fractious labor history failed to dislodge Italian women from the cigar factories. Strikes became benchmarks of time in Ybor City. A series of violent and pro-

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year 1930, for example, saw 33.4 percent of such women at work. *Fifteenth Census, 1930*, IV, Table 30, 81.

31. Italian women employed in Ybor City cigar factories actually went against the wider trend then operating in Tampa's cigar industry, which saw the percentage of women versus men obtaining employment go downward by 1900. Among Italians, more women than men in Ybor City worked in the factories. For the larger patterns see, Durward Long, "Women Workers in the Cigar Industry," paper delivered at the Florida Historical Society meeting, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, May 8, 1982.
32. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, 1977), 217.
33. Louis A. Perez, "Reminiscences of a Lector: Cuban Cigar Workers in Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIII (April 1975), 443-50; "Older Cigarmakers Miss Factory Reader," *Tampa Daily Times*, April 23, 1946.

tracted strikes led by fiercely militant unions enveloped Ybor City between 1899 and 1931.<sup>34</sup> Conflicts generally revolved around challenges to pre-industrial fringe benefits and sovereignty of the workplace. The workers' embrace of popular leftist causes, such as socialism and anarchism, intensified the struggle.

Italian men and women clearly supported the cause. During the general strike occurring in 1900, the *Tampa Tribune* observed the following scene: "The hall was literally packed with women who work daily in the branch of the cigarmaking industry. There were Americans, Cubans, Spaniards and Italians in the mass of feminine toilers . . . 1248 women members. . . . It was the largest body of women ever assembled in Tampa. It was a sight worth seeing."<sup>35</sup>

In 1910 the *Tribune* described as "ludicrous," nine Italian women who picketed the factory of Arguelles, Lopez and Brothers. "The misguided ones, armed with clubs," an observer wrote, "paraded the streets about the factory. Their weapons they brandished and their tongues they did wag, giving vent to threats that they would beat all to death who would work."<sup>36</sup> Tampa-born author Jose Yglesias, in this reminiscences with Studs Terkel, confirmed the pattern: "People date their lives from various strikes in Tampa. When they refer to a scab, they say, 'It's no surprise he's going to break the strike since his mother did it in 1921.' In my hometown strikes were passionate affairs . . . Women beat up women scabs."<sup>37</sup>

Italian women earned their place in the rank and file. And yet in historical perspective, their essential group experience embodied a conservative lifestyle. How does one explain the re-

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34. Durward Long, "La Resistencia: Tampa's Immigrant Labor Union," *Labor History*, VI (Fall 1965), 193-214; Durward Long, "Labor Relations in the Tampa Cigar Industry, 1885-1911," *Labor History*, XI (Fall 1971), 551-59; George Pozzetta, "Italians and the General Strike of 1910," in George Pozzetta, ed., *Pane e Lavoro: The Italian American Working Class* (Toronto, 1980), 29-47; George Pozzetta, "Alerta Tabaqueros! Tampa's Striking Cigarworkers," *Tampa Bay History*, III (Fall/Winter 1981), 19-30; Gary R. Mormino, "Tampa and the New Urban South: The Weight Strike of 1899," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LX (January 1982), 337-56.

35. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, November 18, 1900. Women were also active in the formation of Women's Union Label Leagues. See Tampa *El Internacional*, February 24, 1911.

36. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1910.

37. Quoted in Studs Terkel, *Hard Times* (New York, 1970), 134.

lationship of labor radicalism and domestic conservatism? The work choices made by Italian women which took them out of homes, gave them higher wages than their menfolk, and placed them in militant unions must be understood in the context of their family obligations. The individual's identity assumed importance only as it contributed to the group well being. Sicilian women— and girls— worked not to enhance their self-identification, nor to achieve a share of American independence, but to maintain and sustain the family unit.<sup>38</sup> The general pattern was to utilize cigar factory jobs as a means to an end rather than as permanent employment selections. While women labored for wages in the factories, often for extended periods of time, men began to move in different directions. Typically men labored for a few years to build a small amount of investment capital, usually put toward some form of property. "The Italian cigar makers are not content until they own their own homes," wrote an official in 1909.<sup>39</sup> Soon men began to purchase dairies, truck farms, and cattle herds on the fringes of Ybor City. Others invested in the first small beginnings of a trade or business— a fruit stand, fish store, grocery, confectionary, bakery, or import house. Women and children often provided steady wages until these ventures matured. The elderly and very young also contributed. Old women cared for children during the work day, and youngsters of six, seven, or eight years acquired rudimentary cigarmaking skills at home.<sup>40</sup> The strategy reaped dividends.

Italians achieved extraordinary progress in the street trades compared to their Latin counterparts in Ybor City. In 1909 Italians boasted forty-seven fruit and vegetable vendors, seven fish markets, and fourteen ice and ice cream dealers as compared to a total of only three such Cuban and Spanish enterprises.<sup>41</sup>

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38. See John Bodnar, "Immigration, Kinship and the Rise of Working-Class Realism in Industrial America," *Journal of Social History*, XII (1980), 45-65, for a discussion of these trends. William Leuchtenberg's study, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-32* (Chicago, 1958), 160, was surely not describing Italian women when it concluded, "By 1930 more than ten million women held jobs. Nothing did more to emancipate them."

39. *Immigrants in Industries*, 264.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, Table 137, 207; *Italian Business Directory, 1911-1912* (New York, 1912), 399-400. A complete set Tampa city business directories from 1899-1930 contained in the Tampa Public Library also confirm the pace of Italian business development.

Many of these business ventures were launched on precisely the basis described above. The case of Alex and Josephine Scaglione typified this paradigm. The couple met while rolling cigars in Ybor City. Soon Alex left the factories and opened a grocery store. Josephine continued to roll cigars until the business stabilized. Their son became a high school principal and college president, characteristic of the generation after 1930, once Italians had struggled to carve themselves a niche in the bourgeois world.<sup>42</sup>

Family obligations extended to the unit's more junior members as well. "A family's wealth," an old world proverb reminded immigrants, "depended upon the number of hands it has," and Italians were not reluctant to enlist all available support.<sup>43</sup> Parents directed the vocations of their children, and during the period 1890-1930, work began early. Few Italian children in Tampa— as elsewhere— entered high school before the Depression. "The education of children is almost altogether neglected," complained one official.<sup>44</sup> Reflecting Old World priorities, girls fared much worse than their brothers in educational opportunity and achievement. "Education was out of the question for a single girl," explained Mary Italiano. "I went to school as far as the fourth or fifth grade."<sup>45</sup> The necessity of going to work, either at a factory work bench or in the home, came soon to the lives of most Italian women.

Tampa's Italians exercised patience and persistence in their efforts to achieve success. When strikes depressed the local economy, Italians proved particularly adept at probing the urban and rural economies, finding work mining phosphate, picking oranges, gardening, or peddling. Tina Provenzano remembered fleeing her cigar factory in Tampa during the 1920 strike and living with her father, who then was working for a Clearwater farmer.<sup>46</sup> A taste of tenant farming did not cheapen the family dignity. "Italians were more interested in building something for ourselves," explained Nick Nuccio, one of Tampa's most successful Latin politicians: "The Spanish and Cuban people . . . they come here to make a little money and go back to Spain and Cuba.

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42. Interview with Josephine and Alex Scaglione, April 2, 1980, Tampa.

43. Quoted in Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community*, 180.

44. *Immigrants in Industries*, 264.

45. Interview with Mary Italiano, April 20, 1978, Tampa.

46. Interview with Tina Assunta Provenzano, March 13, 1982, Tampa.

The Italian people knew they were going to live [here] for the rest of their lives, raise a family. I lived in the same house for thirty-eight years."<sup>47</sup>

Just as Italians adjusted to the new demands of the workplace, so too did the patterns of Italian domestic life reflect the impact of a new environment. Old World fathers soon discovered their daughters saw little romance or utility in Sicilian-style marriages. While mothers rarely hand-picked their daughter's future mate, neither did they play an inactive role. The chaperone entered the scene. Courtship followed a strict code of ethics. Friday and Saturday evenings climaxed around Ybor City's main thoroughfare, Seventh Avenue. Throngs of Latins converged during the evening hours for shopping, indulging in guava tarts with coffee, and dancing at one of the four mutual aid societies: L'Unione Italiana, Centro Asturiano, Centro Español, and Círculo Cubano.<sup>48</sup> Young couples were allowed to flirt and dance, but always under the watchful eye of mother or an older sister. In Ybor City there were no privileged sanctuaries. "Mother would take us walking up and down Seventh Avenue," smiled Angelina Spoto Comescone; "and all the boys would be standing on the curb and the mothers would be like little hens watching her chicks. So that nobody would look at us or touch us. . . . The boys would go wild trying to get a word with us. . . . It was beautiful. It was entertainment. It was beautiful"<sup>49</sup>

Helen Martinez Spoto concurred: "We had to have a chaperone, always . . . . It was nicer then. We were more together . . . the family together." Rosemary Scaglione Craparo offered her insights into the institution: "Marriage was the only way, the only way to get from out, from under the skirts of the mother. . . . We thought that by getting married young— you see we couldn't see a fella, couldn't sit on the porch with the light on at night— so the first [male] to come along and smile at us, we would marry him. And there was not divorce."<sup>50</sup>

More structured recreation took place within the mutual aid

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47. Interview with Nick C. Nuccio, June 10, 1979, Tampa.

48. Salatha Bagley, "The Latin Clubs of Tampa, Florida," (master's thesis, Duke University, 1948), *passim*.

49. Interview with Angelina Spoto Comescone, July 29, 1979, Tampa.

50. Interview with Helen Martinez Spoto, April 30, 1979, Tampa; Interview with Rosemary Scaglione Craparo, July 29, 1979, Tampa.

society, but women typically operated at the fringes of this institution. Organized in 1894, L'Unione Italiana ministered to the social and economic needs of Italian immigrants. It dispensed cradle to grave benefits, from unemployment compensation to burial expenses. In 1914, a magnificent clubhouse was erected, replaced a few years later, after a fire, by an even more resplendent four-story structure. The club served, however, as the principal domain of men. Club rules allowed women to join in the 1920s and participate in medical benefits, but their role was explicitly defined by their committee names: the Women's Auxiliary Committee and Women's Recreational Committee.<sup>51</sup> Yet, even before formal entry, women participated fully in the numerous Sunday picnics and outings sponsored by the club. They also labored diligently in the many fund raising drives for various civic and national causes highlighting the club's existence.

If Italian women seldom frequented the *cantina* of the social club, they were invisible at the ballot box. No woman possessed the vote until 1920, of course, but even as late as 1930 Tampa's Latins—men and women—wielded little leverage in the city's ward system. For good reasons, Italians declined the franchise. In the old country, the peasantry was virtually disfranchised until 1892, and a universal male franchise was not won until 1912. Moreover, most of Tampa's Sicilians never learned to read or write English, a requirement for registering to vote in Florida. For example, in 1909, only six per cent of Tampa's foreign-born Italian women who were employed could speak English, as opposed to twenty per cent of their Cuban counterparts.<sup>52</sup> Ironically, this figure belies the very rapid linguistic adaptation achieved by Italian women in adjusting to the dominant language of Ybor City. In this ethnic enclave, the *lingua franca* was Spanish, not English, and because of their heavy representation

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51. Interview with Paul Longo, June 1, 1979, Tampa. Longo served as president of L'Unione Italiana and during the 1920s helped organize the women's groups.

52. *Immigrants in Industries*, Table 188, 259. Tampa again contrasted with patterns found elsewhere in the nation, this time in terms of the ability to speak English among Italian women. The trends in other locations saw unemployed females lagging behind employed females in ability to speak English. The reverse was true in Tampa (41.3 percent) versus 6.0 percent), a situation directly attributable to the fact that Spanish was spoken in the cigar factories. See Table 187, 259 for this contrast.

in the cigar factories, Italian women may well have acquired facility in Spanish more quickly than men. Fluency in Spanish, however, did not translate into a high rate of voting or naturalization. Indeed, by 1930, only twenty-four per cent of Tampa's foreign born population was naturalized, easily the lowest percentage of any large city in the United States.<sup>53</sup>

In general, women accommodated to the social dictates of this period. The Italian family was father-dominated but mother-centered, a delicate balance of wills.<sup>54</sup> Few women challenged this arrangement. Today elderly Italian women yearn nostalgically for the halcyon days of yesteryear. "Ybor City was one big family," sobbed Angelina Comescone. "In the evenings our parents would take us walking . . . Ybor City was all one big family. We all loved one another. It was beautiful. We could go walking, singing all the way, Italian, Spanish, and American songs. Nobody walks anymore. It was beautiful then. Nobody sings anymore. . . . Today, you don't hear anybody sing anymore."<sup>55</sup>

The alienating and disruptive consequences of the immigration process, as chronicled by such historians as Oscar Handlin, require modification when applied to the Tampa experience. The Sicily-Tampa odyssey reveals that the tenacious Italian family structure provided a flexible and effective tool in coping with the New World. It worked as a moderating cushion to insure survival in a strange new land. Clearly, the rigors of immigration, industrialization, and urbanization as it applied to Tampa did not break the Italian family.

When asked to summarize the role of women in Ybor City, seventy-year old Nelson Palermo pondered, and then said, "Cigarmaking, kitchen, raising children. And respect."<sup>56</sup> In the broadest terms, his characterization speaks accurately. And yet, Italian women in Ybor City played a myriad of roles, many of them undefined and unrecorded. One is reminded of an observa-

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53. *Fifteenth Census of U.S.: 1930, Population, Florida*, "Citizenship of Foreign-Born," Table 21, 463.

54. Constance Cronin, *Sicilians in Sicily and Australia* (Chicago, 1970), 72; Anne M. Pescatello, *Power and Pawn: The Female in Iberian Societies and Culture* (Westport, CT, 1976), esp. 160-204.

55. Interview with Angelina Spoto Comescone, July 29, 1979, Tampa.

56. Interview with Nelson Palermo, March 11, 1982, Tampa.



tion in Ann Cornelisen's classic work on Italian life, *Women in the Shadows*. "As for the women," the speaker explained, "Put any label you want on it. It amounts to the same thing; . . . Men work and talk about politics. We do the rest . . . We decide, but we don't have to talk about it in the Piazza."<sup>57</sup>

Italian women were thus significant forces in determining the nature of immigrant adjustments to life in Tampa. Their tenacious efforts helped to preserve a culture, with its emphasis on hard work, frugality, and strong family bonds. Yet, at the same time, they often played a leading role in flexibly adapting Old World ways to cope with the new conditions encountered in Florida. In the end, both the immigrant group itself and the urban environment in which it existed were reshaped as a result of this delicate balance between the old and new.

Any complete study of immigrant Tampa includes many other questions surrounding women that remain unanswered. Why, for example, did Italians after the Depression suddenly embrace the educational system and pursue professional degrees with the same success they had earlier brought to fruit peddling and cigarmaking? How did women relate to this phenomenon? What was the nature of the interrelationships existing between immigrant men and women as the second, third, and fourth generations interacted? How did the working class culture of cities such as Tampa change over time and where did women fit into this evolution? Much of the information needed to address these issues will undoubtedly have to be ferreted from oral interviews. And, as responses to these perplexing queries emerge, surely new questions will surface and heretofore unrecognized women will appear as agents of social change.

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57. Anne Cornelisen, *Women of the Shadows* (New York, 1977) 227-28.

## THE AGRARIANS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF FIFTY YEARS: AN ESSAY REVIEW

by WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.

**I**N the fall of 1930 Harper and Brothers, an old and prestigious northern publishing house, brought out a collection of essays by "twelve Southerners," entitled *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*. Described at the time as a Southern or Southern Agrarian manifesto, the collection came into existence, according to one of the contributors, as "a sort of happening"—"a coalescence of circumstances and people and conditions" unlikely to reoccur. The contributors, known as the Agrarians, were for the most part natives of the rural, small-town areas of the westernmost South, and most at some point had been affiliated with Vanderbilt University. Those primarily responsible for the book had been central figures in a remarkable literary group based at Vanderbilt and known as the Fugitives. Among these were John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Donald Davidson, and Robert Penn Warren. In some respects the Agrarians were "a translation of the Fugitives into a new, and more public, form of activity." Their manifesto, whatever else it was, was a "very Southern book." Despite some sentiment to entitle it *Tracts*

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*Against Communism*, the title finally chosen was taken from the Confederate anthem.

The Statement of Principles at the beginning of the volume avowed that "the culture of the soil is the best and most sensitive vocation, and . . . should have the economic preference." As Southerners deeply committed to "a Southern way of life against what may be called the American or prevailing way," the Agrarians argued that their own region offered proof of the beneficent effect of the soil upon the soul. Disavowing any idea of an "independent political destiny" for the South and occasionally noting that the region was not altogether without flaws, they nonetheless placed emphasis upon what they perceived as regional virtues—leisure, devotion to place and family, a sense of history and tradition, "scorn for dollar chasers," manners, and various other traits in danger of being destroyed by the industrialism promoted by enthusiasts of the New South gospel. There was a protest against the material acquisitiveness, spiritual disorder, lack of purpose, destruction of individual integrity, and other trends in modern society that they associated with industrialism. According to Ransom, industrialism was "an insidious spirit, full of false promises and generally fatal to establishments," a malevolent force which "only a community of tough conservative habit," such as the South, could master. Southerners, the Agrarians believed, "must cultivate their provincial soul and not sell it for a mess of industrial pottage" lest their region become "an undistinguished replica of the usual industrial community." While conceding that the South might be industrialized "in moderation," most agreed with Stark Young that Southerners should accept industrialism on their own terms, domesticate it, and create their own attitude toward it. The Agrarians called upon the South, as the last substantial barrier against mass dehumanization and the philistinization produced by industrialism, to preserve, indeed to nourish, its peculiarity and to assume a role of leadership in the counter-revolution against what Ransom termed the Great Progressive Principle. Small wonder, then, when in 1973, Sheldon Hackney discussed the South in terms of being the nation's largest and oldest counterculture, he cited the Agrarians as a prime example of the "old Southern sport of defining an alternative to the national consensus."

The initial reaction to *I'll Take My Stand* in the 1930s would scarcely have suggested the place that it would come to occupy in southern literature fifty years later. While a few contemporaries viewed it as a work of significance, far more dismissed it as the musings of a coterie of impractical, misguided, backward-looking literary men who had constructed an image of an ideal society without offering clues about bringing it into existence. Though alternately praised and damned since 1930, *I'll Take My Stand* has rarely been ignored. Despite its popularity as a topic of discussion and debate within intellectual circles, the book did not sell well and was allowed to go out of print. When Harper reissued it as a paperback in its Torchbook Series in 1962, Louis D. Rubin, Jr., an authority on the Agrarians, provided an introduction in which he described the significance of the work primarily in terms of its literary quality.

Not unexpectedly, in 1980, on the fiftieth anniversary of the original publication of *I'll Take My Stand*, the Agrarians and their manifesto came in for a good deal of attention. The four volumes under consideration here were a part of the commemorative effort. Having acquired the rights to *I'll Take My Stand* from Harper, Louisiana State University Press reissued it in 1977 as a volume in its Southern Civilization Series with a new introduction by Rubin. An additional printing in 1980 coincided with the semi-centennial of its original appearance. *A Band of Prophets*, edited by William C. Havard and Walter Sullivan and also published by LSU, consists of six papers and a conversation among surviving contributors to the Agrarian manifesto which were part of a symposium at Vanderbilt University in 1980. The same year Thomas Daniel Young, also of Vanderbilt, presented the Lamar Lectures at Mercer University which were published under the title of *Waking Their Neighbors Up: The Nashville Agrarians Rediscovered. Why the South Will Survive* is a collection of essays in which fifteen Southerners ponder their region "fifty years after *I'll Take My Stand*." In addition to contributions by several of the original Agrarians, essays by certain individuals, notably Rubin, Havard, Cleanth Brooks, and John Shelton Reed, appear in more than one of these works. If the current assessments are any indication, the Agrarians and their vision of the good life, once ridiculed more

than championed, have now come into general favor. In none of these works is there anything remotely resembling the devastatingly harsh critiques of *I'll Take My Stand* that appeared in the 1930s. It may be, as some of the present writers suggest, that the earlier criticisms resulted from "naive misreadings" of the treatise. Or, as Donald Davidson said of Gerald Johnson, who thought it strange that the Agrarians had overlooked hookworm and pellegra, two of the most visible products of rural life in the South: he "didn't understand what we were talking about." But what appears to be a new and more favorable consensus in regard to the Agrarian manifesto is also related to the profound changes experienced by both the South and the nation since 1930. Whatever the reasons, the work is no longer viewed as an exercise in reactionary asceticism but rather as a "forward looking, even prophetic book."

The opening essay in *A Band of Prophets* is by Charles Roland, a distinguished historian, who provides the historical context of the Agrarian movement. *I'll Take My Stand*, he suggests, was written partly in response to outside criticism of the South in the 1920s by H. L. Mencken and others, especially in the wake of the Scopes Trial, and partly in response to the mood within the region itself, a mood engendered by advocates of the New South who appeared all too ready to abandon the "vital nexus" with the traditional South. Both Lewis Simpson in his "The Southern Republic of Letters and *I'll Take My Stand*" and Rubin in his "*I'll Take My Stand* and the Literary Tradition" elaborate upon themes that they have developed elsewhere. "By transforming the South into a symbol of a recovered society of myth and tradition," Simpson concludes, the Agrarians "would assert the community and spiritual authority of men of letters and make whole the fragmented realm of mind and letters." In pursuing his theme of Agrarianism as metaphor, Rubin characterizes *I'll Take My Stand* as a "poetic work," as "a form of pastoral rebuke," designed "to remind a modern community of the dangers of dehumanization." Robert B. Heilman agrees that the work belongs "to a strong non-localized tradition of dissent against the commercial and then industrial dogma of well-being." George Core's strange essay, focusing largely on the Fugitives and New Critics, brims with passion against the "numbing

weight” of the South’s academic bureaucracy and academic mind on its literature. Despite the obstacles posed by the academic establishment, he contends, the Fugitives and Agrarians gave “the South back to the South” and made “it the greatest country of the American imagination in the twentieth century.”

One of the most thoughtful essays in *A Band of Prophets* is by John Shelton Reed, a University of North Carolina sociologist. Emphasizing the sense of grievance manifested by the Southern Agrarians, he focuses attention on the similarities between *I’ll Take My Stand* and nationalist manifestoes issued by backward but anti-colonial peoples around the world. Through a sort of rhetorical alchemy that transmuted vice into virtue and proclaimed that backward was beautiful, Reed argues, the Agrarians sought to “forge a new view of the South’s past and its future” that inhabitants of the region “did not have to be ashamed of.” Because the Agrarians were both nationalists and artists, their manifesto addressed issues more fundamental and more enduring than the regional conflict that occasioned it. If *I’ll Take My Stand* had been merely another sectionalist broadside, Reed concludes, “it would not have the continuing, even increasing, importance it does appear to have.”

In his *Waking Their Neighbors Up*, Thomas Daniel Young, the biographer of Ransom, begins with an explanation of how *I’ll Take My Stand* came into being. Following an assessment of its initial reception, he then analyzes the wide variety of rhetorical devices employed by the contributors to the manifesto. “To my knowledge,” he writes, “no other book of its kind in twentieth century literature offers so many different kinds of argumentation in defense of a single principle: to delineate what is essential as opposed to what is superficial and destructive in human society.” Convinced that the basic attitudes that inspired the writings of the Agrarians “have had a profound influence upon Southern thought,” Young is no less certain that their doctrines in the 1980s have a relevance that extends far beyond the South. They were “prophets all,” striving to awaken their neighbors to the dangers of sacrificing the aesthetic values for the economic ones demanded by a materially acquisitive society.

Despite changes in the South and in the nation and the alterations in the relationship between the two during the past fifty

years, the fifteen Southerners who in 1980 contributed to *Why the South Will Survive* share with the twelve who wrote *I'll Take My Stand* a strong attachment to the South, a belief in its distinctiveness and the conviction that the region has much to offer "a troubled nation." Although the reader is assured that the fifteen Southerners writing about their region in 1980 avoid the "rancor and defensiveness" evident among the Agrarians, not all do so. To be sure, the rancor is muted, but the work in general is a defense of the South, not altogether devoid of defensiveness. Although loosely modeled after the Agrarian manifesto of 1930, *Why the South Will Survive* differs in some important ways from it. The tone is different; the sense of grievance less evident; the assurance that the "South will survive" greater. Nor can one quite imagine the Agrarians of 1930 including in their collection a piece by a black man, a serious consideration of country music, or a lengthy essay explaining the significance of the southern experience to the making of American foreign policy. As important as *Why the South Will Survive* is, especially as a document of social criticism, it is unlikely ever to be characterized as any sort of pastoral or as a "poetic work." In fact, the contributors are not primarily literary figures but rather historians, sociologists, politicians, attorneys, and educators, most of whom come from the Carolinas.

The introduction by Clyde N. Wilson of the University of South Carolina sets the tone by insisting that, unlike most books about the South, *Why the South Will Survive* frankly embraces the notion that the region is "a national asset, a priceless and irreplaceable treasure that must be conserved." Its primary objective is not so much to analyze or to criticize the South as to affirm its values, since, in Wilson's view, "the South has always been primarily a matter of values, a peculiar repository of intangible qualities in a society preoccupied with quantification." The essays in this "manifesto of Southern pride," we are told, abound in evidence regarding how and why the South came to possess those factors essential to the nourishing of "the whole fabric of humane culture that makes for a satisfactory existence." Anticipating objections likely to be raised by critics, Wilson attempts to define the South and to answer those who insist that the South no longer differs significantly from the rest of the nation. In a view similar

to that expressed by Stark Young in *I'll Take My Stand*, Wilson points out that a changing South is not the same as a disappearing South, especially if the implication is that the region is disappearing into something called the American mainstream. American society outside the South has changed so dramatically in the last few decades, he maintains, that "the South is becoming more rather than less different." At any rate, Wilson asks: "Why should a society dedicated to pluralism exclude from respectability and self-determination its largest and most important and oldest minority?"

In diverse ways all of the essays in *Why the South Will Survive*, in lesser or greater degrees, affirm the worth of the South, its values and traditions. Some are highly personalized and anecdotal; others exhibit a penchant for analysis and broad interpretation; a few are inclined too much toward irrelevant digressions. Although most of the fifteen contributors seem certain that "the South will survive," there are nonetheless hints that portions of what was once viewed as the South no longer manifest characteristics identifiable as southern. For example, Thomas Landess's use of the phrase "where the South is still the South" suggests at least a degree of shrinkage has already occurred.

In the first essay in *Why the South Will Survive* John Shelton Reed, as usual, says much that is stimulating and valuable about the question of southern identity and about why regional differences appear to be increasing rather than disappearing. Much of his essay focuses on an analysis of the South's version of libertarianism which he describes as "the natural political expression of an individualistic ethos." Fred Hobson, a self-proclaimed southern moderate liberal among a group described as largely conservative, appears to be less certain than some of his colleagues about the survival of a distinctive South. His essay, "A South Too Busy to Hate," evidences a nagging fear that the region, like Atlanta, may not only be too busy to hate but also too busy to care—about its traditions, virtues, or anything else other than its business. The South, according to Hobson, defined and explained itself in and through adversity. Traditionally Southerners who wrote about their region did so with passion, either love, hate, pride, or shame. If the South's tradition of anti-materialism grew in part out of its poverty, Hobson is anxious



about the fate of that tradition in an age of comfort and relative prosperity. He is disturbed too by other things; he believes that what once was natural in the South is becoming self-conscious; what once was organic is becoming stylized. Cleanth Brooks, in his essay on "The Enduring South," finds much to commend in Southern religion which he relates to the region's historic resistance to utopian schemes and to its skepticism about human perfectability, but he is concerned about "the characteristic thinness of Southern theology" because it makes the region's "residual Christian orthodoxy" so vulnerable to the secular culture around it. Certainly one of the best essays in the collection is the one by George Garrett, the poet and novelist. Entitled "Southern Literature: Here and Now," his essay analyzes the state of literary arts in the South and its practitioners and persuasively argues that, contrary to predictions about southern literature being "on its last legs," the region's literary creativity is alive and extraordinarily vigorous. His view of the contribution of creative writing programs in southern universities stands in sharp contrast to George Core's indictment of the academy's role in what he terms "the institutionalization of literature."

The fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *I'll Take My Stand* provided Southerners with another opportunity to engage in an old and venerable enterprise, namely the contemplation of the nature, meaning, and value of a distinctive South. The works under review here, all of which were part of this commemorative effort, lend credence to David Potter's observation that the problem of southern identity is "a somewhat metaphysical question," no more likely to be answered to the satisfaction of everyone than the question of the Trinity. What constitutes the essence of this identity, to put it in contemporary slang, depends upon "where one is coming from." One does not have to subscribe to the particulars of the thesis advanced by Michael O'Brien in his highly significant *Idea of the American South*, which incidentally provides much insight into the mind and thought of the Agrarians, to appreciate the general validity of his suggestion that the South, whatever else it may be, is also a matter of perception. The South, he argues, "is centrally an intellectual perception . . . which has served to comprehend and weld an unintegrated social reality." In an era of an increasingly

urbanized, industrialized, air-conditioned, "post-racial" South, the region's social reality would appear to be even less integrated than at some points in the past.

John Shelton Reed is obviously correct in suggesting that southernness has indeed become a more complicated business than it appeared to be in the era of the Agrarians. Fully aware that it is no longer possible to identify the southern way of life with agrarianism and that the region's economy has become less distinctive within the past several decades, the interpreters of the contemporary South under review here nonetheless hold to the view that the region continues to manifest a substantial degree of cultural autonomy. Their concern, therefore, is with what may be called the subjective components of southern identity, that is values, attitudes, tastes, and habits. That these distinctive cultural attributes will remain sufficiently strong to insure the survival of the South's identity is at this juncture more of a hope than a certainty.

Confronted by what many view as a "troubled nation," especially a northern industrial-urban giant in trouble, and by a South that has experienced modernization, Southerners appear to be as self-consciously southern, or even more so, than when they perceived the North as a powerful, aggressive, and imperialistic giant bent on obliterating "the Southern way of life." The metamorphosis of the Inferior South into a Superior South may not be as complete as many assume or imply, but the notion is sufficiently widespread to detect among some Southerners evidences of a posture reminiscent of that credited by Frank Owsley in *I'll Take My Stand* to the North in its attitude toward the South: standing in Pharisaical judgment upon the rest of the nation, beating their chests, and thanking-thee-O-Lord-that-we-are-not-as-other-men. In view of the manners, skepticism about human perfectability, and other traits that Southerners presumably possess, preemptive claims in behalf of regional virtues somehow appear inappropriate, unbecoming, and unsouthern.

## FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters' theses completed in 1981 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is included.

### *Auburn University*

Ruth Corinne Connor— "Gentleman Phil: Eighteenth-Century Opportunist. Philip Peter Livingston, 1740-1810" (master's thesis completed, 1982).

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)— "Economic Aspects of British West Florida" (continuing study).

Debra Lynne Fletcher— "The Creek/Choctaw War 1765-1776" (research completed).

### *Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine*

Luis R. Arana— "Spanish Construction and Repair at Castillo de San Marcos, 1672-1763 and 1784-1821" (research completed).

Randall G. Copeland, C. Craig Frazier, and Terry Wong— "Architectural Data, Castillo de San Marcos" (continuing study).

Kathleen A. Deagan— "Excavation at the Castillo de San Marco" (research completed).

John C. Paige— "British Construction and Repair at the Castillo de San Marcos, 1763-1784" (research completed); "National Park Service Construction and Repair Since 1933" (research completed).

### *Daytona Beach Community College*

Peter D. Klingman (faculty)— "Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida" (publication forthcoming).

*Flagler College*

Thomas Graham (faculty)– “Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat” (continuing study).

*Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University*

Barbara Cotton (faculty)– “A Study of the Department of Negro Work on the Florida Agricultural Extension Service, 1917-1965” (continuing study).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– “Slavery in Antebellum Gadsden County”; “Impact of Black Agricultural Extension Agents in Florida, 1914-1965”; “Statistical Analysis of Land and Slaveholding in Middle Florida, 1830-1860”; “Impact of the Tallahassee Bus Boycott on the Black Community, 1956-1958” (continuing studies).

*Florida Atlantic University*

Donald W. Curl (faculty)– “The Golden Years: Palm Beach Architecture, 1919-1935” (continuing study).

Kathy Daraz– “Cuban Refugees in Miami: Patterns of Economic and Political Adjustments” (master’s thesis completed).

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– “Seminole Indians of Florida” (continuing study).

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– “Metropolitan Growth and Political Change in Miami, 1940-1982” (continuing study).

Sandra M. Mohl (faculty)– “Farmworkers and Agribusiness in Florida” (continuing study).

Keith Tinker– “Blockade Running Through Nassau, 1861-1865” (master’s thesis completed).

*Florida State University*

William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)– “The Quail Plantations of the Tallahassee-Thomasville Region” (publication forthcoming); “The Quail Plantations of the Southeast” (continuing study).

David J. Coles– “Florida Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865” (continuing study); “Olustee, The 1864 Campaign for Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).

- Juanita W. Crudele— "Chattahoochee, Florida: From Frontier to Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- James M. Denham— "Dueling in Territorial Middle Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Glen H. Doran (faculty)— "Archaeology of the Gulf Islands National Seashore, The Gulf Breeze Area" (continuing study).
- Charlotte Downey-Anderson— "Desegregation and Southern Mores in Madison County, 1956-1980" (master's thesis in progress).
- George R. Fischer and Richard E. Johnson— "Underwater Archaeological Investigation at Biscayne National Park, Florida" (continuing study).
- Frederick Gaske— "The Archaeological Patterns and Unwritten History of the Nineteenth-Century Hotel Period in St. Augustine" (master's thesis in progress).
- Richard E. Johnson— "Underwater Archaeological Investigations at Fort Jefferson National Monument, Dry Tortugas, Florida" (research completed); "The Historical Geography of the HMS Fowey" (research completed).
- James P. Jones (faculty)— "History of Florida State College for Women" (continuing study).
- Stanley E. Kinchen— "The Nineteenth Amendment and the Duval County Black Woman: A Perceived Threat To White Superiority" (continuing study).
- Felix R. Masud— "The Cuban Refugees As Political Weapons, 1959-1965" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Janet Snyder Matthews— "History of Sarasota and Manatee River, 16th-19th Centuries" (master's thesis in progress).
- David B. Mock, Robert G. Stakenas and Kenneth Eaddy— "History of Vocational Education in Florida" (continuing study).
- Derald Pacetti— "Shrimping at Fernandina, Florida, Before 1920: Industry Development, Fisheries Regulation, War-time Maturation" (master's thesis completed); "Federal-State Jurisdictional Conflict Over Fisheries. Regulation in Florida During World War I" (continuing study); "History of Florida Fisheries Regulation Enforcement, 1830-1920" (continuing study).

- Greg Padgett– “A History of the Black Churches in Florida as an Organ of Protest” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Bruce J. Piatek– “Archaeology of Santa Rosa and Escambia Counties” (continuing study).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty)– “A History of Saint George Island” (continuing study).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty) and Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty, University of Central Florida)– “Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression” (publication forthcoming).
- Russell K. Skowronek– “Trade Patterns of Eighteenth Century Frontier New Spain: The 1733 *flota* and St. Augustine” (master’s thesis completed); “Seventeenth-Century Spanish Colonial Shipping and the Dry Tortugas: An Archeological, Geographical and Historical Overview” (research completed).
- Fay Ann Sullivan– “Georgia Frontier, 1754-1775” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Burke G. Vanderhill (faculty) and Frank A. Unger– “The Georgia Fractions: Florida’s Georgia Land Lots” (continuing study).
- Maurice Williams– “The Castillo de San Marcos: A Cross-Cultural Test of the Determinants of Artifact Patterning” (master’s thesis in progress).
- J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)– “Creeks and Seminoles: The Final Years, 1775-1840s” (continuing study); “Black Seminoles” (continuing study).

### *Historical Association of Southern Florida*

- Robert S. Carr– “Archaeological Investigation of Wagner House”; “Archaeological Investigation of Flagami Site, Miami” (continuing studies).
- Robert S. Carr and Arva Moore Parks– “Ferguson Starch Mill, Miami River” (continuing study).
- Dorothy J. Fields– “Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida” (continuing study).
- Arva Moore Parks– “Coconut Grove”; “Mary Barr Munroe, Resident of Coconut Grove” (continuing studies).

Thelma Peters– “A Look at Miami Society, 1896-1910” (continuing study).

Sandra Riley– “Homeward Bound: A History of the Bahama Islands to 1850 with a Definitive Study of Abaco in the American Loyalist Plantation Period” (continuing study).

Ivan Rodriguez and Margot Ammidown– “Wilderness to Metropolis: the Architectural History of Dade County, 1825-1940” (publication forthcoming).

Jean C. Taylor– “South Dade County” (continuing study).

Patsy West– “Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees”; “Seminoles in Tourist Attractions” (continuing studies).

*Historic Key West Preservation Board*

Sharon Wells– “Key West Illuminations” (publication forthcoming).

*Historic Pensacola Preservation Board*

Linda V. Ellsworth– “Pensacola Creoles, 1860-1970”; “West Florida Vernacular Architecture” (continuing studies); “George Washington Sully: Gulf Coast Genre Painter” (publication forthcoming).

Linda V. Ellsworth and Lucius F. Ellsworth– *Pensacola: The Deep Water City* (published).

Alan Gantzhorn– “The Socialist Party in Pensacola, 1900-1934”; “North Hill” (continuing studies).

*Hong Kong Baptist College*

Barton Starr (faculty)– “Loyalists in East Florida” (continuing study).

*Jacksonville Historical Society*

Dena Snodgrass with Hershel Shepard, A1A– Research on the history and architectural field survey of the plantation house at Kingsley plantation (continuing study, for Florida Department of Natural Resources, Division of Recreation and Parks).

James R. Ward and Dena Snodgrass– “The King’s Road” (continuing study); *Old Hickory’s Town, An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (published).

*Jacksonville University*

George E. Buker (faculty)– “Union Blockade of Florida During the Civil War”; “The Corps of Engineers’ Involvement in the Wetlands of Florida” (continuing studies). “Blockaders, Refugees, and Contrabands” (research completed).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)– “Women in Florida Politics” (continuing study).

George Hallam (faculty)– “History of Jacksonville University”; “History of Bolles School” (continuing studies).

*Louisiana Collection Series, Birmingham, Alabama*

Jack D. L. Holmes– “Andrés de Pas and Spanish Reaction to French Expansion into the Gulf of Mexico” (publication forthcoming). “Spanish Coast Guard Activities on the West Coast of Florida”; “Spanish Mapping and Charting of Mobile and Tampa Bays”; “Spanish-Choctaw Relations, 1770-1800” (continuing studies). “Do it! Don’t do it!: Spanish Laws on Sex and Marriage” (publication forthcoming). “French and Spanish Military Units in the 1781 Pensacola Campaign” (publication forthcoming). “French, Spanish, and Mexican Forest Policies” (publication forthcoming). “Gator Hunting” (publication forthcoming). “Juan Ponce de León: Man of Enterprise, Discoverer and Conqueror” (publication forthcoming). “The Value of the Arpent in Spanish Louisiana and West Florida” (publication forthcoming).

Jack D. L. Holmes with Eric Beerman– “Gálvez” (publication forthcoming).

Jack D. L. Holmes with William S. Coker (faculty, University of West Florida)– “José Gabriel y Estenoz’s Historical Description of Louisiana and Florida (1806)” (continuing study).

*Louisiana State University*

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)– “Chicora Legend and Franco-Spanish Exploration And Colonial Rivalry in the Southeast, to Ca. 1566”; “Demographic and Economic History



of Spanish Florida, With Emphasis on the Sixteenth Century" (continuing studies).

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty), Eugene Lyon (faculty, University of Florida), and Stanley South (faculty, University of South Carolina)– "The History of Spanish Santa Elena" (continuing study).

*Mississippi College*

Edward N. Akin (faculty)– "Henry M. Flagler, A Biography" (continuing study).

*McNeese State University*

Thomas D. Watson (faculty)– "United States-Creek Relations, 1783-1835" (continuing study).

*Northern Illinois University*

Robert Manning– "The Interaction of Race, Class, and Nationality: A Comparative Study of Mexican-American and African-American Labor Migration (1842-1981)" (master's thesis in progress).

*Rollins College*

Jack C. Lane (faculty)– "A Centennial History of Rollins College" (publication forthcoming).

*Stetson University*

Timothy P. Egnor– "Fernandina in the Civil War" (master's thesis in progress).

Kevin J. O'Keefe (faculty)– "Florida and the Coming of War, 1898" (continuing study).

*Tampa Historical Society*

L. Glenn Westfall– "Key West: Cigar City, U.S.A." (publication forthcoming); "Lithographic Process used in Cigar Label and Poster Advertisement" (continuing study).

*University of Central Florida*

- Richard C. Crepeau (faculty)– “A History of the Melbourne Village Project” (continuing study).  
 Jose B. Fernandez (faculty)– “Admiral Jose Solano Bote and the Battle of Pensacola” (continuing study).  
 Thomas D. Greenhaw (faculty)– “British Military Presence in Florida, 1941-1945”; “German Prisoners of War in Florida During World War II” (continuing studies).  
 Edmund F. Kallina (faculty)– “Claude Kirk Administration” (continuing study).  
 Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– “Naval Stores Industry in the Southeastern United States”; “Black Laborers in the Forest Industry of the Southeast”; “History of Jackson County, Florida” (continuing studies); “The Black Press in Florida” (research completed).  
 Paul W. Wehr (faculty)– “History of Central Florida”; “Keva Fried Diary”; “Exclusion of Hannibal Square From Corporate Limits of Winter Park” (continuing studies).

*University of Florida*

- Elizabeth Alexander, Bruce Chappell, and Paul Weaver– “Calendar of the Spanish Holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History” (continuing study).  
 Fred Blakey (faculty)– “A Biography of John Henry Winder”; “Alburtus Vogt” (continuing studies).  
 James Button (faculty)– “Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Six Florida Communities, 1960-1976” (continuing study).  
 Bruce Chappell– “A History of the Diego Plains in the Second Spanish Period” (continuing study).  
 William C. Childers (faculty)– “Garth Wilkinson James and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction” (continuing study).  
 David Colburn (faculty)– “St. Augustine, 1964: Community in Racial Crisis” (publication forthcoming).  
 Caroline Johnson Comnenos– “Florida Sponge Industry: A Cultural and Economic History” (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1982).  
 Ann S. Cordell (Florida State Museum)– “Ceramic Tech-

- nology at a Weeden Island Archeological Site in North Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Kathleen A. Deagan (faculty)– "Adaptation and Change in Sixteenth-Century St. Augustine" (continuing study).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty)– "Introduction to 'Archaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast' by Gordon R. Willey" (published).
- Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– "A Short History of Florida" (continuing study).
- Patricia C. Griffin– "Tourism and Festivals: St. Augustine, Florida, and Bala, Wales" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- E. A. Hammond (faculty, emeritus)– "History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875" (continuing study).
- Barry Hart– "Archeological Testing of Selected Sites on Fort George Island" (continuing studies).
- Earl Ronald Hendry– "David Levy Yulee: A Biography of Florida's Railroad Pioneer-Politician, 1810-1886" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- M. Al-Ankary Khalid– "Comparative Study of Residential Structures Case Studies: Kuwait and Jacksonville" (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1981).
- John Paul Jones (faculty)– "History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).
- Stephen Kerber– "Park Trammell of Florida, A Political Biography"; "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman" (continuing studies).
- Eugene Lyon (faculty)– "The Conquest of Spanish Florida, 1568 to 1587" (continuing study); "The Spanish Presence in North America" (continuing study).
- Bruce E. Marti– "Maritime Containerized Export Flows: South Atlantic and Gulf Ports" (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1982).
- Kevin M. McCarthy (faculty)– "A Cultural, Literary, and Historical Tour of Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich, Jefferson Chapman (faculty, University of Tennessee), Ann S. Cordell, Stephen Hale, and Rochelle Marrinan– "Toward an Understanding of the Prehistoric Development of Calusa Society in Southwest Florida– Ex-

cavations on Useppa Island, Lee County" (publication forthcoming).

Jerald T. Milanich, Ann S. Cordell, Tim A. Kohler (Washington State University), Vernon J. Knight, Jr., and Brenda Sigler-Lavelle— "McKeithen Weeden Island: A Pre-Mississippian Culture in North Florida" (publication forthcoming).

Raymond K. Oldakowski— "An Analysis of Deviant U. S. Population Residential Shift: The Out-Migration From the Sun Belt" (master's thesis completed, 1982).

George Pozzetta (faculty)— "Ethnic Interactions in Tampa, Florida, 1885-1930" (continuing study).

Samuel Proctor (faculty)— "Florida Slave Interviews"; "History of the University of Florida, 1853-present"; "Florida's Civil War Governors" (continuing studies).

Peggy Jo Shaw— "Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings of Cross Creek" (master's thesis completed, 1982).

Marvin T. Smith— "Archeology of the DeSoto Entrada in Florida" (continuing study).

Richard Stauffer— "Third Seminole War" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Paul Weaver— "The History of Preservation in St. Augustine" (master's thesis in progress).

Arthur O. White (faculty)— "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study).

Patricia R. Wickman— "St. Augustine's Minorcans, 1777-1784" (master's thesis in progress).

#### *University of Miami*

William Brown— "Prehistoric South Florida: A Bibliography" (continuing study).

Frank Marotti— "Felix Zubillaga's *La Florida* and *Monumenta antiquae Florida*," translating and annotating (continuing study).

#### *University of Missouri*

Antonio F. Holland— "Nathan B. Young: Black Educator" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*University of North Florida*

James B. Crooks (faculty)– “Twentieth Century Jacksonville History” (continuing study).

Daniel L. Schafer (faculty)– “From Scratch Pads and Dreams: A History of the University of North Florida” (publication forthcoming). “British East Florida” (continuing study).

*University of South Carolina*

George C. Rogers, Jr. (faculty) and Lawrence S. Rowland (faculty, University of South Carolina at Beaufort) – “History of Beaufort County, South Carolina” (continuing study).

Michael C. Scardaville (faculty) and Karen Harvey– “St. Augustine Revisited: A New Look at Old Places” (continuing study).

*University of South Florida*

Tom Ankersen– “Coping with Growth: The Emergence of Environmental Policy in Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).

Charles Arnade (faculty)– “An Architectural History of Pasco County” (continuing study).

Ray Arsenault (faculty)– “Florida Politics and anti-Semitism in St. Petersburg” (continuing study);

Gary Mormino (faculty)– “History of Tampa” (continuing study).

*University of Tampa*

James W. Covington (faculty)– “Federal and State Relations with the Seminole Indians of Florida Since 1858” (continuing study).

*University of Texas, Austin*

Linda D. Vance (faculty)– “May Mann Jennings: Florida’s Genteel Activist” (publication forthcoming); “Women in Conservation” (continuing study).

*University of West Florida.*

- William S. Coker (faculty), Fr. Francisco de Borja Medina, and Lucien Delson— "The Battle Orders for the Siege of Pensacola, 1781" (continuing study).
- Jane G. Dysart (faculty)— "Social Characteristics of Pensacola Before 1860" (continuing study).
- Jane G. Dysart and Lucius F. Ellsworth (faculty)— "The Eastern Creek Indians" (continuing study).
- Lucien Delson— "Andrew Jackson and The Battle of Pensacola, May, 1818: A Reappraisal Based Upon the Spanish Documents" (continuing study).
- Lucius F. Ellsworth— "Lumbering in Northwest Florida During the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (continuing study).
- James R. McGovern (faculty)— "Biography of General 'Chappie' James" (continuing study).
- Thomas Muir, Jr.— "W. A. Blount: A Biography" (master's thesis in progress).
- George F. Pearce— *U.S. Navy in Pensacola From Sailing Ships to Naval Aviation (1825-1930)* (published) "West Indies Squadron and American-Caribbean Diplomacy, 1823-1841"; "W. A. Blount and the Election of 1910"; "Henry Mustin: He Did Not Curry to Favor" (continuing studies).

*Valdosta State College*

- Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr. (faculty)— "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in 17th and 18th Century Florida"; "Spanish Indian Relations in the First Spanish Period" (continuing studies).
- Joseph Tomberlin (faculty)— "The Brown Case and its Aftermath" (continuing study).

*Consulting and/or Research Historians*

- Mildred L. Fryman— "Papers of the Florida Surveyor General to 1908" (continuing study).
- Paul S. George— "Ku Klux Klan Activities in the 1930s"; "Miami's Police During the 'Roaring Twenties'"; "Evolution of a Penal System in Dade County"; "Early Black Com-

munities in Miami"; "History of Miami, 1896-1930" (continuing studies).

David J. Ginzl- "Structural Change in Florida Banking" (continuing study).

## BOOK REVIEWS

*My Work among the Florida Seminoles.* By James Lafayette Glenn, edited with an introduction by Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1982. xiii, 121 pp. Foreword, introduction, photographs, index. \$12.00.)

In 1931 James L. Glenn, whose relevant experience was seven years as a minister in Everglades City, was put in charge of the Seminole Agency at Dania. He succeeded agent L. A. Spencer, who had served from 1913 to 1930. Glenn was removed as agent in 1935; he continued for a year as financial clerk, and then returned to the ministry. About 1946 he wrote the account that is now being published. Evidently he worked mainly from memory, but occasionally used (generally without citing) some of Spencer's and his own administrative reports, newspaper clippings, and perhaps, once or twice, MacCauley's 1887 report. Writing in the form of a letter to a young niece, Glenn produced an extended, rambling commentary organized around sixty snapshots taken between about 1928 and 1935 (evidently most of them by Glenn himself).

The editor has provided a competent brief summary of Glenn's work as agent and a few informative notes to his text. The basic source for Seminole social and economic conditions at about this time remains the report published in 1931 by Roy Nash, a temporary investigator for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who was responsible for Glenn's appointment as agent. Glenn had much longer experience with the Seminoles, and difficult administrative responsibilities as their agent, but unfortunately he lacked Nash's analytical and literary abilities. His reminiscences provide very little new factual data on the activities of the agency or on conditions among the Seminoles. They are not a source on Seminole ethnography. Even the photographs are but a minor supplement to the large available corpus from this period. The reader does not get a clear picture of Seminole society or attitudes and only glimpses some of the faces they turned towards outsiders.



One can obtain from this volume an impression of the duties and problems Glenn faced. The paternalistic, ethnocentric, self-righteous concern for Seminole welfare he expressed was not atypical of the better agency employees and of other local supporters and patrons of the Indians during Glenn's time and for at least twenty years thereafter. He was an authoritarian, hard-working superintendant of an under-staffed and under-funded agency trying to provide medical, legal, and economic assistance during the Depression years to a very widely scattered and largely independent Seminole population, one still very suspicious of the federal government and wary of all whites. The Indians were losing their economic independence, although one suspects that they were more self-sufficient economically (as they certainly were socially) than Glenn implies. The Seminoles were already a tourist attraction, to Glenn's disgust, but were not yet recognized as a resource or a responsibility by state or local governments or by chambers of commerce.

When he wrote, Glenn was filled with diffuse anger and resentment at John Collier, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and other federal bureaucracies, but he gave inadequate explanations for these feelings. He seems to have disagreed with Commissioner Collier's philosophy of Indian administration, as did many BIA employees, including reactionary time-servers of whom Glenn was certainly not one. On balance, Glenn probably helped the Seminoles— especially, as Kersey suggests, by acquiring land for the Brighton and Big Cypress reservations and starting the cattle program there. But the housing and anti-alcohol campaigns he seemed proud of had little lasting effect. The developments in education and employment that profoundly changed Seminole life largely began some ten years after his term, while the origins of the current political scene, the organization of the two modern Florida Indian tribes and of their two BIA agencies, lie more than twenty years later.

*Smithsonian Institution*

WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT

*The Vision of a Contemporary University.* By Russell M. Cooper and Margaret B. Fisher. (Tampa: The University of South Florida, 1982. xiv, 318 pp. Foreword, preface, epilogue, notes, index, photographs, illustrations. \$12.95.)

The University of South Florida was a child of the 1960s. Born in the post World War II era of higher educational expansion, it grew into adolescence and adulthood along with the flower children of the sixties and early seventies. It experienced their growth pains in a period of social upheaval and it responded to their desire for different educational experiences. In its maturity, like those flower children, it has settled into a thoroughly conventional life-style, resembling very much its more conservative parents.

Like most states after World War II, Florida experienced an enormous increase in student enrollment in higher education (from 36,000 in 1954 to 240,000 in 1970). A 1956 study revealed that nine private colleges and three state universities (the University of Florida, Florida State University, and Florida A & M University) had a capacity of 38,000. When the same study—the Brambaugh Report—recommended expansion the state undertook a giant construction program; it built eighteen new two-year community colleges with open enrollment and planned six four-year regional universities with restricted admission. Although the Brambaugh Report established no design for their expansion, for the universities it clearly favored the California model which provided for a single centralized system. Such a model (successfully repeated by New York and Texas) allowed for more efficient administration, but as it turned out, the Florida legislature rejected that model by allowing the first expansion, the University of South Florida, to assume an autonomous independent status. South Florida served as a model for the rest. Whether or not it was wise to create an independent rather than a pyramidal structure is an important question left unexplored by the authors.

The authors of *The Vision of a Contemporary University* were involved in the founding of the University of South Florida. Cooper served as dean of the College of Liberal Arts from 1959 to 1971, and Fisher served as dean of women. Cooper completed six chapters before his death in 1975, and Fisher finished the re-

mainder of the book. She retained Cooper's basic approach: namely, to assess "the organic and environmental forces that helped shape the University." Within this framework the authors write an interesting, if somewhat limited book. They deal thoroughly with how the founders grappled with the problems of creating from scratch a large urban university, and in this effort they do a creditable job. What is missing is a sense of historical development. While they try to place the founding of the University of South Florida in the larger national setting, the lack of historical development prevents them from seeing some events, such as the Johns committee investigation, in a larger perspective. In a deeper sense, it prevents them from properly evaluating the failure of the university to live up to expectations.

The effort to create an innovative general educational program is a pertinent example. Sidney French, later to become vice president of academic affairs, tried to give substance to general education by devising a plan to institute a separate and independent College of Basic Studies. One may argue with the wisdom but certainly not with the intention of this effort. There is no need to spell out the details of the plan; Cooper covers it in great detail for the interested reader. As the author indicates, it was a bold and challenging effort, calling forth positive effort by faculty and students to link immediate experience to future expectations, to share responsibility, and to contribute positively to the mission of the university.

What was the outcome? After a few years this "bold and innovative" program disappeared. Why? For the very good reason that it was bold innovation in a sea of conventionality. It succumbed to the same forces that had stifled innovation in hundreds of other colleges and universities: namely, graduate schools that produced professional scholars not teachers, and professional departments that tenaciously monopolized curriculums. Forced to compete with traditional departments for human and material resources, the outcome of the basic studies program was quite predictable.

In the end, the University of South Florida, became a regional replica of the University of Florida and Florida State University. The authors see it as a model of the modern urban university. It is, but not in the approving way the authors have tried to pre-

sent. It is a model story of what might have been— that is, it is a failed vision. That is not the story the authors have tried to write, but the facts have a way of intruding upon hope.

Rollins College

JACK C. LANE

*The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History.* By James A. Rawley. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981. xiv, 452 pp. Maps, tables, acknowledgments, abbreviations used, introduction, index. \$24.95.)

Philip D. Curtin's 1969 study, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, both provided the first systematically derived quantitative estimates of the volume of African slaves taken to America and stimulated a resurgence of interest into all aspects of the slave trade, an interest that is yielding a growing body of increasingly sophisticated literature. Though it is based upon some original research, primarily in British and American archives, James A. Rawley's admirably broad and sensibly argued volume is a largely successful attempt to incorporate the findings of this literature into what the dustjacket describes as a "general history of the transatlantic slave trade." Five early chapters recount the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, and French participation. But the core of the book consists of eight chapters on the role of the English and their offshoot societies in America.

On the basis of his own and other scholars' calculations over the past decade, Rawley puts the total volume of the trade at 11,345,000, a figure that raises Curtin's 1969 estimates by 1,778,900 or 18.6 per cent. In most other respects, however, Rawley refines and extends rather than revises in major ways Curtin's account of the shifting patterns of trade. Three-fifths of the total volume of slaves were imported between 1700 and 1810, with only three per cent arriving during the sixteenth century, fourteen per cent in the seventeenth century, and twenty-three per cent between 1810 and the final curtailment of the Brazilian trade in 1870. Prior to 1600, the Hispanic American colonies accounted for sixty per cent of the American total; thereafter, Brazil assumed first place, a position it held for the final 270 years of the trade.

Roughly half the slaves went to South America, almost four-fifths of those to Brazil, far and away the largest importer of any of the American colonies. The rest were divided about equally between the Guianas and the Hispanic colonies. Another forty-two to forty-three per cent went to the Caribbean with St. Domingue taking the largest number. The North American colonies took less than seven per cent and the Old World roughly one to two per cent.

Although there was a gradual shift in the source of slaves south and east to the Congo and Angola during the eighteenth century, nearly three-fourths came from West Africa and ninety per cent of those from the Bights of Benin and Biafra, the Gold Coast, and the Windward Coast. Down to the 1640s, the Portuguese, who inaugurated the trade and continued to transport large numbers down to 1870, were the leading carriers, but they lost that distinction to the Dutch during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Beginning around 1670, the French and English vied for first place with the English, finally achieving and holding predominance between 1740 and 1810, when they followed the Danes and renounced the trade. Spain did not enter the trade in a major way until the nineteenth century, and the United States was an important carrier only between 1790 and 1813.

Although the author does not downplay the “undoubted horrors” of the trade, he focuses primarily upon it as “a business” that was increasingly dominated by experienced family firms and had a more modest rate of profit—about ten per cent—than has traditionally been supposed. This focus necessarily results in his giving less attention to either the plight of the slaves themselves or the supply side of the trade. But he does contend that the death rate during the middle passage was not as high as sometimes asserted and was improving over time. Following recent African historiography, he also stresses the central role of Africans in the trade. Throughout its history, they both controlled all of its internal aspects and, unlike their late nineteenth-century descendants, retained complete power over the small enclaves of European traders.

Somewhat ironically, perhaps, Rawley’s focus upon the slave trade as a business enables him, probably more powerfully than

any previous writer, to convey a full appreciation of how completely the slave trade and slavery were accepted by every one of the Atlantic societies of early modern Europe prior to the very late eighteenth century. His volume is not an explicit history of values. But in his comprehensive recounting of the eagerness with which Europeans over more than four centuries eagerly involved themselves with the slave trade, positively endorsed it as a source of national wealth, power, and honor, and enthusiastically encouraged the employment of slaves in their American colonies, he shows not only how alive they were to new economic opportunities but how far they would go to turn those opportunities to their advantage, how few qualms they had about treating other human beings as disposable commodities, and, like the inhabitants of their new satellite societies across the Atlantic, how fundamentally, fully, and unhesitatingly exploitative they were in their basic cultures and social organizations. In this situation, the still largely unexplained wonder is how the movement to abolish the slave trade ever managed even to surface at the end of the eighteenth century, much less to triumph so fully and so rapidly.

*The Johns Hopkins University*

JACK P. GREENE

*La Misión de Don Luis de Onís en los Estados Unidos (1809-1819).*

By Ángel del Río. (Barcelona: Talleres Novagrafik, 1981. 294 pp. Preface, notes, maps, appendices, bibliography. \$15.00.)

Luis de Onís y González has shared the bitter draught so common to a nation's statesmen. His skilled and tireless work in the United States from 1809 through the successful completion of the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty (transcontinental or Florida-purchase treaty) was denigrated by his Spanish and American contemporaries. Generations of hispanic scholars, with the notable exception of Jerónimo Becker in his *Historia de las relaciones exteriores de España durante el siglo xix* (1924-1926), have chosen to dismiss him as an inept, disloyal official who sold out to the United States. Truly, Onís was "a prophet without honor in his own land."

He fared better in the writings of American historians, as the ample bibliography in Bemis and Griffin's *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775-1921* (1935), indicates. Professor Ángel del Río, whose noted career as an authority on Spanish literature was cut short by cancer in 1962 while he was a professor at Columbia University, has not sought to duplicate the excellent Onís studies by Charles C. Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822* (1937), and Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (1939). Actually, Professor del Río wrote this book almost forty years ago, and it was brought to light by his widow, a renowned specialist in Spanish literature in her own right, Professor Amelia Agostini de del Río. Thus, it does not incorporate such data as this reviewer used in the introduction to the Porrúa edition of the Onís *Memoria* (1969), which was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, July 1970.

What this book tries to do is to give yet another facet to the fascinating subject—Don Luis de Onís—by using archival and published sources, and particularly the private Onís family archives at Cantalapiedra. Appendix II, for example, includes correspondence between Onís and his son Mauricio, along with a reference to other, heretofore unused archival treasures on Onís.

Recall, Onís came to the United States at a time when factional strife between the Jeffersonians and Federalists was still rife, at a point in history when Spain's American colonies were in the process of declaring independence, and when the United States was embarked on its initial aggression against weaker hispanic neighbors a generation before the famous "manifest destiny" policy of the 1840s. If Florida and American historians are loathe to explain the actual warlike steps taken by the United States against Spain during this period of history, it is not because they lack the source materials. Onís's writings, under the pen-name "Verus," explained why West Florida was *not* part of the Louisiana Purchase, and why American aggression in that area was so reprehensible.

I recall asking the late Professor T. Harry Williams as to the justness of the United States position regarding the Mexican War. His laconic reply, applicable to West Florida as well as

Mexico, or even to the Falkland Islands/Malvinas, was, "might makes right." Perhaps that is so, historically, but Onís never felt the United States was justified in conquering the Mississippi Gulf coast or Mobile.

A third of this book is devoted to the appendices, bibliography, and several maps. Unfortunately, there is no index, and the lack of proof-reading is a serious defect. Professor del Río's widow furnished a three-page list of errata (and there are even more errors she missed), but no such list was included in the volume by careless editors, nor was the widow given the opportunity to proof-read the galleys.

Still, this is a useful book, one which recalls that the mission of Luis de Onís was a no-win operation, given the inexorable march of history toward the independence of Latin America and to the American frontier expansion into the Old Southwest. It is bound beautifully in dark red cloth embossed with gold and makes an attractive addition to any library of Floridiana or Latin American history.

*Birmingham, Alabama*

JACK D. L. HOLMES

*The Papers of Henry Clay. Volume 6: Secretary of State, 1827.*  
 Edited by Mary W. M. Hargreaves and James F. Hopkins.  
 (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1981. viii,  
 1448 pp. Preface, symbols, index. \$35.00.)

Volume 6 of *The Papers of Henry Clay*, like its two immediate predecessors, is devoted to a single year. In 1827 Clay was serving his third year as secretary of state in the cabinet of President John Quincy Adams. Despite the fact that Congress had recently provided him with additional clerks, he still found his duties "very laborious." He had good cause to complain— as a perusal of this volume clearly indicates— of the "oppressive extent of my correspondence, public and private."

There were nevertheless compensatory aspects to his position. Even after moving into Mrs. Stephen Decatur's mansion near the White House— "the best private dwelling in the city" (and at \$800 per year rent one of the most expensive), he and his



family could live comfortably off his annual salary of \$6,000, "leaving the income of my property in Kentucky to operate as a sinking fund of my remaining debt." Yet his health and that of his wife were frequent matters of concern. Clay, at age fifty, concluded that they were "both getting old, and both feel it." He was somewhat revived by a mid-summer trip to Kentucky, but after his return to Washington illness required his absence from his duties for several days, and in October he again left the capital for a short spell "to get out of the dust of the office and the smoak of the City."

Although the bulk of the papers in this volume pertain to foreign affairs—much of it of a routine nature—what will impress political historians is Clay's leadership role in the new National Republican party. Impatient of those politicians who still thought in terms of the long-ago struggle between Federalists and Republicans, he wrote Daniel Webster that "we should, on all occasions, inculcate the incontestible [*sic*] truth that *now* there are but two parties in the Union, the friends and the enemies of the administration." In advancing the cause of the administration's friends, Clay corresponded extensively with party leaders such as Webster, Edward Everett, and Peter B. Porter; he solicited financial support for two stalwart National Republican presses, Charles Hammond's Cincinnati *Gazette* and John H. Pleasant's Richmond *Whig*; and he wrote editorials for the Washington *National Journal* and the *National Intelligencer*. He also spent considerable time, and energy in amassing a defense against the charge by Andrew Jackson that he and Adams had entered into a "corrupt bargain" to deny the Old Hero the presidency in 1825. He also had one of his clerks transcribe a copy of Jackson's expense account as territorial governor of Florida and forwarded it to Hammond. "I need not suggest to your discretion," he wrote, "the expediency of avoiding a reference to my name in any use you may think proper to make of the a/c."

The publication of Volume 6 marks the termination of the connection of Mary W. M. Hargreaves and James F. Hopkins with *The Papers of Henry Clay* project, an association that began with the inauguration of the enterprise some thirty years ago. Hopkins, the original senior editor, continued to work on the current volume five years after his formal retirement from the

University of Kentucky and Hargreaves one year after she became emerita professor. Clearly the most difficult task the co-editors faced was the plethora of official correspondence that Clay wrote or received as secretary of state. Their decision to be as comprehensive as possible slowed down their progress in producing the volumes for Clay's cabinet years but greatly added to their utility for future historians. In the current volume, however, necessity forced them to be somewhat less comprehensive than in the earlier ones. A larger percentage of the documents have been summarized and routine letters of application and recommendation after March 31, 1827, were omitted. Still this four-and-one-half pound volume is 350 pages longer than any of its predecessors! Given the present financial difficulties facing editorial projects such as *The Papers of Henry Clay*, new director and editor Robert Seager II will doubtless make other space-saving innovations in treating Clay's last fourteen months as secretary of state. His overall task has been greatly facilitated by the excellent foundation established by his predecessors.

*University of Houston*

EDWIN A. MILES

*The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume XIV, 1837-1839.* Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981. xxxiii, 680 pp. Frontispiece, preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

This fourteenth volume in the papers of John C. Calhoun covers the period of the second and third sessions of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the United States, December 1837, to December 1839. It was an era in Calhoun's career when he was reasserting his connections with the Democratic party, to the dismay of some Whigs who erroneously believed he was theirs. Though earlier Calhoun had ceased collaboration with the Democrats, due to his conflicts with Andrew Jackson, he recognized that the loose construction philosophy of the Whigs was not compatible with the interests he represented. The less centralizing, more strict basic views of the Democrats led him to believe that it was the only national party within which he could operate.

Calhoun, however, was one of those early nineteenth-century political figures who doubted the usefulness of parties, and in his own state decried their divisive tendencies. To give weight to the political policies he deemed valid, South Carolina must be united in one cause, as if there were no conflicting interests within the state. He assumed a monolithic unity of opinion and purpose which did not admit of national parties in his political bailiwick.

In his well-conceived introductory essays, the editor seeks to destroy some stereotypes of Calhoun, particularly of Calhoun "the cast-iron man" and Calhoun the political dictator of South Carolina. He shows that the former view, largely attributable to Hermann von Holst and Harriet Martineau, was a misleading oversimplification. In fact, Calhoun was too intensely intellectual for many "light-weight" Southerners, but the letters here reveal a warm family man, a typical Southerner of the antebellum planter class who was moved by a stem sense of duty. It was not, however, a puritanical outlook because he enjoyed good fun and saw no sin in it.

As for Calhoun's political domination of South Carolina, the editor's denial is less complete. He asserts that the task of having one leader there was easier because South Carolina was the most coherent and homogeneous polity in the United States. South Carolina was full of proud men who took "orders" from no one, but, the editor asserts, in his last years Calhoun's word carried great authority.

This reviewer differs from the editor of these volumes in a basic assessment of Calhoun's political value system. The editor appears to see virtue in a set of mind inherent in men such as Calhoun who wed themselves to a view of an ideal social system which denies complexity and divergent interests. Calling such men "statesmen," he quotes a modern essayist's nonsense that statesmen must fail, and mere politicians succeed. He ranks Calhoun with Jefferson in his suspicion of strong central government but does not see that, unlike Jefferson, the "original principles" to which Calhoun would return government were static—lacking in the resilience to cope with changing society.

Researchers in Florida history may safely ignore this volume. In the period covered, Floridians were primarily preoccupied

with their constitutional convention at St. Joseph and the Second Seminole War. To the former, there is no reference. To the Seminole War, there is one indexed entry, but no reference to it appears on the page cited. Despite these differences of opinion with the editor, he is to be commended. This series has been a fine collection with insightful and provocative editorial essays.

*University of Florida*

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

*Olive Branch and Sword—The Compromise of 1833.* By Merrill D. Peterson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xi, 132 pp. Acknowledgments, index. \$15.00.)

The “sword” of Merrill Peterson’s story of the nullification crisis was the Force Act authorizing President Andrew Jackson to use military means to execute the national law in South Carolina. The “olive branch” was the Compromise Tariff of 1833 which scaled down the protective tariff rates of 1832 to a non-protective twenty per cent over a nine and one-half year period. One of Peterson’s principal points is that the Force Act, considered by many to be merely a gesture to placate the Old Hero, was in fact a necessary element in the resolution of the crisis.

This was the heyday of the Generation of 1812. Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun waged epic battles, sometimes together and sometimes separately, against the “executive tyranny” of Andrew Jackson. The Compromise brought about that strange coalition of Clay and Calhoun, yet this was only one of the twistings and “political somersaults” that marked the tortuous paths of the triumvirate. Guided by presidential ambition, craftily plotting political strategy, yet often deeply moved by principle and ideal, “they enjoyed the same celebrity on the public stage as the great dramatic actors of the age enjoyed in the theatre” (p. 126). The packed galleries in the Senate and the House attested to the fact that the best show in town was in the halls of Congress.

The Compromise of 1833 (the tariff and the Force Act) was the result of the masterful political strategy of Henry Clay. Peterson is careful to point out that the compromise was not

effected by compromisers but by men like John Tyler and Daniel Webster who were not in favor of both measures but whose opposite votes on the bills allowed their separate passage. In fact, 114 of 188 representatives whose votes were recorded voted in opposite ways. Representatives of the manufacturing interests in New England and Pennsylvania voted overwhelmingly against the tariff bill (although manufacturers subsequently prospered under a stable tariff policy removed from the whims of the politicians). The Jacksonians made no effort at all to support it.

Calhoun returned to South Carolina claiming a victory for state sovereignty, although forty-three of eighty-two Southerners had voted for the Force Bill. Henry Clay announced the salvation of protectionism and the American System. President Jackson affirmed the preservation of the Union and the Constitution. In the ensuing years the Compromise became many things to many people. And it is in this respect that Professor Peterson warns us about reading too much into such dramatic historical events.

The Compromise did not, as some have concluded, lead to the Panic of 1837, nor in a larger context did it lead the nation into, a great civil war. "The workings of history are much too subtle and intricate for such stupendously simple explanations" (pp. 124-25). He also notes that the Compromise was a vivid example of the way in which national policy was made in the Jacksonian era. It was a complex process involving a whole range of forces from self-serving ambition to the noblest ideals. Above all it was the artistry of the actors on the public stage, the domination of a few political giants that shaped the politics of the times. "The history of the Compromise of 1833 is largely the history of Clay and Calhoun, Jackson and Webster; it cannot be explained without them" (p. 126).

Finally, he points out that, as with all compromises, the Compromise of 1833 did not offer any permanent solutions. It consisted of a practical resolution of differences, a *modus vivendi* between opposite extremes that allowed the nation to pass the crisis, to "enable society to get on with its business." This is a valuable book for it offers not only a perceptive study of an important event but some valuable lessons in the uses of history.

*University of Alabama*

JOHN PANCAKE

*Eating, Drinking, and Visiting in the South. An Informal History.*

By Joe Gray Taylor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. ix, 184 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$22.50.)

In 1966 Joe Gray Taylor published an article in the *Georgia Review* on "The Food of the New South." That was the beginning of extensive research in the literary sources that resulted in the volume under review here. A decade before Professor Taylor completed *Eating, Drinking, and Visiting in the South*, Sam Bowers Hilliard published his study on southern food, covering roughly the twenty years before the Civil War. Hilliard's, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South* (1972) is a much more detailed study than Taylor's in that production of food is given considerable attention. Of necessity that took Hilliard into aspects of southern farming and the importation of food from the Midwest. As Taylor emphasizes, his is an informal history which considers food mainly in a social rather than an economic context.

The book begins with a discussion of food on the southern frontier. Taylor points out that frontiersmen followed the Indian practice of killing game for food. But they quickly began raising livestock and growing corn, a favorite food. Then in two chapters he discusses the eating habits of the plain people of the Old South, followed by chapters on how the planters ate and drank and on the diet of the slaves. While pork and corn were the main food items for the South's plain folk, they also consumed vegetables and livestock products. Milk, both sweet and sour, was a favorite drink among many farmers. As would be expected, the planters ate better, had a greater variety of food, and often washed down their dinner with relatively expensive wine. Taylor found little to commend dining away from home, or "eating out." Most of the accounts by travelers indicated that trying to buy a decent meal was pretty hopeless, although there were notable exceptions in some inns and taverns. In a chapter on the Civil War, Taylor concludes that food shortages were very serious throughout much of the South before the war ended.

The last four chapters deal with food and drink in the New South from the Civil War to the post-World War II period.

Taylor stresses that food and drink remained much the same for most Southerners in those years. Corn and pork continued to hold an inordinate position in the diet of many Southerners, and they continued to eat about the same vegetables consumed by their forefathers before the Civil War. Taylor believes that greater changes have probably occurred in southern eating since 1940 than in the previous century.

Despite the title, this book contains much more information about eating than about drinking and visiting. There is, for instance, very little discussion of home made alcoholic beverages, including moonshining. The reader is really unable to get a very clear picture of southern drinking preferences and habits.

Professor Taylor has written an informative, interesting, and lively summary of southern eating. He paints with a broad brush and makes no pretense of presenting new data or analysis. His principal sources are travel accounts and scholarly secondary works. Statistics are almost totally lacking. In short, this is a book for general readers, and that audience should welcome it. We need more solidly researched, interestedly written history for the general public.

This reviewer now wishes that Professor Taylor would do an in-depth study of southern food and diets for the period from the late nineteenth century to about World War II. We do not need more studies of what Southerners ate, but an analysis of how the diets affected people's personal, social, and economic welfare. Beginning with the study published by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1896, on diets of blacks in Macon County, Alabama, mentioned by Professor Taylor, there is an increasing amount of research on southern food and diets that would provide a strong basis for such a study. I would like to see scholars quit repeating what is already well known and strike out in some new and more challenging directions. Meanwhile, read *Eating, Drinking, and Visiting in the South*.

University of Georgia

GILBERT C. FITE

*Slavery and Freedom.* by Willie Lee Rose. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. xiv, 224 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, remarks on editorial procedure, notes, index. \$17.95.)

For readers who know Willie Lee Rose only from her book on wartime Reconstruction at Port Royal, this collection of essays, some never before published, may come as a revelation. All along she has really been more preoccupied with slavery than with Reconstruction. Even when she writes about emancipation and its aftermath, it is usually to discover new insights into the Old Regime. Mrs. Rose was among the first historians of her generation to realize that much might be learned about slavery by studying it during its collapse.

*Slavery and Freedom* covers a wide range of subjects. There are essays on slave acculturation during the colonial period, on slavery under the impact of the American Revolution, and on free blacks in both the South and in Brazil. One chapter is a sensitive exploration of the connection between childrearing practices and slave personality. Two other essays consider how ex-masters and ex-slaves adjusted to one another under the new conditions of freedom. Mrs. Rose also assesses revisionist studies on various aspects of the slave South and calls attention to some of the difficulties involved in using primary source material pertaining to the subject. For readers whose tastes run toward historical fiction, or "faction," there is a magnificent assessment of Alex Haley's *Roots*. And her piece on John Brown, Frederick Douglass, and the problem of revolutionary violence in the American setting is still provocative despite having been written almost twelve years ago, when such subjects were in fashion.

Mrs. Rose has firm convictions about how future overviews of slavery should be written. She is strongly of the mind that the slaves themselves must be treated as active agents in the historical process, who creatively adapted to their condition as best they could. But more of a sticking point with her is the belief that we must cease focussing exclusively on slavery during its last phases and begin studying it as it evolved over time— that is, historically. Some of her richest insights come from this angle of vision. She glimpses, for example, the paradox of slavery be-



coming physically milder and more paternalistic just at the moment when it was becoming legally and racially more repressive, for both slaves and free blacks. There is no hint here that kinder necessarily means better. In fact, she tends to feel that the paternalism might have made the slaves psychologically dependent in ways that would not become fully evident until Reconstruction.

It requires keen intelligence to perceive paradox, and intellectual honesty to deal with ambiguity. But Mrs. Rose thinks at a high level of abstraction, and she is not at all afraid of subjecting the broadest generalizations to the test of verifiable fact, or to the concrete realities of local history. Nor is she hesitant about trying to view slavery from the interior perspective. Her appreciation of how slave and master shaped one another's personalities is profound. "Like the opposite poles of a magnetic field, slave and master held one another in suspension," she writes. "They were what they were because of each other, and each . . . created the role of the other" (p. 186). This is not an easy truth to grasp or relate, and to convey it at all requires more than a sharp eye for hidden meanings in commonplace details. It also takes artistic intuition and literary skills of a rare type. But Mrs. Rose possesses these gifts in abundant measure.

William W. Freehling, Mrs. Rose's colleague at Johns Hopkins, has done a laudable job of preparing these essays for publication. Several of the unpublished ones have influenced interpretations now in print by other specialists in the field. Freehling's introductory headnotes establish the right tone, and his silent corrections and emendations are never obtrusive. He deserves our thanks for making conveniently accessible these fine essays by one of his generation's finest historians.

*Tulane University*

LAWRENCE N. POWELL

*Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina.* By Daniel C. Littlefield (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xii, 199 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, tables, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Daniel C. Littlefield has gone further than any modern historian to argue that South Carolinians of the eighteenth century were keenly aware of, and based the selection of their slaves on, the cultural traits attributed to specific groups of Africans. Littlefield's volume is in some ways a sequel to Peter Wood's *Black Majority* (1974), but Littlefield provides a much fuller analysis of the African side of the slave trade which provided the labor force for colonial South Carolina.

Wood argued that the successful development of a rice culture was based in large measure on the agricultural skills of those slaves imported from the rice growing areas of Africa. Littlefield is more cautious, but builds an even stronger case for African contributions by a more thorough explication of the agricultural practices in the African regions which supplied many of those slaves to South Carolina.

Littlefield demonstrates that even before the settlement of South Carolina Englishmen were aware of the African rice culture; that South Carolinians placed an emphasis on slaves from rice-growing regions like Gambia; and that from the earliest years of South Carolina's development, a strong connection existed between the colony and the rice-growing regions of Africa. He concludes that South Carolinians were willing to avail themselves of those skills: "Englishmen had everything to learn and Africans much to teach."

Throughout his study Littlefield is most concerned with the African population and a demonstration of white awareness of distinctions within that population. His statistical analysis of ethnic diversity based on advertisements for fugitives is carefully constructed to reveal both white awareness and white perceptions of that diversity.

Littlefield's larger perspective is to suggest that more information about the African population has become available and that historians can now begin a more reliable assessment of

the survival of "Africanisms" in North America. One can only hope that other historians will rise to the challenge and do so with the measured pace reflected in Littlefield's own study.

*University of South Carolina*

DAVID R. CHESNUTT

*Edmund Ruffin, A Biography.* By Betty L. Mitchell. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981. x, 306 pp. Preface, selected bibliography, notes, index. \$22.50.)

A sixty-seven year old Virginian with shoulder-length white hair jerked the lanyard on a cannon to send the first shell into Fort Sumter and finally achieved the notoriety he had pathetically sought for most of his life. Edmund **Ruffin**, honorary volunteer, Palmetto Guards, had ricocheted about the South for a decade, bouncing off sympathetic fire-eaters and many other prominent Southerners who were unimpressed. His self-appointed role as catalyst for secession had become an obsession that usually brought frustration and depression. John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry had rescued him from one of his deepest depressions, and to get to witness Brown's hanging he became a temporary private in the corps of giggling Virginia Military Institute cadets. Missing few opportunities to mingle with fire-eaters, he had journeyed to Montgomery for the 1858 Southern Commercial Convention, where he had fervently endorsed the extremists' favorite ploy for infuriating Northerners—proposing to reopen the African slave trade. That he was haunting the environs of Fort Sumter is not surprising, nor that he rejoined the Palmetto Guards in Virginia for the first major battle. Again he was allowed to jerk a lanyard, after which he spent days accumulating evidence of the damage his shell had caused, even borrowing a horse to poke about among the dead and dying the day after the battle. In and about Richmond during the war, he witnessed the destruction of his plantations and personal possessions and suffered the loss of a son in battle. Though he fervently hoped for an honorable battle death for his youngest son, a great disappointment to him, that son instead successfully deserted. The war lost, Ruffin concluded his diary with a declaration of unmitigated hatred toward Yankees

and killed himself. That startlingly revealing diary had been kept for nearly a decade and aided greatly in making him a fascinating subject of study.

For most of his adult life Ruffin was a very successful Virginia planter and a remarkably perceptive agricultural reformer. It may be impossible to measure his influence on agricultural practices, but he earned widespread recognition for his original discoveries, especially in soil chemistry, and for his many years of writing and publishing for farmers. It is difficult to believe that he would be the subject of major biographies, nonetheless, without his frenetic activities in the cause of secession. This is ironic, for his effect on agricultural developments was surely greater than his effect on actual secession decisions.

A half century ago Avery Craven, early in a career of great distinction as a historian, offered a competent and artistic interpretation of Ruffin's life that until now no one has undertaken to replace. Betty L. Mitchell, in this much longer treatment that provides room for some telling material Craven omitted, has rendered a brilliantly compelling and convincing portrayal. It is not that a much different image of Ruffin emerges but that the image is so much more effectively fleshed out. The depth of his contempt for the capacities of black people is far more extensively demonstrated, for example, as is Ruffin's capacity for permanent alienation. He had bitterly opposed the marriage of his daughter, Agnes, and after many years of her husband's financial disasters he had terminated communication. When Agnes's son died in battle, Ruffin could not bring himself even to write. His most beloved daughter, Mildred, died the following winter, shattering him with grief. Yet, when Agnes wrote expressing her own grief at losing her sister and pleading for reconciliation, he sent her letter back endorsed: "I have *no daughter* left alive" (p. 226).

The author has explicitly avoided psychoanalytic effort, though one would have guessed that a new biography of Ruffin would lean that way. Not risking such a hazardous technique, she has accomplished no mean feat in supplanting Craven as the standard biographer of Edmund Ruffin.

*University of Missouri-Columbia*

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER

*Lincoln and Black Freedom, A Study in Presidential Leadership.*  
By LaWanda Cox. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981. xiii, 254 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.95.)

This outstanding book makes its contribution by taking two old adages about Lincoln seriously. First, historians and every one else have long talked about his political talent. LaWanda Cox has taken the trouble to show it in action in Louisiana during the first efforts to reconstruct a rebel state. Second, we have been reminded that this political talent operated within the limits of the possible— which Lincoln had the good sense to understand. By re-considering Lincoln, Cox helps us think in new ways about just what was achieved and what was in fact possible. We understand not only the man but the age better, not only politics but the enduring problem of changing societies.

Lincoln in these pages is shown to be seeking not only emancipation but also suffrage for the freedmen in the Bayou State. He was reflecting egalitarian feelings he had long held—even before the war. But he had to proceed cautiously toward his goals because the environment was filled with obstacles. While maintaining a public posture of limited goals— seeming more interested in restoring the Union than in protecting the blacks— Lincoln worked behind the scenes to advance the state toward first emancipation, then civil rights, and then political rights. His primary instrument in achieving these goals was General Banks, but he was also willing to use the patronage whip to encourage legislators to vote the proper way.

Cox also points out that in some respects Lincoln was in advance even of the so-called radicals in Congress. She notes that the Wade-Davis bill restricted ballots to white men, while Lincoln was working for black voting. In fact Lincoln had taken actions directly against slavery prior to congressional initiatives. His compensated emancipation proposal of March 6, 1862, preceeded congressional attacks on bondage. Also his Emancipation Proclamation was more advanced than the Second Confiscation Act. The latter measure focused primarily on slaves within Union lines. The Proclamation offered freedom to those in the much larger region outside those lines. He also supported policies that

set aside land for acquisition by freedmen. Fredrick Douglass's assessment of the president seems verified: "measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined" (p. 36).

The contrast between Lincoln and Andrew Johnson is thus shown clearly. While Douglass admired Lincoln and the president returned the favor, Johnson said that Douglass was "just like any nigger." Lincoln would have signed the Civil Rights Bill, the Freedman's Bureau Bill, and the subsequent amendments. Johnson vetoed them. Johnson supported the Louisiana conservative government that Lincoln sought to undermine. Lincoln used his pardoning and patronage power to advance the freedmen's cause. Johnson used his to restore their former masters to dominance.

That Lincoln operated within the limits of the possible has also been part of catechism. But Cox takes that adage seriously, not to justify behavior but to assess Reconstruction possibilities. She moves beyond the judgments of historians of the 1960-early 1970s that congressional Reconstruction measures should have been stronger in order to succeed in giving meaningful liberty to blacks. She contrasts the first and second Reconstructions and notes that in the 1860s southern opposition was more widespread and violent while northern power was exercised under a more limited constitutional vision. Nevertheless, greater force was used in the 1860s than in the next century and still the cause of equality was advanced only incrementally. Given such opposition Cox wonders if Lincoln's sagacity and his cautious approach, which shared radical goals, would not have been more likely to achieve them.

Cox notes also the awesome size of what was being attempted, and here again the comparative approach serves her well. No other emancipation effort was so grand— 4,000,000 slaves freed yet still facing a society in which they were a minority, and their freedom coming only after one of the bloodiest wars in history. In this context the achievements of Reconstruction seem creditable. Cox calls attention to the fact that changing the economic condition of a "dependent, subservient agrarian people" has proved an awesome task anytime or place that it has been tried.

She quotes Jerome Blum saying in the 1970s, "freeing of the European peasantry from the bonds of their servility" was a "still unfinished social revolution."

In all there is little to criticize in this excellent work. Her discussion of the constitutional limitations of Reconstruction needs elaboration. In arguing that Lincoln did not use emancipation solely as a device for winning the war, she says that he initiated his proposals when Grant's victories in the West still "cheered Union men," without noting that men were less than cheery about what McClellan was doing, or rather not doing, in the foremost theater of war. But these caveats are miniscule in the context of a superb book which combines thorough research with wide vision. Historians of the Civil War era are in Cox's debt once more. She has helped them think more carefully about their field. Historians in general are too. She has demonstrated the writing of history at its best.

*University of Kansas*

PHILLIP S. PALUDAN

*Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction, The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870.* By Robert C. Morris. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981. xv, 341 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, bibliography, index, illustrations. \$25.00.)

The adjective "definitive" must always be used with care, but perhaps it properly can be applied to this monograph. It is based on careful research in an impressive array of material, requiring twenty-five pages for the bibliography and fifty-two for the footnotes, in a book of 330 pages. In the subtitle Professor Morris sets the limits of his work. Further study of the broad outline of his subject will not be necessary, although histories of schools and biographies of individuals will continue to attract historians of the period.

Morris's factual summary will not be seriously challenged. The education of the freedmen did involve the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, over fifty benevolent and philanthropic societies, and more than 3,500 teachers. Some of his judgments, however, will not be readily accepted. The

teachers and their supporting societies did consider their work to be a crusade: they did take on “responsibilities outside of the classroom, acting as missionaries, social workers, dispensers of charity, labor superintendents, legal advisers, and even politicians” (p. ix). But were they aware of the “need for sectional accommodation?” And what does the author mean by the statement that, “as in the antebellum period, the underlying philosophy of black education was moderate in tone?”

The current furor over desegregation in public schools obviously supports the author’s observation that “the topic has hardly lent itself to dispassionate analysis” (p. ix). The facts which he presents seem to support the conclusion that controversy was unavoidable. Many of the teachers and the officers of the societies were abolitionists. Although few of the teachers from the North had had any contact with the Negro, they obviously shared Lyman Abbott’s belief that they must “not only . . .conquer the South,” but also, “convert it.” “We have not only to occupy it by bayonets and bullets– but also by ideas and institutions,” he said (p. 187). That fact was also too well understood by many Southerners.

A valuable part of this work is the many thumb-nail biographies of the teachers, black and white, northern and southern. The author understands that reformers of the period “rarely restricted themselves to one cause;” teachers include “abolitionists, feminists, and civil rights workers,” and advocates of temperance and penal reform (p. 74). Morris ignores the fact that the antebellum South had attempted to set up a *cordon sanitaire* against precisely these movements. “Civil rights” meant the suffrage and, as Morris says, to “many Southerners the whole freedmen’s educational program smacked of ‘social equality’ ” (p. 230). Reaction against the “Yankee schoolmarm” and the “nigger teacher” was widespread and often violent. Morris recognizes that fact, but he seems to soft-pedal the bitterness of the southern reaction. When New England egalitarianism and traditional southern racism collided, emotion inevitably ran high.

Chapter six of the book is a detailed analysis of the textbooks and procedures used in the freedmen’s schools. Morris believes that some Southerners “purposely exaggerated” the degree of radicalism and were unaware of the teachers’ efforts “to dis-



courage excessive manifestations of partisanship and sectional bias," but he found "evidence of a strong Northern bias" in the texts used (pp. 182, 187). Southerners charged that the teachers belittled the region, stirred racial hatred, and taught the children to support the Republican party (p. 177). And, in a remarkably mild observation, he observes that "partisan lessons were not appreciated by local whites" (p. 180). Indeed they were not; teachers often were ostracized and insulted and, in some instances, beaten and forced to flee. Morris seems to have underestimated the bitterness of reaction to the work of the teachers.

In general, Morris concludes, the teachers followed the patterns used in northern public schools, with special emphasis on preparation for life in a dramatically changed society. This he considers to be a pragmatic approach to an exceedingly difficult problem (p. 212).

*Nashville, Tennessee*

HENRY L. SWINT

*Education and the Rise of the New South*, Edited by Ronald K. Goodenow and Arthur O. White. (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1981. xi, 303 pp. Foreword, notes, about the authors, index, \$19.95.)

While attention has centered on the processes of school desegregation historians have tended to neglect educational developments in the South from Reconstruction to the 1954 Brown decision. The editors of this volume have assembled twelve essays which demonstrate the promise and possibilities of work in this field. The theme centers on the tension created by racial attitudes in conflict with the idea that education was a necessity for the "rise" of the New South. The consequence was that blacks received minimum education aimed at social control while education for whites aimed at quality and emulation of the North. Leaders in the New South practiced these policies openly and accomplished most of what they set out to do.

The essays cover the era in roughly chronological order beginning with James D. Anderson's "Ex-Slaves and the Rise of Universal Education," which credits the impulse to create schools

for blacks to the ex-slaves, rather than to northern teachers and philanthropists. Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., analyzes the role of President Charles W. Elliot of Harvard University in developing the "compromise" that led to vocational education for blacks. Spencer J. Maxcy covers rural education from 1900-1950 to show the rural school transformation led by the progressives. It is no surprise that he concludes that blacks received "only token reforms." Amy Friedlander and Mark K. Bauman, respectively, recount the history of the origins of Agnes Scott College and Emory University. Their essays stand out as critical evaluations unusual among the histories of colleges in the South.

Joseph W. Newman presents a well-researched and carefully written study of unionism and racial politics in Atlanta, finding that race destroyed the potential for broader leadership by the "largest and most successful teachers' union in the South." William Bonds Thomas gives an analysis of how guidance and testing were used to keep blacks in their "place." Ronald K. Goodenow demonstrates that during the Great Depression black secondary education became less conservative than it had been. Arthur O. White gives the history of Florida's successful efforts to place county boards of education under centralized control. This essay brings the Florida story up into the 1970s. There is a final "historiographical" essay by Harvey Neufeldt and Clinton Anderson which should be consulted by anyone preparing to look further into this field.

The essay by Nancy L. Grant, "Government Social Planning and Education for Blacks: The TVA Experience, 1933-1945," is one of the best in the book. Grant shows that the potential of the Tennessee Valley Authority's educational program was undermined by politics and racial prejudice. TVA's planned communities, which included schools and apprenticeship programs, were a major threat to local control and customs. In addition, the managers of TVA doubted the mental capacities of blacks and relegated them to janitorial jobs while ignoring the black colleges in Alabama. The power of tradition and school boards prevailed, and TVA's moves into education were abandoned to the dismay of many parents. Grant concludes that the failure to create social change through the schools came from TVA's concept of "need and efficiency" for its existence rather than "duty or legal commit-

ment." The idea of an expanded role for the federal government in the schools was clearly ahead of the times, but change through electrification was not.

These essays illustrate the wide variety of topics possible to students of southern education. The editors have maintained a high standard as to length, organization, research, and writing. There is no tendency to attempt to generalize on the basics of partial evidence, but rather to show what can be done and to begin to fill a clear need. While there is little about the upper South or Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, or Oklahoma, one can gain a clear understanding of the central place that schools and educational policy-making held in the development of the New South. It was not simply a program based on the single idea of segregation, but contained the dynamics which would bring long term changes few had foreseen. This volume should be consulted by all students of southern history and culture.

*Guilford College*

ALEXANDER R. STOESEN

*Today's Immigrants: Their Stories.* By Thomas Kessner and Betty Boyd Caroli. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. 317 pp. Appendices, bibliography, illustrations. \$16.95.)

That America remains a nation of immigrants has been dramatically underscored in recent years. The controversies generated by the arrival of Vietnamese boat people, Haitian refugees, and "illegal aliens" from the southern regions bear witness to the continued importance of immigration to the American experience. As we learn from *Today's Immigrants, Their Stories*, however, these new arrivals are only part of a much larger stream of migration refreshing the cultural diversity of America. More than 4,800,000 newcomers arrived in the United States during the decade of the 1970s.

Professors Kessner and Caroli have chosen to stress the human side of recent migrations by blending a comfortable mix of direct oral testimony and historical narrative. For the most part, readers are able to capture a sense of each group's experience from the lips of immigrants themselves. The book's geographical focus

is our nation's great immigrant center, New York City. The authors have taken pains to make the necessary disclaimers about their approach (New York is not America, the immigrants chosen are not necessarily prototypical, etc.), and however much this selection may have slighted other areas of significant immigrant populations (such as Miami or San Francisco), or other groups (such as the Cubans), the advantage of a single reference point outweighs other considerations.

The groups under review fall into two broad categories—those that have had a major prior immigration experience in America and those that have not. Among the former, we learn of the modern movements of Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Jews, and Irish. Ironically, the presence of large numbers of earlier arrived countrymen was not always a positive factor. Recent Italian immigrants, for example, often found that they experienced their greatest friction with Italian Americans. Newer faces appearing in these pages include Vietnamese refugees, diverse undocumented aliens from Latin America, Peruvians, Koreans, West Indians, and Hondurans. Students of immigration history will find fresh perspectives on these relatively unexplored immigrant groups. Each of these groups, both new and old, have devised their own strategies to cope with the contemporary of green cards, visitor permits, and entry visas.

Taken as a whole, what do these eleven chapters tell us about current immigration? Certainly they point to the continued restlessness and vitality of the American scene, at least as it is unfolding in New York City. They also dramatically reveal a shift in major sources of immigration, which now are located in Latin America and Asia. The collective stories of the people themselves are a poignant testimony to the dynamism and power of the American dream. Despite the problems of Vietnam, Watergate, and economic disruption, America apparently continues to hold a special place in the minds of the world's peoples. Oftentimes with remarkable speed, this nation also still seems to infuse its newcomers with the basic values of the old Puritan ethic—a drive for success, hard work, frugality, and personal sacrifice. Although the paths chosen by these immigrants in their quest for a new life are as varied as their backgrounds, they emerge uniformly as “neither bitter nor broken or uprooted.”

All of this provides evidence for those who continue to see America as the world's great refuge for the oppressed and who argue for a liberal immigration policy. The volume contains material, however, that offers ammunition for those who urge more restrictive approaches. The authors found that these new arrivals "do not undergo a uniform purifying liberalizing process, making them more acutely sensitive to the needs of others." Indeed, they displayed the same range of flaws, prejudices, and rancors that affect the wider society. Some Americans may also be disturbed to learn how easily immigration laws are skirted and in some cases openly flaunted. The legal screen designed to filter immigrants clearly possesses an extremely wide mesh. Yet, the purposes of this volume are not polemical, and it takes no stand on current policy debates. What it does is present with care and sensitivity a great deal of fresh detail on contemporary immigration. In doing so, it has provided a welcome springboard for future studies.

*University of Florida*

GEORGE E. POZZETTA

*The Celluloid South, Hollywood and the Southern Myth.* By Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981. 'xvii, 212 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, afterword, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

*The South and Film.* Edited by Warren French. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1981. 258 pp. Introduction, photographs, notes on contributors, chronology, bibliography, indexes. \$12.50.)

Despite the emergence of New South sun-belt politics and economics, and the important continuing role Southerners play in American cultural life, the region still suffers from antebellum stereotypes dating back more than a century. The first serious book-length attempt to chart changing perceptions of the South as reflected in literature, stage, film, and television was Jack Temple Kirby's *Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* (1978). Kirby broadly surveyed all facets of the mass media to conclude paradoxically that the "triumph" of the New

South represented by the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976, the successes of uplifting television programs set in southern locales such as *Roots* and *The Waltons*, and the booming popularity of country music signified the national co-option of things southern leading to its diffusion as an identifiable cultural region.

Without endorsing Kirby's thesis as to the demise of a separate Confederate culture (for after all Carter is out of the White House, *The Waltons* and *Roots* are in reruns, and Dolly Parton says she is leaving the plastic of Hollywood to return to Nashville), the recent publication of both *The Celluloid South, Hollywood and the Southern Myth* and *The South and Film* point to growing recognition that the many motion pictures made about the South and its people are worth examining a second time as empirical reflections of the society which produced them.

In studying the ramifications inherent in popular culture, the deliberate inclusion of the term "myth" by Campbell in the title of his book is significant in that it highlights how much our perception of the South has been filtered through the distorted eye of a movie industry based largely outside its confines. Campbell selectively examines film plots and the images they present of the region for several hundred photoplays released between 1903 and 1980— stressing their social, literary, and historical origins, as well as their impact on the creation of a popular mythology of the South. Indeed this long term filmic interest in the South suggests that the "Southern" should now be accepted as a full-fledged cinematic genre similar to that of the Western with which it has much in common.

Campbell argues that the film industry, motivated primarily by a desire to provide profit-making entertainment, for decades offered the public movies which downplayed difficult issues important for the reintegration of the post-Reconstructionist South into the national mainstream. As a result, Hollywood romanticized the South (particularly the antebellum era) in scores of productions typified by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, (1903 and subsequent remakes) *Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Gone With the Wind* (1939), and *Song of the South* (1946) where life was idyllic until external forces disrupted the natural order. The author feels that the imprint left by unrealistic but seemingly harmless characterizations of a planter society, an agricultural economy,

and especially slavery have hindered the region's self-assessment and warped the nation's perspective on race. Indeed, he says "moonlight and magnolia" romances focusing on southern heroines increased to such an extent between 1920-1945 that Hollywood has been struggling for nearly forty years to break out from the cinematic strait-jacket of a pre-War Between the States screen image which has remained amazingly consistent throughout more than seven decades of film exhibition. Unfortunately, as Campbell notes, recent productions often have attempted to gain social responsibility via equally distorted means as in films, such as *Mandingo* (1975 and its sequel *Drum* (1976), which mix "uncompromising honesty and realism" with prurient sexual appeals. Thus not only the filmmakers working in the industry, but ticket buyers themselves have come to believe in a falsely pictured world of sentimentality and salaciousness which is unrepresentative of Dixie as a whole. Indeed the filmic boundaries of the Old South exclude over half the Confederacy. States such as Florida, Arkansas, and Texas simply do not fit the mold of plantation life. Thus most films about Texas (even those dealing with the Civil War) tend to be seen as Westerns, while movies indigenous to Florida such as *The Seminole's Sacrifice* (1911), *Miami* (1924) and *Wind Across the Everglades* (1958) are not included by Campbell in his analysis. As he is director of the Museum of the Confederacy, this bias can be charitably forgiven.

The twenty-two essays in *The South and Film*, while reflecting the individual viewpoints of their authors, also point to a rise of the South again— this time cinematically. In his useful introductory essay Warren French (who also edits the Twayne Theatrical Arts series) takes a different perspective to suggest it was the success of *Easy Rider* in 1969-1970 (whose characters head not for the West on horseback, but the South on motorcycles) which led to a series of "gasoline operas" and New South action pictures lensed in actual southern locations. This, of course, was also spurred by the technological advances in portable equipment which made such productions economically feasible. French points out the Southern actually has many subgenres: pro-southern plantation along with anti-antebellum "blaxploitation pics" to be sure, but also movies about hill-

billies, riverboats, biographies of famous Southerners, as well as potboilers about sex and mutilation in the backwoods which continue to do well in drive-ins and mall theatres catering to the youth market.

Given these parameters, the essays are grouped in related areas: an obligatory overview of such classics as *Birth of a Nation*, *Jezebel* (1938), *Gone With the Wind*, and *The Southerner* (1945); selected subgenres such as the War Between the States (here called the Civil War) as treated in silent film, the post-Reconstruction South as pictured in Warner Brother's *Bright Leaf* (1949), hillbilly films popular in the 1930s thru 1950s when theatrical series such as *The Ma and Pa Kettle* pictures died out and were repackaged for television under the new guise of *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres*, *Garter Country*, *The Dukes of Hazard*, and similar countryfried programs; and an essay by Campbell on the plantation South in modern films since the 1950s which further draws upon research conducted for his own book.

Other groups of essays look at how the South has been portrayed by *auteur* directors Robert Altman, John Ford, and Martin Ritt; southern women (both black and white); and attempts to translate William Faulkner accurately to the screen. The final section focuses "on the perils and pleasures of the search for authenticity when shooting in regional locations." Of particular interest is William Stephenson's chronicle of the protracted difficulties which plagued the on-off-on filming of Marjorie Rawling's *The Yearling* (released 1945) in Florida. One wishes that more emphasis in both volumes had been placed on the significance of productions actually made in the South versus films made about the South. It can be argued that a local production base (which existed in Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and other states during the silent era, and again is becoming reestablished not only in those areas but also North Carolina and Georgia as well) may well be reflected in a more realistic pro-southern image than that of a Hollywood art director creating "Tara" on a California backlot. This aside, however, *The South and Film* and *The Celluloid South, Hollywood and the Southern Myth* are required (and at times provocative) reading for anyone interested in understanding the South and its cinematic inheritance.

University of Houston

RICHARD ALAN NELSON



## BOOK NOTES

*The Fever Man, A Biography of Dr. John Gorrie* is by Vivian M. Sherlock of Tallahassee. She has taught English at Florida State University, Gulf Coast Junior College, and Tallahassee Community College. Ms. Sherlock explains that her reason for writing the book "was to sift through the body of legend surrounding Dr. Gorrie and to arrange the few remaining tangible facts into a narrative which would reveal his aims and put into proper perspective his contribution to human welfare." She has done this very well. Since there is no collection of Gorrie letters or manuscripts, the author utilized newspapers, published books and pamphlets, state and federal documents, periodical articles, dissertations and theses, church records, and available Florida territorial material. As with all studies of Dr. Gorrie, there are questions about his family background and place of birth. It is presumed that he was from South Carolina, since that is the way he later identified himself on the Franklin County (Florida) census. After graduating from Fairfield Medical School in western New York, he practiced in Abbeville, South Carolina, and then in Apalachicola, Florida. To supplement his medical practice income, Gorrie became postmaster, receiving an annual salary of \$131.20. Dr. Gorrie quickly made a name for himself in Apalachicola, then one of the most important Gulf coast cotton shipping ports. He purchased property, and as part of a partnership he planned to erect a hotel; he became president of a bank; and in January 1837 was elected Intendant of the city. He married Caroline Francis Myrick Beman, a well-to-do widow, who operated a boarding house. Malaria and yellow fever were dread diseases that periodically ravaged seaport towns throughout the South with the onset of hot weather. The summer of 1841 was particularly disastrous along the Gulf coast, and there was sickness and deaths in Tallahassee, Port Leon, St. Marks, St. Joseph, and Apalachicola. Dr. Gorrie, long interested in scientific and medical experiments, believed that his patients needed fresh air, and that in some way their fevered temperatures needed to be lowered. Obviously, there was no ice in Florida in the summer to do this. He became absorbed in a "cooling theory," and by 1848 he had

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developed plans for an ice-making machine. His efforts to market his invention were not successful, although Dr. Gorrie always believed that he had produced a way to manufacture artificial ice. He never received full credit for his ice-making invention during his lifetime. *The Fever Man* is published by Medallion Press, Box 12432, Tallahassee, Florida 32108; the price is \$17.00.

Charles C. Fishburne, Jr., of Cedar Key is the author of six booklets which trace the history of the Cedar Keys Islands from the Second Seminole War to the present. His first essay, *Of Chiefs and Generals*, includes anthropological information about the aboriginal inhabitants of the area. He notes, however, that there is little historical data about the area prior to the nineteenth century; most of it is hearsay. Mr. Fishbourne points out in the introduction that he has made a deliberate attempt "either to exclude many oft-repeated speculations, or to brand them for what they are." He proves this through his careful research into existing records, mainly in Cedar Key. It is not until the Second Seminole War that authentic records are available. Lieutenant Myer Cohen noted the presence of a good harbor at Cedar Key which could become a military depot for provisions and stores. General Zachary Taylor also described the importance of the area in 1840, reporting that the depot there was "in course of completion." By the end of that year units of the regular army were stationed there. A small hospital had been constructed, and Cantonment Morgan was located on Sea Horse Key. *The End of the Line at the Cedar Keys, 1843-1861*, the second in the booklet series describes the construction of Florida's first trans-state railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Key by the Florida Railroad Company which was headed by United States Senator David Levy Yulee. The history of Judge Augustus Steele, who is known as the "father of Cedar Key," is also included in this essay. *The Cedar Keys in the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1876* is the third in the series. The lighthouse on Sea Horse Key, constructed in 1854-1855, was attacked by Federal raiders aboard the U.S.S. *Hatteras* in January 1862. There was another Union raid later that year, and some minor action in 1865 near the end of the war. A Cedar Key visitor after the War was John Muir, the renowned naturalist, who completed his thousand-mile walk to the Gulf of Mexico in 1867. *Cedar Key Booming: 1877-1886*, on

the post-Reconstruction era, covers a period of growth and change both for Florida and for Cedar Key. The extension of Henry B. Plant's railroad into Tampa affected all the Gulf coast area, including Cedar Key. The Eagle Pencil Company was providing jobs and pumping dollars into the booming economy. Roads were paved and sidewalks laid; the Episcopalians established a parish; the oyster, fish, and turtle businesses became significant; the *Levy County Times* published a city directory; and schools for whites and blacks were established. The 1885 Special Census listed 1,887 inhabitants. *The Cedar Keys in Decline, 1887-1890* is the fifth booklet. The years after Reconstruction had marked a boom period for Cedar Key, but the years following saw the community losing people, businesses closing, and political instability. Mr. Fishburne assesses the record of these turnabout years. A major problem for Cedar Key was Tampa, which was draining business and prosperity away from the upper Gulf coast. Political problems facing Cedar Key at the time did not help the situation either as Mr. Fishburne points out. He has titled his sixth essay *The Cedar Keys: Prelude to the 20th Century, 1891-1900*. By the end of the decade Cedar Key's economic situation had become even more depressed. The Eagle factory and the other cedar mills were closed, the cedars were exhausted, and there was neither money nor interest in replenishing the trees. A tragic hurricane swept through Cedar Key September 28-29, 1896, which almost blew and washed the town away. The storm wrecked the few slat mills still operating, as well as businesses, churches, and private homes. The Spanish-American War, which greatly impacted Tampa and other Florida ports, passed Cedar Key by. There were fewer than 1,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the new century, but as Mr. Fishburne points out, Cedar Key was still not a ghost town; there was hope for the future. Each booklet sells for \$2.50 and may be ordered from Cedar Key Historical Society, Box 222, Cedar Key, FL 32625.

*The Mission of St. John's*, the history of St. John's Episcopal Church of Eau Gallie, Florida, was written by Miriam K. Hicks who utilized newspapers and church and diocese records for her material. She also interviewed a number of people who had been communicants of St. John's, some for as long as half a century.

She provides historical information of that area of Florida before and after the Civil War. In 1856 there were only eight families scattered along the lower Indian River, but other settlers were beginning to move in. Eau Gallie was established in 1870, and the railroad reached there in 1893. Meanwhile, the Episcopalians in the area were organizing a congregation and making plans to build a church. The first services were held at St. John's church, February 20, 1898, with Archdeacon B. F. Brown officiating. Mrs. Hicks's book includes extensive information on the church and its furnishings, the altar, Sunday School, church organizations, vicars and layreaders, music, and the men and women who have been active in the church over the years. The appendix includes lists of baptisms, marriages and burials and other pertinent data relating to the church's history. An index and a list of the notes and sources add to the value of this history. It may be ordered from the author at 1522 Palmwood Drive, Eau Gallie, Florida 32935. The price is \$5.00, plus \$1.00 for mailing and handling.

When *Folksongs of Florida*, which had been collected and edited by Alton C. Morris, professor of English at the University of Florida, was first published in 1950, it made a significant contribution to our knowledge of Florida history and folklore. Morris began collecting songs and ballads in and around Gainesville and Alachua County when he first arrived to teach at the University in the 1930s. In 1937 he enticed John Lomax to visit, and together they recorded nearly 125 folksongs and ballads in Newberry, Micanopy, High Springs, Gainesville, Moss Bluff, and Fort White. These recordings are now part of the Folksong Archives in the Library of Congress. More recordings were added by Morris in 1939 as part of the Federal Writers' Project. With the assistance of high school seniors and college students throughout Florida, he accumulated a large general folklore collection, which also provided the basis for his Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *Folksongs of Florida*, emerged from this dissertation. Morris's book is divided into two sections: "Songs of the New World" and "Songs of the Old World." In the first section are folksongs and ballads dealing with war and other historical events; the West; the sea; outlawry and prison experience; disaster and tragic mischance; love and domestic re-

lations; religious and moral import; work and occupational songs; nursery songs; play-party songs; and fiddle songs. In the second section are English, Scottish, Bahamian, Irish, and Anglo-Irish folksongs. *Folksongs of Florida*, with a new introduction by Robert S. Thomson, has been reprinted by Folklorica Press, Inc., 301 East 47 Street, New York, New York 10017. The price is \$16.95, paperbound.

"Save The Old Capitol" became the rallying call for preservationists, historians, history buffs, and thousands of Floridians during the 1970s when the Capitol building, portions of which dated back to 1845, was threatened with demolition. A new twenty-two story Capitol was under construction, and its architect, the governor, the speaker of the house, and many legislators argued that the old building would detract from the new structure and that restoring it would require more money and effort than it was worth. A howl of protest went up all over Florida, and petitions and resolutions were passed by the Florida Historical Society, and other historical agencies, veteran organizations, woman and garden clubs, and civic groups. Secretary of State Bruce Smathers refused to move his personal office into the new Capitol, but he was evicted after the state fire marshall claimed the building was a firetrap. Meanwhile, public support had become so significant and vocal that it could no longer be overlooked, and after a hectic legislative battle, funds were appropriated, and restoration of the old Capitol began. The restored building, including red-and-white-striped awnings, was dedicated in 1982. Present in the audience were many who had opposed the restoration. *Capitol, A Guide for Visitors* published by the Historical Tallahassee Preservation Board, includes the story of the battle for restoration. There is also a brief history of the old and new Capitols, and many historic pictures. Order from the Board's office, 329 North Meridian Street, Tallahassee, Florida 32301; the price is \$3.75.

E. W. Carswell is a notable collector of Florida folklore and history. His columns in the *Pensacola Journal* have great appeal to readers throughout the Panhandle. Mr. Carswell has selected some of these columns for publication in three booklets which were edited by Roy Reynolds and illustrated by Elizabeth

Landress, Harley Hall, and Kate Gonzalez Hawe. *Tales of Grandpa and Cousin Fitzhugh* are stories that Carswell remembered hearing from his maternal grandfather and his cousin. *A Grateful Note to Gracie Ashmore . . . and other Notable Northwest Floridians* are anecdotes and short biographical sketches of some of Carswell's friends. He describes them as "the world's finest people." *Remembering World War II Before Kilroy* are the sketches recalling Carswell's military experiences. All make delightful reading. Order from E. W. Carswell, 418 South Fourth Street, Chipley, Florida 32428. *Tales of Grandpa* and *Grateful Note* sell for \$2.95 each, and *Before Kilroy*, \$3.95. Add \$1.00 for postage.

*The Indian Presence, Archeology of Sanibel, Captiva and Adjacent Islands in Pine Island Sound* is by Charles J. Wilson who reminds us in his essay that these areas have had a long history of aboriginal occupation predating European contact. Early Indian campsites and prehistoric shell mounds are still visible on these barrier islands. Frank Hamilton Cushing visited some of these sites in 1895 while en route to Key Marco. The Early History Period, the Calusa, Florida Prehistory, and the Wightman Site are the topics discussed in Dr. Wilson's paper. He directed excavation of the Wightman Site on Sanibel from 1974 to 1976. Joan Wilson did the drawings for this booklet. It was published by the Sanibel-Captiva Conservation Foundation, Inc. Mail orders should be directed to the Foundation, Drawer S, Sanibel, Florida 33957. The price is \$3.50, and \$1.00 for postage.

*Wolf Dog of the Woodland Indians* is by Margaret Zehmer Searcy. It was published by University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama. One of Professor Searcy's earlier book's *IKWA of the Temple Mounds* won the Charlton W. Tebeau Prize from the Florida Historical Society in May 1976. *Wolf Dog of the Woodland Indians* is a charming book which successfully integrates accurate archeological and ethnological data with a format and plot that will have appeal both for children and adults. In her introduction Mrs. Searcy explains how hikers exploring a cave found two skeletons which were brought to her attention and other archeologists in the University of Alabama's Department of Anthropology. It was determined that the skeletons were

Woodland Indians called Copena. It was this discovery which stimulated Searcy's research which resulted in her book. It sells for \$9.95.

The major work relief program during the Depression of the 1930s was the WPA. It included Federal Project Number One which provided employment in the areas of art, music, theater, and writing. The WPA Federal Writer's Project was a part of Federal One. The recording of the slave narratives and the life histories were among the major contribution of this agency. William T. Couch, director of the University of North Carolina Press was in charge of these activities for the southeastern region. Influenced by the faculty of the new regional School of Social Science— Howard Odum, Guy Johnson, and Rupert Vance— he urged the histories project. Alabama's director was Myrtle Miles. By early 1939 Couch had accumulated sufficient life histories from all over the South to be edited and published as a book, *These Are Our Lives*. Because of a tight publishing schedule no Alabama life histories appeared in this volume, but they were being recorded all over that state. Federal One became a primary target of anti-New Deal forces, and the Relief Act of 1939 effectively cut off its funding. As a result, no other life histories, including those from Alabama, were published at the time. They were deposited with Couch's other Federal Writer's Project material in the University of North Carolina library. Others are probably in the state archives in Montgomery. Many of the Alabama writers participating in the program were excellent, particularly Covington Hall, Lawrence Evans, Francois L. Diard, and Ruby Pickens Tartt. Rhussus Perry was a black Alabama life history writer whose work is included. The Alabama life histories are finally available in this volume published by the University of Alabama Press. The editor of *Up before daylight, Life Histories* is James S. Brown, Jr., who has also written an introduction. There is listing of the other known life histories from Alabama which have not yet been published in addition to a bibliography and index. The paperback volume sells for \$8.95.

*Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, edited by Howard N. Rabinowitz, is published by University of Illinois Press. The paperback edition sells for \$9.95. It includes the essay,

"Race and Faction in the Public Career, of Florida's Josiah T. Wall," by Peter D. Klingman.

*The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of The First English Settlements in North America, 1584-1590* was edited with an introduction by David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn. In 1984 North Carolina will be celebrating the 400th anniversary of the attempted settlement of Roanoke Island by the English. The documents relating to the Roanoke voyages and the other colonizing activities of the years 1584-1590 were printed in London by Richard Haklyt in 1600. In 1948 the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History published a pamphlet entitled *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590*. *The First Colonists* is a revised edition of *Explorations* which is being published by the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. The price is \$5.00.

The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, has issued a paperback edition of *The Cherokees* by Grace Steele Woodward. It is one of the volumes in its Civilization of the American Indian series, and was published first in 1963. The paperback sells for \$10.95.

The background of John Katzenbach's novel, *In the Heat of the Summer*, is Miami. A teenage girl is found shot to death "execution-style," and a reporter from the *Miami Journal* is assigned to cover the story. Mr. Katzenbach is the criminal courts reporter for the *Miami Herald*. His book was printed by Atheneum Publishers, and it sells for \$13.95.

To help commemorate the celebration of Stetson University's centennial, the Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company has produced a calendar. Historical photographs are featured, and important dates relating to the history of Florida and the history of Stetson University are noted. Order from the Trading Company, 110 S. Woodland Boulevard, Suite 130, DeLand, Florida 32720. The price is \$5.95 and .75 for mailing.



## **HISTORY NEWS**

### *1910 Census Schedules*

The National Archives has announced the availability on microfilm of the 1910 Census. Census schedules (T624) are for sale through the Archives Publications Sales Branch. The cost is \$17.00 per roll. The schedules are arranged by state or territory and then by county. In some instances the names of large cities also appear. The eleven Regional Archives Branches have copies of the schedules for research use by the public. A free catalog is available from the Publications Sales Branch, National Archives, Washington, D. C. 20408. The 1910 census schedules record the following information for each person: name; relationship to head of household; sex; color or race; age at last birthday; marital status; length of present marriage; if a mother, number of children and number of living children; place of birth of parents; if foreign born, the year of immigration and citizenship status; language spoken; occupation; type of industry employed in; if employer, employee, or self-employed; if unemployed; number of weeks unemployed in 1909; ability to read or write; if attended daytime schools since September 1, 1909; if home is rented or owned; if home is owned, whether free or mortgaged; if home is a house or a farm; if a veteran of the Union or Confederate Army or Navy; if blind in both eyes; and if deaf and dumb. The forms used to survey Indians recorded also the tribe and/or band.

Although the 1880 and 1900 census schedules were indexed by Soundex for all states, only twenty-one states have been indexed for 1910. Fortunately, Florida is one of the states that has been indexed. The index for Florida is called Miracode, rather than Soundex, but the only major difference is that Miracode provides the visitation number assigned by the census enumerator rather than the page and line numbers given by Soundex. The Soundex/Miracode has been filmed by the National Archives on a separate microfilm publication. The State Library in Tallahassee has ordered schedules for Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Microfilm will be available on inter-library loan.

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Requests must be initiated by the researcher through a local public or institutional library. The microfilm will also be available at the University of Florida Library and in other institutional, public, and historical society libraries in the state.

### Awards

The American Association for State and Local History, at its annual national meeting Hartford, Connecticut, September 1982, recognized John and Bessie DuBois of Jupiter, Florida, for their lifetime devotion to collecting and preserving the history of south Florida. The Certificate of Commendation will be presented to them at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Daytona Beach, May 1983. The awards presented by the Association are the nation's most prestigious competition for local history achievement. Mr. and Mrs. DuBois were recommended by a state committee and were selected for the award by a national committee of leaders in the field of state and local history. Mr. and Mrs. DuBois are active members of the Florida Historical Society. Mrs. DuBois is author of many articles on the Jupiter, Florida, area which have been published in historical and anthropological journals. She is also the author of four monographs. Mr. DuBois saved and preserved artifacts from a prehistoric Indian shell mound on their property and presented the collection to the Florida State Museum, University of Florida. The couple are among the most significant non-professional historians active in south Florida.

Tony Pizzo was named official Hillsborough County Historian by the Board of County Commissioners in May 1982. Only two other Tampan— D. B. McKay and Theodore Lesley— have held this position. Mr. Pizzo, an active member of the Florida Historical Society, is the author of *Tampa Town— The Cracker Village With a Latin Accent* and *Tampa's Latin Heritage*. He and Dr. Gary Mormino of the University of South Florida are writing a new history of Tampa that will be one of the volumes in the *American Portrait* series published by Continental Heritage Press. *Tampa— Queen of the Gulf* is scheduled for a fall 1983 release. Mr. Pizzo was co-host on the ten-part television series "Tony Pizzo's Tampa" presented on WUSF-TV, Channel 16. He also instructs a class

"Tampa's Latin Roots," at the University of South Florida. He is past president of the Tampa Historical Society and the winner of the Society's D. B. McKay Award for 1980. The Award recognized his distinguished contributions to Florida history.

The Tampa Historical Society presented its D. B. McKay Award for 1982 to Mel Fisher, author and underwater treasure hunter, in recognition of his contributions to the cause of Florida history through his explorations and recovery of treasure off the Florida coast. The presentation was made at the Society's annual banquet, November 17, 1982, at the Tampa Yacht and Country Club. Mr. Fisher was also the speaker for the evening.

The Jacksonville Beaches Area Historical Society has received national recognition by the America the Beautiful Fund for the restoration and preservation of the Florida East Coast Railway House/Museum. The award was presented at a ceremony on September 23, 1982, at the Jacksonville Beach Community Center. The awards are given annually to volunteer civic, cultural, heritage, and environmental projects throughout the United States that serve as models of creative citizens service.

#### *Announcements and Activities*

The dedication of the restored Old Capitol was held on September 19, 1982. State Senator Pat Thomas, Representative Herbert Morgan, former Secretary of State Bruce Smathers, and Senator Robert Williams cut the ribbon formally opening the historic building. A plaque, which will hang in the Old Capitol, was presented to Senator Williams, former director of the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Florida Department of State. It notes the role which Williams played in saving and restoring the building. The plaque is made of wood from under the state seal in the Old Capitol and brass from the old Whitfield Building.

The first issue of *Florida's Panhandle Life* was published in May 1982. The charter issue was dedicated to the West Florida Railroad Centennial Commission and included articles on the people, history, and folklore of the railroads of west Florida.

There is also a photo essay on Holmes Creek with colored graphics. The goal of the quarterly is "to help preserve the panhandle's past, to present its current lifestyle, and be mindful of its future." A subscription to *Florida's Panhandle Life* is \$6.00, but a special \$5.00 rate is being offered. For information about subscriptions, advertising, submission of articles, or other information write to Dale Taylor, Route 3, Dogwood Lake Estates, Bonifay, Florida 32425.

The Florida College Teachers Of History will meet at Stetson University, DeLand, on March 17-19, 1983. For information on the program, reservations, and accommodations, write Professor Kevin J. O'Keefe, Department of History, Box 1325, Stetson University, DeLand, Florida 32720.

The Donald A. Cheney wing of the Orange County Historical Museum was dedicated in Orlando, December 13, 1982. It honors Judge Cheney, president emeritus of the Orange County Historical Society and chairman of the Orange County Commission. Judge Cheney was recognized this past year with a Certificate of Commendation from the American Association for State and Local History for his many contributions to Orange County and Florida history.

The St. Lucie Historical Society, which celebrated its thirtieth anniversary November 18, 1982, is now publishing a historical quarterly in cooperation with the St. Lucie County schools. The editors of the quarterly are Jack Roberts, Lucille Rights, and Iva Jean Sherman. The Society began as a committee of the St. Lucie County Library Association in 1952. Its offices are located at 414 Seaway Drive, Fort Pierce, Florida 33450.

The Pensacola Historical Society is celebrating two important anniversaries: the hundredth fiftieth anniversary of Old Christ Church, Florida's oldest Protestant church building, and the fiftieth birthday of the Pensacola Historical Society which was founded in 1933. The Society is planning several activities to mark these important events. These include the minting of a silver medallion that will sell for \$37.50 each. A musical play was presented December 20, 1982, in the First Presbyterian

Church on Gregory Street. It saluted the founding of Christ Church in 1832. On March 25, 1938, the Society will hold a special anniversary party. For information write the Pensacola Historical Society, 405 South Adams Street, Seville Square, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

An inventory of Florida's historic markers has been completed by John Scafidi and Olga Caballer, Historic Preservation Section, Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, Division of Archives, History and Records Management. A total of 316 markers were located, and information is now available as to locations, styles, errors in the text, physical conditions of the signs, and their accessibility to the public. For information contact John Scafidi.

Emily R. Brownold is the new director of the Henry B. Plant Museum in Tampa. She was curator of education of Glensheen, a historic house museum in Duluth, Minnesota, and interpretive programs assistant at Washington Headquarters, State Historic Site, Newburgh, New York.

Marcy-Jean Mattson, formerly director of the Historic Belmont Association, Nashville, Tennessee, has been appointed executive director of the St. Augustine Historical Society. Ms. Mattson earlier worked for the Arizona State Parks as curator of collections. She was presented to the members at the annual meeting of the St. Augustine Historical Society, January 11, 1983.

The Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi will be publishing *Perspectives on the American South: An Annual Review of Society, Politics, and Culture*. Volume 3, to be co-edited by James C. Cobb and Charles L. Wilson, is scheduled for release in the summer of 1983. The editors solicit papers from scholars in the social sciences and the humanities for future volumes. Articles should be both scholarly and intelligible to a lay audience. The focus of *Perspectives* is upon a social-cultural study of the South.

All matters pertaining to manuscripts, individual and institutional subscriptions, advertisements, and reprints for the *Journal*

*of Negro History* should be addressed to Dr. Alton Hornsby, Jr., Editor, Box 721, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia 30314. Other inquiries pertaining to back copies and indexes for the journal should be addressed to the Executive Director, ASALH, 1401 Fourteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

The Florida State Archives is opening the records of Florida's first general election after achieving statehood. The collection is listed as First Statehood Election Returns (Record Group 156, Series 486).

On March 3, 1845, the final day of President John Tyler's administration, Florida became the twenty-seventh state in the Union. Two weeks later, Territorial Governor John Branch accepted the official copy of Florida's admission act. Then, complying with the provisions of the Constitution drawn up at the St. Joseph's convention of 1838-39, Branch announced that the election of Florida's first state officials would be held on May 26, 1845. Voters of the state of Florida selected William D. Moseley their first governor. The 11,980 voters also chose Florida's first congressional representative, seventeen state senators, and forty-one state representatives.

Since all free white males over the age of twenty-one could vote if they were enrolled in the militia or legally exempted from service, the First Statehood Election Returns series is important to historians and genealogists.

The First Statehood Election Returns series will be available at the Florida State Archives in Tallahassee, Monday through Friday, 8:00 AM to 5:00 PM.

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

1983

Mar. 17-19	Florida College Teachers of History	Stetson University, FL
April 6-9	Organization of American Historians	Cincinnati, OH
April 8-10	Florida Anthropological Society	Tallahassee, FL
May 5	Florida Historical Confederation	Daytona Beach, FL
May 6-7	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY— 81st MEETING	Daytona Beach, FL
June 5-9	American Museum Association	San Diego, CA
Sept. 28- Oct. 1	Oral History Association	Seattle, WA
Oct. 47	American Association for State and Local History	Victoria, B.C.
November	Southern Historical Association	Charleston, S.C.
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	San Francisco, CA





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

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

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Paul Eugen Camp, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquires concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Camp.

