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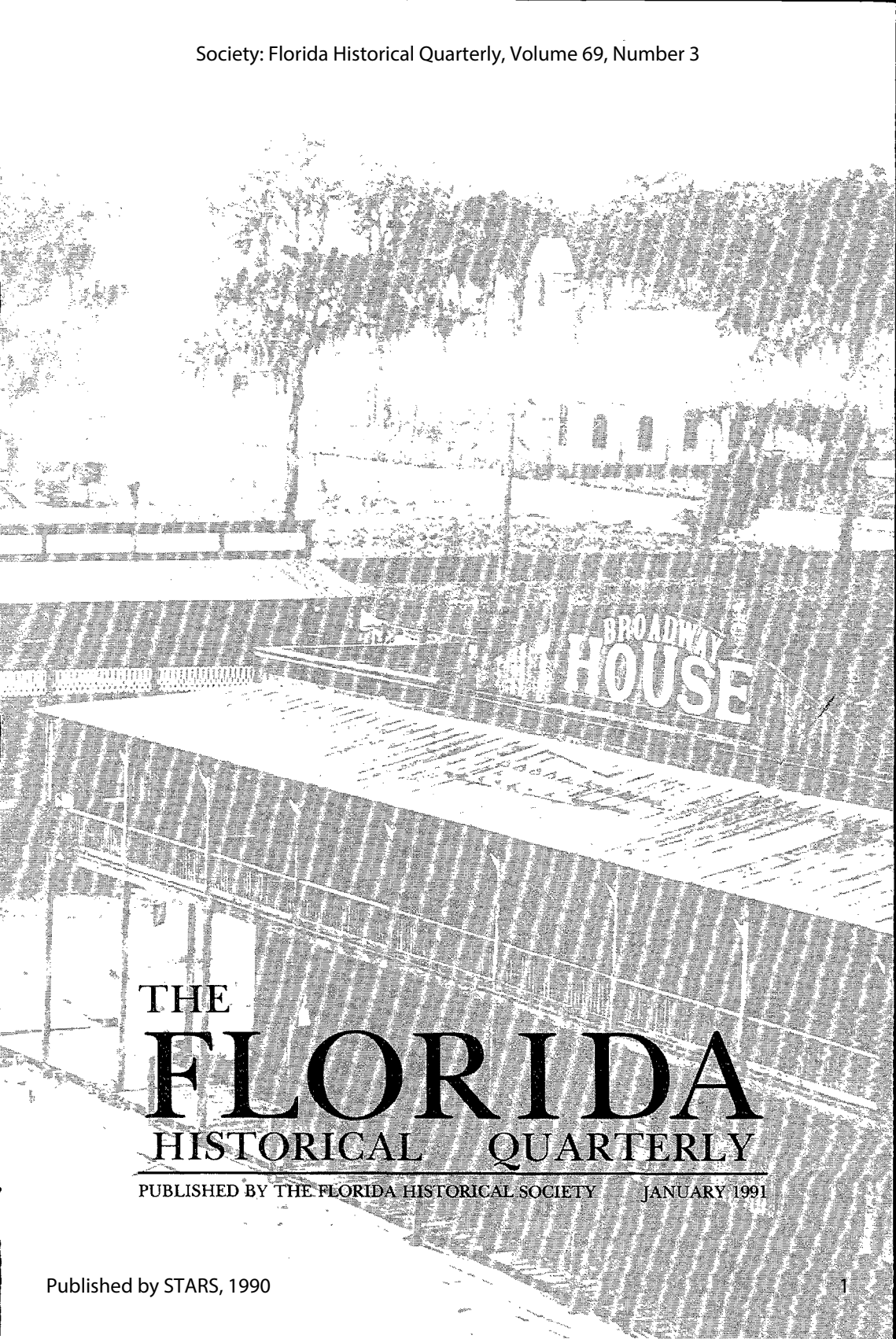
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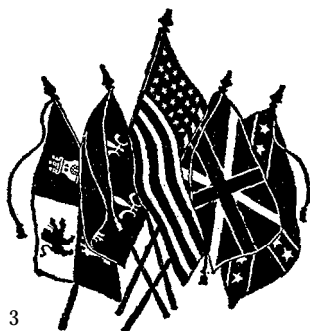
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COVER

Broadway, the main street in Kissimmee, ca. 1880s. The Broadway House was a local hotel; the Presbyterian church and manse are behind it on Church Street. *Photograph from the collection of Dena E. Snodgrass, Jacksonville.*

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## Table of Contents

ACROSS THE BORDER: COMMODITY FLOW AND MERCHANTS IN SPANISH ST. AUGUSTINE	
	<i>James Cusick</i> 277
UNFORGOTTEN THREAT: FLORIDA SEMINOLES IN THE CIVIL WAR	
	<i>Robert A. Taylor</i> 300
WEST FLORIDA'S CREEK INDIAN CRISIS OF 1837	
	<i>Brian R. Rucker</i> 315
REVIEW ESSAY: ALFRED I. DU PONT: HIS IMPACT ON FLORIDA	
	<i>Jerrell H. Shofner</i> 335
FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS .....	348
BOOK REVIEWS .....	362
BOOK NOTES .....	396
HISTORY NEWS .....	403

BOOK REVIEWS

OPERATION DRUMBEAT: THE DRAMATIC TRUE STORY OF GERMANY'S FIRST U-BOAT ATTACKS ALONG THE AMERICAN COAST IN WORLD WAR II, by Michael Gannon

*reviewed by George E. Buker*

CONFEDERATE FLORIDA: THE ROAD TO OLUSTEE, by William H. Nulty

*reviewed by Richard M. McMurry*

FIRST ENCOUNTERS: SPANISH EXPLORATIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN AND THE UNITED STATES, 1492-1570, edited by Jerald T. Milanich and Susan Milbrath

*reviewed by Amy T. Bushnell*

HEARTH AND KNAPSACK: THE LADLEY LETTERS, 1857-1880, edited by Carl M. Becker and Ritchie Thomas

*reviewed by Zack C. Waters*

THE KING'S RANGER: THOMAS BROWN AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ON THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER, by Edward J. Cashin

*reviewed by Alan Gally*

NINE FLORIDA STORIES BY MARJORY STONEMAN DOUGLAS, edited by Kevin M. McCarthy

*reviewed by Jonathan Harrington*

PUBLIC FACES-PRIVATE LIVES: WOMEN IN SOUTH FLORIDA, 1870s-1910s, by Karen Davis

*reviewed by Stuart B. McIver*

GEORGE WYTHE RANDOLPH AND THE CONFEDERATE ELITE, by George Green Shackelford

*reviewed by Thomas F. Armstrong*

GENERAL A. P. HILL: THE STORY OF A CONFEDERATE WARRIOR, by James I. Robertson, Jr.

*reviewed by William Garrett Piston*

PRISON LIFE AMONG THE REBELS: RECOLLECTIONS OF A UNION CHAPLAIN, edited by Edward D. Jervey

*reviewed by Edward K. Eckert*

THE UNION LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN THE DEEP SOUTH: POLITICS AND AGRICULTURAL CHANGE DURING RECONSTRUCTION, by Michael W. Fitzgerald

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"WITH ALL AND FOR THE GOOD OF ALL": THE EMERGENCE OF POPULAR NATIONALISM IN THE CUBAN COMMUNITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1848-1898, by Gerald E. Poyo

*reviewed by Nancy A. Hewitt*

ATLANTA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY: GUARDIAN OF BLACK ECONOMIC DIGNITY, by Alexa Benson Henderson

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IN SEARCH OF THE NEW SOUTH: THE BLACK URBAN EXPERIENCE IN THE 1970s AND 1980s, edited by Robert D. Bullard

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RACE AND HISTORY: SELECTED ESSAYS, 1938-1988, by John Hope Franklin

*reviewed by Stephen J. Whitfield*

THE URBAN SOUTH: A HISTORY, by Lawrence H. Larsen

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## ACROSS THE BORDER: COMMODITY FLOW AND MERCHANTS IN SPANISH ST. AUGUSTINE

by JAMES CUSICK

SPANISH Governor Zéspedes, writing in 1788 to a superior about his impressions of East Florida, decried the colony's reliance on Havana as its sole source of supply. The majority of the colonists were far too impoverished, he wrote, to afford the high prices of goods shipped via Cuba. He continued: "[T]hat a poor immigrant at the end of one year, when he has made his first crop, or a Minorcan with a wife and four or five children who does not earn half a peso fuerte a day, should have to provide his family with goods bought from that place [Havana] and feed them with food from New Spain— I must honestly say that I consider such a thing impossible even with the most industrious effort on their parts, at least until this country has developed for several years with some measure of free trade."<sup>1</sup> A few years later, a group of merchants expressed similar concerns about freedom of trade in a petition to Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada. They complained that the Pantón, Leslie & Company's monopoly rights to the Indian trade in Spanish Florida had created a stranglehold on commerce, impeding the importation of cheap goods.<sup>2</sup>

Until recently our understanding of the commercial life of Spanish Florida came predominantly from brief, subjective references to trade in the correspondence of colonial officials, who often characterized St. Augustine as a poor presidio town

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1. Arthur Preston Whitaker, ed. and trans., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas, with Incidental Reference to Louisiana* (DeLand, 1931), 57.
2. Janice Borton Miller, "The Struggle for Free Trade in East Florida and the Cédula of 1793," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (July 1976), 52-53.

[277]



forever in want of basic necessities.<sup>3</sup> However, recent studies oriented toward quantitative analysis of shipping and treasury records depict Spanish Florida as an ethnically diverse community widely engaged in trade and the production of commercial crops.<sup>4</sup> The traditional view that Spanish Florida languished as a poor garrison settlement thus has become more of a hindrance than a help to understanding the colony's role as a borderland.

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3. The historiography of economic life in St. Augustine was drawn largely from correspondence between the governor and his superiors, representatives of Panton, Leslie & Company, and key merchants or planters in the colony. Helen Hornbeck Tanner based most of her two studies, *The Transition from British to Spanish Rule in East Florida, 1784-1790* (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1949) and *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, 1963; reprint edition, 1990), on documents in Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated* (Berkeley, 1949) and Whitaker, *Documents Related to the Commercial Policy of Spain*. See also Miller, "The Struggle for Free Trade"; Miller, "The Rebellion in East Florida in 1795." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (October 1978), 173-86; and Tanner, "The Second Spanish Period Begins," in *Clash Between Cultures: Spanish East Florida, 1784-1821*, a special volume of *El Escribano* 25 (St. Augustine, 1988), 15-41.
  4. Florida's demographic profile for the Second Spanish Period has been revised by recent studies of the Spanish, Minorcan, African American, and Anglo-American segments of the community, as well as examinations of settlement patterns and immigration. All reveal the ethnic diversity of the colony. Social and economic networks among groups are also being reassessed. Sherry Johnson, "The Spanish St. Augustine Community, 1784-1795: A Reevaluation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (July 1989), 27-54; Patricia Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788* (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1977); "The Spanish Return: The 'People-Mix' Period, 1784-1821," in Jean Parker Waterbury, ed., *The Oldest City: St. Augustine Saga of Survival* (St. Augustine, 1983), 125-50; "The Minorcans," in *Clash Between Cultures*, 61-83; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1988); Susan R. Parker, *Men Without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790* (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1990); Abel Poitineau, "Demography and the Political Destiny of Florida During the Second Spanish Period," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 420-43, and Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida*. Settlement fluctuated throughout the period. The Spanish presence was more significant, in absolute numbers, prior to 1800, and a steady influx of French, Irish, British, Americans, and blacks into St. Augustine and outlying areas is evident between 1797 and 1804. A number of studies have reassessed the amount of public and private commercial activity that characterized the colony. Pablo Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia entre Florida y Estados Unidos, 1783-1820* (Sevilla, 1979); Ligia Ma. Bermudez, *The Situado: A Study in the Dynamics of East Florida's Economy during the Second Spanish Period, 1785-1820* (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1989); Christopher Ward, "The Commerce of East Florida during the Embargo, 1806-1812: The Role of Amelia Island," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989), 160-79.

This essay, by drawing on data for shipping imports, focuses on the supply side of the economy to demonstrate three points: the diversity of commodities imported into St. Augustine during the Second Spanish Period; the important ports trading with the colony; and the organization of private merchant shipping in the colony. St. Augustine emerges as a port engaged in virtual free trade along the Atlantic seaboard, with a far-reaching merchant network and equally far-reaching access to products from throughout Europe and the Spanish Caribbean. While Spanish Florida may have suffered hardship in times of warfare, the daily record of the colony's commerce reveals no evidence of impoverishment.

When Zéspedes remarked about the costliness of supplies from Havana, Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and along the border of New Spain were in the midst of a remarkable series of Spanish *cédulas* regarding trade. The configuration of trans-Atlantic trade with Spanish America underwent major changes in the mid-1770s when Spain, under a policy of *comercio libre*, or free trade within the Spanish Empire, opened trade between numerous Spanish ports and the New World and loosened restrictions on inter-colonial trade.<sup>5</sup> The new policy reduced the dominance of Cádiz and Seville as ports monopolizing trade with America and opened the floodgates to British, Dutch, and French manufactures, which poured into New Spain and Peru. During times of peace, these products reached the colonies through Spanish intermediaries or front men, and in times of war they arrived directly in non-Spanish ships. By the late 1790s when Spain was at war with England and under blockade from the British fleet, trade restrictions were relaxed further as the Spanish crown reluctantly gave permission for its colonies to trade directly with neutral countries. These concessions, quickly given, also were quickly revoked, so that for most areas free trade with neutral powers was sanctioned only for a few years.<sup>6</sup>

Attempts to cut off free trade proved difficult to enforce in the Caribbean and in peripheral areas of Spanish America. Cuba, which had become accustomed to trade with neutral pow-

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5. David A. Brading, "Bourbon Spain and its American Empire," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1987), 136-41.

6. Brading, "Bourbon Spain," 136-41; John Lynch, "The Origins of Spanish American Independence," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Independence of Latin America* (Cambridge, 1987), 20-21.

ers and dependent upon importations of wheat from the United States, ignored prohibitions against trade with non-Spanish ports. Venezuela followed suit. By 1801, Spain had to re-concede to these countries permission to trade with neutral nations.<sup>7</sup> Changes in trade policy for Spain's North American colonies came even earlier and, once granted, never were revoked. Indeed, in some respects the official opening of trade in Spanish America made little difference to Spain's northern border colonies. Most of these had engaged in regular trade with the English and French for nearly a century. Illicit trade between Spanish Florida and North American ports in the mid-eighteenth century was common. "In times of peace," as Joyce Elizabeth Harman has noted, "both the English and the Spanish in the Southeast winked at all trade restrictions."<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless, the first official loosening of trade restrictions occurred in 1782, during the American Revolution. Under pressure, Spain granted its colony of Louisiana a ten-year grace period in which residents were permitted to trade directly with ports in France. When Spain subsequently regained its colonies of West and East Florida, the crown granted further economic concessions. In 1786 it gave Panton, Leslie & Company a monopoly over the Indian trade in these possessions and allowed the company to send two ships a year to British ports in order to obtain trade goods.<sup>9</sup> Spain also conceded that residents of Spanish East Florida, in cases of emergency, could trade directly with ports in the United States to make up shortfalls in supplies. Finally, in 1793, Spain opened direct trade between East Florida and the ports of allied and friendly nations.<sup>10</sup> Through these concessions, Spain sanctioned a commercial freedom in its border colonies that was unknown to most of Spanish America. For instance, New Spain still was trying to obtain similar concessions on the eve of its own independence in 1820.<sup>11</sup>

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7. Lynch, "Spanish American Independence," 21.

8. Joyce Elizabeth Harman, *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763* (St. Augustine, 1969), 80-82.

9. Whitaker, *Commercial Policy*, xxv, xxix; Lackey, *East Florida*, 27-28.

10. Miller, "Struggle for Free Trade," 55-56; Ramón Romero Cabot, *La Defensa de Florida en el Segundo Período Español, 1783-1821* (Sevilla, 1982), 45-46.

11. John H. Hahn, "The Role of the Mexican Deputies in the Proposal and Enactment of Measures of Economic Reform Applicable to Mexico," in Nettie Lee Benson, ed., *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810-1822* (University of Texas, Austin, 1971), 169-76.

The effects of these economic concessions have been addressed by historians of the Second Spanish Period. Initially, scholars were engaged most by the vacillation of Spanish policy with regard to free trade. "[O]ur concern," one noted, "is not with the actual commerce of the Floridas but with Spanish policy in regard to commerce."<sup>12</sup> Subsequently, the struggle for free trade and the attitude of the colonial government also commanded attention.<sup>13</sup> More recently, shipping, commerce, and the structure of the colonial economy have been examined. A study of shipping at Amelia Island between 1806 and 1812, for example, found evidence of a colonial export trade in cotton and woods and, later, in tars, pitches, and turpentines. An analysis of ship arrivals and departures during the Second Spanish Period established that exports of oranges, woods, and cotton were matched by enormous importations of foodstuffs from the United States. This process slowly converted Spanish Florida from a peripheral colony of Spanish America into an economic satellite of the United States. A study of the *situado*, the treasury funds allocated to Spanish Florida for the support of the garrison and the colonial government, supported this argument. Much of the money provided by the *situado*, it concluded, eventually went into the coffers of United States merchants. In addition, the colonial government increasingly relied on loans from creditors in the United States to pay expenses.<sup>14</sup>

Through this research an outline of St. Augustine's overall economic life now exists; however, the basic mechanisms of trade— the ports of call, the types of cargoes imported, and the nature of merchant trading networks— have remained unilluminated. Only occasionally, as in Zéspedes letter of 1788, do the traditional sources offer a clue to the necessity of trade with the United States. Information on the concerns of St. Augustine's

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12. Whitaker, *Commercial Policy*, x.

13. Miller, "Struggle for Free Trade," and Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada: *Governor of Spanish East Florida, 1790-1795* (Gainesville, 1981). Ramón Romero Cabot outlined the differing concepts that colonists and crown officials had about the role trade should play in maintaining Florida. See his *Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada: Comportamiento, Normas y Recompensas* (Sevilla, 1985), 265-72.

14. Bermudez, *The Situado*, 41-44, 51-52; Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia*, 65-125; Ward, "The Commerce of East Florida." Romero Cabot also discusses trade relations between Spanish Florida and the United States in *La Defensa de Florida*, 48-55.

merchant families is found even less frequently. An analysis of records of shipping imports can provide a detailed picture of the colony's trading connections, the flow of commodities into the colony, and what this meant for the organization of commerce.

To develop a data base on commodity flow into East Florida, this study used records of shipping arrivals and cargo manifests in the East Florida Papers.<sup>15</sup> These documents relate to the debarkation of goods at St. Augustine and Amelia Island, cargo manifests from the ports of origin, translations of the manifests, when necessary, into Spanish, and other papers— requests for permission to import goods, notifications of supplies needed by the garrison, inventories and valuations of cargoes from ports where Spain had no customs representative, and notes about merchants and residents to whom goods were consigned. This file, which contains importations only (there is a second file on exports), comprises 11,534 exposures of microfilm covering the period from 1788 to 1821. Research presented here was based on only a small sample of the available record: three years— 1787, 1794, and 1803. The extensiveness of the shipping records and the turbulent history of Florida during the Second Spanish Period make numerous caveats necessary.

This study focuses only on ships arriving at the port of St. Augustine and excludes shipping at Amelia Island. Amelia poses problems for any study of colonial imports. Although goods were received via Amelia, during the years of the United States's Non-Intercourse Acts it also functioned as a point for temporary debarkation and transshipment of goods.<sup>16</sup> Hence, much of the cargo arriving at Amelia never entered Florida, and no records from Amelia were sampled. Records for St. Augustine were drawn from the period prior to the opening of Amelia in 1809. For the years under consideration, St. Augustine was the only legal port of entry for goods in East Florida. As St. Augustine's harbor was accessible only to small ships and easily monitored by the government, goods arriving apparently were for the use of the colony and not transshipments. Almost

15. The shipping records used in this analysis are in the East Florida Papers (hereafter cited as EFP): reels 91-92, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, 1786-1787; reels 92-93, bundle 219K17, 1794; and reel 96, bundle 229H18, 1803. These are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

16. Ward, "The Commerce of East Florida," 167-74.

all the shipping records under consideration revealed that goods were consigned to Florida merchants, shopkeepers, tavern owners, and government officials.

The matter of smuggling also arises. Shipping records, of course, represent only those traders who registered and paid import duty in St. Augustine. The St. Johns and St. Marys rivers afforded other landing places for smugglers. This record presumably allows a minimum estimate of all the goods that eventually entered the colony. The years in which the colony was in tumult were avoided.

Data presented in this study cover the first half of the Second Spanish Period, and only the more peaceful years. In 1784 and 1785 the colony still was involved in the transfer from British to Spanish control, and the port of St. Augustine often was busy with ships transporting settlers.<sup>17</sup> By 1787, much of the commotion concerning the transfer was over. This year also predated the French and Haitian revolutions, which realigned alliances in Europe. The second year selected postdated the 1793 *cédula* opening trade between Florida and non-Spanish ports. However, in 1795 the Spaniards had to put down a French-inspired rebellion in the hinterlands, resulting in the expulsion of many settlers, confiscation of their property, and temporary closure of the border between Florida and the United States. To circumvent problems related to these disturbances, 1794 was selected; 1803 was selected because research indicates that arrival patterns of ships during this one-year period were similar to that for surrounding years.

Having selected the years, the author read the records for shipping arrivals and recorded the name of the ship, its captain (and owner if given), date of arrival, the port from which it came, cargo, and any notations about consignment of goods. The fact that shipping records contain a diversity of items listed in a variety of measurements poses a problem of quantification. For purposes of this essay, the value of cargo is utilized as the variable by which to standardize all shipments. Merchants shipped foodstuffs by weight or volume, cloth and wood products by length, alcoholic beverages by liquid measures, and other items by counts (number of shoes or hats or tools or pots, for example). The one variable common to all was the value as-

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17. Lackey, *East Florida*, 7-8.

signed to a given quantity of a specific good as expressed in Spanish pesos and reales.<sup>18</sup>

Having settled on value as the means for standardization, a price list for a wide range of imported goods then was compiled. The most detailed records available were those for ships from North American ports in the year 1794. One consequence of the 1793 *cédula* which opened trade with the United States was that customs officials in St. Augustine took an increased interest in the arrival of American ships. They opened, inventoried, and assigned values to all cargo. By reference to these inventories, the price of virtually any item shipped from the United States can be obtained.

Values derived for United States imports also were assigned to goods from Spanish American ports such as Havana. This procedure ignored the effect of inflation over different years and price differentials between different ports to create a standardized means of assigning value; price differentials did not affect the utility of using value in order to quantify data.<sup>19</sup> Through standardization, the value of cargo was no longer tied to market price and became instead an abstract index to the amount or volume of goods shipped. Cargo values reflected the

18. Attempts to quantify cargoes by bulk proved difficult due to the assortment of containers in which goods were delivered. These could not be standardized to a common unit of size or weight. Manifests from United States ports rarely gave any indication of how much a container represented in volume or weight. Cuban manifests frequently gave such information, but the record varied for seemingly identical types of containers, suggesting that container size varied. The correlation of Spanish units of shipment with Anglo-American ones also is a problem. Spanish translations of English manifests provided some guidelines as to general correlations between terms for containers, but not information about correlations in size. Additionally, the same commodity could be shipped in different types of containers. Rum, for example, might be recorded by the number of barrels, half-barrels, kegs, casks, pipes, half-pipes, and hogsheads, or by quintals, arrobas or libras (Spanish measures of weight approximately equal to 100 lbs. U.S., twenty-five lbs. U.S., and one lb. U.S., respectively). Beer, wine, brandy, gin, anisette, cider, coffee, cacao, and teas were shipped by all of the above, as well as in demijohns, boxes, bottles, boxes of bottles, sacks, baskets, and bundles.
19. A price differential did exist. Shipping records did not disclose the value of cargoes from Cuba; however, vessels departing Cuba had to pay an export tax—about 6 percent of the total cargo value—and this tax was reported. Using the tax, the total value of any shipment of goods from Cuba may be estimated. The estimates suggest that procuring goods at Cuban ports was two- or four-times more expensive than procuring similar goods at ports in the United States— an observation made by eighteenth century observers in St. Augustine.

volume of goods shipped from any port and could be converted into volumetric or other measures where necessary.<sup>20</sup>

Analysis of the data focuses on the general commerce between St. Augustine and its major trading partners. To maintain this focus, the analysis excludes ships arriving at St. Augustine to deliver settlers and ships involved in the Indian trade. These represent special cases of commerce that were not considered. To simplify presentation, goods were assigned to one of twelve groups: foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages, other beverages, textiles and clothing, leather products, finished manufactures (labor-oriented), finished manufactures (domestic), wood and wood products, guns and munitions, paper, books, and writing implements, tobacco and smoking, and specie. These groups were established to maintain basic controls over what ports shipped basic commodities such as food and drink and what ports were sources for particular types of commodity. Most groups also had numerous subgroups, allowing an even finer breakdown. The discussion of data that follows provides an overall perspective on commodity flow into St. Augustine and examines the organization of private commerce as seen through the shipping records.

To determine St. Augustine's trade networks, the number of ship arrivals for each of the three years was totaled. The heaviest shipping traffic occurred during 1787 (see Table 1). The low number of arrivals for 1794 may have reflected turbulence prior to the rebellion of the following year. Spanish officials already were anticipating this trouble during the latter months of 1794. A count of ships for 1795 indicated that shipping arrivals again were low, totalling only thirty vessels. For 1803, the total number of ship arrivals—seventy-seven—did not include the twenty-four vessels engaged either in transporting settlers or carrying cargo for Pantan, Leslie & Company.

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20. The total weight of sugar products shipped from Havana in 1787 was 2,232 arrobas or 55,800 lbs. U.S. Using the conversion factor of twenty-five lbs. U.S. of sugar equals eighteen reales (the standardized value), the total value was 40,176 reales. By contrast, the total weight of sugar imports from Charleston, New York, Philadelphia, and Savannah in 1787 was calculated at twelve arrobas or 300 lbs. U.S. Using the same standardized conversion, this was equal approximately to 216 reales. All of these figures represent the same relative volume of shipping: 40,176 reales to 216 reales; 2,232 arrobas to 12 arrobas; or 55,800 lbs. U.S. to 300 lbs. U.S. The standardized value provides an index of volume allowing the ready comparison of imports from various places and expressed in value terms.



Nevertheless, the totals for shipping traffic raise questions about the significance of the 1793 *cédula*. Merchants made sixty-three trips to ports in the United States in 1787. Hence, as one writer has noted, the *cédula* may have provided a more legal framework for foreign trade, but primarily it lifted restrictions that had not been enforced in the first place. Governor Quesada admitted in 1792 that he did not investigate infringements of trade regulations too rigorously, as it would be to the detriment of the community.<sup>21</sup>

Records show that the total volume of trade through Amelia Island was small in comparison with the major Atlantic seaboard ports of the United States. The number of ships arriving in St. Augustine during 1787, 1794, and 1803 also indicated a relatively small volume of trade when contrasted to major ports. To determine how shipping traffic in St. Augustine compared with other Spanish American ports, one must refer to data from Havana and Veracruz. During the mid-1780s approximately 300 ships a year, from several countries, were reported as arriving in Havana. Records of Spanish ships arriving at Veracruz indicate that there were thirty-four arrivals in 1787. In 1794 there were sixty-seven, more than twice the number of arrivals from all nations at St. Augustine.<sup>22</sup> However, St. Augustine was a relatively small community with a harbor that permitted access only to ships of shallow draft.<sup>23</sup> Although the town was no trade emporium in the Second Spanish Period, it neither was stagnant nor impoverished.

The data presented in Table 1 indicate that the two ports visited most frequently by merchants were Charleston and Havana. An assessment of the relative volume of trade from

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21. Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia*, 66; Miller, "Struggle for Free Trade" 53-54.

22. Tornero Tinajero, "La Participación de Cádiz en el Comercio Exterior de La Habana (1776-1786)," *La Rabida: Primeras Jornadas de Andalucía y América* (1981), 88; and John E. Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque, 1983), 49, table 9.

23. Population estimates suggest the town averaged less than 1,800 people. John R. Dunkle, "Population Change as an Element in the Historical Geography of St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (July 1958), 21, now is somewhat out of date but shows the population of the town fluctuating between 1,200 and 1,600 people between 1793-1815. Poirineau estimated the total white population of East Florida in 1783 at 2,000, and placed the total for 1793, including white civilians, soldiers, free blacks, and slaves, at 3,561. Poirineau, "Demography," 421, 426.

## MERCHANTS IN SPANISH ST. AUGUSTINE 287

Table 1. The number of ship arrivals at St. Augustine.

	1787	1794	1803	TOTAL
Charleston	41	13	19	73
Havana	10	9	15	34
Other U.S.	22	5	16	43
Other Spanish American	7	1	3	11
Internal	7	-	-	7
Unknown	5	-	-	5
TOTAL	92	28	53	173

The table does not include vessels engaged for Panton, Leslie & Company in the Indian trade or vessels primarily bringing new settlers into the colony. Source: EFP, reels 91-92, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, 1786-1787; EFP, reels 92-93, bundle 219K17, 1794; and EFP, reel 96, bundle 229818, 1803.

various ports, expressed as value of cargoes, supported this observation (see Table 2).

Charleston was St. Augustine's major trade partner. Havana was the second largest and rivaled Charleston in volume of goods shipped to St. Augustine in both 1794 and 1803. New York and Philadelphia were important ports in 1787, but not in the subsequent years surveyed. Savannah, although having a lower trading volume than these ports, remained important

Table 2. Overall volume of goods from major ports.

	1787	1794	1803	TOTAL
Charleston	349,245	237,255	205,506	792,006
Havana	188,004	224,805	182,157	594,966
New York	176,722	-	33,733	210,455
Philadelphia	88,334	-	-	88,334
Savannah	13,544	30,969	40,521	85,034
Other U.S. ports (N = 7)	32,847	32,892	59,944	125,683
Other Spanish Am. (N = 5)	49,641	7,200	11,322	68,163
Internal trade by ship	18,338	-	11,333	29,671
TOTAL	916,675	533,121	544,516	1,994,312

All volumes are expressed as cargo value in reales. Price inventories used to assign value were drawn from the following vessels: the *Venus*, from Charleston, January 2 and February 5, 1794; the *Harriott*, from Charleston, March 13, 1794; the *Uxbridge*, from Charleston, April 1, 1794; the *Nuestra Señora de Regla*, from Savannah, May 5, 1794; the *Maria*, from Savannah, May 7, 1794; the *Camden Mail*, from Charleston, June 3, 1794; the *San Pedro*, from Charleston, June 14, 1794; the *Camden Mail*, from Charleston, August 2, 1794; the *San Pedro*, from Charleston, September 2, 1794; *Los Dos Hermanos*, from Charleston, September 6, 1794; the *Guillermo*, from Charleston, October 10, 1794; the *Henrietta*, from Charleston, November 2, 1794; the *Nancy*, from Charleston, December 4, 1794. Source: EFP, reels 92-93, bundle 219K17, 1794.

through the three years surveyed. Internal trade along the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers and from the settlement of Mosquitoes also represented a significant volume of shipping traffic.

The most important commodity imported into Florida, in terms of overall volume, was foodstuffs, followed by liquors, wines, and beer. Other groups included manufactures for household use (soap, candles, tablewares, cutlery, cooking utensils, furniture, and personal goods); leather goods (shoes, saddles, and leather); textiles and clothing; wood products (planking, turpentines, linseed oil, paints, and tars); and other manufactures (tools, fishing tackle, hinges, locks, nails, bricks, and mill and carriage equipment). Through an examination of the general types of cargo shipped to St. Augustine from various ports, the picture given by overall totals may be refined further.

The importation of foodstuffs probably represented a mix of public and private expenditure. The crown allocated money to St. Augustine on an annual basis. These funds composed the *situado*, which could be delivered either in the form of specie to cover expenses or in the form of supplies, such as clothing, food, and munitions. Frequently the *situado* represented payments both in specie and commodities, which were broken up into two or three annual installments. When supplies ran short, officials often commissioned private merchants to buy neces-

Table 3. Volume of types of commodity by year.

PRODUCTS SHIPPED	1787	1794	1803	TOTAL
Foodstuffs	533,035	254,918	396,523	1,184,476
Alcoholic beverages	185,506	160,032	70,492	416,030
Domestic manufactures	34,342	30,033	23,591	87,966
Clothing and Cloth	46,683	20,333	7,170	74,186
Leather products	30,421	16,938	9,322	56,681
Wood products	42,225	3,758	9,820	55,803
Money (in specie)	33,240	1,600	20,800	55,640
Other manufactures	2,650	29,599	3,192	35,441
Beverages (non-alcoholic)	8,465	10,028	8,740	27,233
Tobacco products	21,000	2,440	1,376	24,816
Munitions and Substances	2,477	1,592	6,256	10,325
Writing materials	616	2,499	16	3,131
TOTAL value of goods	940,660	533,770	557,298	2,031,728

Volume expressed as the cargo value in reales. Values standardized to price list generated from vessel cargo inventories as noted in Table 2. Source: EFP, reels 91-92, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, 1786-1787; EFP, reels 92-93, bundle 219K17, 1794; and EFP, reel 96, bundle 229H18, 1803.

sities at American ports, with the goods consigned to the Real Hacienda, or treasury, and paid for either with situado funds or on credit.<sup>24</sup> At least some of the foodstuffs imported by private merchants likely were underwritten by public funds to serve the needs of the garrison and general population. Goods also were consigned to St. Augustine's shopkeepers and to colonists engaged in planting, all of whom probably were buying foodstuffs for private use or sale.

St. Augustine's survival as a colony depended heavily on importations of food from the United States. Merchants imported most fish, meat, and grains through North American ports (see Table 4). Cuba was an importer of wheat in the late eighteenth century, increasingly from the United States, which provided a cheaper and more abundant supply than New Spain.<sup>25</sup> For St. Augustine, New York and Philadelphia were sources of fish, grains, lard, butter, cheese, and to a lesser degree, in 1787, of meat. However, over time merchants most consistently dealt with Charleston, the principal source of fish, grains, and larder. Savannah also was a frequent source of grains, butter, and cheese, but shipped smaller quantities.

The role of Havana in supplying foodstuffs to St. Augustine is difficult to assess because the shipping records do not reflect Havana's importance as the departure point for situado shipments. Grains from Veracruz still may have fed the garrison, as had been the case prior to 1763. Private merchants, though, appear to have patronized Havana primarily for a few specialized comestibles, notably olives, olive oil, and sugar. Consignments of sugar composed more than 80 percent of the total volume of foodstuffs imported via Havana in 1787 and 1794 and represented almost 100 percent of foodstuffs imported in 1803. In contrast, St. Augustine imported almost no sugar from the United States. This pattern repeated itself many times with other commodities. Havana effectively was a bottleneck; it channeled and controlled the redistribution of many products from Spain and the Caribbean. Hence, while the United States was a crucial source of basic foodstuffs for St. Augustine, access to Havana was equally important for specialized products. These included not only sugar, but sugar by-products such as rum and

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24. For an analysis of how these funds were allocated, see Bermudez, *The Situado*.

25. Tornero Tinajero, "El Comercio Exterior de La Habana," 92.

Table 4. Foodstuffs imported into St. Augustine.

	1787						
	Fish	Grains	Larder	Meats	Produce	Spices	Sugar
Charleston	21,408	33,500	165,765	8,746	7,164	324	40
Havana	128	-	8,282	340	1,706	52	40,532
New York	11,820	30,468	80,137	21,293	7,485	820	180
Philadelphia	4,864	17,132	23,600	5,037	6,372	250	-
Savannah	-	11,456	500	-	588	-	-
	1794						
	Fish	Grains	Larder	Meats	Produce	Spices	Sugar
Charleston	1,728	57,462	39,429	22,648	3,836	6,156	576
Havana	144	-	6,230	324	2,588	1,175	48,545
New York	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Savannah	-	26,000	-	1,359	-	-	-
	1803						
	Fish	Grains	Larder	Meats	Produce	Spices	Sugar
Charleston	17,248	81,632	35,530	7,616	19,904	1,080	-
Havana	-	-	2,406	-	227	-	116,576
New York	2,048	1,776	11,500	3,072	8,790	-	-
Philadelphia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Savannah	344	12,010	14,266	1,482	100	272	-

Volume expressed as cargo value in reales. Grain category includes wheat flour, maize, rice, and rye. Larder includes bread, butter, cheese, lard, and oils. Produce includes beans, fruits, nuts, onions, peas, and potatoes. Source: EFP, reels 91-92, bundles 215G17 and 216H17, 1786-1783; EFP, reels 92-93, bundle 219KI7, 1794; and EFP, reel 96, bundle 229H18, 1803.

aguadiente, beverages such as coffee and chocolate, and other products such as wine, tobacco, salt, and leather goods.

More than is the case with any other commodity, the importation of alcoholic beverages demonstrates how St. Augustine's diversified trade network served to bring a wide range of products into the colony. Merchants apparently patronized particular ports in order to obtain specific types of liquor. In general, rums, brandies, and Spanish wines came through Havana, French wines through Charleston, and smaller amounts of beer, gin, and moonshine from other ports in the United States. Rums, brandies, and wines composed the bulk of alcoholic beverages imported into St. Augustine. Havana— as a major sugar producer— was the chief supplier of rum and most brandies, although French brandy arrived through Charleston. In Havana, liquors normally were measured by the liquid version

of the arroba, normally a dry weight measure. This varied greatly, however, and for the purposes of this study liquor was valued according to its volume in pipas, garrafontes, and barricas.<sup>26</sup> Brandy became increasingly popular in Spanish America during the late seventeenth century, and by the eighteenth century New Spain, Cuba, and Venezuela were major markets for brandies from Seville, Cádiz, and the Canaries.<sup>27</sup> However, in St. Augustine rum was the most popular or, at least, most readily available alcoholic drink. Merchants trading with Havana imported an estimated 52,140 reales of rum in 1787, 68,198 reales in 1794, and 29,280 reales in 1803. They also imported about 26,940 reales of brandy from the Canary Islands and Spain in 1787, with significantly less imported in subsequent years.<sup>28</sup>

Wine was the other major imported alcoholic beverage. Havana, Guarico (on the island of Hispaniola), and Charleston all were important transshipment points for this commodity. Havana and Guarico supplied St. Augustine with both red and white wines from Catalán, Málaga, and other areas of Spain. Traders imported about 24,390 reales worth of wine via Guarico in 1787, but none in the other years surveyed. By contrast, wine imports from Havana were low in 1787, but were valued at 44,636 reales for 1794 and 18,700 reales for 1803. Charleston shipped mostly clarets and French bordeaux (approximately 33,179 reales worth in 1787, but less in subsequent years surveyed).<sup>29</sup>

26. Barricas equal 500 lbs. U.S. or two barrels; pipas equals 120 gallons U.S., or five barrels. Rums usually were imported in pipas (pipes), brandies in garrafontes (demijohns), and wines in barricas (large kegs). All measures of volume and weight were based on the conversion factors in Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide* (Tucson, 1980), 68-75, and J. Villasana Haggard and Malcolm Dallas McLean, *Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents* (University of Texas, 1941), 68-87.
27. Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* (Oxford, 1990), 213.
28. In volumetric measures merchants imported from Havana an estimated 207 pipas (1,035 barrels) of rum in 1787, 235 pipas (1,175 barrels) in 1794, and 167 pipas (835 barrels) in 1803. They imported about 100 garrafontes of brandy through Havana in 1787, but less than 100 garrafontes total in subsequent years.
29. Volumetric measures: about 210 barrels of wine via Guarico in 1787, but none in the other years surveyed; via Havana, only about fifty barrels in 1787, but 465 barrels in 1794 and 167 barrels in 1803. Charleston shipped approximately 165 barricas of claret and bordeaux in 1787, less in subsequent years.

Other forms of alcoholic beverage also were imported. Beer, principally from the United States, seems to have fallen off over time from a total value of 43,500 reales in 1787, to less than 4,000 reales in 1803. Gin, purchased primarily in Charleston or Savannah, also was imported in small quantities, as was anisette from Havana and liquors of various types from Charleston, Havana, and New York.

Like alcoholic beverages, imports of cloth and clothing also encompassed a wide variety of products. Cloth imports included lengths of hemp, canvass, and heavy thread for making sails; cheap Isenburg cloth; and bolts of printed cotton, chintz, serge, baize, and linen. These four types were valued in St. Augustine at between two and four reales/vara (one vara equals approximately thirty-three inches). Other types of cloth in the same price range were named for their regions of manufacture and included Bretano, Irlanda, Mahon (a colored cotton), Platilla (a French fine-weave), and Rollo (also a fine-weave). The most expensive cloths were olan (eight reales/vara), taffeta (eight reales/vara), and silk, which was priced by the pound. Other imports included cloth to be incorporated into clothing, such as sashes, ribbon, and lace. Finished clothing consisted mostly of hats, hose, and occasionally pants and shirts. Shawls or neckerchiefs and woolen blankets were common items. Cargoes from Havana often also included *ropa de uso*, or secondhand clothing, which never was valued and often was sent between family members for personal use.

Again the shipping manifests revealed certain patterns of trade. Charleston was the principal shipper of textiles. Havana exported some cloth, but in 1787 was the principal shipper of finished clothing, mostly hats and hose. Imports of finished clothing seem to have dropped off in the later years surveyed, possibly indicating that internal production of clothing had become great enough to supply local needs.

Leather included finished shoes and leather soles for making shoes. Shoes chiefly were imported from Havana or Santiago de Cuba. The manifests frequently describe them as *zapatos de Campeche*, so Cuba probably was a transshipment point for shoes made in Mexico. Based on the average value of shoes (six reales/pair), imports from Havana and Santiago in 1787 represented approximately 5,700 reales (950 pairs), 8,622 reales (1,437 pairs) in 1794, and 1,260 reales (210 pairs) in 1803.

Leather hides and shoe soles were imported from a number of ports which varied over the years surveyed. The highest volume of imports was in 1787, predominantly from North American ports. Saddles also came mainly from the United States.

Manufactures consisted of two categories: tools, gear, or equipment; and products made primarily for domestic use. Little specific information was available on the first category, because items such as locks, nails, hinges, and tools often were shipped under the general term of "sundrys." This made it difficult to quantify cargoes. Probably the most accurate data on manufactures came from 1794, the one year in the sample in which ships were inventoried. It showed that imported manufactures came predominantly through Charleston.

Products for domestic use included tableware, cutlery, cooking pots and pans, tea kettles, coffee pots, braziers, grinding stones, brushes, brooms, candles, lanterns, soap, window panes, furniture, and personal items. These commodities represented an important group, being one of the few that could be compared to materials that survive archaeologically. In general, data from the shipping manifests illustrated what has been known through the archaeological data— that finished products used in the home were imported in larger quantities from the United States than from Cuba. Boxes or barrels of crockery regularly arrived in St. Augustine from Charleston. This fact has been noted archaeologically because of the predominance of British-made creamwares and pearlwares, in place of Spanish majolicas, at late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sites in St. Augustine. Shipping records also reflect reduced importation of Spanish wares. In 1787 and 1794 merchants were using Havana as a source for crockery, glassware, candles, and soap. Soap often was described as coming from Castile or Veracruz. Crockery usually appeared in the manifest as *loza* or *loza ordinario*, but occasionally was described as *loza de Sevilla* or *loza de Catalán*. In 1803, however, the records do not mention these commodities. Cargoes from Havana for that year seem to have been composed principally of sugar and sugar products.<sup>30</sup>

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30. The types of majolica found on late eighteenth-century sites in St. Augustine mostly are from the pottery centers of Mexico. Catalonia Blue on White, an old world variety which may be the *loza de Catalán* mentioned in the records, does occur but only rarely.



Although non-alcoholic beverages and tobacco were not shipped in the same volume as many other commodities, they included important products from the Caribbean and hence also help to show how commodity flow into St. Augustine differed between Cuba and the United States. Coffee and chocolate were imported via Cuba, tea predominantly from the United States. Chocolate and tea were popular drinks throughout Spanish America in the eighteenth century, but in St. Augustine coffee and tea likely were the predominant non-alcoholic beverages.<sup>31</sup> Merchants occasionally imported small amounts of cider and sassafras from the United States.

Interpretation of tobacco imports was difficult because of a large discrepancy between imports in 1787 and the other years surveyed. Imports from Havana in 1787 were valued at 16,154 reales; in subsequent years, the total value of tobacco was barely 2,000 reales. If 1787 represented a "normal" year in the tobacco trade, then Cuba was the major source. In this case, however, data from additional years are needed to draw firm conclusions.

Analysis of St. Augustine's imports indicates that access to different commodities—sugar, rum, wine, coffee, tea, cloth, manufactures—required that traders maintain a variety of separate trade networks. A full exposition on how merchants organized themselves in St. Augustine must await a network analysis of the complex relationships between owners of vessels, ship captains, and the individuals to whom goods were consigned. Shipping records, however, allow a sketch of some of the broad associations within St. Augustine's merchant community.

Manifests provide some but not all information on the commercial life of St. Augustine. Numerous commodities basic to Florida's survival rarely are mentioned. For instance, the total of munitions contained in the shipping manifests was 118 barrels of gunpowder, one box and a dozen flasks of birdshot, 1,000 gun flints, and two muskets. Shipments of specie also were infrequent. Bermudez has shown that the treasury monies of the *situado* arrived regularly throughout the Second Spanish Period, varying over time from about 80,000 pesos to hundreds of thousands of pesos per annum. However, the total of specie

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31. Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 212-13.

shipped through Havana for the years surveyed in this study amounted to only 6,955 pesos fuertes. Presumably, situado monies arrived via the Spanish fleet, and the shipping records reflect only money exchanged as part of private business transactions. In addition, the slave trade virtually was invisible in these documents.

These omissions and discrepancies show that the shipping records give a restricted view of colonial commerce, pertaining primarily to goods carried by private vessels that were registered officially with the government. Smugglers and ships of the fleet undoubtedly played a regular role in introducing supplies and trade goods into Florida, but these remain outside the purview of this study.

As previously noted, prior to 1793 official Spanish policy in Florida was that trade with the United States could be carried out only in cases of emergency, and then only to make up shortfalls of basic needs or to acquire items for personal use. However, data from 1787 indicate that St. Augustine merchants were trading actively with ports in the United States and carrying types of commodities outside the bounds of Spanish trade restrictions. Hence, the 1793 *cédula* on free trade officially sanctioned a practice that already was occurring in view of the governor's customs officers. Zéspedes's commentary— that Florida could not possibly survive, let alone thrive, with Cuba as its only source of trade— is corroborated strongly by quantitative data from the shipping records.

The data also indicate that Havana was the crucial port for products from Mexico, Spain, and the Caribbean. Hence, one would expect that merchants with family or business connections in Cuba had the means to monopolize a wide variety of products. Patterns of ship ownership and of cargo consignments for vessels sailing between St. Augustine, the United States, and Havana provide clues to how merchants organized. Three colonists— Pedro Cosifacio, a Corsican trader, Miguel Iznardy, a Spanish merchant, and Francisco Felipe Fatio, a Swiss plantation owner— received special trading licenses in 1787 that permitted them wide leeway in what they could import.<sup>32</sup> These merchants

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32. Zéspedes to Diego de Gardoqui, March 19, 1787. EFP, bundle 10158, document 67. The author is indebted to Susan Parker, Historical St. Augustine Preservation Board, for providing this reference.

figured prominently in the 1787 shipping records and each seems to have been at the center of a trade network.

The Cosifacio trading network was composed of the families of Cosifacio and of the Minorcans Domingo Martinelli, Bernardo Segui, and Juan Quevado.<sup>33</sup> These families were connected through intermarriage and appear to have owned jointly numerous vessels. Martinelli was an experienced seaman and acted as captain on the *San Pedro*, a vessel owned either by him or Cosifacio. He frequently received government commissions to purchase supplies and used these same trips to buy goods for Cosifacio, a major St. Augustine trader and shopkeeper.<sup>34</sup>

This family network was visible in the 1787 shipping records. It also included Pablo Cortinas, another merchant and sea captain. The group operated at least three ships: the *Santa Isabel* and the *Nuestra Señora de Belem*, both of which made two trips to Havana in 1787; and the *San Pedro*, which plied between Guarico, St. Augustine, and North American ports. Another trader/captain likely tied into the network was Lorenzo Coll. He made two trips to Havana and three to Charleston in 1787 aboard the *Nuestra Señora de Carmen*. In 1794, the ship was captained by Martinelli.

Miguel Iznardy apparently was the central figure of a second network. In 1787, he traded primarily with ports in the United States. Iznardy made one trip to Havana aboard *La Maria*, which he captained. His other ships traded exclusively with the United States and usually had Marcos Andres, a Minorcan, or Joachin Macheochi, an Italian, as captains. Macheochi commanded the *San Miguel* and *Los Dos Hermanos*. The latter traded primarily between St. Augustine, Charleston, and Savannah. In 1787, it made five trips to Charleston, four to Savannah, and one to Rhode Island. Marcos Andres frequently captained on ships bound for Charleston. He served in this capacity, both for Iznardy and for another merchant, the Minorcan Antonio Cantar, who traded primarily with the United States. Fatio also appeared in the records, making trips to Havana, Charleston, New York, and other ports.<sup>35</sup>

33. Griffin, "The Minorcans," 77-78.

34. Ibid.

35. Philip D. Rasico, "The Minorcan Population of St. Augustine in the Spanish Census of 1786," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (October 1987), 171, 177, 182.

Trade in 1787 was not restricted to these merchants, favored as they may have been by the Spanish government. Another trader/merchant tied into Havana was Joseph Aguirre, who operated one of the many schooners named *Maria*. His cargoes included goods destined both for private merchants and public officials. Among others, Aguirre carried consignments of goods for Antonio Berta, a Minorcan tavernkeeper; Bernardo Segui and Pablo Cortinas, both members of Cosifacio-Martinelli network; Antonio Fernandez, an intern at the hospital; Miguel O'Reilly, the parish priest; Mariano Lassaga, the keeper of artillery stores; Juan Sanchez, the master caulker; and Francisco Miranda, a Spanish merchant.<sup>36</sup> An examination of other consignments from Havana indicates that Coll and the Cosifacio-Martinelli group also loaded their vessels with a mixture of goods destined for both private and public purchasers.

Cantar's ship, the *Santa Catharina*, made at least eight trips to Charleston in 1787, twice with Marcos Andres as captain. Cantar's trade demonstrates that the practice of mixing private and public commerce also extended to ports in the United States. The *Santa Catharina* brought a shipment of 140 pickaxes, 942 varas of linens, 700 varas of cloth for making sacks, and 300 pairs of hose from Charleston in 1787 to fill a request for supplies made by the commander of the garrison in St. Augustine.<sup>37</sup> Another captain/trader whose name occurs frequently in the records for 1787 was Miguel Costa, owner of the *Santa Maria*. Costa, like Iznardy and Cantar, operated primarily in the North American trade circuit.

A relatively small group of merchants—predominantly the Cosifacio faction, Aguirre, and Coll—had regular contact with Havana. Cosifacio also traded with the United States, apparently maintaining the *San Pedro* for the North American circuit. Thus, while trade with the United States was thrown open to all who could make the trip, commerce with Havana required a connection with a closed group of merchant families. For instance, Costa's ship *Santa Maria*, on its only trip to Havana in 1787, had Domingo Martinelli of the Cosifacio group as captain.

36. Government officials are identified from Lackey, *East Florida*, 198-99, 202-03. Merchants and colonists were identified from Rasico, "Minorcan Population of St. Augustine," and Johnson, "The Spanish St. Augustine Community."

37. EFP, bundle 215G17-216H17, reels 91-92, July 11, 1787.

Although data on merchants were not complete for 1794, some conclusions can be drawn. On the North American circuit, Cosifacio still was operating the *San Pedro* and a new acquisition, the *Venus*. Iznardy was trading chiefly with Charleston using *Los Dos Hermanos* and two new ships, the *Guillermo* and the *Correo del Camden* (originally an American ship, the *Camden Mail*), both of which he purchased in 1794. Costa continued to sail to Charleston in the *Santa Maria*. Ownership of the vessels trading regularly with Havana is uncertain.

By 1803 many of the networks noted for 1787 seem to have changed, and the records include references to Don Fernando de la Maza de Arredondo and the Hull family. Arredondo was one of the wealthiest colonists in Spanish Florida, a major merchant and landholder, with family connections in Cuba. Virtually every ship coming from Havana in 1803 contained consignments for him. He also had connections with the new Anglo-American planters in the colony. Among the ships trading with Charleston that consigned goods to Arredondo were the *Lady Washington*, captained by Don Luis McFiars; the *Phoenix*, captained by Enrique Martin and Thomas Hudson; and the *Friendship*, operated by Jorge Long and Abiather Hull. Hull, on one occasion at least, seems to have used Arredondo as an intermediary in obtaining goods from Havana. Miguel Costa was listed in 1803 as operating a ship called the *Concepción* that made three trips to Havana, one to Charleston, and one to New York. Hence, he appears by this time to have established commercial links with Cuba. The continued involvement of the Minorcan community in trade was represented by the activity of Bartolome Suarez. As captain of the *Eagle*, he made several trips to the United States and Havana, often with consignments for Minorcan shopowners and merchants.

Merchants not directly engaged in shipping were no less subject to the need for reliable trade networks. Antonio Berta, described in the 1796 census as a Minorcan-born tavernkeeper, is an example.<sup>38</sup> Since Havana was a principal source of rums, brandies, and wines, it was an important port for those who made their livelihood as purveyors of liquor. In the 1787 records Berta appeared as recipient of a consignment of goods from Havana through Joseph Aguirre. By 1794, Berta had a regular connection in Havana, Tomas de Puma, and was im-

38. Rasico, "Minorcan Population of St. Augustine," 176.

porting goods on every ship that plied between St. Augustine and Cuba. His consignments included wine, sugar, and brandy aboard the *Puísima Concepción*; rum, sugar, and brandy on the *Santa Rosa de Lima*; rum on the *Jesú, María, y José*; and white wine on *La Marianna*. He also imported stock for his tavern aboard the *Nuestra Señora de Regla*, captained by Andres Camillery, and later received crockery, cloth, and tobacco from Savannah aboard the same vessel. By 1803, Berta was connected with the *Floridana*, captained by Pedro Sicard, which made one trip to Havana and five trips to Charleston. Berta was not mentioned in the consignments for the Havana shipment, but received goods from all of the trips to Charleston.

Analysis of a three-year sample of the shipping arrivals at the port of St. Augustine shows that the merchants of Spanish East Florida were part of a wide trade network, with Havana and Charleston heading a number of Caribbean and United States ports with which the colony carried on commerce. Data allow some reevaluation of Florida's situation,

First, importation of goods from the United States began well before the official relaxation of trade laws in 1793. Practically from its reconstruction under Spanish rule in 1784, East Florida was engaged in free trade with the United States. This practice may well have begun in the First Spanish Period. Shipping manifests for English vessels stopping in Florida between 1716 and 1763 indicate that St. Augustine was importing many of the same types of goods, from the same ports, as noted for the Second Spanish Period.<sup>39</sup> St. Augustine's location on the Atlantic seaboard may have played a far more pivotal role in its commercial life than previously considered.

Second, preliminary identification of some merchant trading networks indicates two distinctive patterns of trade. Most merchants were engaged in trade with United States ports. Trade with Havana, on the other hand, likely was in the hands of a much smaller group, primarily Minorcans and Spaniards. It is uncertain whether these merchants were acting as middlemen for the commercial community in general or whether they had a monopolistic hold on access to Havana. The answer to this question may take historians far in understanding the degree of cooperation or competition that characterized life in St. Augustine.

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39. Harman, *Trade and Privateering*, 83-91

## UNFORGOTTEN THREAT: FLORIDA SEMINOLES IN THE CIVIL WAR

by ROBERT A. TAYLOR

**C**ONFEDERATE Florida, far removed from the clash of massed armies to its north, remained in many respects on the periphery of Civil War fighting. The state by no means, however, escaped the war's impact as violence and the potential for violence served to its residents almost daily reminders of the national struggle. One dimension of Florida's Civil War experience, a factor which threatened the escalation of violence throughout the conflict, previously has been neglected by students of the state's history. That factor was the potential for Indian war.

In 1861 the few remaining Florida Indians, remnants of the once powerful Seminole, Tallahassee, and Mikasuki tribes, were living in the swamps and hammocks of south Florida. Their numbers had been reduced as a result of a series of nineteenth-century Indian wars, the last of which had ended only in May 1858. Those struggles had engendered deep animosities between the Indians and the white newcomers, and the intensity of those feelings had abated little during the following three years. The potential of a renewed outbreak of violence remained an ever-present reality. Unlike their cousins in the trans-Mississippi Indian territory, however, Florida's natives chose not to take the field. The possibility that they might take advantage of unsettled conditions to seek retribution was a continuing consideration to white Floridians, though. Had the Indians done so, they could have played a key role in the Civil War history of the state.

Despite the 1858 termination of the Third Seminole or "Billy Bowlegs" War, the Indians never moved far from the forefront of white settlers' minds. The fear of renewed violence far outweighed the actual threat posed by the Seminole population. One newspaper estimated that only thirty-eight warriors and

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their families remained behind after the last of the forced migrations. A lighthouse keeper on Cape Florida (the Biscayne Bay area) reported seeing as many as eighty natives and their leader Tiger Tail near the Miami River late in 1858. Residents of the peninsula feared that if the Indians commanded the southeastern coast of Florida they "[were] likely to become a set of pirates, should a vessel be stranded on the coast away from the assistance of whites."<sup>1</sup>

The nation, referred to generally as Seminoles by white Floridians, did depend on shipwrecks for needed goods. Chief Sam Jones's band worked the wreck of a slave ship near Jupiter Inlet in 1859, acquiring all sorts of items from its cargo. Reports that the slaver carried both liquor and ammunition naturally were disturbing to the state's residents. Even positive reports, such as one from a Mr. Fletcher, dated Miami, Florida, did little to calm fears. Fletcher personally met and talked with Tiger Tail and his followers, and came away convinced of their peaceful intentions.<sup>2</sup> "They wish to settle themselves," he wrote, "and live in peace— to be governed by the laws and protected by the laws." These fugitives kept to themselves and worked at clearing land in the eastern part of the Everglades for the cultivation of arrowroot.<sup>3</sup>

The events at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, in April 1861 shattered the peace of the nation, and reverberations were felt even by the Seminoles. Florida's war governor, John Milton, concerned himself with the security of his state and labored long hours to gather arms and men for its defense. He promised the state legislature in Tallahassee that Florida would be far more secure than states on the western borders of the Confederacy. The state also would be safe, he asserted, from "Indians, Mexicans, and abolitionists."<sup>4</sup> Significantly, the governor ranked Indians ahead of the dreaded abolitionists as potential threats. Milton and his fellow citizens believed that those natives still at large in the interior posed a frighteningly real danger.

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1. James W. Covington, *The Billy Bowlegs War, 1855-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles Against the Whites* (Chuluota, FL, 1982), 80; *Charleston Daily Courier*, May 15 and November 13, 1858.
  2. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 5, 1859; *Charleston Daily Courier*, October 14, 1858.
  3. Augusta, GA, *Southern Cultivator* 18 (September 1860), 270.
  4. *Florida House Journal* (1861), 221.



Since the Confederate Bureau of Indian Affairs concentrated its efforts on the Oklahoma Seminoles, Florida was left to its own devices in the matter of Indian relations. In 1861 the legislature declared all Indian trade conducted by private individuals to be both legal and proper. Such intercourse was encouraged except for whiskey and ammunition, both of which were on a list of prohibited goods. The Seminoles' isolation kept them apart from the rush to arms in that year, and the flow of events forced them to a lower position on the government's agenda. Too many other pressing problems, including the arrival of Union land and naval forces, occupied the time of Florida's leaders.<sup>5</sup>

The legislature did request in 1861 that the governor appoint an agent to confer with the remaining Seminoles as to their wants and grievances. Milton did not make an appointment, however, until March 1862, when he picked John (or Joab) Griffin for a mission to south Florida to confer with the natives. Griffin, an Ohioan by birth, had settled at Charlotte Harbor and worked in the Indian trade during the 1840s. In 1852 he had accompanied Chief Billy Bowlegs to Washington to sign an agreement with President Fillmore. By the 1860s Griffin held a prominent place in south Florida society and enlisted in the Confederate army after the outbreak of the war. His loyalty to the cause certain, the governor deemed him well qualified for his assignment.<sup>6</sup>

Griffin's directions were to travel deep into the countryside, seek out chiefs Sam Jones and Tiger Tail, and assure them of the friendship of the state and the Confederate States. He was authorized to offer the state's protection and aid in the form of a system of trade providing needed staples. The agent also was to inform the Indians that Governor Milton himself, at some point in the future, would make the journey from Tallahassee to meet with them, possibly at Lake City.<sup>7</sup>

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5. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963; reprint ed., Macclenny, 1989), 98; Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders Among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930* (Gainesville, 1975), 7.
  6. *Florida House Journal* (1860), 165-66; Janet Snyder Matthews, *Edge of Wilderness: A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay, 1528-1885* (Tulsa, OK, 1983), 133.
  7. John Milton to John Griffin, March 25, 1862, John Milton Papers, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa (hereinafter cited as Milton Papers).

Nothing is known about the final outcome of the Griffin mission, but its timing is significant. St. Augustine fell to Union forces that same month, March 1862, and with the passage of the Confederate Conscription Act of 1862, the south Florida bush country soon became the refuge for draft evaders and Union sympathizers. Perhaps Florida's political and military leaders feared that an increase in the numbers of whites in the area might lead to an incident resulting in a fourth Seminole war. Besides threatening a large area in south Florida, such an uprising could interrupt the cattle trade upon which the Confederate military was dependent.

The fall of 1862 saw Floridians unnerved by rumors of just such an incident. Tales circulated that Sam Jones's group had been persuaded by Union forces to attack white settlers on the Peace River southeast of Tampa Bay. Four families were rumored to have been slaughtered without warning. One newspaper editor believed that "the chief object of the dollar loving semi-infidelic Yankees is to get the savages down in that portion of the State to murder as many as possible, and run off the balance of the citizers, so as to be able to get the cattle they need."<sup>8</sup> Many Floridians believed that troops should be used to remove the remainder of the Seminole tribe from the state by force if necessary.

Agent Griffin investigated the rumors of a Seminole war party on the loose and found them "to be without the shadow of a foundation."<sup>9</sup> He received fresh information from another Indian contact by Jacob Summerlin, a leading cattleman in the area. Sam Jones had requested a meeting via a messenger he sent to Tampa. In a "great excitement" Summerlin and a companion had traveled to the Indian's remote haven, talked with the natives, and reported all quiet in their camps. The Seminole chief feared whites were preparing to attack his people based on the false stories of an uprising. He also expressed concern at their not being able to purchase supplies from nearby settlements. At the meeting the Civil War was explained to the natives, along with the great difficulty Southerners were experiencing in procuring necessary items due to the Union blockade. Satisfied, Seminole leaders dictated a letter to the Confed-

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8. *Mobile Register and Advertiser*, October 30, 1862.

9. Thomas Griffin to Milton, October 5, 1862, Milton Papers.

erate military command offering to become allies of the Confederacy. Summerlin's report and Griffin's statements did much to calm fears among the white population and decreased tensions on the frontier.<sup>10</sup>

Griffin, who arrived in Tampa on October 6, 1862, met with Hamlin V. Snell who also was concerned with matters involving the Seminoles. A veteran of the earlier Seminole wars, Snell was a state politician of prominence. He recommended to Griffin that a more permanent Indian agency be established in south Florida as soon as possible. Declining the post himself, Snell suggested James McKay of Tampa for the position of head agent. An immigrant from Scotland, McKay the previous year had been captured running the blockade with a large cargo of arms for the Confederacy. He had convinced skeptical Union officials of his devotion to the Union, however, and in April 1862 he was released. McKay also already employed an interpreter who had long experience among the Seminoles.<sup>11</sup>

In a dispatch from Tallahassee, Governor Milton reviewed relations between the Seminoles and the Confederate government for Confederate Secretary of War George W. Randolph. The governor advocated the establishment of a Confederate Bureau of Indian Affairs office in south Florida in order "to supply the wants of the Indians in the State and keep them in proper control."<sup>12</sup> The governor also informed Randolph of the Seminoles' willingness to enlist in the Confederate military and gave his own personal endorsement of Snell's recommendation of McKay. The War Department, however, failed to act on the request due to more pressing matters.<sup>13</sup>

When the Confederate government took no action on Milton's recommendation, the Florida House of Representatives established a Committee on Indian Affairs that took up the question of policy and relations between the state and the natives. Chaired by Cyprian T. Jenkins of Hernando County, the committee deliberated on a bill to reorganize the Indian trade.

10. *Macon Daily Telegraph*, November 8, 1862; *Charleston Daily Courier*, November 7, 1862.

11. Matthews, *Edge of Wilderness*; 235; Hamlin V. Snell to Milton, October 1, 1862, Milton Papers; Gary R. Mormino and Anthony P. Pizza, *Tampa: The Treasure City* (Tulsa, OK, 1983), 48.

12. Milton to George W. Randolph, October 16, 1862, Milton Papers.

13. E. B. Long, *The Civil War Day By Day: An Almanac, 1861-1865* (Garden City, NY, 1971), 287.

Members realized that the tribe had been denied access to goods they needed and that efforts to provide them with essential items had failed. The Indians wanted farm tools and implements, arms, ammunition, cloth, and other articles. These items could be obtained, read a committee report, "in one of two ways— either from the state of Florida or from the abolitionists."<sup>14</sup>

Chairman Jenkins and other committee members also knew from south Florida sources that the Seminoles were continuing to express a friendly disposition toward the Confederate cause, but that this amity might fade if their trade needs were not quickly met. Shortages, they felt, might force the Indians either to seek Union help or to begin raiding white settlements. "They might be induced to take part against us," concluded the committee report, "and add to the horrors of the present war by raids upon our unprotected frontier." The committee recommended that the pending bill on trade with the Seminoles be passed with all speed to avert these threatened evils.<sup>15</sup>

The house of representatives took up the question near the end of November 1862. Surprisingly the act was defeated on its first attempt at passage thirteen to twenty-two; approval came on December 3, however, with a thirty-one to ten favorable vote. The final version did not contain an earlier clause, perhaps deleted to ensure passage, authorizing the enlistment of Seminoles in the Confederate military. The legislators also provided funds to conduct trading operations and \$500 to hire an interpreter for service in the field. The house bill further advised that a new agent be selected and sent into Seminole country to meet with the natives. This representative was to see to their "wishes, wants, and necessities" and send reports back to Tallahassee. Governor Milton, with the legislature's support, appointed Henry Prosens to the post.<sup>16</sup>

Prosens did not begin his mission until the spring of 1863. April traditionally was the beginning of the cattle driving season in south Florida, and drovers worked far into the remote

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14. "Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs," House Committee Reports, 1862, record group 915, ser. 887, box 10, folder 3, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

15. Ibid.

16. *Florida House Journal* (1862), 89,103, 127; Clerk of the House of Representatives to John Milton, December 12, 1862, record group 101, ser. 557, box 1, folder 4, Florida State Archives.

swamps and prairies gathering beeves for the drives northward. The cattle flow was under constant threat from Union troops, their sympathizers, Confederate deserters, and perhaps hungry Seminoles. Agent Prosens realized that he must contact the Indians quickly to be certain that they did not impede cattle operations. Tension arose between cattlemen and the Seminoles when the latter sometimes rustled a lone cow or two for food. Incidents that might escalate into fighting on the trails had to be avoided at all costs.<sup>17</sup>

Prosens first had to secure an interpreter, not an easy task as events unfolded. He initially engaged Captain John Montes De Oca, a translator of some reputation in south Florida, to speak for him. Montes De Oca, former captain of the steamer *Grey Cloud*, suddenly became ill, forcing Prosens to delay leaving for the Seminole camps for three days.<sup>18</sup> Upon recovery, Montes De Oca grew sullen and refused to begin the journey. Prosens disgustedly sought another interpreter to replace him. He then complained in a letter to Governor Milton that Montes De Oca had balked on account of pressure from persons unknown who were dissatisfied with the current boundaries of the Seminole reservation and wanted Prosens's mission to fail. Even worse, Captain Montes De Oca still expected to be paid for services not rendered.<sup>19</sup>

Prosens did not actually meet with the Seminoles until sometime in August 1863. His biggest problem was finding the elusive bands. "Indian country" in 1863 embraced a 250-mile section of the Florida coastline, touching also the shores of Lake Okechobee and the navigable part of the Caloosahatchee River. Prosens and his assistant Phillip Burmudas (or Phillipi Bermudez) struck deep into the wilderness. Burmudas understood the Seminole language as well as Montes De Oca, but English was not his first language. Prosens feared he might not be able to communicate with his own interpreter in the midst of negotiations.<sup>20</sup> A rumor placed some Indians on or near the Miami

17. Mormino and Pizzo, *Tampa*, 52.

18. The *Grey Cloud* was the ship that carried Billy Bowlegs into exile in 1858. *Charleston Daily Courier*, May 15, 1858, Snell to Milton, October 1, 1862, Milton Papers.

19. Henry Prosens to Milton, April 14, 1863, Milton Papers.

20. Prosens to Milton, April 13, 1863, Letterbooks, 1836-1909, record group 101, ser. 32, vol. 6, folder 5, Florida State Archives; Matthews, *Edge of Wilderness*, 129.

River, supposedly trading with parties of woodcutters coming by boat from Federal-held Key West. Such meetings with Union forces held ominous connotations for Confederate efforts to keep the Seminoles loyal or at least neutral.<sup>21</sup>

Prosens finally met and parlayed with Chief Sam Jones. He described Jones's camp as numbering about seventy, with very few males young enough to be potential fighters in evidence. Prosens, through Burmudas, discovered that Jones and the others were surprisingly well informed about the state of the war outside their wetland homes. Nothing the agent saw in the native encampment convinced him that they had any plans to join in the fighting. The growing Federal presence in the region helped them make the choice of neutrality. This might explain Prosens's lack of success in negotiating any formal relationship between Florida and Sam Jones's Seminoles. "I don't think," Prosens reported, "they would respect an agent sent to negotiate a Treaty with them, while the war lasts and they are surrounded by Yankees."<sup>22</sup>

Union pressure on south Florida was a continuing threat. Major Pleasant W. White, the chief commissary agent for Florida, considered the southern half of the peninsula vital to his efforts to provide rations for Confederate forces in Georgia and South Carolina. Communications with the south, administratively reorganized as the fifth commissary district, were poor. For example, twenty days were required for a letter from White at his Quincy headquarters to reach Tampa and district commander James McKay. White decided that since the bulk of the available cattle supply grazed in south Florida, he should travel there in person and evaluate conditions for himself. Arriving in Tampa late in September, White met with McKay and toured the surrounding area. While on this inspection trip, Major White chanced to meet some Seminoles.<sup>23</sup>

The Indians White saw were a ragged band in desperate need of proper clothing and ammunition for hunting game. He reasoned that these destitute people had to be loyal since they had not tried to seize what they needed from isolated white

21. Prosens to Milton, August 29, 1863, Milton Papers.

22. *Ibid.*

23. James McKay to Pleasant W. White, September 30, 1863, Letterbook 1, box 2, Pleasant W. White Papers, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa (hereinafter cited as White Papers).

settlers. Nothing, in White's view, pointed up their partisanship better than the Union's failure to convince the Indians to engage the Confederates in combat. The state program for supplying the Indians with badly needed supplies clearly was not working. Northern trade goods could, in theory, swing the natives over to the Federal side and back onto the warpath. As it happened, White and other Florida leaders probably overestimated the military potential of the Florida Seminoles. Having already fought three wars with the United States, they were not ready to go into battle again.<sup>24</sup>

Any ideas of Seminole willingness to become active participants on the Confederate side of the war conflicted with the train of relations between Indian and white Floridians since the 1840s. Florida civil and military officials had acted far worse against the Indians than any body of United States forces operating in the region. Offers to let the few remaining young warriors join the Confederate army simply may have been intended to calm fears among the Indians and stave off any state plans for a punitive expedition into the Everglades. While the repercussions of an alliance between the Seminoles and the Union may have been negligible, many Floridians believed that such a relationship posed a menace to the state.<sup>25</sup>

Major White suggested that yet another Indian agent be sent south in order to maintain the status quo and attempt once again to mediate the elusive treaty. He recommended General James A. Peden of Lake City for the assignment. Peden, age forty-seven, had led an adventurous life as a Texas Ranger, diplomat in Brazil, and a political leader in his adopted state of Florida. Despite his commission as a brigadier general in the state militia, Peden's poor health had prevented him from taking the field during the Civil War. Whether Peden in fact traveled southward to treat with the Seminoles is not known, but the appointment of someone of his stature shows how much importance the government placed on the issue.<sup>26</sup>

Conditions in Florida were only one of a myriad of problems besetting the battered Confederacy by early 1864. The state's

24. White to Lucius B. Northrop, October 6, 1863, Letterbook 2, box 2, White Papers.

25. Ibid; Kenneth W. Porter, "Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) in the Civil War (Part II)," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45 (April 1967), 25.

26. White to Northrop, October 6, 1863, Letterbook 2, box 2, White Papers; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 1894.

experience serves as a microcosm of the difficulties existing behind the Confederate lines on the home front. Government impressment of supplies and the hardships caused thereby increased the number of desertions from units defending Florida and her sister states. Men tended to cluster together in small groups after deserting, living off the land or taking what they needed from settlers at gunpoint. The Federals knew of the dangerous situation and hoped to capitalize on it. Union Brigadier General Daniel P. Woodbury reported as many as 800 deserters or conscription evaders were hiding in the wild country between Charlotte Harbor and Lake Okeechobee. Woodbury sought permission to establish a base on the shores of Charlotte Harbor in an effort to enlist as many of these ex-rebels as possible in the Union army.<sup>27</sup>

The conscription acts led increasing numbers of resisters, often with families in tow, to the bush country from Fort Myers to Tampa Bay. Supplied with weapons by the Federals, they often struck at passing cattle herds. Union forces operating from their base at Fort Myers pushed into the interior searching for cattle and other booty. These raids brought United States troops ever closer to the wandering Seminoles. Each new report of contact between the two was noted with trepidation by Confederates. One such rumor came from the Miami River area and told of natives once again trading with northern woodcutters. An informant saw quantities of deer skins and wood being loaded on transports for the voyage back to Key West. The hides no doubt were exchanged for commodities desired by the Seminoles.<sup>28</sup>

Confederate concerns prompted Captain McKay once more to seek out the Seminole bands. He ordered a quantity of gunpowder and lead shot in hopes of weaning them from their fondness for northern traders by providing badly-needed ammunition. Most of the Seminole hunters carried small-bore Kentucky rifles, a weapon known for its economy in terms of powder and projectiles. They preferred these to more modern weapons due to uncertainties in the supply of ammunition. Natives in the

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27. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), series 1, XXVI, part 1, 855-56.

28. James McKay to White, December 9, 1863, Letterbook 2, box 2, White Papers.



region did not care to be more dependent upon whites than they already were. A railroad delay held up McKay's shipment, which in turn postponed a planned visit and accompanying talks. McKay's superior, Major White, continued nonetheless to stress how vital it was "to gain their favor especially since the enemy is threatening the cattle business and may seek to enlist the Indians against US."<sup>29</sup>

White sought stronger military protection for south Florida. In a series of letters to General P. G. T. Beauregard, his departmental commander, he detailed the situation and the danger it posed to a major Confederate supply area. Union troops had advanced inland from Fort Myers and occupied Fort Thompson, an abandoned Seminole War-era post in the heart of beef country. The Federals easily could establish a relationship with the Seminoles from there with the intention to subvert them. Access to cattle, numbered in the tens of thousands grazing south of Gainesville, hung in the balance. General Beauregard sympathized, but in the end could spare no additional troops.<sup>30</sup>

Trade goods ultimately reached Tampa, and McKay organized a meeting with the Indians to be held at Fort Meade in April 1864. One of his agents earlier had met with thirteen native leaders near Lake Okeechobee. At that time the Indians, although wretchedly dressed due to lack of cloth for clothing, appeared very friendly despite their rumored dealings with the Federals. One hundred fifty natives were reported in the area, of whom only forty-five could be classified as warriors. The agent was told by one leader how his small band had avoided a Federal patrol near former Fort Dallas on the Miami River. Other tribal elders expressed a desire to stay out of the way of Federal troops in the area as well. This is exactly what McKay and his associates wanted to hear. McKay's agent related his surprise, though, that the Indians had not paid a visit to Fort Myers regardless of their stated wish to shun the Federal forces.<sup>31</sup>

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29. Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," in J. W. Powell, *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883-1884* (Washington, DC, 1887), 512; White to Joseph P. Baldwin, January 10, 1864, Letterbook 2, box 2, White Papers.
30. White to Northrop, February 28, 1864, Letterbook 2, box 2, White Papers.
31. McKay to White, March 25, 1864, Letterbook 2, box 2, White Papers.

McKay's rendezvous with the natives at Fort Meade does not appear to have occurred as planned. On April 7 Union forces raiding from Fort Myers seized the Confederate stores warehoused near Fort Meade and destroyed them. After an additional attack there in mid-May at least one group of Indians— a seven-member delegation of Mikasukis— ventured into the Union lines at Fort Myers. They told Federal officers there that they had been deceived and badly treated by the Confederates, and they expressed their desire to be friends. A tour of the fort pleased them, especially the sight of black soldiers of the garrison. Ironically the biracial mixture of Florida's native population made them far more comfortable with the black soldiers than were the majority of southern and northern whites. The Indians accepted a few small presents and promised to return for another visit in twenty days. They then moved back into the wilds.<sup>32</sup>

The summer of 1864 witnessed another incident involving south Florida Seminoles. On July 25 Secretary of War James A. Seddon received a communication from Charleston that a Carolina native, one A. McBride, had raised a company of Seminole Indians for service in the Confederate army. McBride, age fifty-six, claimed a knowledge of Florida, "having seen service in the Indian Wars in the time of President Jackson." He offered to vouch personally for the character of the sixty-five natives listed on the muster roll he had submitted to the War Department along with his report. These "volunteers," according to McBride, were mainly civilized and would give good service, and they already had elected him as their captain. If a captaincy was not deemed appropriate by authorities, McBride indicated a first or second lieutenantcy would do.<sup>33</sup>

McBride also requested "an order immediately to muster the Company and report them to some Confederate post in south Florida, or wherever you may see lit."<sup>34</sup> McBride also

32. Henry A. Crane to James D. Green, April 2, 1864, Crane to H. W. Bowers, April 15, 1864, and Jonathan W. Childs to Bowers, May 27, 1864, Letters Received, Department and District of Key West, 1861-1865, record group 393, National Archives, Washington, DC (microfilm available at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville).

33. A. McBride to James A. Seddon, July 25, 1864, United States War Department, Miscellaneous Confederate Rolls, vol. 37, record group 109, National Archives (hereinafter cited as Misc. Rolls) (also available at Florida State Archives).

34. Hodges Company, Misc. Rolls.

asked Secretary Seddon to authorize his return to the Everglades where his men, known as Hodges's Company for reasons unknown, waited. Seddon's response to this amazing offer and what happened to this "unit" remains a mystery. One wonders who A. McBride could have been to convince the sixty-five Seminoles listed to take arms against the United States. How could he know so many Seminoles, natives who had tried to avoid contacts with whites whenever possible? Did the company exist at all or was it an enterprising ruse by McBride to secure an army commission for himself?

Seminole relations continued as an important issue to Florida leaders. In November 1864 James McKay again received instructions to "conciliate the Indians to protect the country against the enemy."<sup>35</sup> McKay still feared a general Seminole defection to the hated Yankees, and used Colonel Charles J. Munnerlyn's battalion of cattle drovers to maintain contact with the scattered groups and hopefully to gather information about enemy activities. This irregular cavalry battalion, known as the Cow Cavalry, kept trade relations intact right up to its surrender to Union forces in June 1865. Their presence balanced the forces of deserters and Unionists who filled the countryside and worked against the Confederate cause. They also served to block efforts of Federal troops to disrupt Confederate plans.<sup>36</sup>

Even as the Confederate government sped toward disintegration, its officials continued working to procure the supplies necessary to keep soldiers in the field and the dream of southern independence alive. Seminoles still rated a high priority despite the impending collapse of the war effort. James McKay received \$8,000 from the government for the purpose of buying presents and supplies for the natives. Four kegs of gunpowder and 200 pounds of lead and percussion caps waited at the depot in Gainesville for delivery in February 1865. However, an Indian request for needles and thread could not be met due to their scarcity in the wartime South. McKay claimed the powder and other stores for exchange with the needy Seminoles in March.<sup>37</sup>

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35. White to McKay, November 19, 1864, Letterbook 2, box 2, White Papers.

36. Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman, A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, FL, 1976), 95; Rodney Dillon, "The Civil War in South Florida" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1980), 290.

37. White to McKay, February 10, 1865, White to W. K. Beard, March 17, 1865, Letterbook 2, box 2, White Papers.

The trade continued until word of the surrender at Appomattox arrived in the area. In May Tampa was occupied by Union troops. Confederate resistance ended along with the perceived Seminole threat to wartime Florida.

The Seminoles were content to remain in their swampland retreats as the guns fell silent across the state and the nation. More than a year passed before an official filed a report on these unique Floridians and their activities. In January 1867 Colonel John T. Sprague of the Seventh United States Infantry came to the Key Biscayne area in hopes of seeing tribal members. Landing at Fort Dallas he learned that eighty or ninety Seminoles lived in the vicinity, although few were ever seen by white residents. Locals told Colonel Sprague that until recently the natives had paid visits to Fort Dallas on a regular basis for friendly rounds of bartering. Then, without warning, "they discontinued their visits and became distrustful and cautious."<sup>38</sup> Chief Sam Jones's death, Sprague learned, deprived the tribe of needed leadership, but the colonel believed that the remaining Seminoles in south Florida had resources enough to begin another war with the United States if they chose. He recommended their transportation to Arkansas to join their relatives west of the Mississippi as quickly as possible.<sup>39</sup>

Not until the 1880s however, did the federal government admit it still had Indian wards in Florida and was willing to show them any interest. An expedition sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution made contact and brought back the first detailed study of the tribe since before the Civil War. Only 208 Seminoles were enumerated in a rough census, confirming wartime estimates. Expedition members concluded that the Seminoles still had the capacity to cause trouble, confirming Colonel Sprague's evaluation of the group's military strength. "If we anger him," noted the expedition's final statement, "he can still do much harm before we can conquer him."<sup>40</sup>

These post-Civil War notices of the state's Indian population support the idea that they may well have had the means of taking the field against Confederate Floridians if they had cho-

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38. John T. Sprague to George S. Hartstuff, January 19, 1867, Letters Sent, Department of Florida, April 1861-January 1869, record group 393, National Archives (microfilm also available at P. K. Yonge Library).

39. *Ibid.*

40. MacCauley, "Seminole Indians of Florida," 480, 531.

sen to do so. While the course they followed tended toward cautious neutrality, they skillfully maintained ties to both sides in the struggle in an effort to survive the white man's war. Confederates from Governor Milton to privates in the Cow Cavalry, on the other hand, believed that if steps were not taken they might rise again and attack their old enemies. Uncertainty as to their true intentions and their future actions served as the most effective weapon in the arsenal of the south Florida Seminoles during the Civil War. They were indeed a factor despite their small numbers. Their presence must be taken into account in any effort to explain the Civil War in Florida.

## WEST FLORIDA'S CREEK INDIAN CRISIS OF 1837

by BRIAN R. RUCKER

**A**LTHOUGH Andrew Jackson's forays into Spanish West Florida in 1814 and 1818 dispersed several hostile bands of Creek Indians, scattered parties remained in isolated forests and swamps. When Florida was transferred to the United States in 1821, settlers moving into the new territory soon were confronted with the presence of these natives. The majority were located in the central portion of the territory, but sizable bands lived in northwest Florida. The Treaty of Moultrie Creek, signed in 1823, provided for the settlement of approximately 800 friendly Creeks on reservation lands along the Apalachicola River. Smaller bands also lived along the shores of St. Andrew's, Choctawhatchee, Blackwater, and Escambia bays. Indians and half-bloods often visited Pensacola. They came into the area to hunt and fish, to find pasture for their cattle, and to obtain supplies in the town.<sup>1</sup>

Many white residents of West Florida were suspicious of these Indians, regarding them as cattle and horse thieves, drunks, and "rascals."<sup>2</sup> Even George Catlin, the celebrated painter of native Americans, saw them in a less than favorable light. While visiting Pensacola in 1835, he painted a family catching and drying redfish on Santa Rosa Island. "Like all others that are half civilised . . .," Catlin observed, "they are to be pitied."<sup>3</sup>

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1. The Creeks along the Apalachicola River also were known as the Apalachicolas. Lucius F. Ellsworth and Jane E. Dysart, "West Florida's Forgotten People: The Creek Indians From 1830 Until 1970," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 59 (April 1981), 422-23.
2. Jane E. Dysart, "Another Road to Disappearance: Assimilation of Creek Indians in Pensacola, Florida, During the Nineteenth Century," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (July 1982), 37-42.
3. *Ibid.*, 40-41; George Catlin, *North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on Their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, Written During Eight Years' Travel*

Friction and mistrust grew between whites and the remaining Indians throughout the 1820s and the early 1830s. The natives were considered a threat, especially by slaveholders who believed they helped slaves to escape and also harbored runaways. Such presumptions were reinforced when runaway slaves actually were found in local camps.<sup>4</sup> For example, Henry M. Brackenridge, caretaker of the government-owned Naval Live Oak Plantation on Santa Rosa peninsula, was concerned merely because a "few poor Indian families" had made the peninsula their hunting ground. He felt such activities increased the chances of destructive fires among the live oak stands. "The straggling Indians must be driven off," Brackenridge urged the secretary of the navy. "[T]his has been their hunting ground, and, unless they be ordered away, the fires will be continually breaking out from their camps."<sup>5</sup>

Roaming bands of Indians also inhibited development of the region's resources. Pensacolian Juan de la Rua had problems building a waterpowered sawmill on Pond Creek in present-day Santa Rosa County. Indians reportedly frightened away de la Rua's laborers, and by 1828 he had sold the site and left others to worry about dependable labor.<sup>6</sup> Cattlemen in the area were alarmed as well. Small bands of natives frequently raided American cattle holdings and made use of the beeves for their own purposes.<sup>7</sup> In 1829 a number of irate settlers from the Pensacola area, concerned about the cattle raids, petitioned the government to take decisive action against the Indians.<sup>8</sup>

West Floridians increasingly wanted to rid Florida of the disquieting presence of the remaining Indians, and plans for their removal were suggested as early as 1821. As also was the

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*Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1926), II, 36-40.

4. Dysart, "Another Road to Disappearance," 42; Leora M. Sutton, *Pensacola Personalities, 1781-1881: Volume 4* (Pensacola, 1981), 35.
5. *American State Papers: Naval Affairs*, 4 vols. (Washington, DC, 1860), III, 924-25.
6. Martin Luther King, *History of Santa Rosa County: A King's Country* (privately published, 1972), 28; C. H. Overman, "After 111 Years, Bagdad Reaches the End," *Southern Lumber Journal and Building Materials Dealer* 43 (March 1939), 16.
7. *A. Gaylor v. J. Gaylor*, tile 1830-2686, Circuit Court Records, Escambia County Judicial Building, Pensacola; *Pensacola Floridian*, December 20, 1823; *Pensacola Gazette*, April 29, 1826, and March 10, 1829.
8. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 10, 1829.

case with other southeastern tribes, the relocation of Florida Indians to lands west of the Mississippi River was proposed. The Indians, it was argued, held valuable land coveted by white settlers for farms and settlements; the Indians also posed a threat to the security of the frontier.<sup>9</sup> Florida Governor William P. DuVal insisted that relocation would save the “drunken, lazy and worthless” natives from the “certain fate of total extinction.”<sup>10</sup>

Steps were taken in the early 1830s to assure removal. By 1835, however, it was becoming obvious that removal would require the use of force, and growing Indian unrest, resistance, and violence culminated in that year in the outbreak of the Second Seminole War. Though far removed from the more volatile areas of central and southern Florida, northwest Florida also witnessed violence between Indians and whites.<sup>11</sup>

The first report of violence in the northwest Florida area occurred in July 1834 on the Pea River in south Alabama, thirty-five miles north of Alaqua, a settlement in Walton County. An eighteen-year-old white settler was killed at an Indian encampment, presumably because he had caught the natives stealing livestock. A party of whites quickly was organized to pursue the murderers. They soon discovered a camp of nine Indians, but the inhabitants “fled to the swamps with guns and yells.” One Indian was killed, and two others were wounded. Benjamin Drake Wright, editor of the *Pensacola Gazette*, praised the retaliatory action and expressed hope that the incident would “inspire the Indians with a wholesome terror.”<sup>12</sup>

The Pea River incident was reported widely, and the *Baltimore American* took the *Gazette* to task for treating the account in such a “cold-blooded” manner. Wright defended his views, arguing that the northern paper had no concept of the frontier situation or of the true nature of the Indians. He asserted, as well, that bringing the Indians in legally would have been extremely difficult.<sup>13</sup> Continuing his response, Wright provided valuable insight

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9. Ellsworth and Dysart, “Forgotten People,” 423.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 152-68.

12. The white man killed was identified as a Mr. Spears. Horance G. Davis, Jr., “Pensacola Newspapers, 1821-1900,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (January-April 1959), 424-25; *Pensacola Gazette*, August 2, 9, September 20, 1834.

13. *Pensacola Gazette*, September 20, 1834.



into how the local whites viewed the remaining Indians of the region:

It is impossible for persons who judge of the Indian character from what they read and hear, to form an idea of the state of utter degradation to which the savages of the south have degenerated. In his native woods, undebased by intercourse with the whites, joying in his wild freedom from all restraints, which even the contiguity of the white man imposes, the Indian is a subject of admiration, and sometimes even of respect; but the Indians who now roam among the vast and unpeopled regions of southern Alabama and Florida, are either the scattered fragments of broken tribes or outlaws among their own people. They have no sense of character, principle, religion, or responsibility of any kind. When, in connection with all this it is remembered, that they are, even in this land of indolence and ease, lazy even to a proverb, it is unnecessary to say, that their whole life is a series of thieving and depredation.<sup>14</sup>

Such views— often combining “noble savage” idealism with a “dam’ Injun” bias— were typical of the region at the time. Adding to his defense, Wright noted that there had been no further disturbances and cited the fact as evidence that vigilantism was effective, justified, and sometimes necessary.<sup>15</sup>

Despite Wright’s assertion, Indian unrest continued to impact on the area during the following year. Newspapers reported disturbances in southwest Georgia and southern Alabama by Creek Indians who were resisting efforts to relocate them.<sup>16</sup> Northwest Florida residents also were affected by provocative actions by Seminoles in East Florida. In November 1835, for instance, an artillery company from Pensacola’s Fort Pickens was ordered to Tampa Bay.<sup>17</sup> Several weeks later sugar plantations throughout central and south Florida were destroyed by the natives, and Major Francis L. Dade and 105 American troops

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., February 28 and August 29, 1835; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman, OK, 1953), 140-51.

17. *Pensacola Gazette*, November 28, 1835.

were massacred in Sumter County. The Second Seminole War officially had begun.<sup>18</sup>

The outbreak of war prompted Pensacola-based troops to prepare for action. The navy organized a force for use against the Seminoles, composed chiefly of men from the *Vandalia* under the command of Lieutenant Louis M. Goldsborough.<sup>19</sup> Governor Richard Keith Call also ordered the formation of militia regiments in Escambia and Walton counties, asking the counties to furnish sixty and twenty volunteers, respectively, for a term of six months' service. The troops were to form as soon as possible at San Pedro, Madison County. These developments caught the inhabitants of northwest Florida by surprise, and the regiment was not organized for quite some time.<sup>20</sup>

In the spring of 1836 settlers living in the Panhandle area received additional incentives to organize militias. Alabama volunteer companies, stopping at Pensacola on their way to the "Indian Wars," no doubt inspired many residents to join the crusade. More importantly, newspaper accounts detailed the violent Creek resistance that had erupted near Columbus, Georgia, and in south Alabama. Panic began to spread from Columbus to Apalachicola. White settlers feared that the "renegade" Creeks, fleeing removal, would travel south to join forces with the Florida Seminoles. Such fears, accentuated by the outbreaks of violence, intensified concerns of Panhandle residents about the Indian presence.<sup>21</sup>

Volunteer companies finally were raised and organized in Escambia County in June 1836. Jackson Morton, who owned a large brickyard on Blackwater River and recently had been elected to Florida's legislative council, was designated colonel of the First Regiment, Florida militia.<sup>22</sup> Fifty-seven volunteers appeared at the battalion muster on the west side of the Escambia River, and over thirty volunteers gathered at the Black Water

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18. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 158-62.

19. *Pensacola Gazette*, January 2, 1836; Edward W. Callahan, ed., *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and the Marine Corps from 1775 to 1900* (New York, 1901), 222.

20. *Ibid.*, January 23, June 18, 1836.

21. *Ibid.*, March 5, May 28, 1836; Dysart, "Road to Disappearance," 43; Ellsworth and Dysart, "Forgotten People," 424; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 140-51.

22. *Pensacola Gazette*, June 18, 25, 1836; Brian R. Rucker, *Jackson Morton: West Florida's Soldier, Senator, and Secessionist* (Milton, 1990), 3-5.

settlement (the present-day Milton area).<sup>23</sup> Local inhabitants enthusiastically supported the volunteers. Addressing the militia, Colonel Morton noted that “even the ‘lasses of the woods’ had caught the contagion of patriotic feeling— that even their bosoms glowed with enthusiasm in the cause of our suffering fellow-citizens of the east.” Morton was referring to some thirty women from the Black Water settlement who were raising funds to equip their “gallant sons, brothers and sweethearts” for the upcoming struggle against the hostiles.<sup>24</sup>

The Escambia volunteers boarded the cutter Washington destined for St. Marks on July 9 and were encamped near Tallahassee a few weeks later. By September they were on duty near the Suwannee River, where they were divided into three detachments— one stationed at Charles’ Ferry on the Suwannee, one at a plantation in the neighborhood, and a third about six miles from the San Pedro settlement.<sup>25</sup> Coincidentally, Escambia County officials received orders for more volunteers, and, by October, thirty new militiamen had departed for Tallahassee.<sup>26</sup> By then, the war was beginning to impact significantly upon the inhabitants of northwest Florida. The *Gazette’s* editor reflected that the people of Escambia County were too remote to have experienced the more unfortunate aspects of the war, but he also recognized the pressure the war had exerted upon the county, pointing out that, of less than 300 Escambia men eligible for military duty, close to one-third already were in the field.<sup>27</sup>

The difficulty of bringing the war to a speedy and decisive conclusion led to further fears and concerns among West Floridians, and, in January 1837, the legislative council called for more militia troops from the area.<sup>28</sup> Events soon transpired which brought the reality of the war directly to the white inhabitants of the Panhandle.

For nearly a year, a large number of Creeks along the Alabama and Georgia sides of the Chattahoochee River had been opposing removal. Friction in the southeast between Red Stick Creeks and Creeks friendly to the United States had

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23. *Pensacola Gazette*, June 25, 1836.

24. *Ibid.*, June 25, July 2, 1836.

25. *Ibid.*, July 9, 30, September 3, 1836.

26. *Ibid.*, October 1, 8, 15, 1836.

27. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1836.

28. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1837.

existed for decades. The rivalry earlier had resulted in the Creek War, and recent federal removal efforts had precipitated a new round of violence. Beset by economic and social woes, usually caused by unscrupulous whites and an unsympathetic federal government, the fragile "Creek Nation" fell prey to the old factionalism. Renegade Creeks who opposed removal attacked isolated farmhouses, steamboats, frontier settlements, and travelers in the area from Columbus, Georgia, to Eufaula, Alabama. These marauding Indians began moving westwardly to the upper reaches of the Pea River where they were defeated by militiamen in February and March of 1837. Following these losses, the renegade Creeks broke up into smaller bands and moved southwesterly along the courses of the Choctawhatchee River into Walton County, Florida, murdering and pillaging as they traveled.<sup>29</sup>

Archibald Smith, United States agent to the Apalachicola Indians, learned in late February 1837 that renegade Creeks were moving south down the Choctawhatchee River, stealing canoes and plundering as they went. On February 28, the members of the Alberson family, living on the Alabama-Florida border, were murdered, and several other families were reported as missing, presumably murdered. Smith heard reports that the Creek women were killing their own children to facilitate their flight and were fighting as savagely as the men. He also was informed that 125 to 400 renegade Creeks had entered Florida and were traveling toward Yellow River and the Pensacola area. He believed they were seeking a haven in the unpopulated forests that stretched from Pensacola to the Apalachicola River and they would likely prey off the outlying farms for subsistence. Smith also received disquieting news that the renegades were heading for a settlement of friendly Indians at Escribano

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29. The Creeks were defeated near Hobdy's Bridge and along the Pea River by militiamen under the command of Brigadier General William Wellborn. Wellborn, commanding the Barbour Rangers, wanted to pursue the Indians into Florida as far as Blackwater Bay and the camp of the Escribano Indians who were supposedly aiding the fugitives. Elba Wilson Carswell, *Holmesteading: The History of Holmes County, Florida* (Tallahassee, 1986), 31; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 140-51, 179-81; Anne Kendrick Walker, *Backtracking in Barbour County: A Narrative of the Last Alabama Frontier* (Richmond, 1941), 38-58. For a comprehensive account of the political factionalism within the Creek Nation and its impact on removal, see Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln, NE, 1982).

Point on Blackwater Bay. According to reports the Creeks had been obtaining supplies and ammunition from the Escribano Indians and were intent on reaching their camp. Realizing the urgency of the situation, Smith set out hurriedly in an effort to warn settlers and to reach the Escribano Indians before the renegades did. He also managed to send a letter to Pensacola requesting the suspension of the sale of powder and lead to Indians and to white men suspected of selling to the Indians.<sup>30</sup> Smith's report to the commissioner of Indian affairs details his frantic overland journey to Blackwater Bay and his encounter with the Escribano Indians:

I was told that . . . it would probably cost me my life to make the trip but having then travelled two days I did not wish to return, wishing to see the black Water if possible before the arrival of the Runaway Creeks. . . . We pushed in bringing the sad news to every settlement on our way untill we arrived at the head of black Water bay. . . . [The Escribano Indians] are 41 in number, besides two very old Spaniards who are intermarried with them. They informed me that their fathers emigrated to that spot about the time of the Revolutionary War, . . . that they came from the old Tuckabatchie Town, near where the Town of Montgomery in Alabama now stands. . . . There are 9 or 10 men and all have families. Some have children & others have not. . . . They speak english tolerable well most of them and make a support by catching Fish & oysters for the Pensacola market, which I was told is 20 miles distant. They have [diverse] little sail boats, and travel wherever they please. I was much pleased with their conduct and told them I was sent there by the Government to inform them that the Creek Indians had broke away . . . committed several murders, & were then I thought not far from them. . . . They then told me that one of their women was out in the woods some few miles back perhaps the day before

30. Carswell, *Holmesteading*, 31-32; *Niles' Weekly Register*, March 18, 1837, 33; *Pensacola Gazette*, March 11, 1837; Archibald Smith to C. A. Harris, March 12, 1837, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-80, Florida Superintendency Emigration, 1828-1838, microfilm publication no. 234, roll 290 (mf. 752), National Archives (available at John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola).

and saw two Indian boys who informed her they belonged to 4 Camps of Coweta Indians who were a few miles back, that they were resolved to die rather than emigrate to Arkansas, that a great many more would come down shortly and endeavor to live on the Coast from there to the mouth of Choctawhatchie. From what I have seen I am fearful that distress will pervade the most part of West Florida for some time. . . . I told the Indians on Black Water that their future happiness now depended on their own Conduct. . . . They assured me they should Keep a vigilant watch, that should [the Creeks] attempt to come near them they should remove their families to Pensacola, and assist the whites in subduing them. In this I greatly encouraged them, and took my leave.<sup>31</sup>

Northwest Floridians immediately took action. A meeting of Pensacola citizens was called to raise a militia force to defend the frontier settlers. Commodore Alexander J. Dallas of the Pensacola Navy Yard agreed to send men and boats to guard the provisions depots that would be established. Colonel Jackson Morton took control of the volunteer company, and on March 8 a mounted company was sent to the Black Water settlement where they were joined by local volunteers. Joseph Bonifay, a local citizen familiar with the area, traveled east as a scout to obtain information on Indian activities.<sup>32</sup> A military supply depot named Camp Dallas quickly was established at the head of the East Bay, and a United States military force, comprised of thirty-six mounted men, made its way up Yellow River, then eastward to Shoal River, and finally back to Camp Dallas. Wet weather and inhospitable swamps hampered their progress, and the forces returned having found only an abandoned camp.<sup>33</sup>

Military spies and agents soon made contact with a band of thirty-five Indians who agreed to come in peacefully. In Pensacola, Army Major Henry Wilson waited to conduct them to Mobile Point, Alabama, where nearly 3,000 Creeks were being assembled for their western relocation. Excitement in the Pensacola area gradually subsided as it appeared that the majority of the renegades had dissolved into the wilderness north of

31. Smith to Harris, March 12, 1837.

32. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 11, 1837

33. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1837.

Choctawhatchee Bay. The *Gazette* began to downplay the danger by noting that the Indians would do no injury to whites except perhaps stealing their cattle for food.<sup>34</sup>

Optimism proved premature. The renegade Creeks soon appeared in the area, and settlers in Walton and Escambia counties again were alarmed. Several bands appeared at Mallett's Landing on the northern shore of Choctawhatchee Bay. One settler attempted to employ them as laborers on his farm as a ruse to entrap them, and another settler actually captured four Indians. The Mallett's Landing settlers were eager for troops to be sent to their community, but they expressed no fear of being murdered by the Indians. To them, the natives sought only concealment. Nevertheless, the whites were concerned with the Indians killing their cattle.<sup>35</sup>

The situation deteriorated rapidly. On April 15, a party of eight to ten fugitive Creeks arrived in Lumberton (present-day Milton) on Blackwater River to purchase supplies, but after they finished trading a number of whites attempted to detain them. The Indians fled, but not before the whites shot one in the leg. The wounded Indian drew a knife, cut his own throat, and then, reportedly, threw the knife to his son and ordered him to do the same. The youth, about ten years of age, began to do so, but the whites wrested the knife from him. The locals then took the father, tied a rope around his neck, and dragged him under a raft of lumber lying in the river until he was dead. An Indian woman and a boy (likely the son of the slain Indian) also were seized at this time but were not harmed.<sup>36</sup>

Editor Wright of the *Gazette* condemned the actions at Black Water. Commodore Dallas also was alarmed at the incident and

34. Mobile Point was at the tip of the eastern peninsula located at the mouth of Mobile Bay (the site of present-day Fort Morgan). *Ibid.*, March 25, April 8, 1837; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*, 7 vols. (Raleigh, 1957), IV, 151-52.

35. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 18, April 8, 15, 1837. Mallett's Landing, on Lafayette Bayou, was located either at the present-day Valparaiso-Niceville area of Okaloosa County or the modern Freeport area of Walton County. See *American State Papers: Naval Affairs*, IV, 222; John Love McKinnon, *History of Walton County* (Atlanta, 1911; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1968), 8, 44: "A Man of the Western Part of Florida" in John Lee Williams, *A View of West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1827; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1976), end piece; John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 127.

36. *Pensacola Gazette*, April 22, 1837.

feared the Indians would retaliate by raiding frontier settlements in the area. The commodore sent a party of men under the command of Lieutenant Neil M. Howison to protect the Black Water community. Howison used an Indian woman captured at Black Water, along with two friendly natives, to communicate with the camp of fugitive Creeks. The two friendly Indians returned the next day and reported that the Creeks threatened to shoot them and would not let the woman return. They also stated that the renegades had been informed of the Black Water incident and were "very much exasperated."<sup>37</sup>

Dallas was correct when he predicted retaliation; on April 23 the renegades struck. A party of seven Walton County men, who had been traveling along the upper Shoal River searching for their cattle, suddenly were attacked in their camp at dawn. Five members of the party were shot and clubbed to death, but two who were apart from the others managed to hide in the thick cover of the nearby swamp. These two eventually made their way back to some of the Walton County settlements, and word of the attack soon spread. Settlers appealed for help, and plans were made for constructing a community fort. The inhabitants feared for their lives as well as their crops and livestock. Captain Arch Justice organized thirty-five men and set out in pursuit of the raiders. Two Creeks were killed near Shoal River. Though the whites had retaliated, sparsely populated Walton County was unable to raise a force sufficient to defend the widely dispersed settlements.<sup>38</sup>

The editor of the Pensacola paper reacted to the Indian attack with considerable insight. While recognizing the plight of Walton County settlers, he also observed that the incident probably was sparked by the earlier savage conduct of the whites toward the Indian party at Black Water. In a stance uncharac-

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37. *Ibid.*, April 22, 29, 1837.

38. The whites killed by the Indians near Gum Creek reportedly were scalped. Accounts differ as to how many whites were involved in the incident. According to available information, "Big" John Anderson, Michael Elliot, Joseph Nelson, William Nelson, John Porter, and Michael Vaughan were killed, and Bill Caswell and Thomas Broxton survived. The white retaliatory expedition attacked the Indians on a small creek which emptied into Shoal River. The creek later was named "Battle Creek" because of this engagement. *Ibid.*, April 29, May 13, 1837; McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, 109-17.



teristic of a newspaper in an area being threatened by Indians, Wright voiced this view:

These misguided savages were seeking concealment. They were not disposed to shed blood of the white man, but the outrage committed at Black Water, has exasperated them to the last degree, and we may now look for a savage war with all its attendant horrors. The Indians are incapable of discriminating. They imagine that the outrage . . . shews the disposition of the white man, generally, toward them, and the unhappy consequence, that before they can be driven from their present hiding places, many valuable lives will be sacrificed. On whose head rests the blood of these victims?<sup>39</sup>

This editorial opinion is considerably more favorable to the Indians than earlier ones in the paper. Quite different in tone, it reflects the moral ambiguity that the Indian problem often presented to the thoughtful and conscientious segments of the white population.<sup>40</sup>

The Black Water incident and the outbreak of violence in Walton County hampered efforts to induce the fugitive Creeks to come in peacefully. Major Wilson and Marine Lieutenant John G. Reynolds were sent to Escribano Point and along the shores of Blackwater Bay in attempts to persuade the Indians to join the emigrating Creeks at Mobile Point. Using friendly natives as interpreters, Reynolds established communications with several Indian groups, and by the end of May, despite the heightened tensions, seventy Indians had come in, including the Escribano Indians. Reynolds arranged for them to be fed and protected, and they were then transported by boat to Mobile Point.<sup>41</sup>

39. *Pensacola Gazette*, April 29, 1837.

40. Wright was editor of the *Pensacola Gazette* from 1834 to 1845. He owned the paper and wrote most of the editorials.

41. The Escribano Indians presumably were relocated along with the other Indian groups on reservation lands beyond the Mississippi River. *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, 7 vols. (Washington, DC, 1832-1860), VII, 838; *Pensacola Gazette*, April 29, June 3, 1837. Lieutenant Reynolds earlier had been an agent to the Creeks living in southern Alabama and Georgia. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 180; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 251; Walker, *Backtracking in Barbour County*, 57.

In May, Indians attacked and killed at least twelve Walton County settlers, and Governor Call urged an immediate organization of the county's militia. Because of the violent conflict then underway in the rest of the territory, federal troops in the South could not be diverted for service in West Florida. Walton County citizens constructed a blockhouse in the central portion of the country, and Colonel John L. McKinnon organized a company of militiamen. To protect the frontier settlements east of Pensacola, Colonel Morton was authorized to raise new militia forces in Escambia County. Morton was ill and unable to lead any forces at that time, however, and the local militia consequently remained in "total want of organization." The governor accordingly dispatched Jackson County volunteers westward to aid in the removal of the renegade Creeks, and their commander, Colonel Leavin Brown, was placed in charge of the campaign. Morton, who soon recovered his health, also raised a company at Black Water, and by June 1 troops were scouring the countryside from Yellow River to the Choctawhatchee River. But despite the presence of militiamen, Walton County settlers were in a state of panic.<sup>42</sup>

Pensacola residents were kept informed of the latest activities from the "seat of the war" in Walton County, and among the news items they received were accounts of several atrocities. The first incident occurred in early May at Mallett's Landing on Choctawhatchee Bay. A friendly Indian named Jim, who had served as a guide and interpreter for the whites, was murdered by a group of drunken whites. Wright once more became indignant at the treatment of the Indians and railed against the white attackers:

These *heroes* are supposed to have been drunk when they perpetrated this outrage— they are the very last persons to go out with their neighbors against the hostile Indians, and expend their heroism upon those who are inoffensive and friendly! It is high time that these unprincipled

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42. Washington County and Franklin County volunteers later joined the militiamen operating in Walton County. Carswell, *Holmsteading*, 32-33, 35; McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, 110, 116, 118-20; *Pensacola Gazette*, May 13, 20, 27, June 3, 1837; Margaret H. Wooten, ed., *Henderson Chips* (privately printed, 1983), 3 (copy in John C. Pace Library).

wretches should be made to pay with their lives, the penalty of thus violating the laws of the land, and shedding human blood. The Indian, when friendly and peaceable, is as us much entitled to the protection of our laws, as the best man in the community.<sup>43</sup>

A more sordid incident occurred shortly thereafter near Alaqua. Colonel Brown's Jackson County militiamen, while searching the Alaqua Creek area, killed twelve Indians. No whites were injured. Reportedly, though, the murdered Indians had been prisoners, one man and the rest women and children. Various accounts of this "massacre" began to spread.<sup>44</sup> Brown's own report was as damning as the rumors. He stated that only nine women and children were killed, along with a male prisoner. The male prisoner had been recruited as a guide by Captain Stephen Daniel, a company commander, with the promise that he would be killed if he misled the troops on their way to an Indian camp. Brown's report reveals the outcome:

We followed him for some distance through swamps, hammocks and lakes until daylight when, finding he had no idea of conducting us to the camp, I ordered the command to turn back to where we had left the other prisoners. We returned to the [Alaqua Creek] about one hour after sunrise, Capt. Daniel's company having charge of the prisoners in the rear, when Capt. Daniel and nearly all his companions fired on the Indian prisoner who had led us through so many difficulties during the night.

The women and children, taking fright at this, started to run, when they were all shot down and left on the ground. I then crossed the river and found . . . that one of the [other] Indian prisoners had poisoned himself and died. I then marched to this place [Lagrange] with the remainder of the prisoners to obtain supplies.<sup>45</sup>

43. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 13, 1837.

44. *Ibid.*, May 27, June 3, 1837.

45. Carswell, *Homesteading*, 33-35. Captain Stephen Daniel, the militia officer connected with the Alaqua massacre, also was alleged to have been the leader of a Washington County militia company that killed twenty-two Indians in another "massacre" in late 1842. Elba Wilson Carswell, *Tempestuous Triangle: Historical Notes on Washington County, Florida* (Chipley, 1974), 60-64.

Lieutenant John G. Reynolds's report of the incident differed from Brown's. Shortly after the massacre Reynolds had traveled along the north shore of Choctawhatchee Bay on his way to visit some Indians reported to be at Escribano Point. On the way the lieutenant stopped at the massacre site and inspected it. What he found appalled him:

The spot was not more than fifteen feet in diameter. I minutely examined the place, and am firmly of the opinion, that the poor devils were penned up and slaughtered like cattle and such was the opinion of the friendly Indians in company. The shrieks of the poor children were distinctly heard at a house distant, I should think a quarter of a mile. Several were scalped, and all who had earrings, had their ears slit with knives, in order to possess themselves of the silver. I do think this one of the most outrageous acts civilized men could be guilty of.<sup>46</sup>

Though condemned strongly at the time, the Alaqua incident soon was forgotten by the *Gazette*. Brown's report of the affair apparently was accepted and never investigated, and Reynolds's subsequent efforts at rounding up the fugitives were hampered by the incident. The lieutenant reported that the Indians "are so frightened by the worse than savage cruelty and treachery which they have met with from the whites, that they will be sure either to fight or fly, whenever they are approached by the whites in numbers." Public attention meanwhile was focused on the continuing attempts to defeat and remove the renegade Creeks from northwest Florida. Colonel Brown's hard-driving and successful campaign against the natives soon won him local respect.<sup>47</sup>

Indians still were seen during the summer of 1837 as far west as the shores of Blackwater Bay. John Hunt, who operated a brickyard on the eastern shore of the bay, reported that the renegades were in the area and that his slaves saw them and conversed with them frequently. There were threats of Indians

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46. *Pensacola Gazette*, June 10, 1837.

47. There were unsubstantiated rumors of whites intent on murdering Reynolds and his party, perhaps because he was exposing the massacre. *Ibid.*, June 10, July 1, 1837; Carswell, *Holmestead*, 33-35.

near the white settlements along Yellow River, and reports were received of parties of six to twenty Indians in the countryside between Blackwater River and Yellow River. Finding the natives in the area's swamps and forests, however, proved to be next to impossible. Morton's volunteer force at Black Water scoured the Yellow River and Blackwater River areas for a week in June without sighting any Indians.<sup>48</sup>

Colonel Brown requested the transfer of Morton's volunteers for service in Walton County, but the request was rejected because the men were needed to protect Escambia's eastern frontier settlements. Instead, volunteers from St. Joseph and Apalachicola arrived at Pensacola and were sent to Black Water in order to form a sizable force. Brown intended for this force to move eastward while his own men pushed westward from Alaqua, thus catching the Indians in a pincer movement.<sup>49</sup>

By early July Escambia County citizens had organized a new Escambia militia regiment. The *Gazette* encouraged this move and noted that an efficiently organized militia was imperative at the present state of crisis. The editor observed that not only was the threat of the renegade Creeks to the east a problem, but the disquieting presence of 3,000 Creeks assembled for deportation at Mobile Point, only a short distance west of Pensacola, also had to be considered.<sup>50</sup>

News from Colonel Brown at Lagrange shortly thereafter served to fuel the fears of Panhandle residents—the largest engagements to date were being fought in Walton County. On May 19 a band of Walton County militiamen had cornered a party of Creeks near the “Cow Pens,” west of the Choc-tawhatchee River (near present-day Bruce). The natives retreated into a thick swamp, but the whites followed them, and a sharp skirmish ensued. A number of Indians and whites were killed or wounded.<sup>51</sup>

Subsequently, on July 4, Colonel Brown's troops had a heated engagement with approximately 100 Indians on Shoal River. The natives were routed, and they fled across the river.

48. *Pensacola Gazette*, June 17, 1837.

49. *Ibid.*, June 17, 24, July 1, 1837.

50. *Ibid.*, July 1, 8, 1837.

51. This action took place near the community of Antioch, and the swamp where the skirmish occurred still is known as “Battle Bay.” *Ibid.*, May 27, 1837; McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, 118-19.

Three militiamen were wounded; approximately eight to ten Indians were killed and several were wounded. The exact number of Indians killed was in question since the Creeks "immediately bore them off and threw many of them into the river as soon as they fell." In their retreat, the Creeks threw off many of their packs. The militiamen discovered a gold watch and \$263 among the Indians' belongings, perhaps plunder from previous raids.<sup>52</sup>

Brown's forces attacked the Creeks again on July 19 on Alaqua Creek in Walton County. After a brisk fight of twenty minutes, the Indians fell back. Five Creeks were killed; one militiaman was killed, and five others were wounded. The steamboat Marion was sent to Lagrange, and a number of wounded and sick militiamen were brought to Pensacola for medical treatment.<sup>53</sup>

Brown's persistent attacks on the Creeks proved successful. By August the Indians were becoming dispirited, and many were surrendering on their own accord. Major Henry Wilson, using friendly Indians, succeeded in persuading a number of the Indian bands to give themselves up, and it was anticipated that his efforts soon would net the entire Indian population without any further loss of life.<sup>54</sup> Cosapinia, one of the principal chiefs, surrendered at Lagrange on August 28 and was persuaded to bring in other Creeks. The chief set out with several runners westward along the north shore of Choctawhatchee Bay, and he was requested to talk with as many fugitives as possible and induce them to come in at Escribano Point.<sup>55</sup>

The panic slowly subsided in the Panhandle as individual Indians and bands of renegade Creeks surrendered. One detriment to a speedy resolution was the incessant pursuit of the Creeks by the whites over the course of the summer. The militia movements, skirmishes, and accounts of the Alaqua massacre dispersed many Creeks into smaller parties which fled into the

52. A battalion under Colonel Wood of St. Joseph at the time was encamped on Santa Rosa Sound near present-day Fort Walton Beach. It was dispatched northward in pursuit of the retreating Indians. *Pensacola Gazette*, July 15, 1837.

53. *Ibid.*, July 22, 29, August 5, 1837.

54. The Creeks had been removed to Pass Christian, Mississippi, by August. Lieutenant Reynolds was later in charge of removing these Creeks to the West. *Ibid.*, July 22, August 26, 30, 1837.

55. *Ibid.*, September 2, 6, 9, 1837.

more remote sections of the countryside. Major Wilson's attempts at peaceful inducement, therefore, were regarded suspiciously by the Indians. Colonel Brown temporarily suspended hostilities in late summer in order to facilitate a more peaceful atmosphere for Wilson's efforts. Forces were stationed along East Bay to take in any fugitives who appeared there, and by September militia patrols could locate no Indians in the immediate vicinity of Pensacola.<sup>56</sup>

By October 1837 the Indian threat to northwest Florida appeared to be over. Though not comparable to the more serious conflicts in central and south Florida, the events of the previous six months nevertheless had left a mark upon the Panhandle region. Numerous white settlers and Indians had been killed in the various raids and skirmishes throughout northwest Florida. Walton County was the hardest hit of all the area's counties. The United States Superior Court failed to hold its regular session in the county because of the disturbances, and the economy was seriously disrupted. The severe hardships of settlers in Walton and Washington counties led Governor Call in October to order rations to be supplied to those inhabitants most in need.<sup>57</sup>

The main body of the renegade Creeks had moved eastwardly. In late December approximately eighty fugitives were brought in near the Choctawhatchee River, and several weeks later ninety more were captured west of the Apalachicola River. Military and governmental authorities estimated that 100 more still were free and making their way toward the Seminoles in East Florida.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, a number of fugitive Creeks remained in the more western portion of the Panhandle. John Hunt on Blackwater Bay complained that a sizable number of his cows, oxen, and hogs had been stolen, evidence of an Indian presence.<sup>59</sup> In January 1838 a barge on Choctawhatchee River was robbed by Creeks, and in March Governor Call visited La-Grange in an attempt to bring in Indians still frequenting the area.<sup>60</sup>

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56. Ibid., August 26, September 2, 1837; Hamilton, *Papers of William Alexander Graham*, IV, 151-52.

57. *Pensacola Gazette*, October 21, 1837; Carswell, *Holmesteading*, 35.

58. *Pensacola Gazette*, December 2, 30, 1837, January 20, 1838; *Niles' National Register*, January 27, 1838, 338.

59. *Pensacola Gazette*, November 25, 1837.

60. Ibid., January 27, March 24, 1838.

The Indian threat had disappeared almost completely by the summer of 1838. The Apalachicola Indians finally were removed that October, and— at least on the official record— northwest Florida was devoid of Indians.<sup>61</sup> In actuality, though, small scattered bands had managed to find refuge in the largely unpopulated wilderness from Pensacola Bay to the Apalachicola River. Some attempted to isolate themselves completely from the white presence, while others continued to prey on remote frontier settlements. Violence persisted in West Florida throughout the remainder of the antebellum period. Between 1840 and 1847 some whites were attacked and killed along the Apalachicola River, in Washington County, and on St. Andrew's Bay, Choctawhatchee Bay, and East Bay. The military expeditions sent in response rarely discovered any Indians.<sup>62</sup> As late as the 1850s the natives continued to be a problem for many Washington County settlers. The roaming Creeks had raided so many corn crops in the area that in 1854 the legislature was forced to make a special appropriation for the relief of the county's farmers.<sup>63</sup>

The majority of the Creeks remaining in West Florida gradually assimilated into either white or black society. To avoid removal, isolated Indian families and individuals began concealing their identity and abandoning much of their culture. Fear of removal and predominant racial attitudes led to a transformation of the few remaining Indians. They slowly took on the lifestyles of rural southern farmers, including dress, housing styles, diet, and religious beliefs. Often they would intermarry with whites (or blacks, depending on their skin color), further diluting their Indian heritage. By 1900 most Creeks and half-

61. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1838; James W. Covington, "Federal Relations with the Apalachicola Indians: 1823-1838," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42 (October 1963), 140-41.

62. *Pensacola Gazette*, February 8, September 19, October 24, 1840, January 13, February 24, November 30, 1844, February 14, 21, 1846, November 27, 1847; Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 28 vols. (Washington, DC, 1934-1975), *Florida Territory*, XXVI, 898; Ellsworth and Dysart, "Forgotten People," 424-26; Ira A. Hutchison, *Some Who Passed This Way* (Panama City, FL, 1972), 20-21; McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, 122-28; *New American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 13 vols. (Wilmington, DE, 1972), XI, 443-53; *Niles' National Register*, May 30, 1840, 200; *Tallahassee Floridian*, February 28, 1846.

63. Elba Wilson Carswell, *Holmes Valley, A West Florida Cradle of Christianity* (Bonifay, 1969; revised ed., Chipley, 1983), 6.



bloods remaining in the region essentially had forgotten their Indian ancestry.<sup>64</sup>

West Florida's Creek Indian crisis of 1837 is a relatively forgotten chapter in the history of Florida's Indian wars. The roots of the conflict can be traced to the decades-old factionalism within the Creek nation. The Florida Panhandle eventually became something of a highway for those Creeks trying to escape removal by joining the Seminoles to the south. The turmoil and violence that ensued in Walton County and adjacent areas reflects the often repeated frontier conflict—the struggle between white settlers and the Indians, a struggle that involved land, independence, racial bigotry, and the inability to compromise. For the white frontiersmen it was a tragic episode—families brutally murdered, property destroyed and stolen, and settlements terrorized with fear. For the Indians it was a more lasting tragedy—many were killed, hundreds were deported to the West, and the remaining natives were condemned to poverty and the loss of their heritage and culture. Atrocities were committed on both sides, and both white and red savages were to be found. But there were voices of reason as well. Editor Wright offered at times enlightened and sympathetic views of the Indians. Major Wilson and Lieutenant Reynolds attempted to conduct a peaceful removal of the natives. And Archibald Smith risked his life to warn settlers and to defuse an explosive situation. There also were friendly Indians who served as guides, interpreters, messengers, and peacekeepers. They often risked their lives, yet eventually were deported themselves. Few persons of Indian blood reside in West Florida today, the consequence of a violent and irreconcilable contest that occurred during the early decades of the nineteenth century.

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64. During the latter part of the nineteenth century Creeks from south Alabama and south Georgia migrated into West Florida, adding to the small Indian population already present there. Dysart, "Road to Disappearance," 37-48; Ellsworth and Dysart, "Forgotten People," 422-39.

## REVIEW ESSAY

### Alfred I. du Pont: His Impact on Florida

by JERRELL H. SHOFNER

*Alfred I. du Pont: The Man and His Family.* By Joseph Frazier Wall. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. ix, 685 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, photographs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Through the pages of this large and well-written book, Joseph Frazier Wall delivers all that the title promises and much more. Beginning with the origins of the du Pont family in the eighteenth century and ending with an epilogue about Ed Ball's covetous management of the du Pont estate during the half century after Alfred's death, Wall not only portrays the huge du Pont family through a half dozen generations, but also says a great deal about the growth of business, industry, technology, and finance in the context of the history of the United States from its revolutionary inception in the late eighteenth century. The emphasis is on Alfred I. du Pont who may have been the rebel of the family, but who, as the author demonstrates, certainly was not a black sheep. Wall shows how the powder factory on the Brandywine grew into an enormous manufacturing conglomerate, how the du Pont family also grew from a close-knit group into a sprawling network of cousins and in-laws that more closely resembled "Dynasty" than "Dallas," and how the latter so forcefully and sometimes so disastrously influenced the former.

After writing the book which gave the *Physiocrats* their name, participating in the French Revolution, and authoring the French Constitution of 1791, Pierre Samuel du Pont, the founder of the family, came to the infant United States intent on cooperating with his brilliant elder son in founding Utopian communities on the new frontier. Almost as an afterthought, he gave his blessing to his second son, Eleuthère Irénéé, to build a

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black powder factory. Of the eight projects which Pierre Samuel planned, seven failed. To the father's surprise, the eighth became a great success. E. I. du Pont chose the banks of the Brandywine for his mills because the small river provided needed water power and because it was open country which isolated the dangerous powder works from population centers. The company fortunes waxed and waned as the demand for powder rose and fell. There was great growth during the War of 1812, followed by several lean years until the Mexican War brought another surge of prosperity.

In the meantime, the second generation of du Ponts had taken control of the company. Preceded in 1817 by his brilliant and visionary father, Pierre Samuel, Eleuthère Irénéé died in 1834, leaving E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company to his numerous children. For years the triumvirate of Alfred Victor, Henry, and Alexis managed the company, but it was the younger Henry who emerged as the major figure of the second generation. Outliving his brothers, "Boss Henry," as he became known, ruled with an iron hand until his death at seventy-seven in 1889. During his reign, he was instrumental in forming a cartel of powder makers with the du Pont Company as the dominant member. The company also began producing smokeless powder and high explosives, but black powder remained the mainstay of the firm.

Alfred Irénéé du Pont was born in 1864, the first son of the first son of the founder of the company. His mother, suffering from severe mental problems, died at forty-one and his father followed her at age forty-nine. Alfred and his four brothers and sisters were cared for by the growing family, but only at a price. When told that they would have to give up their family home at Swamp Hall, the children armed themselves and resisted. A truce was agreed upon, and they were permitted to keep their home. At thirteen, Alfred was successful in his first rebellion against his family. He was not always so fortunate.

At MIT, influenced by his hedonistic Kentucky cousin, T. Coleman du Pont, Alfred chose not to take a degree, but only to pursue those courses in which he was interested. After his stint at college, he returned to the Brandywine where he soon gained a reputation as the best black powder man anywhere. He was as well a mechanical genius, a talented organizer, and a humane employer.



Alfred I. du Pont. Reproduced from *Alfred I. du Pont: The Man & His Family*, by Joseph Frazier Wall.

Alfred's second rebellion came in 1889 when the company was reorganized following Boss Henry's death. Customarily family members were not automatically employed or brought

into management. Even as du Ponts, they had to be invited. Alfred had worked his way up until he was supervising production of black powder by 1889. When he was not invited to become a partner, custom dictated that he accept the decision. Alfred pounded on the door until a compromise permitted him to become a stock-holding partner.

During the 1890s under the leadership of Eugene du Pont, the company languished. Alfred fretted that it would not survive, and he almost was correct. The Spanish-American War brought a brief respite, but Alfred still was concerned about the obsolete mills in which he was producing black powder. Eugene du Pont's death in early 1902 forced his survivors to address the question of the future of the company. When all three of the senior officers declined to succeed the deceased Eugene and they refused to offer the position to Alfred, it was decided to offer the company for sale for \$12,000,000.

When a sale was not immediately effected, Alfred offered to buy the company. After a bellicose discussion, the other partners agreed to give Alfred the opportunity. Alfred induced his old school friend, T. Coleman du Pont, and another cousin, Pierre S. II, to join him. Since Coleman's wealth and financial wizardry were essential to the venture, he demanded and received the largest portion of the stock as well as the presidency of the new corporation. When the transaction was completed, Coleman was the new president and major stockholder; Alfred and Pierre also had substantial blocks, and all the former partners retained smaller portions. Due to Coleman's financial prowess, all of the cash necessary to complete the arrangement was borrowed. The three cousins had gained control of a new \$12,000,000 corporation without spending any of their own money. Best of all for Alfred, he was designated general superintendent of production in all the numerous du Pont plants scattered from Delaware to the midwest. It was a major undertaking, and Alfred's initiative had made it possible. Unfortunately, he found it necessary to make major concessions to his cousin Coleman in the process. Although Alfred and Pierre were exceptionally close at this period of their lives, Pierre, too, would become a problem in time.

Alfred's management of the company's production was a success, but his family life was a different matter. While he was busy modernizing his production facilities, he also was enduring

an unhappy home life. His wife, Bessie, spent more and more time in France with their four children. In the meantime, an old childhood injury was causing Alfred to go deaf. In 1904, a hunting accident left him with only one eye. In 1905, he moved out of Swamp Hall. He was divorced the following year, and Bessie moved to France. During this difficult time, Alfred had befriended his beautiful cousin, Alicia, who had problems of her own. Not only was she married to an unfaithful husband, but her own father was denouncing her to other family members. Then, shortly after Alicia's divorce, she and Alfred were married. Most members of the family were outraged. Coleman asked Alfred to resign from the firm immediately. Even Pierre began to be cool toward his former ally.

Alfred lost his composure. Bessie became the object of his vindictiveness. He did not speak to his children for fourteen years. He razed Swamp Hall to the astonishment of the family, sued some of his relatives for their slanders of Alicia, and built the dazzling Nemours mansion for his new wife. This second marriage never was particularly happy, and it ended with Alicia's death in 1920.

During these early years of the twentieth century, the company experienced organizational problems. Ruled in violation of the Sherman Anti-trust Act, it was forced to reorganize. Having cooled toward Alfred, at least partially because of his personal life, Pierre now joined with Coleman to reorganize the company to the disadvantage of his cousin and former business associate. Alfred was removed from his supervisory role of production and left with no other duties except a position on the board of directors where he consistently would be outvoted.

Relieved of the responsibilities which he had thoroughly enjoyed, Alfred turned to other matters. He looked into the possibilities of expanding into cellulose nitrate and producing synthetic products for a market other than the military. Years ahead of his time, he later saw the company succeed enormously in this area but only after very difficult times following World War I. He formed a partnership with Dr. Howard Kelley of The Johns Hopkins to promote cancer research. In that capacity he bought four Colorado uranium mines and managed to produce a small amount of radium for Dr. Kelley.

Alfred seemed content to leave company affairs to his cousins, but they brought on one more battle which left him

embittered toward his former ally, Pierre. Financially strapped by his New York investments, Coleman suddenly offered to sell his Du Pont stock to the company. Pierre, using his position in the company, secretly purchased the stock in his own name and emerged as the majority stockholder. Although Alfred pursued a successful lawsuit against Pierre for his breach of faith, the victory was a hollow one because the board of directors supported his cousin. Alfred never forgave him.

He was so angered that he went briefly into Delaware politics as a reform Republican. He unseated his uncle, Senator Henry du Pont, and ended the du Pont machine's hold on Delaware politics. For several years he kept his cousin, T. Coleman, from obtaining a coveted United States Senate seat, although the latter eventually went to Capitol Hill via a questionable appointment by the governor.

The Du Pont Company prospered enormously during World War I, although Alfred's only connection with it was his \$6,000,000 annual income. He purchased huge amounts of Liberty bonds and financed from his own pockets the development of a sub-chaser in which he was able to incorporate some of the mechanical innovations he had devised over the years. Seeing the need for a major restoration of war-ravaged Europe after the war, he formed a company through which he intended to promote trade in much the same way as did the Marshall Plan after World War II. Since such an undertaking far exceeded even his great resources, Alfred almost lost his fortune in this enterprise.

Du Pont stock declined precipitately following the war at a time when Alfred was considerably over-extended, and it was some time before the company again prospered through its acquisition of General Motors and the diversification which Alfred earlier had envisioned. In the meantime, he struggled with a debt which led him to consider selling his Du Pont stock.

At this low point in his career, several things happened to change Alfred's fortunes. Soon after Alicia died, he married Jessie Ball, a member of a prominent Virginia family, whom he had met years earlier when visiting her parents' home on hunting expeditions. Approaching sixty years of age (the book is a decade in error, p. 444), Alfred found in 1922 the wife who would love and support him as neither Bessie nor Alicia had. He also gained a brother-in-law who would become a valuable



Jessie Ball du Pont. Reproduced from *Confusion to the Enemy: A Biography of Edward Ball*, by Raymond K. Mason and Virginia Harrison.

ally. Ed Ball left his position with a California furniture company and came to work for Alfred. Ball worked out several deals with Alfred's debtors which enabled Alfred to survive without selling his Du Pont stock. Alfred and Jessie began spending some winter months in Miami in 1924. While Jessie



enjoyed the feverish activity of boomtime Miami, Alfred continually warned her of the impending financial collapse which he considered unavoidable. When his predictions came true, however, Alfred mused about doing for Florida what he had tried and failed to do for Europe after World War I. Jessie's enthusiasm for Florida and his own desire for good works may well have been sufficient for their relocation to the state, but the catalyst came from an ironic direction.

By 1926, Pierre du Pont had relinquished active leadership of the Du Pont Company and had reorganized General Motors to his satisfaction. Now in virtual retirement, he agreed to head the Delaware Tax Commission to make recommendations about tax reform. Alfred immediately interpreted this as a ruse. He was convinced that Pierre had accepted the position in order to gain access to his, Alfred's, personal financial records. Alfred immediately incorporated the St. Johns River Development Company in Florida and transferred to it all his property except the Nemours estate. He became a Floridian with residence in the Mason Hotel in Jacksonville until he could build the Epping Forest mansion which he and Jessie eventually made their home.

As Alfred told his two trusted employees, Ed Ball and William T. Edwards, "We are now in Florida to live and work. We expect to spend the balance of our days here. . . . Our business undertakings should be sound but our primary object should not be the making of more money. . . . Thru helpful works, let's build up good will in this State and make it a better place in which to live." (p. 486) To that end, he created Almour's Securities, Inc., with capital assets of \$34,000,000. It included all of his Du Pont Company stock, as well as his other investments.

Appalled at the degree to which banks had been involved in the speculative fever of the 1920s Florida boom and believing that recovery depended upon the restoration of confidence in the state's financial institutions, Alfred instructed Ball to acquire one of Jacksonville's three banks. Of the three— the Atlantic National, Barnett National, and Florida National— only the latter was available for takeover. Once he had acquired the Florida National, he then had to make sure that it survived. When the national economy tottered in 1929, following the collapse of the Florida boom, runs on banks became quite common. Ed Ball borrowed \$15,000,000, using Almour's stock as security, and stopped an expected run on the Florida National on July 25,



Edward Ball. Reproduced from *Ed Ball: Confusion to the Enemy*, by Leon Odell Griffith.

1929. Having weathered that crisis, Alfred established six other banks throughout the state.

Almost as soon as he arrived in Florida, Alfred began purchasing land in the severely depressed Florida panhandle. When Ball had difficulty finding roads to the areas so that he might inspect them, Alfred created the Gulf Coast Highways Association to promote road building. He proposed a "Florida Loop" comprising a paved road all the way around the perimeter of the state. He also called for completion of an inland waterway along the Gulf Coast. The latter was completed during the New Deal era, but the former had to await the Eisenhower administration.

Recognizing that such services as finance and transportation would not create a stable economy without an industrial base and that Florida's dependence upon tourism was not the answer, Alfred sought ways to provide that base. First, he instructed W. T. Edwards to see what could be done to make the citrus industry more productive. What Edwards found was that the growers, packers, and shippers were not interested in the kinds of quality control, cooperative marketing, and canning of unmarketable

fruit that he and his employer envisioned. Just as the Du Pont Company eventually had begun the manufacture of cellulose products long after he had urged it to do so, Florida's citrus producers adopted, years later, Alfred's ideas about improved marketing. In the meantime, he looked elsewhere for ways to improve the Florida economy. The thousands of acres of pine land which he owned in west Florida received his attention. New research by Dr. Charles Herty had proved that younger pine trees produced pulp for paper which was equal to that from spruce trees which then were being used for newsprint in America. After negotiations with the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association, construction was begun on a plant at Port St. Joe on the Gulf of Mexico. While the publishers agreed to purchase newsprint from the new plant, Alfred's plans soon changed. Ed Ball always had been more interested in making money than Alfred had suggested when forming the Almour's Company. Ball pointed out that the profit margin on kraft paper was much greater than that for newsprint and, after a spirited discussion with W. T. Edwards in Alfred's presence, they agreed to proceed first with kraft paper. Newsprint would have to come later. An embarrassed Edwards was left to explain the change to the newspapermen.

During his early days in Florida, Alfred watched his paper wealth grow as the national and Florida economies skyrocketed. Stock splits had given him 582,000 shares of Du Pont stock which was valued at \$200 per share. For once, Ed Ball gave his brother-in-law bad advice. When Alfred suggested that some of the stock be sold and the cash kept on hand, Ball adamantly opposed this idea. In October 1929, Alfred's wealth was reduced by about two-thirds to slightly less than \$50,000,000.

Alfred du Pont possessed a social conscience and had been generous with his large fortune. He had provided for many less fortunate members of his family, as well as various friends. His commitment was to restoring Florida's economy instead of just increasing his own fortune. During the cataclysm of the Depression of the 1930s Alfred developed his great interest in helping crippled children. He continued support of these projects with sizable contributions. When Delaware legislators failed to enact an old-age pension law, Alfred personally underwrote the state's support for the aged for two years until the legislature acted. He was instrumental in gaining passage of Delaware's old-age

pension law in 1931. To alleviate suffering during the winter of 1932-1933, while Herbert Hoover sat waiting for Franklin D. Roosevelt to replace him in the White House, Alfred organized a program to supplement Delaware's old-age pension program by providing assistance to retired and destitute teachers whose meager resources made them ineligible for the regular pension plan. He also instructed his staff to distribute blankets and overcoats to people suffering from the cold. In Jacksonville he hired a fleet of trucks to pick up unemployed men and gave them work cleaning up streets and parks at \$1.25 each per day. His list of individual benefactors grew considerably during the latter years of his life, as did his support of crippled children's hospitals.

Alfred welcomed Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933 and approved most of his initiatives during the first 100 days of the Democratic administration. He expressed vigorous opposition to one program, however. When he heard of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, he wrote, "I am utterly opposed to any form of Federal guarantee of deposits, which, even to a layman, must show that such a law would put a premium on bad banking" (p. 542). He also adamantly insisted that the top "banking salary should be Fifty Thousand Dollars" (p. 543). That was what he was then paying Ed Ball. And, despite his initial approval of the NRA, the CCC, the CWA, and the FERA as necessary relief measures, Alfred soon became critical of the New Deal. In 1934 he wrote, "I do wish Roosevelt would let up on his experiments and scrap all his different NRA's and PDQ's and let business take care of itself once more. . . . The people of this country are rapidly drifting into a condition where they are willing to accept from the Government instead of living by the sweat of their brow" (p. 545).

Alfred and Jessie went south earlier than usual in the winter of 1934-1935. He was pushing the completion of the Port St. Joe paper mill, and he was revising his will. Neither Ball nor Edwards had ever seen him working so feverishly. He continued his correspondence with his huge family. Thanks to Jessie's initiative, he had become reconciled with his children. Despite his admonition that he had about as much use for social functions "as a dog would have for wax legs in Hell" (p. 581), he invited his children, several nephews and their families, and Jessie's sister to "a family excursion to Miami Beach" in March 1935.

The two-week cruise left him exhausted. Back at Epping Forest, he continued to work on the paper mill project and to keep up a heavy business and personal correspondence. But on April 24 he became ill, and he died four days later.

Alfred du Pont left an estate of more than \$40,000,000. His will provided for numerous family members and for trusts to maintain the Nemours mansion and grounds for public use, and for a children's hospital. The bulk of it went to the Nemours Foundation to be managed by Jessie Ball du Pont, Edward Ball, Reginald Huidekoper (a family member), and a representative of the Florida National Bank in Jacksonville. Jessie died September 26, 1970. During her lifetime she concentrated on many charitable projects while leaving most of the decisions concerning the Nemours Foundation to her brother. The Florida National Bank representative followed her lead, and Huidekoper simply was outvoted. Ball, in effect, became the manager of the huge du Pont fortune. Unlike his brother-in-law, whom he had admired without reservation, Ball had little use for charity. He relished the business of turning a profit. Over the years the Florida National evolved into a chain of thirty banks. Another 1,500,000 acres of timber land was acquired to provide the 4,000,000,000 pounds of wood chips needed annually by the Port St. Joe paper mill, and the Florida East Coast Railway was acquired. The value of the Nemours Foundation exceeded \$1,000,000,000 by the 1960s, and Ball had become one of the most powerful men in Florida. During the last years of his life he suffered some losses in the courts resulting from his failure to follow the rules of the trust, but he died June 24, 1986, with much, although not all, of his economic and political power still intact. Alfred du Pont had cast a long shadow although it may have been somewhat different from the one he had envisioned.

In the preceding pages some of the numerous features of this excellent book have been emphasized, but it is impossible to do it justice, even in a review. Joseph Frazier Wall, the author of this definitive biography, was provided complete access to Alfred's papers which at the time of his research were housed in a storeroom at the Florida National Bank Building, Jacksonville. Subsequently, the papers were transferred to Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, in accordance with the provision for their disposal stipulated in Mrs. du Pont's will. The author also had access to the papers of Jessie Ball du Pont,

ALFRED I. DUPONT

347

Ed Ball, and other members of the du Pont family. He conducted a number of oral history interviews with family members, friends, and business associates. Joseph Frazier Wall is professor of history at Grinnell College. His earlier biography of Andrew Carnegie received the Bancroft Prize in 1971. *Alfred I. du Pont: The Man and His Family* is an excellent work which should be read in its entirety. All who do so will be richly rewarded.

## 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 master's theses completed in 1989 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archaeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

### *Anne Arundel Community College, Arnold, Maryland*

Frank Alduino (faculty)– “Charlie Wall, Tampa’s Bolita King” (continuing study).

### *Auburn University*

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– “Loyalist West Florida: An Anomalous Community” (publication forthcoming).

Ethan A. Grant– “Anglo Settlers in the Natchez District of British West Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

### *Broward County Historical Commission*

Rodney E. Dillon, Jr.– “The Civil War in South Florida” (continuing study).

Helen H. Landers– “The North New River Canal Locks” (continuing study).

### *Clearwater Christian College*

Frank L. Snyder (faculty)– “Biography of William Pope DuVal” (continuing study).

### *Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University*

John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster (faculty)– “Northern Methodism in Reconstruction Florida” (continuing study).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– “Slavery in Gadsden County, Florida, 1823-1861” (continuing study).

*Florida Atlantic University*

- David M. Blackard— “The Development of Seminole/Micosukee Patchwork” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Donald W. Curl and Fred Eckel (faculty)— “Lost Palm Beach, A Preservationist History”; “Mediterranean-Revival Architecture in Southeast Florida” (continuing studies).
- Richard V. Kelleher— “The Black Struggle for Political and Civil Rights in Broward County, 1943-1989” (master’s thesis completed).
- Raymond A. Mohl, Jr. (faculty)— “History of Race and Ethnicity in the Miami Metropolitan Area”; “The Latinization of Florida”; “The Settlement of Blacks in South Florida” (continuing studies).
- Susan J. Oldfather— “Elisha Newton Dimick and His Influence on the Development of Palm Beach” (master’s thesis completed).
- Brian W. Pietrzak— “Seminole Tribal Government: The Formative Years, 1957-1982” (master’s thesis completed).
- Cecile-Marie Sastre— “The British Redoubts of St. Augustine” (master’s thesis completed).
- John Frederick Schwaller (faculty)— “Guide to Spanish Manuscript Holdings in Spanish Repositories” (continuing study).
- Lori C. Walter— “Missileland, USA: Cocoa Beach and America’s Space Program” (master’s thesis completed).

*Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee*

- Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hann— “Report on the Excavations at the Tallahassee de Soto Site and Pertinent Translations from the de Soto and Cabeza de Vaca Chronicles”
- John H. Hann— “The Florida Mission Experience”; “Missions to the Calusa,” with introduction by William H. Marquardt; and “Visitations and Revolts in Florida, 1656-1695” (publications forthcoming); “Florida’s Timucua”; “Survey of Spanish Florida’s Natives” (continuing studies).
- B. Calvin Jones, John H. Hann, and John Scarry— “San Pedro y San Pablo de Patate, a Seventeenth-Century Apalachee Mission” (publication forthcoming).



Bonnie G. McEwan– “San Luis de Talimali: The Archaeology of Spanish-Indian Relations at a Florida Mission”; “The Archaeological Evidence of Women on Spanish Sites”; “The Role of Ceramics in Spain and Spanish America During the Sixteenth Century” (publications forthcoming).

Gary Shapiro and Bonnie McEwan– “Archaeology at San Luis: the Apalachee Council House” (publication forthcoming).

Gary Shapiro and Richard Vernon– “Archaeology at San Luis: the Church Complex” (publication forthcoming).

*Florida Center for Public Management, Florida State University*

J. Larry Durrence– “The Work of the Florida Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching” (continuing study).

*Florida Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee*

Joe Knetsch– “The Armed Occupation Act of 1842”; “The Canal Movement in Florida and the South” (continuing studies).

*Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville*

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– “Archaeology of the Hernando de Soto Expedition in Florida and its Impact on Native Peoples”; “Spanish Missions of Florida-Santa Fe, Santa Catalina de Guale: Amelia Island, Santa Maria” (continuing studies).

Kathleen Deagan (faculty)– “Fort Mose Project” (continuing study).

*Florida State Archives, Tallahassee*

David J. Coles– “The Civil War Journal and Letters of Washington M. Ives”; “The Fourth Florida Infantry,” with James P. Jones (continuing studies).

*Florida State University*

Abel Bartley– “Earl Johnson’s Promise of Power: Black

- Political Leadership in Jacksonville, 1962-1988" (master's thesis completed).
- Neil B. Betten and Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– "Homicide and Capital Punishment: Jacksonville, 1880-1920" (continuing study).
- Anne Gometz– "Commercial Exploitation of Some Native Florida Plants" (master's thesis in progress).
- Eric L. Gross– "The Lake Okeechobee Hurricane Disaster of 1928" (master's thesis in progress).
- Eric L. Gross and Kevin N. Klein– "U-Boats in Florida Waters: 1942-43" (continuing study).
- H. Stephen Hale (faculty)– "A Calosa lingua franca in South Florida" (continuing study).
- Susan Hamburger– "The Development of the Horse Racing Industry in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Ann Haw Holt– "Index of *The Florida Grower* (1911)" (continuing study).
- Susan Hortenstine– "Church and Community in Chaires, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)– "Family, Business and Community: Miller Enterprises of Crescent City" (continuing study).
- Edward F. Keuchel (faculty) and Margary Neal Nelson– "Bessie Williams's Memoir" (continuing study).
- Rhonda Majors Kimbroughs– "Norwood Period Sites in the Apalachicola Natural Forest, Florida: A Predictive Model" (master's thesis completed).
- Kathleen M. McCarron– "Prohibition in Leon County" (master's thesis in progress).
- Vivian Miller– "Murder and Executive Clemency in Florida, 1890-1910" (master's thesis in progress).
- Lee Andrea Nabergall-Luis– "Faunal Studies from an Early Archaic Wetsite: The Windover Archaeological Site, Broward County, Florida" (master's thesis completed).
- Pat Riordan– "Colonists, Slaves and Indians in the Old Southwest: 1660-1819" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Melanie Simmons– "The Maya of Florida: The History of Economic Expansion, Regression, and Command Integration" (undergraduate honors thesis completed).
- Raymond B. Vickers– "The Banking Panic of 1926" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

- Sally Vickers— “Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida’s First Congresswoman” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Cynthia R. Waddell— “The Career of William B. Knott” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “The Knott House in Tallahassee” (continuing study).
- Roderick D. Waters— “The Life and Times of Gwendolyn Sawyer Cherry: Educator, Attorney and the First African-American Woman Elected to the Florida Legislature” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board*

- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., Susan N. Smith, Susan R. Parker— “The Sabate Plantation: The History and Archaeology of a Minorcan Farmstead” (report completed).
- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., Susan R. Parker, Julie Wizorek— “Historical Archaeology of the Cofradia of the Blessed Sacrament Site”; “Archaeological Investigations of the Ribera Gardens Site” (continuing studies).
- Susan R. Parker— “Religious Organizations for Laypersons (cofradias) in Spanish St. Augustine”; “St. Augustine’s ‘urban’ Indians”; “Property Ownership in Spanish St. Augustine” (continuing studies).
- Julie Wizorek— “Slip-decorated Redwares Recovered in St. Augustine Sites” (continuing study).

*Historical Association of Southern Florida*

- Miguel Bretos, Paul George, Rebecca A. Smith, Tina Buculavas, J. Andrew Brian— “Cuban Florida” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Tina Buculavas, Brent Cantrell— “South Florida Folklife”; “Arts of the African Diaspora”; “Folk Arts of the Florida Keys” (continuing studies).
- Tina Buculavas, Brent Cantrell, J. Andrew Brian— “Tropical Traditions: Folklife in South Florida” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Brent Cantrell— “Carnival” (continuing study).
- Robert S. Carr, W. S. Steele, Amy Felmley, J. Andrew Brian— “The Cutler Site: Archaeology in South Florida” (continuing study).

- Dorothy Fields— “Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida” (continuing study).
- Joseph H. Fitzgerald, Rebecca A. Smith, J. Andrew Brian— “Quest for the Indies: Maps of Discovery” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Paul S. George, Joseph H. Fitzgerald, Rebecca A. Smith, J. Andrew Brian— “Christopher Columbus” (exhibition forthcoming).
- Paul S. George— “Port of Miami” (continuing study for exhibition).
- Arva Moore Parks— “Dade County”; “Harry S Truman in Key West” (continuing studies).
- Thelma Peters— “Buena Vista” (continuing study); “Personal Travels in the West Indies” (publication forthcoming).
- W. S. Steele— “Seminole Wars in South Florida” (continuing study); “Military History of the Joe Robbie Dolphin Stadium Site”; “Major General Thomas S. Jesup’s South Florida Campaign” (publications forthcoming).
- Patsy West— “Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees”; “The Historic Snake Creek Seminole Settlements: Dade County, Florida ca. 1819-1900” (publications forthcoming); “Seminoles in Tourist Attractions and Expositions”; “The Life and Times of Old Tiger Tail”; “The Settlement of the Everglades: A Mikasuki Culture History” (continuing studies).

*Jacksonville University*

- George E. Buker (faculty emeritus)— “Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport” (continuing study).

*Limestone College, Gaffney, South Carolina*

- James Michael Denham (faculty)— “Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1861” (continuing study).

*Louisiana State University*

- Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)— “Introduction and Short Biography of Hernando de Soto for University of Alabama Press edition of the Soto Chronicles” (publication forth-

coming); "Spanish Louisiana/La Luisiana Española, A History" (continuing study).

*Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee*

Julia S. Hesson— "Farm Kitchens in Florida"; "Florida Quilting" (continuing studies).

Erik T. Robinson— "Art, In and About Florida" (continuing study).

*National Park Service, Miami*

W. S. Steele— "Submerged Cultural Resources of the Dry Tortugas" (continuing study).

*North Florida Junior College*

Joe A. Akerman (faculty)— "Biography of Jacob Summerlin, Jr." (continuing study).

*Rollins College*

Jack C. Lane (faculty)— "A Florida Reader" (publication forthcoming).

*The St. Augustine Foundation, Inc. at Flagler College*

Eugene Lyon— "Translations, Revillajijedo Archives"; "Christopher Columbus: What Was In His Mind"; "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés" (continuing studies).

*University of California, Irvine*

Amy Turner Bushnell (faculty)— "The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: Supporting and Supplying the Seventeenth-Century Doctrina"; "A Guide to the History of Florida"; "Archaeology and History of the Spanish Borderlands East" (publications forthcoming); "A Land Renowned for War: The Indian Provinces of the Captaincy General of Florida" (continuing study).

*University of Central Florida*

Paul Hershaw— "History of Ocoee" (master's thesis in progress).

- Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– “History of Brevard County”; “History of Florida” (continuing studies).  
Paul W. Wehr (faculty)– “History of Old Orange County”; “History of Education in Seminole County” (continuing studies).

*University of Florida*

- Richard R. Alexander– “Racial Integration at the University of Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).  
Arch Fredric Blakey (faculty)– “Civil War Papers of the Bryant-Stephens Families” (continuing study).  
Canter Brown, Jr.– “Fort Meade: On the South Florida Frontier in the Nineteenth Century” (study completed); “Biography of Ossian Bingley Hart” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “Philip and Morris Dzialynski: Jewish Contributions to the Rebuilding of the South”; “Politics, Distributive Justice and the Florida, Atlantic & Gulf Central Railroad, 1851-1868”; “Peter Stephen Chazotte and the East Florida Coffee Land Association Expedition of 1821”; “South Carolina Volunteers in the Second Seminole War: A Prelude to the Gubernatorial Election of 1836,” with James Michael Denham (continuing studies).  
Everett W. Caudle– “The Social Role of Militia and Volunteer Companies in the Antebellum South” (master’s thesis completed).  
James C. Clark– “The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary Between Claude Pepper and George Smathers” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).  
David R. Colburn and Jane Landers (faculty)– “Race Relations and the Black Experience in Florida” (continuing study).  
David Dodrill– “The Gulf American Land Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral, Florida, 1957-1969” (master’s thesis completed; publication forthcoming).  
Herbert J. Doherty (faculty)– “History of the Florida Historical Society”; “Biography of David Levy Yulee”; “Railroads of North Central Florida” (continuing studies).  
Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– “A History of Florida”; “The Administration of Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera, 1680-1687” (continuing studies).

- Kermit L. Hall (faculty)– “History of the Federal District Courts of Florida” (continuing study).
- E. Ashby Hammond (faculty emeritus)– “Florida Physicians of the Nineteenth Century” (continuing study).
- Yael Herbsman (librarian)– “Jewish Life in Florida, 1854-1900” (continuing study).
- Kate Hoffman– “Analysis of the Excavations of the National Guard Headquarters, St. Augustine” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Kenneth W. Johnson– “Potano and Utina Site Sizes, Community Systems During the Contact and Mission Periods in North Central and North Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Sherry Johnson– “The Spanish St. Augustine Community, 1784-1795: A Reevaluation” (master’s thesis completed); “Women’s Contributions to St. Augustine’s Economy, 1784-1804”; “Profile of the St. Augustine Community, 1784-1814, in dBase III +” (continuing studies).
- William Johnson– “Chronology, Subsistence, and Settlement Patterns of the Belle Glade Culture: New Perspective on the Prehistory of the Lake Okeechobee Basin” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Patricia Kenney– “LaVilla, Florida, 1865-1910: A Community in Transition” (master’s thesis completed).
- Jane Landers (faculty)– “Slave Resistance on the Southern Frontiers: Fugitives, Maroons and Banditti in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries”; “Traditions of African American Freedom and Community in Spanish Colonial Florida” (studies completed); “African-American Women and their Pursuit of Rights in Eighteenth-Century Spanish St. Augustine”; “The French Revolution on Spain’s Northern Colonial Frontier: Rebellion and Royalism in Spanish Florida”; “Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: Free Black Town in First Period Spanish Florida” (continuing studies).
- William E. McGoun– “Prehistoric Peoples of South Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Susan R. Parker– “Men Without God or King: Rural Planters of East Florida, 1784-1790” (master’s thesis completed).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)– “Essays in Southern Jewish History” (continuing study).

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS 357

- Donna L. Ruhl– “They Could not Live on Bread Alone: A Paleoethnobotanical Analysis of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Coastal Spanish Mission Sites in La Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Michael A. Russo– “Modeling Archaic Adaptation in Peninsular Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Rebecca A. Saunders– “Archaeology of Santa Cataline and Santa Maria Spanish Missions, Amelia Island” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Michael R. Scanlon– “The At-Large Election in Florida: 1910-1980” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Richard K. Scher (faculty)– “Towards the New South” (continuing study).
- Susan Sowell– “History of Archer, Florida” (master’s thesis in progress).
- James Sullivan– “Rank and File Initiative: Alachua County in the 1968 Florida Teacher Walkout” (master’s thesis in progress).
- Arthur O. White (faculty)– “William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922” (continuing study).
- John E. Worth– “The Impact of European Contact on the Native Peoples of North Florida” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*University of Georgia*

- Louis DeVorsey and Charles Hudson (faculty)– “The de Soto Map” (continuing study).
- Charles Hudson (faculty)– “The Route of de Soto” (continuing study).

*University of Miami*

- Gregory W. Bush (faculty)– “Playgrounds of the USA: Miami and the Rise of Winter Leisure, 1895-1929” (continuing study).
- Patricia R. Wickman– “Charles III: Florida and the Gulf” (publication forthcoming); “The Florida Frontier: Using Demographic Problem Solving and Inverse Projection to Estimate Population Figures and Vital Rates for St. Augustine, East Florida, during the Second Spanish Period” (study completed); “Florida as Latin America: Contact and Early Settlement” (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); “Florida Demographic Bibliography” (continuing study).



*University of North Florida*

- James B. Crooks (faculty)– “Jacksonville After the Fire: A New South City, 1901-1919” (publication forthcoming); “Jacksonville Since Consolidation” (continuing study).  
Daniel L. Schafer (faculty)– “Caleb Lyndon Brayton and the Indian River Settlers in the 1840s and 1850s”; “Slavery in Northeast Florida”; “British East Florida” (continuing studies).

*University of South Florida*

- Stephen E. Branch– “Lakeland’s Movie Palace: The Golden Years of the Polk Theatre” (master’s thesis in progress).  
Nancy A. Hewitt (faculty)– “Working Women in Tampa, 1885-1945” (continuing study).  
Thomas Wayne Jones– “Harold Reddick” (master’s thesis in progress).  
Jack B. Moore (faculty)– “Jack Dempsey in Miami”; “Jack Dempsey in Tampa”; “Black Tampa in Photographs” (continuing studies).  
Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– “A Social History of Florida, 1492-1992” (continuing study).  
Allen Padgett– “Naval Stores and Timber Workers in Hernando County, 1870-1930” (master’s thesis in progress).  
Robert E. Snyder (faculty)– “The Tin Can Tourist”; “The Farm Security Photography Project in Florida, 1935-1943” (continuing studies).

*University of Tampa*

- James W. Covington (faculty)– “Plant and His Palace: The Life of Henry Bradley Plant and the Tampa Bay Hotel” (publication forthcoming).

*University of West Florida*

- William S. Coker (faculty)– “The Mobile Cadets, 1845-1945”; “Biography of Peter Bryan Bruin of Spanish West Florida” (continuing studies).  
Mary Dawkins– “The Parish of St. Michael the Archangel: The First 100 Years, 1781-1881” (master’s thesis in progress).

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS 359

Jane Dysart (faculty)– “Antebellum Pensacola” (continuing study).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– “The Civil War in Pensacola” (continuing study).

*Valdosta State College*

Fred Lamar Pearson (faculty)– “Spanish-Indian Relations in Florida”; “The Guale Rebellion” (continuing studies).

*Winthrop College*

Lynn Willoughby (faculty)– “Ol’ Times There Are Not Forgotten: The Antebellum Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley”; “The Journal of H. S. Baldwin, Aboard the US blockading vessel *Port Royal* in the Gulf of Mexico, 1862-1863” (continuing studies).

*Consulting and/or Research Historians*

Kathryn H. Braund– “Biography of David Taitt”; “The Origin and Course of the Creek-Choctaw War, 1763-1776” (continuing studies).

Paul George– “Broward’s Flagship City: Fort Lauderdale, 1945-1990” (study completed); “History of the Miami Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged”; “History of the Burdine Family”; “History of Oakland Park”; “Mid-nineteenth Century Settlements in Dade County”; “Jewish Neighborhoods in Dade County” (continuing studies).

Paul George, Charlton Tebeau, and Wright Langley– “Hurricane History: A History of the University of Miami” (study completed).

Julius J. Gordon– “Captain Peter Pelham, Indian Sub-Agent, Territory of Florida, 1821-1823”; “An Analysis of the Post Returns, Fort Brooke, 1824-1840”; “Church History, Hillsborough County, 1840-1880” (continuing studies).

John W. Griffin– “History of Florida Archaeology”; “Plantations Along the Halifax and Hillsborough Rivers” (continuing studies).

- Patricia Griffin— “Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788” (publication forthcoming); “An African Slave in St. Augustine” (continuing study).
- Patricia Griffin and Diana Edwards— “Richard Aloysius Twine: Photographer of Lincolnville, 1922-1927” (continuing study).
- Leland Hawes— “History of the *Tampa Tribune*” (continuing study).
- John Paul Jones— “In the Sand: The History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1929” (forthcoming publication).
- Spessard Stone— “The Rachel Davis Family: Black Citrus Growers and Cattlemen in South Florida” (continuing study).
- Kyle S. VanLandingham— “Biography of William Brinton Hooker” (continuing study).
- Zack C. Waters— “Through Good and Evil Fortune: The Military Career of Brigadier General Robert Bullock of Florida”; “History of Finegan’s Florida Brigade” (continuing studies).
- Patsy West and David M. Blackard— “The Late Nineteenth Century Seminole Cultural System” (continuing study).

*University Presses of Florida, Forthcoming Publications*

- Canter Brown, Jr.— *Florida’s Peace River Frontier*.
- Lance deHaven-Smith— *Environmental Concern in Florida and the Nation*.
- Donna Dickerson— *Florida Media Law* (2d edition).
- Charles C. Foster— *Conchtown USA: Bahamian Fisherfolk in Riviera Beach, Florida*.
- Steve Glassman and Kathryn Lee Seidel, eds.— *Zora in Florida*.
- William Pohl and John Ames— *Speaking of Florida*.
- Delno C. West and August Kling, eds. and trans.— *The Libro de las profecias of Christopher Columbus: An enface Edition*.

*University of Alabama Press, Forthcoming Publications*

- David Dodrill— *Selling the Dream: The Gulf American Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral, Florida*.
- Charles R. Ewen— *From Spaniard to Creole: The Archaeology of Cultural Formation at Puerto Real, Haiti*.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS 361

Wiley Housewright— *A History of Music and Dance in Florida, 1565-1865.*

Anthony Paredes, ed.— *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late Twentieth Century.*

Patricia Wickman— *Osceola's Legacy.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Operation Drumbeat: The Dramatic True Story of Germany's First U-Boat Attacks Along the American Coast in World War II.* By Michael Gannon. (New York: Harper and Row, 1990. xxii, 490 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, maps, photographs, afterward, notes, select bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Three days after Pearl Harbor, Admiral Karl Donitz launched Operation Paukenschlag (Drumbeat), sending German submarines to the United States' east coast before the Americans could react to the Nazi declaration of war. He could muster only five U-boats for this bold attempt to overload the nascent American defense system. Donitz's strategy succeeded beyond reasonable expectations as the five U-boats sank twenty-five ships in twenty-six days. Although the United States Navy had advance information about Operation Drumbeat from British Intelligence, it did not employ the twenty-five destroyers available to it for anti-submarine use.

Kapitanleutnant (Lieutenant Commander) Reinhard Hardegen, commanding officer of the *U-123*, is the protagonist of University of Florida Professor Michael Gannon's narrative. Hardegen's exploits as a submarine skipper rival the best adventures ever created by Hollywood. A few examples should suffice. His first command was the *U-147*, a small coastal training submarine crewed by sailors on their first underseas voyage. Before his training was completed, he was ordered into the North Sea on an operational cruise where his green crew sunk the *Augvald* bound for England. On Hardegen's Drumbeat cruise he brought the *U-123* to the mouth of New York City's harbor where he marveled at the nonchalance of the Americans who kept the lights burning brightly. He had his photographer record this spectacular scene of Coney Island's parachute jump and ferris wheel silhouetted by the sky-glow backdrop. Three hours and forty minutes later he sank the tanker *Coimbra*. After all his torpedoes were expended, he intercepted the tanker *Pan Norway*. He surfaced for a two-hour dual between his deck gun and machine gun and the Norwegian machine guns. When the tanker finally sank, he led the neutral Swiss *Mount Aetna* back to rescue the survivors. Hardegen's feats come to life in Gannon's narrative.

Far more significant than a good story line is Gannon's thesis that Operation Drumbeat was the Atlantic's "Pearl Harbor," inflicting greater damage to ships, personnel, and the American war effort than the Japanese attack on December 7, 1941. Further, he probed for an answer as to why the United States Navy's anti-submarine defenses on the east coast were executed so dismally during the first six months of the war, and he builds a sound case that much of this defect may be laid to Admiral Ernest J. King, the chief of Naval Operations. This new and startling thesis, forty-five years after World War II, is a tightly reasoned argument based upon extensive research in German, British, and American archives, including some documents just recently declassified.

His research development is equally fascinating as he went from footnote to paragraph, to chapter, and finally to this book. Working on an earlier history of Florida, he wondered if he could find who had sunk the *Gulfamerica* off Jacksonville Beach, Florida, in April 1942. He located first the *U-123*, and then its commander. Gannon attended a reunion of the *U-123*'s crewmembers in Germany in 1985. He also conducted extensive interviews with Reinhard Hardegen at his home in Bremen, Germany, during 1985 and 1986. Assimilating and coordinating these interviews with official records in German, British, and United States archives led Gannon to the realization that his material was more than a chapter in a Florida history; it was a significant book in itself. This work is not just Florida or naval history, it is a major historical contribution to the conduct of World War II.

It is rare indeed for a history to have an interesting, even gripping narrative, while presenting a significant new interpretation based upon exhaustive research. Michael Gannon's *Operation Drumbeat* is such a book.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER

*Confederate Florida: The Road to Olustee.* By William H. Nulty. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. xi, 273 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95.)

Florida was one of three frontier states in the Confederacy (Texas and Arkansas were the others). Geographical isolation,

sparse population, lack of industry, and the absence (for most of the war) of a rail connection to other states all combined to keep Florida on the periphery of the Civil War. In early 1862 the Confederate government all but abandoned Florida to concentrate its resources in more critical areas. Northern forces held several enclaves along the Florida coast, but for the most part the Yankees, too, were content to let the state alone. However, after Federal armies gained control of the Mississippi River in mid-1863, thereby cutting the Confederacy in half, Florida became of some importance as a source of beef cattle and other supplies for the Confederates.

Early in 1864 a Federal force moved west from Jacksonville into north Florida. On February 20 these Federals clashed with Confederate troops at Olustee, east of Lake City. After a nasty little fight, the Unionists retreated to Jacksonville. The Confederates—many of whom had been rushed south from Georgia to meet the invasion—returned to their old posts, and things in Florida pretty much settled down to await the end of the war.

William Nulty's *Confederate Florida* is a history of military operations in the state through the Battle of Olustee. Approximately 75 percent of the book is devoted to the Olustee campaign and battle. Despite its title, the book contains virtually nothing on the broader story of Florida and its people in the Confederacy.

Nulty's account is competently done, but it is unbalanced. The preponderance of northern sources ensured that Federal activities in the battle would be covered in far more detail than would those of the Confederates. The maps of the battle itself are helpful (showing artillery positions on them, however, would have enhanced their value since the "long arm" figures feature so prominently in Nulty's narrative). The general maps, on the other hand, are not detailed enough for the text. Where, for example, is Valdosta (mentioned several times in the text but not shown on any of the maps)?

Nulty's writing sometimes drags—especially when he simply summarizes one document after another. The text also suffers from the usual problems with pronouns (plural pronouns with singular antecedents). An occasional sentence jars the mind. ("Three large buildings were in flames as the raiders entered the town, who missed by fifteen minutes a train from Lake City which had picked up some government stores" p. 98.)

The most important contribution of Nulty's work will doubtless be his reassessment of Federal motives for undertaking the Olustee campaign. Most earlier writers had stressed the supposed connection of the campaign, the effort to set up a loyal government in Florida, and the 1864 presidential election in the United States. A loyal government in Florida would have provided convention support and three electoral votes for whichever politician controlled it.

Nulty downplays the political factors behind the campaign. He stresses instead such matters as supplies, recruits for black regiments, control of railroads, the need to open a port in the area, and the prestige that would come from restoring a state to the Union. His arguments are based on the wrong sources. He points out, for example, that Confederate leaders did not assign such a political motive to the invasion (p. 105). Nor did Nulty consult the papers of northern politicians. This is not to say that Nulty is wrong—only that the sources he used were not the ones where evidence of a political motive was likely to be found. Indeed, would clever politicians have left a written trail pointing to such a sordid reason for sending soldiers to die?

*Decatur, Georgia*

RICHARD M. MCMURRY

*First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492-1570.* Edited by Jerald T. Milanich and Susan Milbrath, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989, 222 pp. Contributors, acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, maps, selected references, index, illustration credits. \$44.95 cloth; \$16.95 paper.)

This volume, latest in the series of Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History, is published as an accompaniment to the Florida Museum of Natural History's traveling exhibit "First Encounters." Handsomely designed and illustrated, written in nontechnical language, it is ideal for the coffee tables of armchair archaeologists and historians. With these readers in mind, editors Jerald T. Milanich and Susan Milbrath devote the first chapter to the historical and cultural context of discovery and exploration. It is a useful historical summary



which doubles as an introduction to the volume, pointing out the importance of each contribution and setting it in place like a jewel.

In the twelve essays that follow— all but two of them appearing for the first time— scholars present the results of a decade of research. These fall into five areas of investigation. William F. Keegan, Kathleen A. Deagan, and Eugene Lyon bow goodhumoredly to the public demand for historical firsts with new information about Columbus's 1492 voyage, landfall, ships, and settlement, "La Navidad," on the northwest coast of Española. Charles R. Ewen and Maurice W. Williams report on the nearby sixteenth-century settlement of Puerto Real, also in present Haiti.

The knowledge about southeastern Indians to be obtained by tracking explorers continues to gain the attention of Charles Hudson, Chester B. DePratter, Marvin T. Smith, Jeffrey M. Mitchem, Emilia Kelley, and Charles Ewen, who analyze routes, camps, artifacts, and Indian towns to offer insights about the natives who faced down Pánfilo de Narváez, Hernando de Soto, and Tristán de Luna. Eugene Lyon presents Pedro Menéndez's grand design for "La Florida"; Edward Chaney and Kathleen Deagan bring things back to earth with a dose of St. Augustine archaeology. Susan Milbrath concludes the book with a change-of-pace chapter on early European images of America.

Separately, the essays are learned and interesting, each one representing a valuable contribution to the state of knowledge in its field. As a collection, however, they lack an organizing principle. There is no unifying theme that would explain, for example, the omissions of Chicora, Axacán, and Santa Elena, each of which has been the subject of recent research.

The editors' stated purpose, to tell the story of early Spanish contact, "focusing on the Caribbean explorations and settlements that were a prelude to the exploration and settlement of the United States" (p. 4), is ambiguous. Their second, implicit purpose, to remedy the oversight in United States history textbooks which ignore the three centuries when La Florida was "a part of Spain" (p. 4), unconsciously weakens the argument against Anglocentric history by conflating mother country with colony.

The title of the book introduces its own conceptual difficulties. "First encounters" and "explorations" are historical terms

that traditionally exclude settlement. The term "United States" applied to sixteenth-century North America is an anachronism. It moreover includes the Southwest, a region that does not figure in the book beyond the introduction. But we reach the point of diminishing returns. That not all the Europeans of the pre-1570 encounter were Spaniards— that a number of them were French corsairs— is, for example, a point that can wait to be made until after the Columbus Quincentenary.

The many illustrations in *First Encounters* are well chosen and carefully reproduced. The maps are models of clarity. The text is sprigged with little, distracting errors.

*University of California at Irvine*

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL

*Hearth and Knapsack: The Ladley Letters, 1857-1880.* Edited by Carl M. Becker and Ritchie Thomas. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1988. xxiii, 414 pp. Introduction, epilogue, notes, appendices, maps, illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

Oscar Derostus Ladley was a twenty-four year old retail clerk from Yellow Springs, Ohio, who enlisted in the Sixteenth Ohio Volunteers for ninety days early in 1861. He saw brief service in western Virginia, and, despite his expressed bitterness toward officers and army life, reenlisted in the Seventy-Fifth Ohio Volunteers at the expiration of his term. This regiment saw action in the 1862 Valley campaign and at the battles of Second Bull Run, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg before it was transferred to the Department of the South. In March 1864, Ladley and his comrades were ordered to Florida, where in August the Seventy-Fifth Ohio was routed by Captain J. J. Dickison and his men at the Battle of Gainesville. In January 1865, the three-year enlistment of the unit expired, and Ladley and the remnants of his regiment were discharged. After two failed attempts to establish himself in business, Ladley re-entered the army in 1867. He soon was transferred to Fort Sully in the Dakota Territory and spent most of the rest of his life at various posts on the western frontier. Ladley died in January 1880, while participating in an expedition to subdue the Ute Indians in Colorado.

Throughout his adult life Ladley carried on a remarkable correspondence with his mother and two sisters. Those letters

form the backbone of the book *Hearth and Knapsack* and chronicle the pride, boredom, bravery, cowardice, successes, and failures of Ladley and his associates. For example, writing to his mother following the Battle of Gettysburg, Ladley reports: "It was a regular hand to hand fight. Our Brig (Ohio) had sworn never to turn so they stood but it was a dear stand to some of them. I have six men left[.]" His letters also pull no punches. Writing of an officer in his regiment, Ladley states: "Captain James W. Swope was requested to resign as that would save him the disgrace of being dismissed from the service. Charges were preferred aghainst him for cowardice in the face of the enemy."

Ladley's letters reveal a complex, enigmatic individual. He was an abject failure in business but advanced steadily from private to captain in the Union army. As superintendent in charge of distributing food to the Sioux Indians in the Dakota Territory, he was considered a friend by the Indians, while privately expressing loathing for them. His wartime letters reveal little hatred or contempt for Southerners, but a virtual phobia concerning the "dutch" (German immigrants) soldiers in the Federal service. Ladley also belittled his hometown of Yellow Springs, but continually begged his mother and sisters for news of local citizens and events.

Unfortunately, those readers whose interest is limited to Florida history may be disappointed by this book. It contains sixteen letters from the state which reveal a fascination with the state's tropical beauty, but provide little insight into conditions in northeast Florida. There is a brief description of a skirmish near Jacksonville and the capture of two blockade runners at New Smyrna, but Ladley was confined to a hospital with malaria during the Gainesville campaign, so his letters provide nothing but sketchy, second-hand information regarding that action.

Readers with broader interests will be treated to a fascinating collection of letters. The editors have contributed an excellent introduction and a helpful glossary of names appearing in the Ladley correspondence. The footnotes, however, are inadequate and buried in the back of the book. It is easy also to quibble over details (such as the uncontested assertion by Ladley that Dickison had 800 men at the Battle of Gainesville), but these minor problems should not deter the reader from mining the substantial wealth of information in this valuable book.

*Rome, Georgia*

ZACK C. WATERS

*The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier.* By Edward J. Cashin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. xii, 360 pp. Preface, maps, epilogue, biographical sketches, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

For 200 years the infamous Thomas Brown has symbolized the treachery and rapine of the British in Revolutionary Georgia. The Revolution in the southern background was largely a story of atrocities—murders, rape, and pillage. In the folklore of the past, the winners—the patriots—conveniently overlooked the savage acts committed by those under their banner and exaggerated the war crimes committed by the losers: the British Regulars, the Hessians, and the Loyalists. Thomas Brown was one of the latter. Operating under the patronage of East Florida's Governor Patrick Tonyn, Brown organized the King's Rangers, a crack regiment of southern Loyalists. The Rangers helped check rebel advances into Florida; plundered thousands of head of rebel cattle to feed the soldiers and citizens of St. Augustine; and, under Brown's leadership, became one of His Majesty's most potent weapons in the southern theater of war from Florida to Ninety-Six, South Carolina.

Cashin proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the mythmakers and historians have been unkind in depicting Brown as the devil incarnate. In this well researched and persuasively argued book, Brown emerges as a gentleman of honor and duty who served his king well and who, for the most part, worked diligently as colonel of the King's Rangers and superintendent to the southern Indians to prevent the very kinds of atrocities that he has been accused of committing. Yet, Brown was no angel. At Augusta, Georgia, he hung rebel prisoners who had broken their parole, albeit, under the orders of his superior.

More than a biography of Brown, this book is a history of the Revolution in the southern backcountry and shows the interconnectedness of the war in Georgia with events in East Florida and the Indian country. Brown was one of the architects of the British southern strategy to coordinate Indian-backed Loyalist attacks in the backcountry with assaults by British Regulars along the Atlantic coast. Cashin argues that, rather than ideology, the deciding factor in determining the allegiance of many backcountry people was the British decision to employ Indians

in warfare. This alienated many white settlers who otherwise might have favored the king or remained neutral in the conflict.

After the war, many of the Rangers and other southern Loyalists moved to St. Augustine where they intended to settle permanently. Upon Florida's transfer to Spanish authority, however, the expatriates were forced to leave. Cashin recounts, in one of the most interesting sections of the book, how Brown won the favor of Florida's new Spanish governor, Vizente Manuel de Zéspedes, so that years later he would be invited back to Florida as the Spanish superintendent of Indian affairs, an appointment of which the British government did not approve and which Brown did not accept. Upon leaving Florida, Brown and many other Loyalists settled first in the Bahamas and then moved to other islands in the West Indies, but their ties with Florida remained strong.

This book reminds the reader of the importance of personal connections and self-interest in determining the allegiance of individuals in a civil war—the American Revolution was very much a civil war, where vendettas and petty quarrels were as apt to determine loyalties as any other factor. Yet the Revolution was also a war of ideas in which brothers found themselves on opposite sides fighting for abstractions that gave meaning to their existence. The fact that Brown and other Loyalists later adopted the arguments of the American rebels in their own fight for political rights in the Bahamas should remind us of the transforming power of the ideas of the American Revolution.

*Western Washington University*

ALAN GALLAY

*Nine Florida Stories by Marjory Stoneman Douglas.* Edited by Kevin M. McCarthy. (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1990. xviii, 198 pp. Introduction, map, photograph. \$24.95.)

These nine stories by Marjory Stoneman Douglas first appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* in the first half of this century. Like the early work of many successful writers, the collection may never have found publication on its literary merit alone

had Mrs. Douglas not gained later prominence. Nevertheless, the stories are an interesting addition to the work of this multifaceted woman. The introduction provides biographical information and creates a context for the stories. Yet it also alerts the reader that this book is as much a historical as a literary document; a "picture of life in South Florida during the first half of this century."

In the first story, "Pineland," a reporter drives home the mother of a man who has just been hanged for bank-robbery and murder. She is a strong woman who works the land by herself, a theme that is repeated in "Bees in the Mango Bloom." The story is written in a formula described by McCarthy in the introduction. It is one of several "stories about a noble protagonist, with a little sex and few cuss words thrown in." McCarthy states that Mrs. Douglas abandoned this formula in subsequent stories, yet she clearly adheres to it in "A Bird In The Hand," which deals with the Florida land boom of the 1920s and the unlikely love affair of George Haynes, a young, idealistic man with Marxist notions about private property, and a hard-nosed real estate salesperson named Pomona Brown. Predictably, George recognizes the error of his Marxist thinking, buys a tract of wetland he has never seen, and vows to create a homestead where he and Pomona will live in capitalistic bliss ever after. Like an art deco hotel in Miami Beach, this story is a period piece that has not worn well with time.

After the second story I decided to relax, kick off my critical shoes, and enjoy the book for what it is: stories of "hurricanes and plane crashes, of kidnappers, escaped convicts, and smugglers."

"He Man" is an initiation story with ethos of Hemingway, not only for its setting in the Gulf Stream but because of the manly code by which its characters live. Ronny, the young protagonist, is initiated into manhood as a result of an airplane crash. "Twenty Minutes Late for Dinner" is another sea adventure story featuring smugglers, the coast guard, and the hero, Hobe, who is torn between love and duty. This might be one of the most successful stories in the book for its touches of irony that save it from heavy-handed characterization. "Plumes" is another story I found myself liking despite my better judgment. The story deals with the tragic world of the plume trade where hunters killed herons and egrets for their feathers. Mrs. Douglas

writes: "The night was soft, domed with the myriad dust of stars. Across the lake came occasionally the stir and squawk of uneasy fledglings." It is in writing about the land and its wildlife that Mrs. Douglas is most eloquent, and there are some wonderfully lyrical passages in "September— Remember," and "The Road to the Horizon," as well.

Although the characters in these stories are flat, nearly allegorical figures, the book helps fill the niche that the University Presses of Florida has created for itself. There is not much to interest the literary audience in *Nine Florida Stories*, but as a sample of the early fiction of a farsighted and articulate advocate for the environment, and a picture of life in early south Florida, the book is a worthy addition to the work of the remarkable Marjory Stoneman Douglas.

*University of Central Florida*

JONATHAN HARRINGTON

*Public Faces-Private Lives: Women in South Florida, 1870s-1910s.*

By Karen Davis. (Miami: Pickering Press, 1990. x, 195 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, bibliography, additional reading, index. \$12.95.)

Most of the history of south Florida is seen through the accomplishments of its movers and shakers— the Henry Flaglers, Colonel Bradleys, Frank Stranahans, and Ralph Munroes. Changing the camera angle, Karen Davis looks at it from a fresh point of view, focusing on early south Florida as seen through the eyes of the women who cooked the meals, washed the clothes, gave birth to the babies, taught the school children and, all too often, lived out their days in loneliness and isolation.

Davis has traced the everyday lives of pioneer women through their frank, sometimes racy, personal journals, papers, and letters. The voices that speak in *Public Faces— Private Lives* tell us of concerns not usually examined in historical works: "female problems"; swim suits, modest but dangerously bulky; bear fat as a substitute for butter; doctors too far away to care for sick or injured children; and the wearing away of a woman's youth from too many childbirths.

Birth control information was slow to reach the backwoods of south Florida. Della Keen wrote from Fort Pierce in 1894, to

a friend in the pinewoods scrub north of today's Miami: "Well, Mary I think that you have got enough of little ones. You shud not have so many and times so hard but I guess you are like I am. If you could stop you would if you could. I have not got but too now but I think there is something the matter now. I hope that I will never have another one. I rether be ded than to no that I was that way again. I dont think that I could ever stand it again."

There is a down-to-earth realism about these pioneer women. Mary tells about unemployment created as Flagler's railroad moved past her town and tells her friend in Miami, where the railroad is headed: "I hope it wont hurt that place like it has this." Marion Geer writes about arriving on the island that became Palm Beach with something less than boosterism: "Our 'Garden of Eden'. . . . Oh desolation! What a place to travel weary days and nights to find."

Mary Barr Munroe was a woman of culture, the daughter of a Scottish novelist, and the wife of a popular American author, Kirk Munroe. An insecure individual, she describes in her journal a March day in 1886 at her home in Coconut Grove: "A lonely day. I spent the morning mending and cleaning my clothes, ironing and reading— and the afternoon pretty much the same— I am so tired of the people, their troubles and care."

One who found little hardship was Emma Gilpin, who brought a moneyed background with her into pre-Flagler Palm Beach. Her account of the effect of Flagler on Palm Beach property values is a welcome addition to our knowledge of that colorful period. Interestingly enough, Flagler's arrival in 1894 drove the Gilpins, enthusiastic sailors, south to Coconut Grove. Emma did not like the flash of the Gilded Age. The Royal Poinciana Hotel was, to her, "ugly— a big barricade."

Karen Davis's readable story of these pioneer women fills in many blank spaces in the history of Florida at the turn of the century. "Without their written records," she writes in closing, "the reality of pioneer life would be flat, two-dimensional, and much harder to imagine."

*Lighthouse Point, Florida*

STUART B. MCIVER



*George Wythe Randolph and the Confederate Elite*. By George Green Shackelford. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. xii, 235 pp. Preface, photographs, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Readers of this journal are familiar with the rich biographical traditions of southern historiography. You will doubtless be disappointed in this book. The author rightfully has identified George Wythe Randolph as an individual worthy of biographical consideration. Randolph's genealogy is impressive if for no other reason than that he was Thomas Jefferson's grandson and Thomas Mann and Martha Jefferson Randolph's son. A youthful career in the navy, a formal education at the University of Virginia, and a successful Richmond law practice all helped position Randolph for leadership in the secession convention of Virginia and the Confederate government. He rose quickly in the ranks of the Confederate military with service at Yorktown. After Jefferson Davis experienced frustration with the service of Secretary of War Judah Benjamin, Randolph proved a judicious choice to succeed him. Randolph brought an engineer's sense of organization to the war department and instituted a number of improvements which helped supply the Confederate armies. The highlights of his career suggest that a biography of Randolph has great potential. It could serve to illustrate the story of a lesser official of the Confederacy, and, in keeping with similar biographies of Albert Gallatin and of Samuel Chase, could serve to explore the inner workings of Civil War-era politics. Shackelford's bibliography and notes suggest that the book is well researched and well grounded in the secondary literature. Unfortunately, the author does not take advantage of this, but rather tries to use the life of Randolph as a vehicle for studying the concept of a Confederate elite. The result is that biography is overcome by theory at times. This is not to suggest that the theory is inappropriate; there is good reason to think that a study of the Confederate elites would be a useful way to understand the inner workings of the war years. To accomplish this would require a closer look at the lives of a larger sample of Randolph's contemporaries. When biography prevails over theory, the reader is subjected to too many uncritical analyses which do more to praise the subject than they do to provide understanding. When the reader is through, one does know

much more of George Wythe Randolph; unfortunately, one is simply left wondering whether there might have been a better way of learning what he knows.

*Georgia College*

THOMAS F. ARMSTRONG

*General A. P. Hill: The Story of a Confederate Warrior.* By James I. Robertson, Jr. (New York: Random House, 1987. xv, 382 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, photographs, notes, works cited, index. \$24.95.)

Ambrose Powell Hill often is cited as a military example of the so-called "Peter Principle." A competent officer in the antebellum United States army, he served in Mexico, Texas, Florida, and a variety of military posts before resigning to join the Confederate forces defending his native Virginia. An accomplished regimental commander and an even more skillful brigadier, Powell Hill became with his promotion to major general in May 1862 perhaps the best division commander in the Army of Northern Virginia. But corps-level command, to which he rose in 1863, proved ultimately to be beyond his capacity, as James I. Robertson, Jr., demonstrates with compassionate but thorough scrutiny in *General A. P. Hill: The Story of a Confederate Warrior*.

Robertson's accomplishment owes much to his use of a wealth of previously untapped primary source material. This includes references to Hill in the letters of common soldiers, together with Hill family correspondence, some of Hill's own Mexican and Civil War letters, and a prewar diary. The author's judicious use of quotations provides the reader with insights into Hill's inner self, his passions and ambitions, his loneliness and frustrations. For this reason, if no other, Robertson's book surpasses William W. Hassler's *A. P. Hill: Lee's Forgotten General* (revised and reprinted, 1962).

Equally important, Robertson identifies for the first time the central tragedy in Hill's life, his contraction of venereal disease shortly before entering West Point. This painful by-product of youthful indiscretion not only thwarted Hill's first matrimonial plans, it progressively impaired his performance as a military commander. By early 1865, Hill was "increasingly lethargic" and

occasionally disoriented. "Being attentive and able to carry on a conversation was at times beyond his ability" (p. 310). Robertson describes Hill's slow degeneration so poignantly that the general's death, during a dangerous and perhaps subconsciously suicidal cross-country ride, reads like a release rather than a misfortune.

Some readers (including this reviewer) may disagree with Robertson on particular points of interpretation or presentation of character, but his objectivity is noteworthy. He portrays not only Hill, but also Robert E. Lee and the rest of the Confederate high command, as fallible human beings who often made mistakes. "Warrior" is an appropriate adjective for Hill. Proud and ambitious, he frequently lacked strength, and sometimes ability, but never courage.

Robertson devotes only a few pages to Hill's seven years of pre-war service in Florida, but students of the state's history will find them particularly interesting. From a post north of Tampa Bay, Hill enthusiastically, if inaccurately, quoted London playwright Douglas William Jerrold's famous remark about Australia in reference to Florida's soil: "earth is so kind here. You have only to tickle her with a hoe and she laughs with a harvest" (p. 21). Yet he compared the local mosquitoes to vampires and dreaded each year's approaching yellow fever season, without, of course, linking cause and effect. Hill considered the Seminoles, chased futilely by the army, "poor, lazy harmless devils" who should be left alone in the swampy land "no white man could, or would live in" (p. 24).

Well-written, thoroughly researched, and supported by excellent maps and illustrations, *General A. P. Hill* will appeal to scholars and the general reader alike.

*Southwest Missouri State University* WILLIAM GARRETT PISTON

*Prison Life Among the Rebels: Recollections of a Union Chaplain.*

Edited by Edward D. Jerve. (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1990. xiii, 94 pp. Preface, introduction, epilogue, notes, index. \$26.00 cloth; \$12.50 paper.)

Methodist minister Henry S. White became chaplain of the Rhode Island Heavy Artillery Regiment in January 1863. He

remained with its members until May 1864, when they were captured in North Carolina. Four months later White was released. He returned home and published eighteen letters about his military experiences in the *Zion's Herald*. It is not clear if White wrote the letters in prison or, more likely, after his release.

White's first letter, October 20, 1864, briefly recounts his capture and release and lists seven reasons why he felt the South soon would have to end the war. Later letters describe, in greater detail, his capture, the trek to Georgia, and the Confederate prison camps at Andersonville and Macon. There is nothing in them that would surprise any student of the war: prison conditions were wretched, rations inadequate, the southern economy nearly in ruins, and the prisoners spent much of their time talking of home or their plans to escape.

White's prose often stoops to patriotic bombast or sentimental piety. Once, when White questioned his own faith, he asked, "Was the gospel a vast and immutable truth? Was there a heaven, a God?" Faster than White could have thought those words, he affirmed his anticipated response: "Yes. I saw it all and rejoiced. The stars gilded diadem, a fragment of which I beheld above me, that rests on and adorns the august brow of the Infinite, the Omnipotent, as I closed my eyes seemed but a faint shadow, compared with the magnificence of reality that rose before me, as in faith's inspiration I looked out on that constellation of truths that is revealed in the word of God" (p. 52).

White's least admirable trait was his ready acceptance of the benefits his stature as a clergyman afforded him. Although he wrote that he regretted that he could not "preach Christ to those dear and dying men" (p. 42) at Andersonville (where he had stayed only a day), White made no effort to remain with prisoners any longer than he had to. He condemned local women, who "come and gather on the high grounds that overlook the stockade, and watch the inmates," but never saw himself as another interloper. When his profession offered him an early release, White did not try to remain with his men. Instead, he pompously concluded his last prison prayer service by assuring the men that although he would soon leave them behind, the chaplains "go out from among you, and the only pain we feel is that you are to be left behind; but one thing we can do— we can

pray for you. Now we may not meet again on the earth, but so many of you as will promise to try to meet us in heaven, please raise your right hands" (p. 77).

White's observations are worth reading, but they are not so unique or important to be republished twice. Most of his letters already have appeared in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Winter 1986) and *Civil War History* (March 1988). Jervey's brief introductory remarks and notes in *Prison Life Among the Rebels* have not varied much from what he had included in the two earlier versions. Readers still do not know much about White as a man or a civilian minister (later in life he was accused of financial improprieties), and Jervey does not explain what he means by labeling the *Zion's Herald* as "a fiercely independent Methodist newspaper." (*Civil War History* 34 (March 1988), 22). Jervey should be lauded for bringing to light White's letters, but no library, which already has these two journals in its collection, needs to add *Prison Life Among the Rebels*.

St. Bonaventure University

EDWARD K. ECKERT

*The Union League Movement in the Deep South: Politics and Agricultural Change During Reconstruction.* By Michael W. Fitzgerald. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. x, 283 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Dunningite historians generally portrayed the Union League as a significant and evil presence, while revisionists have either ignored or downplayed its importance. Professor Fitzgerald discredits both interpretations and proposes "to provide a more accurate historical account of the Union League as a political movement and also to illuminate the social impact of the Radical upsurge in Alabama and Mississippi" (p. 7).

Fitzgerald admirably demonstrates that the League's egalitarian rhetoric attracted large numbers of freedmen and that it achieved substantial political clout in some areas for a few years. Interestingly, the League's first members tended to be white unionists from north Alabama who also hated the large planters, and it was them, rather than northern orators, who often re-

cruited freedmen. Freedmen eagerly joined the League with its secret rituals, not because they were ignorant, as Dunningites charged, but because they desired autonomy and hoped that the League would help them achieve it. The League not only instructed former slaves in Republican politics, but also assisted them in securing needed Bureau relief, and veterans' bounties and generally supported them against the white establishment. When freedmen gained control of local leagues, however, and focused on more radical issues critical to the black community, factionalism frequently followed. In fact, the real position of the League's leadership was probably as unclear to freedmen as it is to the reader. Fitzgerald claims the League was "used to direct the freedmen toward a more moderate course than they might otherwise have taken" (p. 10), yet he also describes the League's organ, the *Great Republic*, as a "radical publication" (p. 61) and contends that "the League acted initially as a Radical caucus within the Republican party" (p. 72). Probably the national leadership was moderate, while some local leaders were more radical. Whatever the League's position, it was vigorously opposed by planters, and Fitzgerald sees the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama and Mississippi as a planter tool to destroy the League.

Fitzgerald's major thesis is that the League played an important role in the emergence of decentralized tenant farming. "In Alabama and Mississippi, the Union League focused labor force resistance to planter domination," the author stated, and it "represented both a political movement and an agrarian upsurge" (p. 6). Undoubtedly the League was a factor in black resistance to planter domination and the gang system of labor, but the case easily could be overstated. The League may have been more a vehicle for, rather than an initiator of, freedmen's movements since freedmen were restive under white domination before the League arrived. The League tapped, but did not create, black resistance to the agricultural system. For example, in Mississippi several plantation counties experienced little effective Republican organizing before mid-1869, yet freedmen already had demanded the right to sharecrop and rent land. Indeed, in some instances when leagues attempted to moderate black resistance they withdrew and formed their own local councils. Inadequate currency and the recognition that freedmen worked more effectively as sharecroppers and renters also contributed significantly to the breakup of the old style plantation.

Despite minor quibbles, Professor Fitzgerald has performed an important service in retrieving the lost history of the Union League in Alabama and Mississippi. His book is impressively researched, well organized, and clearly written. It is provocative and informative and will surely stimulate further research on the Union League in other southern states, including Florida.

*Florida State University*

JOE M. RICHARDSON

*"With All and for the Good of All": The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898.* By Gerald E. Poyo. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989. xvii, 182 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.95.)

In this concise but complex volume Gerald Poyo traces "the process by which [Cuban] nationalism changed its character in the nineteenth century." The blueprint for "popular nationalism" in Latin America— which involved gaining economic as well as political control and "modifying socioeconomic relationships among classes, broadening political access, and celebrating indigenous cultural traditions"— was first mapped out by Cuban exiles in the 1880s and 1890s (p. xiv). Poyo begins his study several decades earlier to illustrate how the voices of liberal nationalists with their annexationist sympathies were drowned out as emigre cigar workers surged to the forefront of the independence struggle.

Using extensive materials from Cuba as well as United States archives, Poyo tells three distinct but intertwined stories: that of political and social developments in Cuba, of changing relations between Cuba and the United States, and of transformations in the class and racial composition of exile communities. The first two have been told in far more detail elsewhere, but the third has failed to receive sufficient attention from either Cuban or United States scholars. Here Poyo demonstrates the intimate interconnections throughout the nineteenth century between Cubans' desire to overthrow Spanish tyranny and United States politicians' imperial designs.

The greatest strength of this book lies in its finely detailed portrait of the complex and contentious character of exile com-

munities. Employing demographic and economic data in conjunction with emigre newspapers and political writings, Poyo traces the shift from an exile leadership “associated with the island’s wealthy and landholding elites” (p. 22) to one whose support was rooted in the multiracial working-class communities of Florida’s cigar cities. José Martí was successful as the architect of popular nationalism largely because he articulated a political vision in tune with the changing social composition of emigre enclaves. Poyo, however, illuminates the difficulties Martí faced, both from liberal nationalists who retained influence in New York and Washington, DC, and from anarchist agitators in Key West and Tampa. The latter viewed the struggle for independence on the island as secondary to that for workers’ control on the mainland.

“*With All and for the Good of All*” highlights the key conflicts that had to be overcome if Cubans were to succeed in mobilizing in line with Martí’s vision. Disputes between military and political leaders rooted in the failure of the Ten Years’ War, differences over the role of the United States as a powerful but unpredictable ally in the fight for independence, and tensions over the growing presence of Afro-Cubans and workers in insurgent ranks continually threatened to divide Cubans against themselves. Martí finally managed to forage sufficient unity among these divergent elements by 1895 to launch the final battle for *Cuba Libre*.

Poyo then shows how the tenuousness of his coalition allowed his vision to go astray at the moment of its imminent triumph. With Martí killed in action, liberal nationalists regained the political upperhand among exiles, a development that cigar workers failed to challenge in the interest of unity. While proclaiming support for complete independence, resurgent liberals encouraged United States intervention. In the end, popular nationalism failed to flourish as Cubans were forced to forge new political institutions and economic relations under the “protection” of the United States. When a later generation revitalized Martí’s vision and established their own version of popular nationalism, a wholly new community of Cuban exiles took refuge on North American shores.

Poyo has provided a carefully argued case study of the links between nationalist ideology and the social composition of its adherents. His work invites further examination of the social



relations within exile communities, and especially the role of women, blacks, and workers in the grassroots mobilization that supplied the material resources for rebellion. The rich source materials employed here certainly will help reconstruct this larger social history of Cuban emigres.

*University of South Florida*

NANCY A. HEWITT

*Atlanta Life Insurance Company: Guardian of Black Economic Dignity.* By Alexa Benson Henderson. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. xvi, 251 pp. Preface, tables, photographs, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$31.95.)

In this excellent study, Alexa Benson Henderson, professor of history at Clark Atlanta University, tells the story of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company that started as a small insurance association in 1905 and is today the nation's largest black-controlled shareholder insurance company, with assets of more than \$100,000,000.

New insurance companies were common around the turn of the century as Americans increasingly looked upon life insurance as a necessity even though many of the policies were so small as to barely cover burial costs. Most of those new companies failed, and only a few are still in business today. The story of Atlanta Life is not simply that of a successful insurance venture because its founding and development were tied indelibly to race. Atlanta Life was founded by Alonzo Franklin Herndon who was born a slave in Walton County, Georgia, in 1858. By 1904 he was the proprietor of three Atlanta barber-shops including one at 66 Peachtree Street which was regarded as one of the largest and best equipped barber-shops in the country. Herndon was a careful businessman who invested his barbering profits in real estate, primarily in Atlanta and in Florida. Herndon was astute enough to sell the bulk of his Florida properties before the collapse of the land boom in 1926. Upon his death in 1927 Herndon's real estate holdings were valued at \$327,107. Herndon moved into insurance in 1905 when he purchased the Atlanta Benevolent Protective Association and renamed it Atlanta Mutual. It was more than another business

venture for Herndon as he hoped to provide a reliable insurance enterprise for blacks who often were victimized by unscrupulous insurance companies and their agents. Atlanta Mutual expanded by selling policies to new customers and by taking over weaker black-owned ventures such as Metropolitan Mutual Benefit Association and the Great Southern Home Industrial Association.

Besides the problems that any insurance company would have experienced in dealing with customers who were in the lowest economic groupings, Atlanta Life employees always had the special problems of the racial tensions found in the South during the early twentieth century. Henderson gives considerable coverage to the problems experienced by Atlanta Life agents who, as Henderson states, "walked on proverbial eggshells, a feat that sometimes required extraordinary wisdom and deft manners." But they succeeded. The company vigorously expanded during the 1920s when it moved into Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The Florida branches were set up in Jacksonville, Tampa, Pensacola, Gainesville, Palatka, and Orlando. The company survived the Depression decade of the 1930s and witnessed new growth in the 1940s. By 1950 the company operated in eleven states in the South and the Midwest.

A major change took place in 1977 when controlling stock in the business shifted from the Herndon family to the Herndon Foundation. Today the company is headquartered in a new, six-story, marble and glass structure on Auburn Avenue in the heart of Atlanta's historic black business district, reaffirming the company's identity with the black community.

Alexa Benson Henderson's study will be of value to scholars of both business and black history. It is well researched and well written. W. E. B. Du Bois described Alonzo Franklin Herndon as "an extraordinary man [who] illustrates at once the possibilities of American democracy and the deviltry of color prejudice." In the same way Henderson's book demonstrates that America is a land of racial prejudice, but it is also a land of opportunity.

*Florida State University*

EDWARD F. KEUCHEL

*In Search of the New South: The Black Urban Experience in the 1970s and 1980s.* Edited by Robert D. Bullard. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. x, 203 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, maps, tables, photographs, conclusion, notes, select bibliography, contributors, index. \$26.95.)

In the 1970s the emerging Sunbelt regions of the South and West captured the nation's attention. Journalists and scholars alike have expended a considerable amount of energy and ink in tracing the political, economic, and demographic dimensions of this newly conceptualized region. The booming Sunbelt cities, in particular, have come under scrutiny in the search for patterns of late twentieth-century urbanization, economic growth, and political and cultural change. Most of these studies have accepted growth as a positive attribute. From this perspective, gleaming new downtown office towers and endlessly sprawling suburbs reflected the dynamic qualities of Sunbelt urbanization and economic growth. But as this collection of original essays edited by sociologist Robert D. Bullard suggests, there are other, more neglected and less positive, aspects of the recent history of the Sunbelt cities.

One of the book's central themes is the degree to which blacks in the urban South have failed to share in the economic advance of the region over the past two decades. The irony in this conclusion, of course, is that these were the years of the civil rights revolution when official constraints on black political participation and economic advancement were eliminated. The new "New South" of the 1970s and 1980s, Bullard writes in the introduction, marketed itself "as a changed land where blacks could now share in the American Dream" (p. 2). Yet, as this study of six southern cities clearly demonstrates, blacks were not much better off, and by some measures were worse off, at the end of the 1980s than they were before the civil rights movement began.

The book consists of separately authored essays on blacks in Houston, New Orleans, Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, and Tampa, framed by introductory and concluding essays by Bullard. The authors are black academic social scientists who have lived and worked in the cities they analyzed. Each of the essays follows a standard format, beginning with a brief historical section, and then tracing population growth, residential patterns,

economic change, school desegregation, and political patterns as these subjects relate to the black communities of the six cities. Although the sources varied for each city, all of the authors have drawn heavily from census and other official data on population, housing, employment, and economic activity. This approach has the advantage of permitting the reader to make comparisons and draw parallels among the cities under consideration.

Each of the six cities has some unique characteristics. Taken collectively, however, the essays in this book demonstrate that these cities are remarkably similar in the recent evolution and present condition of their black communities. In the post-war era, whites in large numbers abandoned the central city for the suburbs, both in the North and the South. Of the cities considered here, blacks by 1980 had achieved a majority or close to a majority of central city population in New Orleans, Birmingham, Atlanta, and Memphis; in Tampa and Houston, blacks made up about a quarter of city population. Black population majorities led to black political control in Atlanta, New Orleans, and Birmingham in the 1970s. But white flight to the suburbs, an aging infrastructure and housing stock, business disinvestment, a dying retail trade, and a declining tax base meant that new black mayors had little left to govern, and fewer financial resources to do it with.

As a result of changing urban and economic structures in the post-industrial age, blacks in Bullard's six cities continue to fare poorly on most measures of economic and social well-being. Black communities everywhere in the South suffer segregated residential and schooling patterns, high rates of unemployment, and extremely poor rates of business participation. The growth of a black urban "underclass" is reflected in substandard housing, poverty-level incomes, low high-school completion rates, and rising delinquency and crime rates in the inner city. The changing "opportunity structure" of the new urban America has passed the black communities by, while "a growing black under-class is trapped in declining central cities" (p. 166). In the civil rights era, blacks put their faith in electoral gains, but it is clear from this book that political empowerment has done little to advance the economic or social position of blacks in the city. For most blacks, Bullard asserted, "the New South was nothing more than an extension of the Old South with only minor modifications" (p. 173).

The essay on Tampa, written by University of Florida urban planner Robert A. Catlin, provides a well-documented case in point. White residential shifts in the 1950s and after, along with urban renewal and expressway construction, resulted in the consolidation of numerous dispersed black neighborhoods into two large ghettoized communities, East Tampa and West Tampa. Residential segregation in Tampa has been compounded by an overcrowded and deteriorating housing stock, poor education, job discrimination, a weakly developed black business sector, high unemployment and poverty levels, poor community-police relations, and, not surprisingly, sporadic unrest and violence in the black community. As Catlin concludes, "little has changed in Tampa's black community over the last two decades" (p. 151).

In many ways, this is a sad and depressing book, but it provides a necessary and important perspective. In the largest sense, it reflects the real condition of urban America after two decades of social disinvestment. The authors say little about what might be done, but it is clear that any urban policy, if it is to be effective, must grapple with the issue of race.

*Florida Atlantic University*

RAYMOND A. MOHL

*Poor but Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites.* By Wayne Flynt. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. xii, 469 pp. Preface, maps, charts, photographs, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

During the last half-century or so there has been an explosion of literature of the South, its people, and its problems. Scores of books and articles have been written on aspects of the South's economy after the Civil War, on race relations, on caste and class, on southern society, politics, and other major aspects of the southern experience. Few of these studies, however, match the high quality of Wayne Flynt's *Poor But Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites*. A logical and more detailed follow-up to the author's *Forgotten People, The South's Poor Whites* (1979), this is truly a superior book. There is probably no scholar in the United States who knows and understands the history of poor whites in the South as well as Professor Flynt.

He begins his book by defining poor whites in Alabama and describing how they failed to achieve the American dream of becoming independent landowners. He shows how the Civil War adversely affected poor white farmers and how that conflict helped to push more and more of them toward tenancy, usually sharecropping, and into off-farm jobs. The second part of the book deals with the main occupations where poor whites found employment in the post-Civil War years. These included mainly farming, textile mills, coal mines, lumbering, and iron working. The increase in farm tenancy among poor whites indicated that most of them experienced downward mobility and lived on the ragged edge of existence. Unfortunately, leaving the farm to work in the mills, mines, or forests did not substantially improve their living standards. For the most part, poor whites, including the children, worked long hours for meager wages. They lived in ramshackle housing and struggled against illiteracy and ill health. Tens of thousands of them received a bare living in return for a life-time of labor. In most cases there was little if any change in their condition between the 1880s and 1930s. This study shows clearly the high price these poor whites paid for the nation's economic development.

The book's third section deals with the society, culture, and politics of poor whites. Flynt shows that they were a proud, independent, neighborly, generous people who had a distinctive culture that they clung to with dogged tenacity. He discusses their family life, religion, education, folklore, social life, and politics, and shows how aspects of their culture, especially their music, finally extended to the entire nation. Poor whites were also racists, but not more so than most other southern whites. Their racism prohibited them from joining up with poverty-stricken blacks in an effort to control more of their own destiny through organization.

Part four provides an excellent chapter on Alabama's poor whites during the Great Depression of the 1930s and a concluding chapter on "the enduring legacy" of poverty. Indeed, the key and persistent element in the lives of these millions of whites over three generations was their poverty. Most poor whites had been mired in economic hardship for so long that the Great Depression could hardly worsen their condition. New Deal relief programs, however, brought some help to poor whites, but it was World War II and postwar economic growth that began to

bring about fundamental change in their ranks. Many poor whites found job opportunities in the factories, shipyards, and on military bases during World War II. Yet, despite remarkable economic development after the war in the South, many poor whites in Alabama remained outside the American mainstream, even as late as the 1980s.

Professor Flynt has provided a thorough and perceptive study of the lives and society of poor whites in Alabama. Many of his conclusions, however, can be applied to the condition of poor whites throughout the entire South during the years from the 1860s to the 1930s. His book is based on extensive research, including the manuscript census, state and federal documents, oral histories, newspapers, theses and dissertations, books and periodicals, and personal interviews.

Moreover, *Poor But Proud* is well written and full of human interest. Flynt has an unusual "feel" for his subject, possibly because some of his own ancestors were among Alabama's poor whites. Yet, he is objective and even-handed in his historical judgments and is not led astray by unproven philosophical theories and invalid assumptions. This should be the first book anyone reads who is interested in the South's poor whites.

*University of Georgia, Emeritus*

GILBERT C. FITE

*Back to Birmingham: Richard Arrington, Jr., and His Times.* By Jimmie Lewis Franklin. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. xi, 363 pp. Preface, photographs, appendix, essay on sources, index. \$28.50.)

During the 1960s, there was so much racial violence in Birmingham, Alabama, that the city earned the nickname "Bombing-ham." It was a deeply segregated city and the site of one of the major civil rights campaigns. Less than two decades later, in 1979, Birmingham elected its first black mayor, Richard Arrington, Jr. As Jimmie Lewis Franklin, a professor of history at Vanderbilt University, shows, this remarkable event occurred not because of any major change in the attitudes of the city's white population but because of an increase in the black population and a change in its perception of its own political poten-

tial. Richard Arrington, Jr., not only benefited from increased black political power in Birmingham but also was instrumental in creating it.

Born in 1934, and raised in Livingston, Alabama, Richard, who was given the nickname "papa" as a child because of his unusual maturity, was educated in segregated schools and earned his graduate degree at the University of Oklahoma on a grant from the state of Alabama, whose white universities did not admit blacks. Returning to Alabama about a year after passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, he settled in Birmingham and taught at Miles College for about five years before accepting a position as executive director of the Alabama Center for Higher Education. He had no political aspirations.

By the 1970s the black population of Birmingham had increased, along with the possibility of translating those numbers into political power. But there was a serious vacuum in black leadership in Birmingham. The older leaders, who had been so vigorous during the civil rights movement, were now perceived by other blacks as too conservative. Prevailed upon in 1971 to run for the city council, Arrington was successful his first time out and was reelected in 1975.

During his second term, in 1977, Arrington organized the Jefferson County Citizens Coalition as a kind of "holding company" of organizations for black groups to "speak with one voice on issues that affected black people in Birmingham." The coalition managed to consolidate black political power to a remarkable degree and in later years was accused, with some reason, of blind allegiance to only black candidates. However, it accomplished Arrington's purpose, helping him to win election as mayor in 1979, and reelection in 1983 and 1987, each time with no more than 12 percent of the white vote.

Franklin's analysis of Arrington's first term is thorough and perceptive, especially as regards his first staff, his struggles with the predominantly white police force, and his abortive attempt to assemble enough land downtown to build the business center. Franklin covers the two succeeding terms in one galloping final chapter that is confusing and unsatisfying in its haste. Also unsatisfying is Franklin's decision to say almost nothing about Arrington's private life while he is discussing his political life and instead to devote a late chapter to a discussion of his two marriages, his children, his church membership, etc.



Despite these flaws, *Back to Birmingham* is a good political biography that benefits greatly from the close cooperation of its subject, who seems to have been more than willing to share his public life and political philosophy with the author. Arrington sees a close connection between general reform and racial change in southern politics and makes no apologies for the remarkable success of his umbrella political organization in consolidating black political power in Birmingham. As Franklin points out, the formation of the Jefferson County Citizens Coalition "had a direct connection to Arrington's idea of self-reliance. . . . If blacks in Birmingham appeared to follow Arrington's leadership and that of the coalition with a zeal that many whites could not comprehend, that attachment resulted from history and a philosophy of self-reliance, not from blind political ignorance."

While the Civil Rights acts and the Voting Rights Act of the 1960s established the potential for black political power in the South, a special kind of leadership was needed to realize that potential. Richard Arrington, Jr., clearly has provided that kind of leadership and has been the man for his times.

*University of Florida*

JIM HASKINS

*With Fiddle and Well-Rosined Bow: Old-Time Fiddling in Alabama*  
By Joyce H. Cauthen. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. xii, 282 pp. Preface, photographs, appendices, notes, sources cited, index. \$28.95.)

"The modernization of farming and the end of the Old New South [1920-1960] brought both benefits and great sorrow. This is little less than the folks who lived through the changes said themselves," observes Jack Temple Kirby as he begins his study of the demise of the rural South, *Rural Worlds Lost* (1987). And certainly, one of the principal elements of southern folk culture that vanished with the demise of the "old New South" was the "ole timey" music of that world. Throwbacks remain, of course, but they persevere as artifacts to be trotted out at folk festivals for the amusement of urban sophisticates from such megalopolises as Huntsville, Alabama, and Gainesville, Florida.

Central to that “ole timey” music was the instrument known to classical music as the violin, but which in the music of the rural South always is called a fiddle. In the book at hand, as its title suggests, we always speak of the fiddle. It is Joyce Cauthen’s purpose, in this survey of Alabama fiddle music, to place both the masters of this folk art and the music they performed in historic context. She begins with an essay on “the Fiddle in Alabama history” and proceeds to discuss the state’s fiddle players of the first half of the twentieth century – both those who were known beyond their home communities (“brag fiddlers”) and those whose reputations were less exalted (“modest masters”).

Cauthen explains how the fiddle music of pre-World War II Alabama had insinuated itself into the culture of the state. She is especially insightful as she details the community celebrations— square dances and other social gatherings— at which fiddle music provided the only appropriate accompaniment. And her coverage of Alabama “brag fiddlers” is both enlightening and enjoyable. The book is highly episodic, but it is rich in anecdote and in its personal profiles of these rural Heifetzes, some of whom (the great Joe Lee for example) in another setting might well have been candidates for the concert stage.

*With Fiddle and Well-Rosined Bow* is a work whose title seems at first glance so narrow that only musicologists and sociologists who give it more than passing notice. If so, its dismissal by anyone interested in the cultural history of the “old New South” would be a mistake. Cauthen’s work is a valuable contribution to the genre that illuminates the culture of the rural South— a culture that has largely disappeared. The book is, in addition, a genuine pleasure to read.

*University of Florida*

AUGUSTUS BURNS

*Race and History: Selected Essays, 1938-1988.* By John Hope Franklin. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. xi, 450 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$29.95.)

While John Hope Franklin was attending graduate school, the pre-eminent text in American history claimed that “Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears . . .

suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.' . . . The majority of slaves were . . . apparently happy." When Franklin arrived in Raleigh in 1939 to research a dissertation on free blacks in antebellum North Carolina, there was consternation in the state archives. Where could he sit? And would white assistants bring him the manuscripts that he needed? He got a private office and the service he needed, and for the subsequent half century he has occupied a special niche in "the world of the Negro scholar," which is "indescribably lonely. . . . He must, somehow, pursue truth down that lonely path while, at the same time, making certain that his conclusions are sanctioned by universal standards developed and maintained by those who frequently do not even recognize him."

Nevertheless, no black scholar ever has been accorded more professional honors than John Hope Franklin or came to personify more completely the field of Afro-American history—a subject in which he never took a single course, nor has taught in over three decades. Though his magisterial account of the black experience, *From Slavery to Freedom* (1st. ed., 1947) remains the standard against which all other syntheses are judged (including those with less Whiggish titles like *From Plantation to Ghetto*), Franklin paradoxically defines himself primarily as a regionalist: "My specialty is the history of the South, and that means I teach the history of blacks and whites." Because of its judiciously adversarial stance, *The Militant South* (1957) may indeed be his most intellectually engaging book. Though he has served as president of the Southern Historical Association, for example, the title of this handsome new collection of essays is more than a flag of convenience. For "race and history" nicely encapsulate the scholarly concerns of a lifetime.

Writing from a firmly egalitarian perspective that is liberal rather than radical, Franklin has been pivotal in detoxifying southern historiography of the racism that pervaded it for at least the first half of the twentieth century. The twenty-seven monographs and meditations in this volume are characteristic and distinctive, poised between the commonplace acceptance of white supremacy that Franklin helped to rout and the black separatism and activism that he has resisted in recent decades. (It is now virtually inconceivable for a black historian *not* to become an historian of blacks.) These instructive essays range from the very particular (such as portraits of a free black artisan

in North Carolina and of a congressman from Reconstruction Mississippi, the ex-slave John Roy Lynch) to general forays on statesmanship from the Framers to Lincoln, from incisive critiques of both Afro-American and southern historiography to considerations of the careers of a couple of black historians—George Washington Williams and Franklin himself. Written in stately prose, in which the irritant of bigotry—past and present—produces pearls of irony, these essays exemplify an assured and authoritative professionalism.

His oeuvre has required American historiography to be enlarged and revised without altering ways of thinking about history itself, or about the proper scope of the academy. Despite the momentous changes over the half century during which these essays were composed and presidential addresses delivered, it is impossible to find any dramatic shifts in Franklin's tone or focus or opinion. The warnings that he has issued—reprinted in *Race and History*—against undignified polemics and diatribes may reveal how powerful the temptations of advocacy have been in confronting the ongoing crises in civil rights. But though his passions have been banked, Franklin's voice can be heard above the rustle of index cards in a profession that often rewards monographs so deadly-dull that publishers should be required to notify next of kin. Scrupulous and skeptical, *Race and History* is about as good as academic history can get without the impetus of an animating idea. This anthology is the elegant legacy of an historian whose surname— in Middle English—means “free man.”

*Brandeis University*

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

*The Urban South: A History.* By Lawrence H. Larsen. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990. xiii, 199 pp. Editor's preface, preface, tables, illustrations, photographs, notes, essay on sources, index. \$23.00.)

Lawrence H. Larsen's *The Urban South: A History* renders a “new perspective” on the South through its urban history. Larsen details the existence of an urban component in the South since colonial days, how orderly growth determined its progress, and how special circumstances hindered the South from regain-

ing national parity. Crucial to understanding the historical development of southern cities, Larsen emphasizes that the 1880s and 1950s represent activist decades where major steps toward urban progress were taken and "modernization" resulted.

From the beginning, urban growth rested in steady expansion that was responsive to the region's needs. Colonial legislatures constructed urban societies that were compatible with agricultural traditions. However, in the antebellum period the cotton gin solidified cotton's stronghold upon the economy and state's rights sentiments ended any cooperation between northern and southern cities. Commercial conventions championed independence from the North through manufacturing. However, the lack of cooperation which would mock unity under the Confederacy triumphed against the commercial interests. After the Civil War sharecropping and limited resources pushed manufacturing supporters to welcome northern investment.

Southern cities made important decisions in the 1880s including a turning inward to establish services and consolidate existing resources, while encouraging northern investment. Henry Flagler opened Florida to further development and in the next decade invested huge sums in properties and railroads which facilitated rapid progress.

National events before the 1950s supplied the necessary circumstances for metropolitan progress. Railroads and tourism caused Florida cities like Gainesville and Tampa to experience 188 and 539 percent growth, respectively, from 1900 to 1930. A southern suspicion that northern interests ran Florida led regional boosters to welcome Texas and Oklahoma towns as having "southern sensibilities." As a member of the Sunbelt, Larsen notes, urban rather than agricultural values would determine southern success. In the 1930s despite the Depression, limited resources, and racial inequality, government assistance aided agricultural marketing which indirectly boosted urban well-being.

Race received necessary attention following World War II in the 1957 federal order demanding desegregation at Little Rock. Federal intervention foreshadowed order in the South making the area attractive to investment capital. The legal settlement of the racial question returned equal partnership with the nation to the South, but racial violence could erupt as proven by Miami and Tampa in the 1980s. With regard to losing southern iden-

tity, Larsen concludes that an everpresent urbanism would be complimented by an enduring regionalism.

Lawrence Larson does produce a new perspective on southern urbanization. He expertly utilizes local histories and federal documents in identifying emerging types of towns through the early 1900s. For those interested in exploring Dixie's progressive side, *The Urban South* offers a detailed account of the forces that shaped the region's urban history. Finally, those interested in Florida's expansion within the southern urbanization process also will be rewarded by Larsen's study.

*Hillsborough Community College*

KENT KASTER II

## BOOK NOTES

*Florida: Enterprise Under the Sun* is by Edward F. Keuchel, professor of history at Florida State University. Its publication was sponsored by the Florida State Chamber of Commerce. The text and illustrations trace the development of business, industry, and commerce in Florida through the Spanish, British, and American periods, concluding in modern times. The book includes more than 200 black-and-white and color photographs and illustrations. Hampton Dunn is responsible for the pictorial research, and many of the photographs are from his private collection. Judy Moore was responsible for the final chapter, "Pioneers in Progress," which provides historical data on the corporate sponsors for the volume. *Florida: Enterprise Under the Sun* sells for \$32.95 and may be ordered from Windsor Publications, Inc., P. O. Box 2500, Chatsworth, CA 91313.

*The Archaeology of Spanish Colonialism in the Southeastern United States and the Caribbean*, by Charles R. Ewen, represents the first of several planned bibliographies compiled as *Guides to the Archaeological Literature of the Immigrant Experience in America* by the Society for Historical Archaeology. In the preface to this Columbian Quincentenary Series volume, Kathleen Deagan emphasizes the unique perspective historical archaeology offers to an examination of European, African, and Asian expansion into the territories and cultural life of indigenous groups in the western hemisphere. Ewen follows with an essay that outlines the primary considerations of the bibliography and indicates which of the citations is appropriate for each of five major research domains: Early Contact Period, Missions, Settlements and Buildings, Material Culture Studies, and Specialized Studies. The bibliography that follows is Hispanic in focus. It includes archaeological citations from unpublished and obscure sources as well as more available published materials. This bibliography does not contain purely historical citations, rather the emphasis is on archaeological field reports, material culture studies, and synthetic works, predominantly by archaeologists, that blend historical and archaeological data. This bibliography serves as a basic guide to archaeological source materials relative to the profound intercultural exchange that occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the southeastern United States and the Circum-Caribbean area. Published by the Society for His-

[396]

torical Archaeology, Tucson, AR, it sells for \$6.00. [Reviewed by Rochelle Marrinan, *Florida State University*.]

*When You Reach September, An Editor's West Florida Essays and Other Episodic Echoes* by Jesse Earle Bowden, editor and vice president of the *Pensacola News Journal*. Mr. Bowden's historical writings in books and newspaper features have concentrated on West Florida, particularly Pensacola and Altha (Calhoun County) where he grew up in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1979, the University of West Florida Press published his *Always the Rivers Flow: Deliberately A Memoir, Essays on West Florida Heritage By A Pensacola Newspaper Editor*. Bowden describes this new volume as a "sort of a sequel." It includes sixty of his newspaper columns about friends and family and experiences from earlier years. He relates the joy of family get-togethers and holidays like Thanksgiving and Christmas and of life growing up in a small town during the Depression years, his interest in the Civil War and visits to Civil War battlefields, fishing, baseball, and a love of wilderness Florida. His favorite writers are Thomas Wolfe and William Faulkner, and he describes his journeys to their home places. The essays include profiles of Governor Fuller Warren and Brother Dave Gardner. In a closing essay he lists all of the things— people, activities, and the old way of life— that have disappeared with the passage of time. A final essay offers his philosophy of life in a letter to his granddaughter. *When You Reach September* sells for \$11.95, and it may be ordered from Bowden Publications, 3725 Bonner Road, Pensacola, FL 32503.

*Kissimmee*, by Ann O'Connell Rust, is volume three in The Floridians Series. Earlier works by Mrs. Rust, a native of the state, are histories of Punta Rassa and Palatka. This present volume is a fictional account of three pioneer women during the years 1877-1928. Published by Amaro Books, 5673 Pine Avenue, Orange Park, FL 32073, it sells for \$17.50, plus \$2.00 postage. Mrs. Rust's earlier books also are available for \$12.95 each. Add \$1.50 for postage and handling of the first book, and fifty cents for each additional volume.

*Grant, Florida: The First 100 Years* is by Fred A. Hopwood. Grant is an unincorporated east coast fishing community of about 3,000 people, located fifteen miles south of Melbourne. This is not a chronological history of Grant, but rather a tribute to the community and its early settlers. It includes historical accounts, legends, folklore, and stories about the community's



post office, schools, churches, businesses, and the day-to-day activities of its citizens. The community dates itself to August 4, 1891, when it received its name and a post office was established by order of President Benjamin Harrison. Many of the historic photographs in this volume are published here for the first time. The volume may be ordered from the Grant Historical Society, Inc., P. O. Box 44, Grant, FL 32949; the price is \$19.95.

The Florida International University Press has published the *1990 FIU/Florida Poll* by J. Arthur Heise, Hugh Gladwin, and Douglas McLaughen. The volume provides information for journalists, legislators, planners, and businessmen as to where Floridians stand on public interest issues. This is the second year the poll has been compiled and published. Its aim is to improve dialogue by assessing public opinion on a comprehensive array of important issues facing the state. A select group of interviewees, representing all geographic areas of Florida, were contacted by telephone and interviewed for at least forty-five minutes. A total of 196 questions were asked, ranging from quality of life, taxes, satisfaction with schools, police and other government agencies, and the future of the state's economy. Questions about morality and religion also were asked. On the general issue of quality of life, most respondents ranked Florida as an excellent or good place to live (78 percent). However, many felt that the quality of life is changing and were pessimistic about the future. Only 37.1 percent of those polled believed the quality of life had improved over the last five years. The first part of the book presents the questions asked and the responses. Where available, national or other comparable data are given on the bottom of each page. A table of contents and an index enable the reader to find the specific subject area in which he or she is interested. The *1990 FIU/Florida Poll* sells for \$39.95; paper \$26.95.

*Over Miami, Aerial Photographs and Text*, by David King Gleason, contains 130 color photographs of Miami and the surrounding area from Palm Beach to Key West. All were taken from the air and are of places, not people, except as they can be spotted on golf courses, at Hialeah Park race track, in swimming pools, milling about at the Miami Book Fair, seated in the Orange Bowl stadium, or on one of the several university campuses in the area. Beth Dunlop, architecture critic of the *Miami Herald*, provides the foreword. Gleason is a professional photographer based in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His previous books,

some of which have been reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, relate to Boston, New Orleans, and plantation homes in Louisiana, the Natchez area, Virginia, and Georgia. *Over Miami* was published by Louisiana State University Press, and it sells for \$39.95.

Threats to the quality of air, water, and agricultural systems in south Florida, particularly Dade County, as a result of the boom in population and economic activity have spurred alarm and concern. Environmentalists such as Marjory Stoneman Douglas realize the need for public education to heighten environmental awareness. *The Dade County Environmental Story* was published in 1987. It was produced as a teaching resource to help students and others understand and deal responsibly with their environment. *The Nature of Dade County, A Hometown Handbook* by Sande Ross is its companion volume. Order from the Environmental Information Service Office, 3744 Steward Avenue, Miami, FL 33133. The price is \$6.00, and proceeds from book sales go into a fund to support local environmental education projects.

The Florida National Parks and Monuments Association has released a revised and updated edition of *Everglades— The Park Story*, by Dr. William B. Robertson, Jr., Everglades senior wildlife biologist. Robertson has studied the Everglades since 1951, conducting studies of the pinelands plant community, the role of nature fire in the Everglades region, the nesting biology of bald eagles in Florida Bay and coastal mangrove forests, and the dynamics of wading birds in park wetlands. The text is complemented by four-color photos by Glenn Van Ninwegen. The Association is a non-profit natural history organization based at Everglades National Park. *Everglades— The Park Story* sells for \$10.95 and may be ordered from the Association, P. O. Box 279, Homestead, FL 33030.

*Ghosts, Legends, and Folklore of Old Pensacola* was compiled by Sandra Johnson and Leora Sutton, both of whom have devoted many years to compiling and writing Pensacola and Escambia County history. Gathered from newspapers and old records, these stories of pirates, ghosts, and buried treasures are almost as old as Pensacola itself, and many of them have been passed down through oral tradition from one generation to the next. The pamphlet was published by the Pensacola Historical Society, Old Christ Church, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, FL 32501. The price is \$2.00, plus \$1.50 postage and handling.

Against the backdrop of competition between France and Spain for the lands bordering the northern Gulf of Mexico, authors Jack Jackson, Robert S. Weddle, and Winston De Ville present a detailed analysis of early eighteenth-century cartography of the region. Their volume focuses on three contemporary mapmakers: Louis Jurchereau de Saint-Denis, a French-Canadian explorer; Juan Manuel de Oliván Rebolledo, Spanish (Mexican) judge; and François Le Maire, a French missionary, who provided a link between the Oliván and Saint-Denis maps and the famed cartographer Guillaume Delisle, whose well-known map of North America was first published in 1718. Skillful use of historical documentation allows *Mapping Texas and the Gulf Coast* to be much more than a cartographic study. It is a history of the period and its political intrigues, native peoples, and national initiatives. The authors make us aware that maps are power, containing valued knowledge of new land and peoples. Seventeen important maps are reproduced in the volume (some previously unpublished), which can be purchased for \$29.50 from Texas A & M Press. [Reviewed by Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Museum of Natural History*.]

Charles DeForest Fredricks was one of the leading commercial photographers in the western hemisphere during the nineteenth century. Headquartered in New York with an affiliate studio in Havana, Cuba, he and his employees were responsible for the photographs that are reproduced in the volume *Cuba in the 1850s, Through the Lens of Charles DeForest Fredricks*, by Robert M. Levine. Photographs of nineteenth-century Cuba are rare, which makes this collection even more valuable. The University of South Florida's Louis A. Pérez, Jr., has provided the foreword. Dr. Levine, chairman of the Department of History, University of Miami, has written a commentary which sets the photographs and photographer in context. *Cuba in the 1850s* was published by the University of South Florida Press, Tampa, and it sells for \$22.95.

Fort Toulouse was constructed by the French in 1717 at the juncture of Alabama's Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. Its purpose was to keep the local Indians neutral, if not loyal, to the French and to contain the British in their southernmost Atlantic colonies. Andrew Jackson established a military post there during the War of 1812 after his victory over the Indians at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. *Fort Toulouse, The French Outpost at the*

*Alabamas on the Coosa*, by Daniel H. Thomas, appeared originally in the fall 1960 issue of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly*. The University of Alabama Press has reprinted the volume in its Library of Alabama Classics series. The edition includes an introduction by Gregory A. Waselkov of the University of South Alabama in which he discusses recent archaeological and historical research. It sells for \$9.00.

Based upon detailed research, Steve Glassman brings to life many of Florida's most colorful historical personalities and events of the territorial period in Florida in his novel, *Blood on the Moon, a Novel of Old Florida*. It is the story of two women— one white, the other black— both married to the same man, Prince Achille Murat, Napoleon Bonaparte's nephew and owner of Lipona, one of the great plantation estates in antebellum Florida. Murat's lawful wife traced her lineage to George Washington. Although Mr. Glassman has taken considerable literary license with many of the political and military events that occurred during this early period in Florida history, he nonetheless has written a book which even the most serious historian should enjoy. In the process, he tells a good story. Mr. Glassman is a member of the teaching faculty, Department of Humanities, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, Daytona Beach. *Blood on the Moon, a Novel of Old Florida* can be ordered from Pathway Book Service, Lower Village, Gilsum, NH 03448. It sells for \$9.95, plus \$1.50 for postage.

*The Principle of Interchange and Other Stories* is by P. V. LeForge of Tallahassee. Comprising a varied collection with locales as diverse as Alaska, Mexico, India, China, and Florida, it is available for \$7.95 from Paperback Rack Books, 2037 West Pensacola Street, Tallahassee, FL 32304.

Recently published is a paperback edition of *Judah P. Benjamin, The Jewish Confederate* by Eli N. Evans. It originally was published in 1988 and was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, January 1989. The paperback edition sells for \$12.95.

*Creeks and Seminoles*, by J. Leitch Wright, Jr., is a paperback reprint of the volume published in 1986 by the University of Nebraska Press. It was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, January 1989. The paperback, also published by the University of Nebraska Press, sells for \$12.95.

*The Charm of the Bear Claw Necklace* is by Margaret Zehmer Searcy. She is known for her books about Indians living in the southeastern part of the United States. This book originally was published by the University of Alabama Press in 1981 and now has been republished by Pelican Publishing Company, Inc., 1101 Monroe Street, Gretna, LA 70053. It is the story of several brave Indian children who lived some 7,000 years ago. The paperback edition sells for \$5.95. In 1975, the Florida Historical Society awarded Mrs. Searcy the Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize for her *Ikwa of the Temple Mounds*, published by the University of Alabama Press.

## HISTORY NEWS

### *Frederick C. Cubberly Award*

Mrs. Helen Cubberly Ellerbe of Gainesville has established an endowment for the Florida Historical Society to create a prize for Florida high school students writing and researching Florida history and their teachers. Mrs. Ellerbe's father, Frederick C. Cubberly, was involved actively in the Florida Historical Society and served as its president in 1932. The prize will be awarded annually, based upon a state-wide competition. A plaque and a stipend of \$250 will be presented to the winning student, and a plaque and \$250 to the teacher whose assignment produces the winning entry. Students in any Florida public or private school, grades eight through twelve, are eligible. Entries must be between 1,500-3,000 words in length and deal with some era, event, or person directly relating to the history of Florida. Papers should be typed double-spaced and include a bibliography. Each school and each county are allowed one entry. The deadline for submitting entries to the county historical society for the first judging is January 30. If there is no county historical society, arrangements can be made through a neighboring county historical society or through the local school board. County entries are due in the Florida Historical Society office by March 1. For additional information, write the Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687 (813/974-3815).

### *Prizes and Awards*

The Tampa Historical Society presented its 1990 D. B. McKay Award to Joan W. Jennewein of Tampa for her contributions to the field of historical preservation. Mrs. Jennewein has served as chair of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, was founding president of the Florida Trust, and chairs the board of the Bonnet House in Fort Lauderdale. She was instrumental in establishing the Ybor City Museum Society and the support group for the Ybor City State Museum, and she serves as president of the Ybor City Trolley Society and as a trustee of the Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board.

[403]

Professor Michael Gannon of the University of Florida was awarded the Knight Commander of the Order of Isabel la Catolica by King Juan Carlos I of Spain. The award is Spain's highest civilian award given to a non-Spanish scholar and was presented in recognition of Dr. Gannon's work in Spanish Borderland studies and historical preservation, and his service as director of the University of Florida's Institute for Early Contact Studies. Dr. Gannon's latest most recent book, *Operation Drumbeat*, is reviewed in this issue of the *Quarterly*, pp. 362.

The Florida Trust for Historic Preservation at its annual meeting in Jacksonville, September 1990, announced the following preservation awards: (1) Non-Residential Restoration/ Rehabilitation Honor Awards— Dauer Hall, University of Florida, the Dillard School (Fort Lauderdale), and the Old Lee County Courthouse; Merit Awards— Epping Forest Yacht Club (Jacksonville), 1913 Delray Beach Elementary School, and the Studebaker Building (St. Petersburg). (2) Residential Restoration/Rehabilitation Honor Award— Miami River Inn; Merit Awards— Chesley House (Tallahassee), Quick House (Key West), and Tobar House (St. Augustine). (3) Historic Landscape/Archaeology Honor Award— Jungle Trail (Vero Beach); Merit Award— Year of the Indian (Lee County Archaeology History). (4) Preservation Education/Media Honor Awards— *Landmark for the Future* by Wayne Wood and the Historic Landmarks Commission, and *Reflections of a Legacy* by Jane Rice; Merit Awards— “Self-Guided Tours of Miami,” Junior League of Florida, and “Teach the Teachers,” Tampa Preservation, Inc. (5) Organizational Achievement, Honor Award— Art Deco De-italization, Miami Beach; Merit Awards— Amelia Island, Museum of History, Main Street (Quincy), and Florida Southern College (Lakeland). Distinguished Service Awards were presented to Congressman Charles E. Bennett; David Ferro, head of the Bureau of Historic Preservation, Architectural Preservation Service Section, Tallahassee; and to Nancy Powell Dobson, former director of the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board.

The Southern Jewish Historical Society's Benjamin H. Levy Prize is awarded for the outstanding paper submitted by a graduate student on any aspect of southern Jewish history. The 1990 prize was awarded in November at the Society's meeting

in Jackson, Mississippi, to Canter Brown, Jr., a doctoral student in history at the University of Florida. The winning essay, "Philip and Morris Dzialynski: Jewish Contributions to the Rebuilding of the South," will be published in the *American Jewish Archives*.

In honor of Lynwood Montell, the *Southern Folklorist* is establishing an annual prize for the outstanding article published in the journal. The Montell Folklore Prize recipient will be announced at the American Folklore Society annual meeting each October.

The Forest History Society's John M. Collier Award for Forest History Journalism for 1989 was presented to Gary Faulkner of Montgomery, Alabama, for his article, "Alabama's Treasured Forest," which appeared in the Alabama Forestry Commission's Quarterly publication. Dr. Susan R. Schrepfer, Rutgers University, won the Society's Theodore C. Blagen Award for her article, "Establishing Administrative Standing: The Sierra Club and the Forest Service, 1897-1956," which appeared in the *Pacific Historical Review*. Richard A. Rajala, a graduate student at York University, Downesview, Ontario, received the Ralph W. Hidy Award for his article, "Bill and the Boss: Labor Protest, Technological Change, and the Transformation of the West Coast Logging Camp," which was published in *Forest & Conservation History*. The Forest History Society is a non-profit educational institution affiliated with Duke University. Its quarterly journal, *Forest & Conservation History*, is published under the auspices of Duke University Press.

The Camp Blanding Museum and Memorial Park of the Second World War was dedicated on November 25, 1990. Major General Robert F. Ensslin, Jr., adjutant general of Florida, served as master of ceremonies and Lieutenant General Robert Arter (Ret.), special consultant to the secretary of the army, made the major address. General Arter is the coordinator for the department of the army's fiftieth anniversary commemoration of World War II. The Camp Blanding celebration was one of the first in the nation launching the commemoration activities. The Camp Blanding Museum and Memorial Park is on a thirteen-acre site adjacent to the main entrance to Camp Blanding on State Road 16, between Jacksonville and Starke. A



World War II era building is being converted to a museum complex. The site also includes a Florida Regiments Memorial commemorating the men and units of the Florida National Guard that were mobilized in 1940, a Memorial Garden with displays honoring each of the nine divisions that were activated at Camp Blanding, the Infantry Replacement Training Center, and Medal of Honor and Purple Heart recipients. Phase two of the project will include a library, archives, and movie theater.

*Announcements and Activities*

W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South* was published in 1941. Wake Forest University, Cash's alma mater, will sponsor a conference February 8-10, 1991, to reexamine Cash's work; to assess the progress, in the several scholarly disciplines, that has taken place since Cash wrote his text; and to encourage a reorientation of scholarly energies toward a new synthesis and interpretation of the South. Historians participating in the conference include Dr. Bertram Wyatt-Brown and Dr. Samuel S. Hill of the University of Florida. For information write to the symposium coordinators, 104 Tribble Hall, Box 7806, Reynolds Station, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC 27109.

The annual Georgia Archives Institute is scheduled for Atlanta, Georgia, June 10-21, 1991. It is designed for beginning archivists, librarians, and museum curators, and will offer instruction in the practices of archival administration and the management of traditional and modern documentary materials. The two-week program will feature lectures and demonstrations, a supervised practicum, and field trips to local archives. Topics will include records appraisal, arrangement and description of official and private papers, conservation, legal issues, and reference service. Tuition is \$400. Enrollment is limited, and the deadline for receipt of application and resume is April 1, 1991. For more information and an application write Dr. Don Oehlerts, School of Librarian Information Studies, Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA 30314.

The Biographical Guide to Alabama Literature Project will produce a reference volume about belletristic works by Alabamians or about Alabama from the late eighteenth century until the present. It is modeled upon such reference books as the *Dictionary of Literary Biography and Southern Writers: A Biographical*

*Dictionary*. It will include an introductory essay on Alabama literature; biographical, bibliographical, critical-descriptive entries on approximately 500 writers; and indexes based on titles of literary works, literary genre or type, and geographical regions and political subdivisions of the state. Bert Hitchcock of Auburn University and Elaine Hughes of the University of Montevallo will be ABGTAL co-editors. They seek qualified contributors who will write one or more entries on individual writers. Please contact either Professor Hitchcock (Department of English, Auburn University, Auburn, AL 36849-5203/(205) 844-4947) or Professor Hughes (Station 6501, University of Montevallo, Montevallo, AL 35115-6000/(205) 665-6504).

Marshal University, Huntington, WV, invites applications for the annual \$5,000 Rosanna A. Blake and Fred E. Hulse Scholarship in Confederate History for Graduate Students. Applicants for this one-year, renewable, scholarship must have an interest in Confederate history, an aptitude for research and writing, and a record of scholarship. The recipient may research in the Rosanna A. Blake Library of Confederate History. The recipient must enroll as a graduate student in the university's Department of History. Applicants are asked to submit a 250-500 word statement explaining their interest in the scholarship and in the study of Confederate history. The statement, college transcript, two letters of recommendation, and a written example of the applicant's work in history (a term paper) should be submitted to the Blake-Hulse Scholarship Committee, Confederate Bibliographer, Marshal University Libraries, Huntington, WV 25755, by February 1, 1991.

Converse College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, sponsored a conference in 1988, and the University of Illinois Press published the papers in a volume titled, *The Future South: A Historical Perspective for the Twenty-first Century*. The college is planning a gathering of the scholars who were participants in the original event. It will include a public symposium on May 4, 1991, when a panel will discuss with the scholars issues of the South's future. For additional information contact Dean Joe Ann Lever, College of Arts and Sciences, Converse College, Spartanburg, SC 29301 (803/596-9091).

The Center for Documentary Studies at Duke University is

compiling a database to accompany its project to recover the history of African-American life in the South during the Jim Crow era. It will locate and disseminate research on this topic. The Center seeks information on what already has been collected—depositories containing archival and documentary material, existing databases, published bibliographies, photographs, and other collections related to the segregated South. It also seeks names and addresses of individuals (professionals and non-professionals) working on this topic, contemporary journal accounts, and other pertinent information or material. Contact Dr William H. Chafe at the Center, Snow Building, Suite 511, 311 West Main Street, Durham, NC 27701 (919/687-0486).

#### *Obituaries*

Dr. Edward N. Akin, professor of history and political science at Mississippi College, died of complications from a brain tumor September 13, 1990. He had been an instructor in the history department since 1977 and received the Distinguished Professor Award from the College in 1986. Dr. Akin received his bachelor's degree from Samford University and his Ph.D. from the University of Florida. His dissertation, "Southern Reflection of the Gilded Age: Henry M. Flagler's System, 1885-1913," became the basis for his book, *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron*. It received the Phi Alpha Theta manuscript award in 1985. Dr. Akin also was the author of *Mississippi: An Illustrated History*. His articles and book reviews appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and he presented papers at the annual meetings of the Florida Historical Society, the Southern Historical Association, and other scholarly meetings.

Jack D. L. Holmes died at his home in Birmingham, Alabama, November 6, 1990. He was known for his many contributions to the historical scholarship of Spanish Borderlands in the southeastern United States. Several of his books and many of his articles dealt with the Spanish periods in Florida history. His articles and book reviews were published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and in other Florida, southern, and national journals. Dr. Holmes received his degrees in history from Florida State University, the University of Florida, and the University of Texas. His volume, *Gayoso: The Life of a Spanish Governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799*, was recognized with

HISTORY NEWS

409

awards from the Louisiana Library Association and the Alabama Writers' Conclave. Dr. Holmes was honored in 1979 by the Spanish government with the Cruz de Caballero in the Royal Spanish Order of Isabel la Catolica.

**G**REAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1991

Jan. 21- Mar. 3	“Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida” (traveling exhibit)	Sarasota, FL
Mar. 8-9	Florida College Teachers of History	Tallahassee, FL
Mar. 8- 11	Florida Anthropological Society	Pensacola, FL
Mar. 17- May 31	“Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida”	Jacksonville, FL
Apr. 11-13	Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society Conference	Jacksonville, FL
Apr. 18-19	Society of Florida Archivists	Miami, FL
May 9-11	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 89th MEETING	Orlando, FL
May 9	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Orlando, FL
Aug. 21-24	American Association for State and Local History	Dearborn, MI
Oct. 3-5	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
Oct. 10-13	Oral History Association	Salt Lake City, UT
Oct. 25-27	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Alexandria, VA

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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Post Office Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; FAX: 813-932-9332. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.



