

RECEIVED
UCF LIBRARY

APR 14 2016

SERIALS

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



500 Years of Florida History— The Nineteenth Century: 1800 to 1870

Guest Editor

James Cusick

VOLUME 94

WINTER 2016

NUMBER 3

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Published by the Florida Historical Society

Connie L. Lester, *Editor*

Daniel S. Murphree, *Assistant Editor and Book Review Editor*

Robert Cassanello, *Podcast Editor*

Scot French, *Digital Editor*

Sponsored by the University of Central Florida

Board of Editors

Mikaëla Adams, University of Mississippi

Jack Davis, University of Florida

James M. Denham, Florida Southern College

Andrew Frank, Florida State University

Elna C. Green, San Jose State University

Steven Noll, University of Florida

Paul Ortiz, University of Florida

Brian Rucker, Pensacola State College

John David Smith, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Melanie Shell-Weiss, Grand Valley University

Brent Weisman, University of South Florida

Irvin D.S. Winsboro, Florida Gulf Coast University

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Avenue, Cocoa, FL 32922 in cooperation with the Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando. Printed by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA. Periodicals postage paid at Cocoa, FL and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922.

Subscription accompanies membership in the Society. Annual membership is \$50; student membership (with proof of status) is \$30; family membership is \$75; library and institution membership is \$75; a contributing membership is \$200 and higher; and a corporate membership is \$500 and higher. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions, as well as orders for back copies of the *Quarterly*, should be addressed to Dr. Ben D. Brotemarkle, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922; (321) 690-1971; email: (Ben. Brotemarkle@myfloridahistory.org.)

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Dept. of History, CNH 551, Univ. of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350; (407) 823-0261; fax: (407) 823-3184; email: (Connie.Lester@ucf.edu.) Manuscripts should be submitted online as an MS Word document. Guidelines for preparing manuscripts are available in the End Notes and at (<http://fhq.cah.ucf.edu/submissions/manuscript-guidelines/>.) The *Quarterly* is a member of the Conference of Historical Journals. The Florida Historical Society and the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* disclaim responsibility for statements whether of fact or opinion made by contributors.

THE
FLORIDA Winter 2016
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY Vol. 94, No. 3

Special Issue Introduction by the <i>FHQ</i> Editors by Connie L. Lester and Daniel Murphree	293
The Historiography of Nineteenth-Century Florida by James G. Cusick	295
Interpreting Florida, Its Nineteenth-Century Literary Heritage by Maurice O'Sullivan	320
Abiaka, or Sam Jones, in Context: The Mikasuki Ethnogenesis through the Third Seminole War by Patsy West	366
"The Indians Are Scattering, I Fear": Mobility and Power in the Second Seminole War by Christine A. Rizzi	411
Runaway Slave Advertisements in Antebellum Florida: A Retrospective by Matthew J. Clavin	426
A Flower at Elmira: The Prisoner of War Diary of Wilbur Wightman Gramling by Robert Saunders, Jr.	444
Another Invisible Man: Alexander H. Darnes, M.D. by Charles A. Tingley	476

Cover Illustration: *Map of Florida*. 1831. Black & white photoprint,
10 x 8 in. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. [https://www.
floridamemory.com/items/show/27708](https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/27708).

Documents and Notes:

**A Journal of John Forbes, Part 2:
The Continuation of a Journal of Talks with
the Four Nations Assembled at Hickory Ground,
May and June 1803**

by Kelly Innerarity and Kathleen H. Braund,
editors with **Introduction** by
Kathleen H. Braund

509

Book Reviews

524

End Notes

549

Book Reviews

- Cartwright, *Sacral Groves, Limbo Gateways: Travel in Deep Southern Time, Circum-Caribbean Space, Afro-creole Authority.*
by Caryn Cossé Bell 519
- Moss, *Seeking the Historical Cook: Exploring Eighteenth-Century Southern Foodways.*
by Autumn L. Reisz 527
- Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World.*
by Ben Marsh 529
- DuVal, *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution.*
by J. Barton Starr 532
- Denham, *Florida Founder William P. DuVal: Frontier Bon Vivant.*
by C. S. Monaco 534
- Thomas and Ashton, eds., *The South Carolina Roots of African American Thought: A Reader.*
by David C. Dennard 536
- Meier, *Nature's Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia.*
by John S. Haller, Jr. 539
- Hobbs, *Democracy Abroad, Lynching at Home: Racial Violence in Florida.*
by Billy Townsend 541
- Denham, *Fifty Years of Justice: A History of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Florida.*
by Michael P. Allen 544
- McKee, ed., *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State.*
by Martin A. Dykeman 546

500 Years of Florida History—The Nineteenth Century to 1877

by Connie L. Lester and Daniel Murphree

Introduction

In the course of the first seven decades of the nineteenth century Floridians lived under Spanish rule (1784–1821) and spent more than two decades as a territory of the United States before gaining statehood. Florida joined the Confederate States during the Civil War. By the time Florida re-emerged from Reconstruction, the modern world of railroads, industrial capitalism, and urbanization characterized the United States. The essays that constitute this special issue document the transformation of Florida from its colonial period through the era of slavery, the Seminole and Civil wars to the post-emancipation rise of an African American physician. Future scholars will benefit from both the historiographic essay by James G. Cusick and the literary review by Maurice O'Sullivan.

This *Special Issue* is the fourth in a six part series dedicated to commemorating Ponce de León's first exploration of Florida and each century that has passed since then. Our goal is to provide readers with a sampling of the best scholarship being produced on Florida's past today. We hope these essays will promote debate and additional investigations of the time and region by both established and emerging scholars. They are not the final word on the subject but represent the culmination of research endeavors conducted over many decades. Readers will have differing opinions

on the conclusions reached, but all should note the evolution of evidence harvesting and interpretation application since historians first wrote about nineteenth-century Florida long ago.

Publication of this series would not be possible without the continued support of the Florida Historical Society and its members. The editors of this *Special Issue* are grateful to Dr. James G. Cusick and the University of Florida for partially underwriting this issue devoted to the early nineteenth-century. The collective efforts of the many supporters for the 500th Anniversary Special Issue series not only furthers the mission of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* but benefits all who are interested in the state's past.

Historiography of Nineteenth-Century Florida

by James G. Cusick

When the nineteenth century began, Florida, or the two colonial territories that became the modern state, was still under Spanish rule, its residents untouched as yet by coming rebellion and war. When the century closed, Florida was part of the American Deep South, looking to northern financiers for its Gilded Age development while creating Jim Crow laws as a buttress against calls for racial equality.

Those who wanted to Americanize Florida probably got more than they wished for. First as a U.S. territory, then as a state, Florida was a microcosm of the changes affecting national life, with its own Age of Jackson, its own Indian wars, bank defaults, and the crisis of secession and civil war. Above all, it was becoming a place to write about. All manner of books and articles appeared: new histories intended for an American audience, travelogues, military memoirs, novels, poetry, works on natural history, newspaper and periodical articles, and government reports. How extensive was this outpouring? In their unsurpassed annotated bibliography of Florida history, James A. and Lana D. Servies included 5,650 entries between 1800 and 1877, the closing date for this theme issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.¹ No other bibliography can do justice to the era, but here, at least, is an introduction.

James G. Cusick is Curator of the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, George A. Smathers Library, University of Florida. He was president of the Florida Historical Society, 2012-2014 and is the author or co-author of three books, including *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007).

¹ James Albert Servies and Lana D. Servies, *A Bibliography of Florida* (Pensacola, FL: J. A. Servies and L. D. Servies, 1993).

Spanish legacy

By the 1830s, Florida's Spanish past was increasingly being cast in the romance of a bygone era, chronicled in books about its early explorers and conquerors.² A more sustained interest in colonial records came later in the century with works by Buckingham Smith and George Fairbanks. Smith, raised in St. Augustine in the last years of Spanish rule, became a recognized authority and translator of colonial records, laying the foundation for English-language versions of Spanish primary sources. His translations of documents from the Narváez and de Soto expeditions formed the basis for much of the scholarship on colonial Florida that appeared in the first half of the twentieth century.³

Early general histories

While Spanish and British narratives about Florida were already in print in 1821, the new territory remained an object of curiosity for people in the heartland of the United States and garnered fresh works aimed at an American readership. The career of Andrew Jackson, a national hero, first territorial governor, and presidential candidate, helped spur popular interest. The *National Intelligencer* ran some two dozen articles about Jackson and Florida between

2 Examples include Theodore Irving, *The Conquest of Florida, Under Hernando De Soto* (London: E. Churton, 1835); Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Commentaires d'Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, adelantade et gouverneur du Río de la Plata*. (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1837); Henry M. Brackenridge, "Pedro Menéndez De Avilés: First Spanish Conqueror and Adelantado of Florida," *Literary Examiner and Western Monthly Review* (1839); Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Recueil de pièces sur la Floride, inédit*. (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1841).

3 Smith's papers at the New York Historical Society continue to be referenced in new works on Spanish Florida. Among his notable translations are Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Buckingham Smith, *The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça De Vaca*, (Washington, DC: [publisher not identified], 1851); Hernando de Soto, Hernando d' Escalante Fontaneda, and Buckingham Smith, *Letter of Hernando De Soto, and Memoir of Hernando De Escalante Fontaneda* (Washington, DC: [Priv. Print.], 1854); Knight of Elvas and Buckingham Smith, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando De Soto in the Conquest of Florida: As Told by a Knight of Elvas, and in a Relation by Luys Hernandez De Biedma Factor of the Expedition* (New York: Bradford Club, 1866); and Buckingham Smith, *Colección de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida y tierras adyacentes* (London: En la Casa de Trübner y Compañía, 1857). George R. Fairbanks' work was a reprisal and summation of themes covered by earlier histories: George R. Fairbanks, *The History and Antiquities of the City of St. Augustine, Florida, Founded A.D. 1565: Comprising Some of the Most Interesting Portions of the Early History of Florida* (New York: C.B. Norton, 1858); George R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida from Its Discovery by Ponce De Leon, in 1512, to the Close of the Florida War, in 1842* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1871).

1818 and 1819, many of them reprinted in other newspapers. The press revisited this topic during his 1828 bid for the presidency.

Among the first writers to publish books or tracts about territorial Florida were those people closely tied to its Americanization: James Grant Forbes, the envoy dispatched to the Captain General of Cuba to finalize arrangements for a transfer of power; Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister plenipotentiary who represented Spain in the cession negotiations; and William H. Simmons and John Lee Williams, the agents who had reconnoitered and recommended the area encompassing present-day Tallahassee for a new capital.⁴ Other writers focused on acquainting readers with Florida's geography and climate, its exploitable resources, and the history of American relations with the Creeks and Seminoles.⁵ As foundational works of Florida history, all these early publications were reproduced by the University Presses of Florida in its 1964 Quadricentennial series or in its Bicentennial series of the 1970s.

Political History

Interest in Florida spawned a wealth of political biographies, especially in the post-World War II academic world.⁶ Herbert

- 4 James Grant Forbes, *Sketches, Historical and Topographical, of the Floridas: More Particularly of East Florida*, (New York: C.S. Van Winkle, 1821); Luis de Onís and Tobias Watkins, *Memoir upon the Negotiations between Spain and the United States of America, Which Led to the Treaty of 1819. With a Statistical Notice of That Country. Accompanied with an Appendix, Containing Important Documents for the Better Illustration of the Subject* (Baltimore, MD: F. Lucas, Jr., 1821); William H. Simmons, *Notices of East Florida: With an Account of the Seminole Nation of Indians* (Charleston, SC: Printed by A.E. Miller for the author, 1822); John Lee Williams, *A View of West Florida, Embracing Its Geography, Topography, &c.: With an Appendix, Treating of Its Antiquities, Land Titles, and Canals, and Containing a Map, Exhibiting a Chart of the Coast, a Plan of Pensacola, and the Entrance of the Harbour* (Philadelphia, PA: Printed for H.S. Tanner and the author, 1827); John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida, or, Sketches of the Topography, Civil and Natural History, of the Country, the Climate, and the Indian Tribes: From the First Discovery to the Present Time, with a Map, Views, &c* (New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1837).
- 5 Examples include an anonymous work variously ascribed to Robert C. Ambrister and Joseph Freeman Rattenbury, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main: In the Ship "Two Friends" . . . and Anecdotes Illustrative of the Habits and Manners of the Seminole Indians: with an Appendix, Containing a Detail of the Seminole War, and the Execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister* (London: Printed for John Miller, 1819); William Darby, *Memoir on the Geography, and Natural and Civil History of Florida . . .* (Philadelphia, PA: T.H. Palmer, 1821); and Charles Blacker Vignoles, *Observations Upon the Floridas* (New York: E. Bliss & E. White, 1823).
- 6 Biographical literature arose early, with works on Andrew Jackson appearing shortly after Florida became a territory. For example, see the work of Jackson's friend and advocate John Henry Eaton, with John Reid, *The Life of Major General Andrew Jackson . . . Containing a Brief History of the Seminole War, and*

Doherty's work on Richard Keith Call set a trend that has continued steadily in examinations of the careers of early governors and Congressional representatives, one that has continued all the way through to J. Michael Denham's recent and comprehensive biography of William Pope DuVal.⁷ Constitutional history and election history also comprised major areas of study, starting with the Spanish-inspired Constitution of 1812.⁸ The territorial constitution and the state constitutions of 1868 and 1885 have all been subjects of research.⁹ Prior to the controversial voting results of the 2000

Cession and Government of Florida (Philadelphia, PA: McCarty & Davis, 1828); and William Peter Van Ness, *A Concise Narrative of General Jackson's First Invasion of Florida, and of His Immortal Defence of New Orleans: With Remarks* (New York: E. M. Murden & A. Ming, Jr., 1827).

- 7 Key works cover governors who shaped Territorial Florida or served during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Marshall De Lancey Haywood, *John Branch, 1782-1863, Governor of North Carolina, United States Senator, Secretary of the Navy, Member of Congress, Governor of Florida, Etc.* (Raleigh, NC: Commercial Printing Co., 1915); William Lamar Gammon, *Governor John Milton of Florida, Confederate States of America* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1948); Herbert J. Doherty, *Richard Keith Call, Southern Unionist* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961); George B. Church, *The Life of Henry Laurens Mitchell, Florida's 16th Governor* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978); Canter Brown, *Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997); Ridgeway Boyd Murphree, *Rebel Sovereigns: The Civil War Leadership of Governors John Milton of Florida and Joseph E. Brown of Georgia, 1861-1865* (Tallahassee, FL: The Author, 2007); James M. Denham, *Florida Founder, William P. DuVal, Frontier Bon Vivant* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015). Biographies of men in Congress provided a means of linking Florida's history to national history, fueled in part by the increasing availability of family papers. See Dorothy Elizabeth Hill, Joseph M. White, "Florida's Territorial Delegate, 1825-1837" (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1950); Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher; Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1971); Arthur William Thompson, "David Yulee: a Study of Nineteenth Century American Thought and Enterprise" (MA thesis, Columbia University, 1971); Leslie Reicin Stein, "David Levy and Florida Territorial Politics" (MA thesis, University of South Florida, 1973); Celeste H. Kavanaugh and Sara Dudney, *David Levy Yulee: A Man and His Vision* (Fernandina Beach, FL: Amelia Island Museum of History, 1995); Ernest F. Dibble, *Joseph Mills White: Anti-Jacksonian Floridian* (Cocoa, FL: Florida Historical Society Press, 2003); and Nick Linville, "Cultural Assimilation in Frontier Florida: The Life of Joseph M. Hernandez, 1788-1857" (MA non-thesis paper, University of Florida, 2004). See also Canter Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1924* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998).
- 8 Alejandro Quiroga Fernández de Soto, "Military Liberalism on the East Florida 'frontier': Implementation of the 1812 Constitution," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (2001): 441-468; Matthew C. Mirow, *Florida's First Constitution, the Constitution of Cádiz: Introduction, Translation, and Text* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2012).
- 9 For example, F. W. Hoskins, "The St. Joseph Convention: The Making of Florida's First Constitution," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1937): 33-43; James B. Whitfield, "Florida's First Constitution," *Florida Historical*

presidential race, probably the most debated election in Florida history was that of 1876 between presidential candidates Democrat Samuel J. Tilden of New York and Republican Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. Florida's electoral votes, along with those of Louisiana and South Carolina, were eventually awarded to Hayes, signaling Florida's arrival on the stage of national attention. As part of the political infighting over the vote, Republicans, the in-power party, agreed to withdraw federal troops from the South, marking an effective end to Reconstruction.¹⁰

Military History and the Seminole Wars

Florida's conflict-ridden past has provided rich scope for research tied to military records and to litigation stemming from war-time damages. Under colonial, territorial, and state, governments, the people of Florida experienced turmoil and economic disaster during the War of 1812 and three Seminole Indian wars before the catastrophe of the Civil War. Accounts of military engagements in Florida flourished in the national press and in periodicals like *The Army and Navy Chronicles*, while sections of the National Archives, containing suits and petitions such as the Patriot War claims, give detailed testimony of how war affected civilian life. Building on Rembert Patrick's classic *Florida Fiasco* (1954), in recent years James Cusick and J.C.A. Stagg revisited and expanded on the impact of the War of 1812 on Florida, while Nathaniel Millett wrote the first full-scale study of the Negro Fort on the Apalachicola River and Andrew McMichael examined the impact of the 1810 West Florida Revolution.¹¹

Quarterly 17, no. 2 (1938): 73–83; Jerrell H. Shofner, "The Constitution of 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1963): 356–374.

- 10 Lloyd Robinson, *The Stolen Election: Hayes Versus Tilden, 1876* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968); Keith Ian, Polakoff, *The Politics of Inertia: The Election of 1876 and the End of Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973); Roy Morris, *Fraud of the Century: Rutherford B. Hayes, Samuel Tilden, and the Stolen Election of 1876* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003); William H. Rehnquist, *Centennial Crisis: The Disputed Election of 1876* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004); Michael F. Holt, *By One Vote: The Disputed Presidential Election of 1876* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).
- 11 Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954); James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); J. C. A. Stagg, *Borderlines in Borderlands: James Madison and the Spanish-American Frontier, 1776-1821* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Nathaniel Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff and Their Quest for Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Gainesville: University

The Seminole wars comprise a particularly rich field of historical inquiry. Nineteenth-century works about the conflict included short sensational tracts like *An Authentic Narrative of the Seminole War and of the Miraculous Escape of Mrs. Mary Godfrey* (1836), histories of the campaign such as John T. Sprague's *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (1848), and social critiques exemplified in Joshua Giddings classic *The Florida Exiles* (1858).¹² The First Seminole War tends to be covered in biographies of Andrew Jackson, notably those by Robert Remini and David and Jeanne Heidler, or in histories of all three of the Seminole wars. Prominent among the latter are Joe Knetsch's *Florida's Seminole Wars* (2003), John and Mary Lou Missall's *The Seminole Wars* (2004), and William S. Belko's edited volume, *America's Hundred Years' War* (2011).¹³ By contrast,

Press of Florida, 2013); Andrew McMichael, *Atlantic Loyalties: Americans in Spanish West Florida, 1785-1810* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008).

- 12 Various anonymous works such as the one cited here are patterned on the 1836 tract attributed to Mary Godfrey, published by D.F. Blanchard in New York, as for example, *A True and Authentic Account of the Indian War in Florida: Giving the Particulars Respecting the Murder of the Widow Robbins, and the Providential Escape of Her Daughter Aurelia, and Her Lover, Mr. Charles Somers, After Suffering Almost Innumerable Hardships: The Whole Compiled from the Most Authentic Sources: Embellished with a Colored Engraving* (New York: Saunders & Van Welt, 1836). For a similar example, see Andrew Welch, *A Narrative of the Life and Sufferings of Mrs. Jane Johns: Who Was Barbarously Wounded and Scalped by Seminole Indians, in East Florida* (Charleston, SC: Burke & Giles, 1837). John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War: To Which Is Appended a Record of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Musicians, and Privates of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, Who Were Killed in Battle or Died of Disease As Also the Names of Officers Who Were Distinguished by Brevets, and the Names of Others Recommended; Together with the Orders for Collecting the Remains of the Dead in Florida, and the Ceremony of Interment at St. Augustine, East Florida, on the Fourteenth Day of August, 1842* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1848); Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida: Or, The Crimes Committed by Our Government against the Maroons, Who Flew from South Carolina and the Other Slave States, Seeking Protection Under Spanish Laws* (Columbus, OH: Follett, Foster, 1858). Other significant contemporaneous works are M. M. Cohen and Benjamin Bartlett Hussey, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (Charleston, SC: Burges & Honour, 1836); Woodburne Potter, *The War in Florida: Being an Exposition of Its Causes, and an Accurate History of the Campaigns of Generals Clinch, Gaines, and Scott* (Baltimore, MD: Lewis and Coleman, 1836), and George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers. Written During a Period of Thirty Years' Service in the Army of the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, 1868).
- 13 David Stephen Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1996); Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson & His Indian Wars* (New York: Viking, 2001); John Missall and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); Joe Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars, 1817-1858* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub, 2003); W. Stephen Belko, ed., *America's Hundred Years' War: U.S. Expansion to the Gulf Coast and the Fate of the Seminole, 1763-1858* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011).

the Second Seminole War has produced a veritable library of works, grounded in such classic studies as John K. Mahon's military history of the war, Frank Laumer's works on the Dade Battle, George E. Buker's *Swamp Sailors* (1975), and James W. Covington's *The Seminoles of Florida* (1993).¹⁴ Mahon, Laumer, and Covington were among the founding members of The Seminole Wars Foundation, Inc., an organization dedicated to preserving historic sites and texts of the Seminole wars. Since the 1990s, the Foundation has not only republished classic narratives such as those by John T. Sprague, John Bemrose, and Woodburne Potter, but has brought into print many previously unpublished memoirs and diaries. These include annotated editions of the journals of Lieutenant Henry Prince and Lieutenant Colonel William S. Foster, poetry of the Second Seminole War, and other works.¹⁵ Work on the Second Seminole War also figures prominently in contributions to *Florida Historical Quarterly* (including contributions by Christine Rizzi and Patsy West to this issue) amidst a steady stream of new books.¹⁶ An

- 14 John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967); Frank Laumer, *Massacre!* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968); Frank Laumer, *Dade's Last Command* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995); George E. Buker, *Swamp Sailors: Riverine Warfare in the Everglades, 1835-1842* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975); James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993).
- 15 Reprinted and annotated editions of Sprague and Potter, as well as John Bemrose's *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, have been published by the Foundation in conjunction with University of Tampa Press. New works include Henry Prince and Frank Laumer, *Amidst a Storm of Bullets: The Diary of Lt. Henry Prince in Florida, 1836-1842* (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 1998); *This Miserable Pride of a Soldier: The Letters and Journals of Col. William S. Foster in the Second Seminole War*, ed. John and Mary Lou Missall (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 2005); *This Torn Land, Poetry of the Second Seminole War*, comp. and ed. John and Mary Lou Missall (Dade City, FL: Seminole Wars Foundation, 2009).
- 16 Continuing interest in the Seminole wars is evident in recent works. Since 2000, they have included: R. Blake Dunnivant, "A Muddy Water Warrior's Manual: Toward a Riverine Warfare Tactical Doctrine in the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (Spring 2000): 417-429; Jay Jennings, "Fort Denaud: Logistics Hub of the Third Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 80, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 24-42; James M. Denham and Keith L. Hunneycutt, "Everything is Hubbub Here": Lt. James Willoughby Anderson's Second Seminole War, 1837-1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 82, no. 3 (Winter 2004): 313-359; Matthew T. Percy, "The Ruthless Hand of War: Andrew A. Humphreys in the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 123-153; Kevin Kokomoor, "A Re-assessment of Seminoles, Africans, and Slavery on the Florida Frontier," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 209-236; Daniel Feller, "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1818 Florida Campaign," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010): 309-325; C.S. Monaco, "Alachua

important aid to research was produced in 1998 with publication of an index to the muster rolls for enlistments, which joined the old standard *Soldiers of Florida* as a basic source for identifying and tracing people mentioned in accounts. Ron Field and Richard Hook have published an illustrated guide to arms and weaponry.¹⁷

Like the First Seminole War, the Third has often been treated in larger works rather than as a stand-alone topic. Covington's 1981 monograph and Jennings's 2000 thesis are notable single-author contributions.¹⁸ The war was shorter than the Second Seminole War and much smaller in scale—primarily a guerilla war, as the Missall's note.¹⁹ Even in the 1850s, the Third Seminole War attracted little attention from a nation preoccupied with debates over the extension of slavery and with the rising specter of secession. On the whole, the conflict has been treated as the closing chapter on Florida's Indian wars (and frequently constitutes the last chapter in books about them).²⁰ Its principle impact in Florida was to open South Florida to settlement and to instill in the remaining Seminole and Miccosukee both a deep distrust and a strong reluctance

Settlers and the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (Summer, 2012): 1-32; C.S. Monaco, "'Wishing that Right May Prevail': Ethan Allen Hitchcock and the Florida War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 93, no. 2 (Fall, 2014): 167-194; and Cameron Strang, "Violence, Ethnicity, and Human Remains during the Second Seminole War," *Journal of American History* 100, no. 4 (March 2014): 973-994. Recent books include Nell Colcord Weidenbach, *Lt. John T. McLaughlin, USN: Mystery Man of the Second Seminole War* (Port Charlotte, FL: Foxcord House, 1995); Joe Knetsch, *Fear and Anxiety on the Florida Frontier: Articles on the Second Seminole War* (Dade City, FL: Seminole Wars Foundation Press, 2008 [reprinted 2015]); Jerry C. Morris and Jeffrey A. Hough, *The Fort King Road: Then and Now* (Dade City, FL: Seminole Wars Foundation Press, 2009); and Gregory A. Moore, *Sacred Ground, The Military Cemetery at St. Augustine* (St. Augustine, FL: The Florida National Guard Foundation, 2013). See also Toni Carrier, "Trade and Plunder Networks during the Second Seminole War in Florida, 1835-1842" (MA thesis, University of South Florida, 2005).

17 Ann Josberger McFadden, *Index of Florida Militia Muster Rolls, Seminole Indian Wars. Volumes 67 Thru 76* (St. Augustine, FL: State Arsenal, 1998); Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars* (MacClenny, FL: R.J. Ferry, 1983); Ron Field and Richard Hook, *The Seminole Wars 1818-58 (Men-at-Arms)* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2009).

18 James W. Covington, *The Billy Bowlegs War, 1855-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles against the Whites* (Chuluota, FL: Mickler House Publishers, 1982); James F. Jennings, "Military Operations in Southwest Florida in the Third Seminole War, 1855-58" (MA thesis, California State University, 2000).

19 John and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 216.

20 This is true, for example, in Knetsch's *Florida's Seminole Wars* and the Missall's *The Seminole Wars*, and the third conflict has no essay of its own in the nine contributions to Belko's *America's Hundred Years War*.

for any contact with white society, characteristics that lasted well into the 1930s.

Native American Studies

Tied closely to studies of the Seminole wars are works on Native American leaders and culture that focus particularly on the Creeks, Seminoles, and Miccosukees. Growing interest in Native American history during the twentieth century, along with claims for federal recognition by both the Seminole Tribe of Florida (1957) and the Miccosukee Tribe of Florida (1962), generated extensive research into tribal history. A full-length recounting of works on the Seminoles and Miccosukees during the 1800s and 1900s would require a book.²¹ Preeminent among ethnographers is William C. Sturtevant, general editor of the *Handbook of North American Indians* and author of *A Seminole Source Book* (1987), whose scholarship influenced a generation of anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians, including John Goggin, Jerald T. Milanich, and Patsy West.²² Charles H. Fairbanks's *Ethnohistorical Report of the Florida Indians* (1957) along with his later 1973 compilation represent important summaries and assemblies of data.²³ Studies that examine changes and challenges to native culture and sovereignty between 1800 and 1860 include Covington's work (previously cited) and studies by Harry Kersey, J. Leitch Wright, Brent Weisman, Patricia Wickman, and Patsy West.²⁴

- 21 A review of the holdings of the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, found more than 180 relevant titles in the call number classification F.05—the library's original designation for studies of Native Americans—and this does not include studies of the Seminole wars, journal articles, manuscript diaries and memoirs, oral histories, or works published after 1998. Although not recent, a good bibliographic guide is Harry A. Kersey, *The Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).
- 22 For treatment of Sturtevant's ethnographic work among the Florida Seminole, see William L. Merrill, "The Writings of William C. Sturtevant," *Anthropology, History, and American Indians: Essays in Honor of William Curtis Sturtevant*, edited by William L. Merrill and Ives Goddard (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002); and William C. Sturtevant, *A Seminole Source Book* (New York, NY: Garland, 1987).
- 23 Charles H. Fairbanks, *Ethnohistorical Report of the Florida Indians. Before the Indian Claims Commission* (The Seminole Indians of the State Florida, petitioner, v. The United States of America, Defendant, Docket, no. 151, 1957); Charles H. Fairbanks, *The Florida Seminole People* (Phoenix, AZ: Indian Tribal Series, 1973).
- 24 Harry A. Kersey, *Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders Among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975); J. Leitch

In the area of biography, Osceola has long held a principal place, immortalized in portraiture by John Rogers Vinton and George Catlin, and in story by Andrew Welch. Both Patricia Wickman and Thom Hatch have revisited his legacy in important works, while Susan Miller produced a major study of Coacoochee (Wildcat). Abiaka (Sam Jones), the major leader often left in the shadows of history, has yet to be covered in a book-length biography, but Patsy West's study (in this issue) is the first step towards rectifying this.²⁵

Slaves, Free-Blacks, and African American History

Another welcome offshoot of interest in military history and records has been new light shed on the lives of African Americans in Florida during the 1800s. In fact, research into military conflict in Florida has become a basis for a startling new social history. As was true in colonial times, slaves and free blacks found themselves caught up in the trials of war in the 1800s. Accounts of black soldiers, slaves, runaways, and maroons has grown significantly since such pioneering articles as Kenneth W. Porter's "Florida Slaves and Free Negroes in the Seminole War, 1835-1842" (1943), his posthumously-published *The Black Seminoles* (1996) and Jane Lander's *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (1999).²⁶ Lander's continued her

Wright, *Creeks & Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Brent Richards Weisman, *Like Beads on a String: A Culture History of Seminole Indians in North Peninsular Florida*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987); Brent Richards Weisman, *Unconquered People: Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indians* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999); Patricia R. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991); Patsy West, *The Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes of Southern Florida* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub, 2002). See also Mikaëla M. Adams and Theda Perdue, *Savage Foes, Noble Warriors, and Frail Remnants: Florida Seminoles in the White Imagination, 1865-1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009). William C. Sturtevant and Jerald T. Milanich also brought out a new edition of Clay MacCauley's 1887 work as *The Seminole Indians of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

25 For an assessment of Osceola in fiction of the nineteenth century, see Maurice O'Sullivan, this volume; Andrew Welch, *Narrative of the early days and remembrances of Oceola Nikkanoochee: Prince of Econchatti, a young Seminole Indian* (London: Hatchard and Son, 1841); Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*; Thom Hatch, *Osceola and the Great Seminole War: A Struggle for Justice and Freedom* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2012); Susan A. Miller, *Coacoochee's Bones: A Seminole Saga* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003).

26 Kenneth W. Porter, "Florida slaves and free Negroes in the Seminole war, 1835-1842," *Journal of Negro History* 28, no. 4 (October 1943): 390-421; Kenneth Wiggins Porter, Alcione M. Amos, and Thomas P. Senter, *The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom-Seeking People* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); Jane

research in *Atlantic Creoles* (2010). Frank Marotti documented the lives of black soldiers from the War of 1812 to the Civil War and produced a wealth of detail about daily life for slaves and free blacks through the entire antebellum era in the *Cana Sanctuary* (2012) and *Heaven's Soldiers* (2013). Also, Nathaniel Millett produced the first full-scale study of the Negro Fort in *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff* (2013).²⁷ In 2004 the department of Africana Studies at the University of South Florida (USF) launched its Africana Heritage Project, a web-based guide to finding source material on slaves, free blacks, and people of color, with a special focus of attention on documenting a community of escaped slaves along Florida's Manatee River.²⁸ In *The Slaves' Gamble* (2013), Gene Smith traced the fortunes of hundreds of black men and women across the South, including Florida, who were caught up in the upheavals of the War of 1812.²⁹ Terrance Weik produced a literally ground-breaking study in his archaeological excavation and investigation of the site of Pilaklikaha, one of the major towns for black maroons in the 1830s; it forms part of an extensive literature on the Black Seminoles.³⁰

Research has yielded numerous new works in biography as well. Dan Schafer's biography of Anna Kingsley, a free women of color and plantation owner at the end of the colonial period, and Patricia C. Griffin's edition of the autobiographical memoir of Sitika or

Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

27 Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Frank Marotti, *The Cana Sanctuary: History, Diplomacy, and Black Catholic Marriage in Antebellum St. Augustine, Florida* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012); Frank Marotti, *Heaven's Soldiers: Free People of Color and the Spanish Legacy in Antebellum Florida* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013); Millett, *The Maroons of Prospect Bluff*.

28 The Africana Heritage Project website (<http://africanastudies.usf.edu/ahp/>) remained operational through 2014 after which it seems to have been archived.

29 Gene A. Smith, *The Slaves' Gamble: Choosing Sides in the War of 1812* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

30 Terrance M. Weik, "A Historical Archaeology of Black Seminole Maroons in Florida: Ethnogenesis and Culture Contact at Pilaklikaha" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2002); followed up more broadly in Terrance M. Weik, *The Archaeology of Antislavery Resistance* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012). See also Daniel F Littlefield, *Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977); Kevin Mulroy, *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1993); Jeff Guinn, *Our Land Before We Die: The Proud Story of the Seminole Negro* (New York: J.P. Tarcher/Putnam, 2002) and Anthony E. Dixon, *Florida's Negro War: Black Seminoles and the Second Seminole War 1835-1842* (Tallahassee, FL: AHRA Publishing Division, 2014).

Uncle Jack, the boyhood slave of Buckingham Smith, chronicled the shifting challenges the black population faced.³¹ Landers did the same in her reconstruction of the life of Jorge Biassou, a leader of the Haitian Revolution and resident of St. Augustine, while both she and Marotti produced new insights into the life and circle of friends around Juan Bautista 'Prince' Witten, an officer in the colonial militia.³² Important analysis of Reconstruction in Florida is encompassed in the biography of Josiah T. Walls by Peter Klingman and in *After War Times* (2014) by Daniel Weinfeld, Dawn Herd-Clark, and Tameka Bradley Hobbs, an insightful examination of the promise and failings of Reconstruction as witnessed by noted black editor and journalist T. T. Fortune.³³ Recent article length biographies include Darius Young's profile of attorney Henry Harmon and Canter Brown Jr. and Larry E. Rivers's biography of Judge James Dean as well as Charles Tingley's portrait of Dr. Alexander Darnes (in this volume).³⁴

Slavery has been a focus of research in Florida since the ground-breaking work by the Florida Writers' Project to record interviews with former slaves in the 1930s and the research in plantation records by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and James David Glunt.³⁵ Prior to the 1960s, however, accounts of African American life

31 Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley: African Princess, Florida Slave, Plantation Slaveowner* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Sitiki and Patricia C. Griffin, *The Odyssey of an African Slave* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009).

32 Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*; Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*; Marotti, *The Cana Sanctuary*.

33 Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976); Timothy Thomas Fortune, Daniel R. Weinfeld, Dawn J. Herd-Clark, and Tameka B. Hobbs, *After War Times: An African American Childhood in Reconstruction-Era Florida* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014).

34 Darius J. Young, "Henry S. Harmon: Pioneer African American Attorney in Reconstruction-era Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 177-196; Canter Brown, Jr. and Larry E. Rivers, "The Pioneer African American Jurist Who Almost Became a Bishop: Florida's Judge James Dean, 1858-1814," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 16-49.

35 Federal Writers' Project and George P. Rawick, *Florida Narratives* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub. Co., 1972); more recently published in Stetson Kennedy and Joyce Kennedy, *The Florida Slave: Interviews with Ex-Slaves WPA Writers Project, 1930s and Testimony of Ex-Slaves, Joint Congressional Committee, Jacksonville, 1871* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2011); see also Randall Williams, *No Man's Yoke on My Shoulders: Personal Accounts of Slavery in Florida* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 2006); Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and James David Glunt, *Florida Plantation Records from the Papers of George Noble Jones* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1927); James David Glunt, *Plantation and Frontier Records of East and Middle Florida, 1789-1868* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1930).

tended towards romanticized images of an idyllic Old South, represented by such works as Susan Bradford Eppes' *The Negro of the Old South* (1925).³⁶ Eugene D. Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll, The World the Slaves Made* (1974), credited with promoting a new focus in American history on the lives of the enslaved, foreshadowed the coming of two watershed works for Florida: *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (1999) by Jane Landers, which included research on people of color to 1821, and *Slavery in Florida* (2000) by Larry E. Rivers, which immediately drew attention for its comprehensive examination of enslaved life and its use of newspapers, court records, and other sources to uncover first-hand accounts.³⁷ In a second noted work, Rivers expanded his scope of inquiry to look at African Americans who escaped or challenged slavery.³⁸ Working a similar theme, Matt Clavin analyzed hundreds of runaway slave notices to construct case by case examples of how individuals disrupted or challenged the slave system, a topic he has also summarized (in this volume).³⁹ Nineteenth-century debates over slavery, which drew abolitionist attention to Florida in 1845 with the publication of the case of Jonathan Walker, also received scholarly attention.⁴⁰ An abolitionist tract by settler Moses Levy was published with annotations by Chris Monaco in 1999, while a pro-slavery work by planter and slave trader Zephaniah Kingsley came out with annotations by Daniel Stowell in 2000.⁴¹

36 Susan Bradford Eppes, *The Negro of the Old South: A Bit of Period History* (Chicago, IL: Joseph G. Branch Pub. Co., 1925); Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (Macon, GA: J.W. Burke, 1926).

37 Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll; The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974); Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*; Larry E. Rivers, *Slavery in Florida, Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000). Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973) came out the year before Genovese's book. In 1978, Frankie H. Fennell produced "Blacks in Jacksonville, 1840-1865" (MA thesis, Florida State University, 1978).

38 Larry E. Rivers, *Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

39 Matthew J. Clavin, *Aiming for Pensacola: Fugitive Slaves on the Atlantic and Southern Frontiers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

40 *Trial and Imprisonment of Jonathan Walker, at Pensacola, Florida, for Aiding Slaves to Escape from Bondage: With an Appendix, Containing a Sketch of His Life* (Boston, MA: Published at the Anti-slavery Office, 1845).

41 Moses E. Levy and Chris Monaco, *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery: Consistently with the Interests of All Parties Concerned* (Micanopy, FL: Wacahoota Press, 1999); Z. Kingsley and Daniel W. Stowell, *Balancing Evils Judiciously The Proslavery Writings of Zephaniah Kingsley* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000).

Archaeology of Nineteenth Century Florida

The field of archaeological research has also been particularly rich for nineteenth-century Florida, encompassing as it does much of the post-1800 sites in and around St. Augustine, field work at plantation sites, work at the Arcadia Mills site near Milton, discovery of the *Maple Leaf* shipwreck, and investigation at a host of sites associated with the Seminole Wars.

Archaeology in Florida traces its roots in many respects to the excavations of Native American mounds by Clarence B. Moore and the Frank Hamilton Cushing Expedition to Key Marco in the 1890s.⁴² But the mid-twentieth century saw the initiation of archaeological research at historic sites, primarily of the colonial period but also including plantation sites from the 1800s. Research at Kingsley Plantation, a colonial and antebellum site on Fort George Island, has been ongoing since the work of Charles Fairbanks in the 1960s. Research at the site can be credited as some of the earliest scholarly work on slave life in Florida.⁴³ Similarly, Bulow Plantation, probably the best known of those from the time of the Second Seminole War, has been the subject of numerous archaeological projects since the 1950s.⁴⁴ Other projects provided examples of the layout and construction of various homesteads and communities. These include reports on the excavation of Joseph Hernández's Mala Compra Plantation in Volusia County (a recipient of awards from the Society for Historic Archaeology and the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation), exploration of the spatial arrangement of the plaza and surrounding buildings at Old Town Fernandina,

42 Jeffrey Mitchem was general editor of new editions of Moore's reports: Clarence B. Moore and Jeffrey M. Mitchem, *The East Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999); and *The West and Central Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999). Annotated editions of Cushing's journals were produced in two volumes, *The Florida Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing and The Lost Florida Manuscript of Frank Hamilton Cushing*, ed. Phyllis E. Kolianos and Brent R. Weisman (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2005).

43 Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Kingsley slave cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968," *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers*, Vol. 7, pp. 62-93, 1972; Karen Jo Walker, *Kingsley and His Slaves: Anthropological Interpretation and Evaluation* (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1988); James M. Davidson, "A Cluster of Sacred Symbols: Interpreting an Act of Animal Sacrifice at Kingsley Plantation, Fort George Island, Florida (1814-1839)," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 19, no. 1 (2015):76-121.

44 Henry A. Baker, "Fifteen Years on Bulow Creek: Glimpses of Bulowville," *The Florida Anthropologist* 52, nos. 1-2 (March-June 1999): 115-124.

and archaeological documentation of the remaining portions of Fort San Carlos on the plaza of Old Town.⁴⁵ Similarly, the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board investigated the remains of the Sabate Plantation outside St. Augustine.⁴⁶ Recent examinations of nineteenth century lifeways in St. Augustine, conducted by city archaeologist Carl Halbirt, include the excavation of the town's northern nineteenth-century defense work, the Cubo line, as well as excavation of the Martin Hernández Orange Grove Site, a small farmstead documenting the life of a Minorcan family and the slaves who worked the property.⁴⁷

At Milton, the University of West Florida has sponsored numerous field seasons to research the operation of the antebellum Arcadia Mill Site.⁴⁸ Among the most famous underwater sites in Florida is that of the Union vessel *Maple Leaf*, sunk by a Confederate mine in the St. Johns River off of Mandarin in 1864.⁴⁹ Nineteenth-century sites also spurred efforts in historic preservation, notably for the Call family's Grove Plantation in Tallahassee and Fort Clinch on Amelia Island, as well as the reconstruction of Fort Foster. Battlefields and forts of the Second Seminole War have been the subject of numerous archaeological projects, including

- 45 Ted M. Payne and Patricia C. Griffin, *Preliminary Archaeological Investigations at the Joseph Martin Hernandez Mala Compra Plantation Settlement at Bings Landing County Park* (Flagler County, FL: Flagler County Planning Department, 1999). Awards for the site noted in Amy Wimmer Schwarb, "Mala Compra Plantation: History from the ground up," *Tampa Bay Times*, November 12, 2012; Greg Charles Smith, Steven A. Ferrell, Marsha A. Chance, and Myles C. P. Bland, *Archaeological Monitoring in Old Town (8NA238), Fernandina Beach, Nassau County, Florida* (Jacksonville, FL: Environmental Services, Inc., 1998); Hale G. Smith and Ripley P. Bullen, *Fort San Carlos* (Tallahassee: Dept. of Anthropology, Florida State University, 1971).
- 46 Stanley C. Bond, Susan R. Parker, and Susan N. Smith, *The Sabate Plantation: The History and Archaeology of a Minorcan Farmstead* (St. Augustine, FL: Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, 1990).
- 47 Carl D. Halbirt, "The Archeology of the Cubo Line: St. Augustine's First Line of Defense," *The Florida Anthropologist* 46, no. 2 (1993): 105-127; Melissa N. Haugen and Carl D. Halbirt, "The Hernández Orange Grove: A Nineteenth-Century Enterprise in St. Augustine, Florida," Paper submitted at the 57th Annual Meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society, Gainesville, FL, May 14, 2005.
- 48 Brian R. Rucker, *Arcadia: Florida's Premier Antebellum Industrial Park* (Bagdad, FL: Patagonia Press, 2005); Adrienne Boone Sams, "Arcadia Mill Village: Spatial Analysis of a Nineteenth Century Industrial Community" (MA thesis, University of West Florida, 2013); Rylan Nathaniel Thomas, "Industrial Slavery at Arcadia Mill An Historical and Archaeological Investigation" (MA thesis, University of West Florida, 2015).
- 49 Keith V. Holland, Lee B. Manley, and James W. Towart, *The Maple Leaf: An Extraordinary American Civil War Shipwreck* (Jacksonville, FL: St. Johns Archaeological Expeditions Inc., 1993).

that of the already mentioned Pilaklikaha and projects undertaken by the Gulf Archaeology Research Institute (GARI) for Fort King, Fort Dade, and Fort Defiance.⁵⁰

Travel and description

The social history of nineteenth-century Florida encompasses a wide and diverse array of studies about pioneer life, commerce, railroads, crime, religion, and many other topics. An outpouring of travel literature in the 1800s provided vignettes of life in Florida coupled with information about climate, products, and geography. Beginning with the impressions of Berquin-Duvallon and Abbé Robin, Florida was the focus of journals or commentaries by surveyor Andrew Ellicott, cartographer John Melish, and emigré Achille Murat.⁵¹ In the second half of the century, the travel account was perhaps (with the novel) the premier literary genre of Florida. The works of Brinton, Whitehead, Bill, Stowe, Lanier, and Townshend are the best-known between 1850 and 1880.⁵²

50 See dos.myflorida.com/historical/explore/the-grove/ for the Grove, www.floridastateparks.org/park/Fort-Clinch for Fort Clinch State Park, and www.floridastateparks.org/park/Fort-Foster on Fort Foster (all accessed on February 25, 2016); Weik, *A Historical Archaeology of Black Seminole Maroons in Florida*. For some baseline data on Seminole war sites, see Gary D. Ellis, C. S. Monaco, Jonathan Dean, Ken Nash, and Jill Principe, *Fort Defiance-Fort Micanopy: The Study of the Opening Battles of the Second Seminole War*. American Battlefield Protection Grant 2255-08-007, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, Washington, DC (2011); Gary D. Ellis, Michelle Formica, Jonathan Dean, Ken Nash, Jill Principe, and Andrea Harper, *Fort Dade (8Pa25) Archaeological Site*, American Battlefield Protection Grant 2255-08-007, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, Washington, DC (2010); Gary D. Ellis, Michelle Formica, Jonathan Dean, Ken Nash, and Jill Principe, *Fort King Park Phase I Archaeological Study Grant F0801*, City of Ocala, Planning Department, Ocala, FL (2009); Gary D. Ellis, Michelle Formica, Jonathan Dean, Ken Nash, Jill Principe, and Andrea Harper, *Report of Findings Fort Dade (8Pa25) Archaeological Study*, Submitted to the Seminole Wars Historic Foundation Inc. and Florida Department of State, Division of Historic Preservation (2006).

51 Berquin-Duvallon and John Davis, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, in the Year, 1802: Giving a Correct Picture of Those Countries* (New York: I. Riley & Co, 1806); Abbé C. C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane: de la Floride occidentale, et dans les isles de la Martinique et de Saint-Domingue, pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806* (Paris: F. Buisson, 1807); John Melish, *A Description of East and West Florida and the Bahama Islands*, 2^d. (Philadelphia, PA: G. Palmer, 1813); Andrew Ellicott, *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott Late Commissioner on Behalf of the United States During Part of the Year 1796, the Years 1797, 1798, 1799, and Part of the Year 1800* (Philadelphia, PA: William Fry, 1814); Achille Murat, *America and the Americans* (New York: W.H. Graham, 1849).

52 Daniel G. Brinton, *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula: Its Literary History, Indian Tribes and Antiquities* (Philadelphia, PA: Joseph Sabin, 1859); Charles E.

Studies of society in antebellum Florida cover a wide range of research on economic development, religious life, demography, politics, and social control. Classic introductions to ranching and to rural culture in Florida include Akerman's *Florida Cowman* and Ste. Claire's *Cracker*.⁵³ Introductions to the railroad history of Florida can be found in the works of George Pettengill and Gregg Turner.⁵⁴ The Florida Railroad was covered in early theses on David Levy Yulee and Samuel Swann by Mills Lord and Helen Sharp.⁵⁵ Besides other works on plantations mentioned previously, two other notable works are Shofner's on Daniel Ladd, Baptist's on Middle Florida, and Fleszar's and Schafer's separate studies of Zephaniah Kingsley.⁵⁶ Foremost in accounts of crime is James M.

Whitehead, John Whetton Ehninger, Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait, Arthur Lumley, and Samuel Putnam Avery, *Wild Sports in the South, or, The Camp-Fires of the Everglades* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860); Daniel G. Brinton, *A Guide-Book of Florida and the South, For Tourists, Invalids and Emigrants* (Philadelphia, PA: Penn Publishing Company, 1869); Ledyard Bill, *A Winter in Florida; Observations on the Soil, Climate, and Products of Our Semi-Tropical State With Sketches of the Principal Towns and Cities in Eastern Florida* (New York: Wood & Holbrook, 1870); Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto-Leaves* (Boston, MA: J.R. Osgood and Co., 1873); Sidney Lanier, *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History, with an Account of Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, and Aiken, and a Chapter for Consumptives, Being a Complete Hand-Book and Guide* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott & Co, 1875); F. Trench Townshend, *Wild Life in Florida, With a Visit to Cuba* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1875). On this topic, see Henry Knight, *Tropic of Hopes: California, Florida, and the Selling of American Paradise, 1869-1929* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013). See also Harriet Beecher Stowe, John T. Foster, and Sarah Whitmer Foster, *Calling Yankees to Florida: Harriet Beecher Stowe's Forgotten Tourist Articles* (Cocoa: The Florida Historical Society Press, 2011).

- 53 Joe A. Akeman, *Florida Cowman: A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, FL: Florida Cattlemen's Association, 1976); Dana Ste. Claire, *Cracker: The Cracker Culture in Florida History* (Daytona Beach, FL: Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1998).
- 54 George Warren Pettengill, *The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, MA: Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, 1952); Gregg M. Turner, *A Short History of Florida Railroads* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2003); Gregg M. Turner, *A Journey into Florida Railroad History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008). See also Paul E. Fenlon, "The Struggle for Control of the Florida Central Railroad (1867-1882): A Case Study of Business Enterprise in Post-Civil War Florida" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 1955).
- 55 Mills Minton Lord, "David Levy Yulee, Statesmen and Railroad Builder" (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1940); Helen R. Sharp, "The Activities of Samuel A. Swann in the Development of Florida" (MA thesis, Florida State College for Women, 1940).
- 56 Jerrell H. Shofner, *Daniel Ladd, Merchant Prince of Frontier Florida* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1978); Edward E. Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier Before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Mark J. Fleszar, "The Atlantic mind : Zephaniah Kingsley, slavery, and the politics of race in the Atlantic world" (MA thesis, Georgia State University, 2009); Daniel L. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. and the*

Denham's *Rogue's Paradise*, a careful and colorful reconstruction of the difficulties of maintaining law and order in a frontier environment.⁵⁷ Important major works pertaining to church life and religion include Michael V. Gannon's biography of Bishop Verot and studies on the A.M.E. church by Canter Brown, Jr. and Larry E. Rivers, while histories of individual churches or congregations can be found for all the Florida counties.⁵⁸ A useful series of abstracts on early Jewish migration into Florida in the second half of the nineteenth century was compiled by Yael Herbsman in 1992 and is available online.⁵⁹

Among important editions of memoirs and letters from the 1800s are those unearthed and edited by Canter Brown, Jr., James M. Denham, and Keith Huneycutt.⁶⁰ Jerald T. Milanich explored conditions in the state through the extensive journalistic writings of New Yorker Amos Jay Cummings.⁶¹ A digital archive from the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, called "Pioneer Days in Florida," went online in 2015 with more than 300 examples of diaries, letter collections, and other materials documenting life in the nineteenth century.⁶² Also, an introduction to the literary output of nineteenth-century Florida is provided by Maurice O'Sullivan (in this volume).

Atlantic world : Slave trader, Plantation owner, Emancipator (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2013).

57 James M. Denham, *A Rogue's Paradise: Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1861* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997). Also see James M. Denham and Randolph Roth, "Why was Antebellum Florida Murderous? A Quantitative Analysis of Homicide in Florida, 1821-1861," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 216-239.

58 Michael V. Gannon, *Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot* (Milwaukee, WI: Bruce Pub. Co., 1964); Larry E. Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida, 1865-1895* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001); Canter Brown, Jr. and Larry E. Rivers, *For a Great and Grand Purpose: The Beginnings of the AMEZ Church in Florida, 1864-1905* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004).

59 Yael Herbsman, *Index to Florida Jewish History in the American Israelite, 1854-1900*, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00015495>, (accessed February 25, 2016).

60 George Gillett Keen, James M. Denham, and Canter Brown, Jr., *Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives: The Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000); Corinna Brown Aldrich, Ellen Brown Anderson, James M. Denham, and Keith L. Huneycutt, *Echoes from a Distant Frontier: The Brown Sisters' Correspondence from Antebellum Florida* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004).

61 Jerald T. Milanich, *Frolicking Bears, Wet Vultures, & other oddities: A New York City Journalist in Nineteenth-Century Florida* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2005).

62 Pioneer Days in Florida <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/pioneerdays>, (accessed February 26, 2016).

Secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction

Like work on the Second Seminole War, writings on the Civil War and Florida could constitute a library. The small size of Florida's population, its geographical isolation, and the lack of any major battles within the confines of the state would argue against an extensive literature on the Civil War, but Confederate units from Florida fought as integral parts of the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of Tennessee while the deployment of black Union soldiers to Florida guaranteed a historical legacy. From the confrontation between northern and southern forces in Pensacola, which paralleled the outbreak of hostilities at Fort Sumter, to the foot-dragging capitulation of Florida's Confederate government in Tallahassee, the state seemed determined to wring every possible moment of drama and agony that it could out of this national conflict.

Within five years of the close of the Civil War, veterans were already bringing out memoirs of their experiences. One of the first to encompass Florida, published in 1870, was Thomas Wentworth Higginson's account of commanding a black regiment, the South Carolina Volunteers, in which he chronicled their service on the St. Marys and St. Johns Rivers. Confederate accounts (appearing after Reconstruction) were characterized by themes of martial prowess and suffering for the Southern cause. Examples include Mary Elizabeth Dickison's account of J.J. Dickison's campaigns throughout Florida, the war journal of C. Seton Fleming, and Dickison's own *Military History of Florida*. Ellen Call Long's *Florida Breezes* (1883) was only tangentially associated with the war, being principally dedicated to a life of her father, territorial governor Richard Keith Call, who died in 1862. In it, however, she broke stride with many southern writers, echoing her father in expressing pride in the South but, like him, criticizing the secessionist effort to break-up the Union.⁶³

63 Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Boston, MA: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1870); Francis P. Fleming, *Memoir of Capt. C. Seton Fleming of the Second Florida Infantry, C.S.A. Illustrative of the History of the Florida Troops in Virginia During the War between the States. With Appendix of the Casualties* (Jacksonville, FL: Times-Union Pub. House, 1884); Mary Elizabeth Dickison, *Dickison and his Men: Reminiscences of the war in Florida* (Louisville, KY: Courier-Journal Job Print Co., 1890); J.J. Dickison, *Military History of Florida* (Atlanta, GA: Confederate Pub. Co., 1899); Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes, Or, Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville, FL: Ashmead Bros., 1883).

The first principle work of the twentieth century was William Watson Davis's *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (1913), which garnered some note for naming slavery as the cause of the Civil War, but largely dismissed Reconstruction as an attempt to emasculate the South, a theme adopted into "Lost Cause" literature.⁶⁴ It was nearly half a century before this work was seriously challenged. The centennial years of the Civil War from 1960 to 1965 saw a host of commemorative works come out, including a re-issue of Davis; work and also John Edwin Johns's *Florida and the Civil War* (1963). The latter, drawing extensively on manuscript material, National Archive records, and newspaper reporting, ushered in a new era of scholarship, particularly for production of graduate theses and dissertations.⁶⁵

One of the most valuable publications for researchers of this era was David Hartman's and David Coles's *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers, 1861-1865* (1995). This

64 William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York: Columbia University, 1913). See the evaluation of this work by Paul Ortiz, "The Not So Strange Career of William Watson Davis's 'The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida,'" in *The Dunning School: Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction*, ed. John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013). See also commentary by Daniel Weinfield, "The Lazy Redeemer: Paul Ortiz tackles William Watson Davis and the Mythmaker's Myopia," <http://bloodandoranges.com> (accessed February 25, 2016).

65 Samuel Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago: A compilation of month by month accounts of the Civil War in Florida published during the 100th anniversary of the Civil War* (Tallahassee: Florida Library and Historical Commission, 1960-1965). Meanwhile, the University Press of Florida reissued *Dickson and his Men and Florida Breezes*, as well as Davis's work. Also, see John Edwin Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1963). A partial list of graduate work on the Civil War includes: Sidney Scaife Ferrell, "Public Opinion in Confederate Florida" (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1950); Ovid Leon Futch, "Salmon P. Chase and Radical Politics in Florida, 1862-1865" (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1952); John Franklin Reiger, "Anti-War and Pro-Union Sentiment in Confederate Florida" (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1966); Church Edward Barnard, "The Federal Blockade of Florida During the Civil War" (MA thesis, University of Miami, 1966); Ellen Hodges Patterson, "The Stephens Family in East Florida: A Profile of Plantation Life Along the St. Johns River, 1859-1864" (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1979); Rodney E. Dillon, "The Civil War in South Florida" (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1980); Robert A. Taylor, "Rebel Beef: Florida Cattle and the Confederacy, 1861-1865" (MA thesis, University of South Florida, 1985) and "Rebel Storehouse Florida in the Confederate Economy" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1991); William H. Nulty, "The 1864 Florida Federal Expedition: Blundering into Modern Warfare" (MA thesis, University of Florida, 1985); and Jonathan C. Sheppard, "Everyday Soldiers: The Florida Brigade of the West, 1861-1862" (MA thesis, Florida State University, 20004).

multivolume reference work provides summaries of information in enlistment and discharge records, organized by unit, and indexed by name.⁶⁶ Coles had already made two other notable contributions to the literature with an analysis of the Battle of Olustee and an examination of the final two years of the war in Florida.⁶⁷

Annotated memoirs and letter collections remain a popular avenue of research and include such first-hand accounts of war-time as the correspondence between Confederate officer Winston Stephens and his wife Octavia Bryant Stephens, the memoir of Union sympathizer Calvin Robinson of Jacksonville, and the diary entries of abolitionist, doctor, and school teacher Esther Hill Hawks.⁶⁸ Confederate leaders James Patton Anderson, William W. Loring, and Braxton Bragg have all been the subject of biographies.⁶⁹ The impact of war on Florida's cities include works on Tampa, Jacksonville, and Pensacola.⁷⁰ An excellent reader, comprised of key articles from the *Florida Historical Quarterly* was produced by Irvin D.S. Winsboro in 2007.⁷¹

A number of ground-breaking works have been published during the last two decades. Daniel Schafer's *Thunder on the River* (2010)

66 David W. Hartman and David J. Coles, *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers, 1861-1865* (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Pub. Co., 1995).

67 David James Coles, "A Fight, a Licking, and a Footrace": The 1864 Florida Campaign and the Battle of Olustee" (MA thesis, Florida State University, 1985); David James Coles, "Far from Fields of Glory: Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War, 1864-1865" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1996).

68 Arch Fredric Blakey, Ann S. Lainhart, and Winston Bryant Stephens, *Rose Cottage Chronicles: Civil War Letters of the Bryant-Stephens Families of North Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); Calvin L. Robinson and Anne R. W. Clancy, *A Yankee in a Confederate Town: The Journal of Calvin L. Robinson* (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 2002); Esther Hill Hawks and Gerald Schwartz, *A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawks' Diary* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1984). A series of first-hand accounts appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 2 (Winter 2008).

69 Margaret Anderson Uhler, *The Floridians* (Lincoln, NE: Writers Club Press, 2003); James W. Raab, *J. Patton Anderson, Confederate General: A Biography* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2004) and *W.W. Loring: Florida's Forgotten General* (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press, 1996); Grady McWhiney and Judith Lee Hallock, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991); Judith Lee Hallock, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat, Volume II* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991).

70 Richard A. Martin, Daniel L. Schafer, and James Robertson Ward, *Jacksonville's Ordeal by Fire: A Civil War History* (Jacksonville: Florida Pub. Co., 1984); Canter Brown, Jr., *Tampa in Civil War and Reconstruction* (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 2000); George F. Pearce, *Pensacola During the Civil War: A Thorn in the Side of the Confederacy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

71 Irvin D. S. Winsboro, *Florida's Civil War: Exploration into Conflict, Interpretation, and Memory* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2007).

combined detailed attention to the riverine conflict of the war with a new examination of the role black soldiers played in defense of Jacksonville.⁷² Jonathan Sheppard and Zack Waters produced new studies on the fate of Florida's Confederate forces serving in the West and Chesapeake while Matthew Gallman, in two edited works, produced a new analysis of the black regiments who fought at the Battle of Olustee, their make-up, and an array of reasons for their enlisting and fighting.⁷³ Robert Saunders Jr. (this volume) adds to a limited literature on Union prison camps with his account of the experiences of Wilbur Wightman Gramling as a prisoner of war. Tracy Revels' *Grander in Her Daughters* (2004) explored the impact of the war on women's lives and their perspective on the conflict.⁷⁴ Nick Wynne and Robert Taylor, working together on a number of projects, brought out a short general history of the conflict in 2001, while Wynne and Joe Crankshaw produced a similar book on the blockade in 2011, a subject that George Buker covered in a classic study in 1993.⁷⁵

As already noted, William Watson Davis's interpretation of Reconstruction in Florida reigned unchallenged for decades. However, with *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (1965), Joe Martin re-examined the era with particular attention focused on how freedmen reacted to Emancipation and what

72 Daniel L. Schafer, *Thunder on the River: The Civil War in Northeast Florida* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2010). For Union sympathies in Florida, see Tracy W. Upchurch, "Perfectly Still No More: Unionists in Confederate Northeast Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 93, no. 1 (Summer 2014):1-24.

73 Jonathan C. Sheppard, *By the Noble Daring of Her Sons: The Florida Brigade of the Army of Tennessee* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012); Zack C. Waters, *A Small but Spartan Band: The Florida Brigade in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 2013); J. Matthew Gallman, "In Your Hands that Musket Means Liberty: African American Soldiers and the Battle of Olustee," in *Wars within a War: Controversy and Conflict over the American Civil War*, ed. Joan Waugh and Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 87-108; also reprinted in J. Matthew Gallman, *Northerners at War: Reflections on the Civil War Home Front* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2010).

74 Tracy J. Revels, *Grander in Her Daughters: Florida's Women during the Civil War* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004).

75 Lewis Nicholas Wynne and Robert A. Taylor, *Florida in the Civil War* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2001); Nick Wynne and Joe Crankshaw, *Florida Civil War Blockades: Battling for the Coast* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011). Among studies of specific battles are Dale Cox, *The Battle of Natural Bridge, Florida: The Confederate Defense of Tallahassee* (Fort Smith, AR: Dale Cox, 2007); Dale Cox, *The Battle of Marianna, Florida* (Fort Smith, AR: Dale Cox, 2007); George E. Buker, *Blockaders, Refugees & Contrabands: Civil War on Florida's Gulf Coast, 1861-1865* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993). See also Robert A. Mattson, *The Civil War Navy in Florida* (Published by the author, 2014).

black Republicans and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau set out to accomplish. Martin's study was soon followed by Jerrell Shofner's landmark *Nor is it Over Yet* (1974), with its analysis of how the promise of Reconstruction ultimately collapsed under the reassertion of white supremacy and Jim Crow.⁷⁶ These two works inaugurated an ongoing reevaluation of Florida's post-Civil War years, culminating in books like Stetson Kennedy's *After Appomattox* and Paul Ortíz's *Emancipation Betrayed* that show the political and social connections between the resurgence of discriminatory law in the South and the coming of the civil rights struggle in the twentieth century. Two of the most important works to appear in the past decade on Florida's Reconstruction era, both by Daniel Weinfeld, are studies on the violent opposition to Reconstruction in Jackson County, Florida, and a compilation of writings by African American journalist T.T. Fortune.⁷⁷

Environmental history

Although environmental history is largely a field of study that emerged in the twentieth century, stemming from interests in ecology, conservation, climate, and resource use, research on Florida does entail reference to many of the works by naturalists and horticulturalists who wrote in the 1800s. Scholars have mined the writings and artwork of John James Audubon, bringing out selections of his work pertaining to Florida and featuring exhibits of his Florida travels.⁷⁸ John Muir's *A Thousand Mile Walk* appeared posthumously in 1916 but recorded his travels in 1867-1868, and

76 Joe Martin Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, FL: The Research Council, The Florida State University, 1965); Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over yet; Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974); Stetson Kennedy, *After Appomattox: How the South Won the War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995); Paul Ortíz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

77 Daniel R. Weinfeld, *The Jackson County War: Reconstruction and Resistance in Post-Civil War Florida*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012); Fortune, et al., *After War Times*.

78 A work that became a standard reference is John James Audubon and Kathryn Hall Proby, *Audubon in Florida. With Selections from the Writings of John James Audubon* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974). Examples of exhibits include *Artists of the Florida Tropics: James Audubon, George Catlin, Winslow Homer [and] George Inness. The Inaugural Exhibition for the University Gallery, March 1st through 31st, 1965* (University of Florida, 1965); Charlotte M. Porter and Cheryl Wilson, *John James Audubon: Florida travels, 1831-1832* (Gainesville, FL: Florida State Museum and Florida Humanities Council, n.d.).

has been the subject of numerous studies.⁷⁹ Other significant writings of the 1800s were Torrey's *Florida Sketch Book* (1895), Cory's *Hunting and Fishing in Florida* (1896), and Willoughby's *Across the Everglades* (1898).⁸⁰

Even before the term "environmental history" was coined, scholars were studying the impact of diseases such as yellow fever on Florida.⁸¹ Jeffrey A. Drobney's *Lumbermen and Log Sawyers* drew notice when it appeared in 1997 for its synthesis on labor and economic history with ethnography of the timber cutting life. The controversies emerging in the twentieth century over the drainage of the Everglades and the construction of the Cross Florida Barge Canal have renewed examination of government reports about such enterprises in Florida dating back to the 1840s.⁸² Recent books dwelling at least in part on environmental changes in Florida during the 1800s were James Miller's *Environmental History of Northeast Florida* (1998), Derr's *Some Kind of Paradise* (1998), David McCally's

79 John Muir and William Frederic Badè. *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1916); John Muir and John Earl, *John Muir's Longest Walk: John Earl, a Photographer, Traces His Journey to Florida; with Excerpts from John Muir's Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975); James B. Hunt, *Restless Fires: Young John Muir's Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf in 1867/68* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2012).

80 Bradford Torrey, *A Florida Sketch-Book* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1895); Charles B. Cory, *Hunting and Fishing in Florida: Including a Key to the Water Birds Known to Occur in the State* (Boston, MA: Estes & Lauriat, 1896); Hugh L. Willoughby, *Across the Everglades: A Canoe Journey of Exploration* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1898 [1906]).

81 Margaret C. Fairlie, "The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1888 in Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1940): 95–108; J. F. Van Nest, "Yellow Fever on the Blockade of Indian River: A Tragedy of 1864 Letters of Acting Master's Mate," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 21, no. 4 (1943): 352–357; George F. Pearce, "Torment of Pestilence: Yellow Fever Epidemics in Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (1978): 448–472.

82 United States, Sidney Breese and James Diament Westcott, *Ever Glades of the Peninsula of Florida: Draining the Ever Glades—Grant to the State of Florida—Cultivation of Tropical Fruits, Plants, &C.—Procurement of Seeds, &C. of Exotics—Florida Fisheries ; Wrecks on Florida Reef—"Coast Survey" of Reef, &C.—Florida Mails—Post Routes—Post Offices, &C.* (Washington: Publisher not identified, 1848); United States, Buckingham Smith, and James D. Westcott, *Report to Authorize the Drainage of the Ever Glades, in the State of Florida, by Said State, and to Grant the Same to Said State for That Purpose* (Washington, DC: U. S. 30th Cong., 1st sess., Senate. Rep. Com. No. 242, 1848); United States War Dept., *Letter from the Secretary of War: Transmitting in Compliance with Senate Resolution of 16th of December, 1881, a Report from the Chief of Engineers Dated 3d Instant, Relating to the Construction of a Ship Canal Across the Peninsula of Florida, Including Estimates of Cost of Work* (Washington, DC: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1882).

The Everglades (1999), and Michael Grunwald's *The Swamp* (2006).⁸³ Similarly, *Paradise Lost* (2005) by Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault includes important essays on the nineteenth century as well as an excellent overview on environmental writing by Thomas Hallock.⁸⁴ Innovative research includes reconstruction of nineteenth-century landscape, assessment of the impact of storms, and change brought about by interaction of humans and the environment.⁸⁵

-
- 83 James J. Miller, *An Environmental History of Northeast Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); Mark Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise: A Chronicle of Man and the Land in Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998); David Philip McCally, *The Everglades: An Environmental Biography* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999); Michael Grunwald, *The Swamp: The Everglades, Florida, and the Politics of Paradise* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006). See also Gary L. White, *Conservation in Florida: Its History and Heroes* (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society Press, 2010).
- 84 Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault, *Paradise Lost? The Environmental History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005).
- 85 For example, see Karen E. Stephenson, "Distribution of Grasslands in 19th Century Florida," *American Midland Naturalist* 165, no. 1 (2011): 50–59; Sherry Johnson, "The St. Augustine Hurricane and the Question of Political Unrest on the Florida Frontier," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (Summer 2005): 10–27; Steven Noll, "Steamboats, Cypress, and Tourism: An Ecological History of the Ocklawaha Valley in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Summer 2004): 6–23.

Interpreting Florida, its Nineteenth-Century Literary Heritage

by Maurice O'Sullivan

In January 1827, Ralph Waldo Emerson, a 23-year-old licensed but not yet ordained minister plagued by religious doubt and failing health, came to St. Augustine. As he wrote in a letter to his brother William, he found himself constantly bored during his two and a half months residence: "What is done here? Nothing. . . . I stroll on the sea-beach and drive a green orange over the sand with a stick. Sometimes I sail in a boat, sometimes I sit in a chair."¹

Seeking amusement, he turned often to his journal, which offers an oddly ambivalent view of the chief city of what was then the United States' newest territory. Many of his entries about St. Augustine reflect a New Englander's frustration with the citizens' lack of a work ethic: "oldest town of Europeans in North America; 1564; full of ruins,—chimneyless houses, lazy people; housekeeping intolerably dear, and bad milk from swamp grass, because all the hay comes from the north. 40(?) miles from here is nevertheless the richest crop of grass growing untouched. Why? Because

Maurice O'Sullivan is a Professor of English at Rollins College in Orlando, where he holds the Kenneth Curry Chair in Literature. He is the author of eight books and numerous scholarly articles. A past winner of the Tebeau Prize for the outstanding book on Florida history, he is current a member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society.

- 1 Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals*, Vol. 11, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 162. The fact that Emerson never published his journals during his lifetime has sparked a vigorous debate among critics and biographers, many of whom suggest that the *Journals* represent much of his most interesting and most uncensored work.

there is no scythe in St. Augustine, and if there were, no man who knows how to use one."²

For Emerson, that cultural defect reflected a deeper moral failure that manifested itself in casual acts of hypocrisy, which he seems to have connected with the community's Southern and heterogeneous history. On February 27, 1827, for example, he described the odd juxtaposition of two meetings:

A fortnight since I attended a meeting of the Bible Society. The Treasurer of this Institution is Marshal of the district, and by a somewhat unfortunate arrangement had appointed a special meeting of the Society, and a slave-auction, at the same time and place, one being in the Government house, and the other in the adjoining yard. One ear therefore heard the glad tidings of great joy, whilst the other was regaled with "Going, gentlemen, going!" And almost without changing our position we might aid in sending the Scriptures into Africa, or bid for "four children without the mother" who had been kidnapped therefrom.³

While that sense of ironic detachment and scorn for most of St. Augustine's inhabitants shapes many of his isolated comments about the region, the poetry in his journal offers a far different, far more promising vision:

Yet much is here
That can beguile the months of banishment
To the pale travelers whom Disease hath sent
Hither for genial air from Northern homes.
Oh, many a tragic story may be read,—
Dim vestiges of a romantic past,
Within the small peninsula of sand.
Here is the old land of America
And in this sea-girt nook, the infant steps,
First foot-prints of that Genius giant-grown
That daunts the nations with his power today.⁴

All of the qualities that would surge through Florida's nineteenth-century literature show here, from a sense of a past both romantic and tragic and the contradictions of race to a belief in

2 Ibid., 154.

3 Ibid., 177-178.

4 Ibid., 150.

America's exceptionalism and the renewing power of nature. Florida's literature during this pivotal century began with some of the same uncertainty as we find in Emerson's prose, as writers tried to define how this curiously shaped territory on the southeastern edge of the continent fit into the new republic.

As the century unfolded, Florida's literature, especially fiction, would evolve from highly predictable adventure stories to a wide range of genres. An anthology of works would include the first science fiction novel set in the United States, the first Florida detective story, romances, comedies of manners, pirate tales, and revisionist histories of both early European contact and the Seminole wars. Also of note are two revolutionary works which question the very nature of gender.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Florida served much the same purpose as the West did at a later time; it was a place to construct and explore American myth, especially those focusing on exploration, contact, settlement, and transformation. The southeastern frontier of North America offered a young nation a darkly mysterious, exotic history rivaling Europe's, with almost 300 years of adventure, intrigue, history and romance. A wide range of novelists, from the French Romantic François René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, and the Anglo-Irish bestselling Thomas Mayne Reid, to the Southern apologist Caroline Lee Hentz and such major figures in American literature as Washington Irving, William Gilmore Simms, and James Fenimore Cooper, found a rich source of material in La Florida's eclectic human stew and bloody adventurous past.

Florida's first novelist not only set a pattern for subsequent writers but also helped define the characters, tone, and themes that would shape much of the literature of the American West. *Atala, ou les amours de deux sauvages dans le désert*, using its author's own experiences on the American frontier, created an international literary sensation which inspired generations of Romantic novelists, established the precise character of the American Indian's noble savagery, created the elegiac tone that would permeate much of our frontier literature, and explored the psychological, social, and emotional consequences of Euro-American hegemony in the New World's Garden of Eden.

The novel appeared, appropriately, in the first year of the new century but, curiously, in Paris, the product of a French aristocrat, a Knight of Malta. François-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand, was a twenty-third generation descendent of Brien, a Breton baron

who fought with William the Conqueror in the Battle of Hastings in 1066. He was, however, also a younger son, actually the tenth of ten children, who only received his title later in life from the Bourbons.⁵

Despite the tradition of nobility that the family name had passed on to him, a tradition which allowed him to hunt with King Louis XVI, he sympathized with reformers and was in Paris for the fall of the Bastille. When the promise of the French Revolution collapsed into the Reign of Terror, he decided to visit the United States, discover how its new republic worked, see the Native Americans so lavishly praised by his contemporaries, and gain fame by mapping the Northwest Passage. Chateaubriand rarely thought small or doubted his own abilities.

In the new United States he dined with President George Washington in Philadelphia and traveled over 3,500 miles at the edge of the wilderness, although he apparently never reached Florida. Upon returning home, he fought for the ultra-royalist Army of the Princes. Wounded, he was sent to England where he taught classes and translated English and American texts. When he returned once more to France in 1800, he established himself as a professional writer, publishing on April 3, 1801 *Atala, ou les amours de deux sauvages dans le désert*, a short novel which earned him immediate fame. Madame de Staël read it aloud to Joseph Bonaparte and Lord Byron, still a student at Cambridge, wrote the author an admiring letter. The story soon became the rage of Paris, with five editions within the first year—and quick translations into English, Spanish, German, and Italian—as well as waxworks, statues of its heroine Atala, clocks with her image, theater productions, and, the ultimate compliment, parodies flooding the city.⁶

Chateaubriand saw the New World not only as an adventurer but as a reader, filtering his experiences through the prisms of both the classical writers who had excited and inspired him during his isolated youth and contemporary explorers and naturalists like William Bartram, Captain James Cook, and Louis Antoine

5 See, for example, discussions in Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Frontier in American History* (1921), Theodore Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West* (1889-1896), and a century of reactions to Turner's "Frontier Thesis" (e.g., <http://en.citizendium.org/wiki/FrontierThesis/Bibliography> and <http://www.d.umn.edu/cla/faculty/tbaci/urop/bibtner.html>), [accessed December 23, 2015].

6 There are surprisingly few modern biographies of Chateaubriand in English. Ghislain de Diesbach's *Chateaubriand* (Paris: Perrin, 1995) offers a good overview of his life.

de Bougainville. *Atala's* prologue begins with an elegiac tone. Its opening sentence—"Once upon a time France possessed in North America a vast empire." ["La France possédait autrefois dans l'Amerique septentrionale un vaste empire"]⁷—sets the melancholic, romantic tale of loss and longing. For Chateaubriand, the essential narrative is human loss in the midst of perfect nature as man travels from sorrow to sorrow—"L'homme va toujours de douleur en douleur"—a Christian version of Romanticism defined by the Fall of Man.⁸ The entire work functions as a series of framed narratives with the unnamed narrator, the young Natchez warrior Chactas, the Christian Seminole maiden Atala, and the saintly French missionary Fr. Aubry, all sharing their stories.⁹ The author portrays the natives as serene and joyful, passionate and noble. Women constantly ask Chactas about his feelings, the "l'état de mon coeur," a perfect question for a warrior whose eyes often fill with tears. Of course, in Chateaubriand's celebration of Romantic isolation, *la douleur, mélancolie, and une triste solitude* dominate the tone of the story. Saddest of all is Atala, the young heroine, torn between the vow her mother made to the Virgin Mary consecrating her to virginity and her very physical passion for the young Chactas. It is no accident in this story of loss and suffering that "Hélas!" is the most common interjection. One of Chateaubriand's major achievements was to redefine the novel from an emphasis on incident or narrative to mood and tone.

The novel anticipates and helps to create the wandering tale teller of the Romantics, from Melville's Ishmael to Twain's Huck. At the same time, Chateaubriand's style, especially influenced by the rhetorical sublimity of Bartram, whose *Travels* he had translated during his exile in England, emphasizes the fundamental connection between man and nature. The natural world can provide lessons, as when Fr. Aubry points out to his young pupil, "The heart, O Chactas! It is like those trees which only offer their help for human wounds after they themselves have been cut open by a weapon." ["Le coeur, ô Chactas! Est comme ces sortes des arbres qui ne donnent leur baume pour les blessures des hommes que lorsque le fer les a blessés eux-mêmes."] ¹⁰

7 François René de Chateaubriand, *Atala, ou, Les amours de deux sauvages, dans le desert* (Paris: Migneret, 1801), 1. All quotes are from the 1809 London edition published by Chez Colburn. The translations are my own.

8 Ibid., 150.

9 Ibid., 155, 153.

10 Ibid., 120.

The remarkably well educated pagan Chactas blends Romantic sorrow with Christian values as he tells the tale to his adopted son, the young Frenchman René, who had come to the Natchez and insisted on becoming a member of their tribe. Chactas is no simple native: he has been imprisoned in Marseille, presented to Louis XIV, attended plays by Racine and parties at Versailles. Other characters even compare him to Oedipus and Ossian.

At 17, as a young Natchez brave, he had joined his father for a battle with the Muskogee of Florida. Failing to defeat the local natives, he found himself in St. Augustine, adopted by a gentle Spaniard. But he cannot bear separation from nature and returns to the wilderness only to be captured immediately by a band of Muskogees and Seminoles.

His encounter with the Chief Simaghan would permanently set the model for the romantic heroism and proud fatalism of the noble savage. After Chactas is captured, he announces his heritage and accepts his fate with language that would echo throughout nineteenth and twentieth-century popular culture and its depiction of the stoic heroism of Native Americans: "My name is Chactas, son of Outalissi, son of Misco, who took over a hundred scalps from Muskogee warriors.' Simaghan said to me, 'Chactas, son of Outalissi, son of Misco, rejoice; you will be burned in the great village.' 'That is good,' I said and I began my death chant." ["Je m'appelle Chactas, fils d'Outalissi, fils de Misco, qui ont enlevé plus de cent chevelures aux héros muscogulges.' Simaghan me dit, 'Chactas, fils de Outalissi, fils de Misco, réjouis-toi: tu seras brûlé au grand village.' Je repartis: 'Voilà qui va bien;' et j'entonnai ma chanson de mort."]¹¹

Atala both reinforced the myth of Florida as a paradise and set themes that Florida's fiction would continue to explore. Within the lush paradise that Chateaubriand describes in such lavish detail, he has his characters play out his ultimately ambivalent theme of the European contact and settlement of the New World, a process which inevitably leads to the fall of its aboriginal natives, noble savages steadily realizing that their paradise is now lost.

It took three decades before Florida's next novels appeared. While there is no evidence that Chateaubriand ever reached Florida, the Reverend Michael Smith's *The Lost Virgin of the South* (1831) is a fully Floridian novel, a book by a Florida resident largely set in Florida and published in Tallahassee. *The Lost Virgin* is a sprawling

11 Ibid., 16.

mixture of history and philosophy, romance and military strategy. Its remarkably confusing narrative rambles from Florida to Alabama and, ultimately, Spain.

The book appeared in both its editions—Smith republished it in 1833 in Courtland, Alabama—as the work of Don Petro and Don Pedro Casender, probably using the Casender *seudónimo*, the name of one of the story's characters, both to signal his sympathy for the region's Spanish heritage and to reinforce his subtitles, "A Tale of Truth" in the first edition and "An Historical Novel, Founded on Facts" in the second. Smith's truths, history, and facts are, of course, open to serious debate.¹²

A deep admirer of Jacksonian policies and populism, Smith dedicated *The Lost Virgin* to the seventh president, "who would at an advanced age, full of infirmities and at the height of his popularity, have submitted to the call of a majority of the American people, to sit in the Presidential chair for eight years when he well knew it to be full of thorns. . . ."¹³

The novel begins as a ship carrying the family of Colonel Ward approaches the Florida coast. In what would become the novel's pattern, the opening paragraph offers a promise of safety and security, only to undercut it:

The noble ship, still more nobly freighted, had braved many a night storm, that poured with fury on old Ocean's breast, now brought its precious charge in sight of the land of perpetual green. All eyes beheld the pleasing prospect, all hearts were suffused with new and increasing pleasure: but oh! how short lived are earthly joys—a tremendous burst of thunder now seemed to shake the world, a black and sulphurous cloud of mighty size, was flying from the west; on the wings of this whirlwind, and to close the late cheering scene, the sun seemed to be fast sinking in the gloomy shroud.¹⁴

As the boat sinks, a brave young Spaniard, Perendio Cevillo, saves Col. Ward and his children: Calista, Cirephia, and Casender. Once

12 Rev. Michael Smith, *The Lost Virgin of the South: A Tale of Truth Connected with the History of the Indian War of the South, in the Years 1812-13-14 and 15, and Gen. Jackson, Now President of the United States* (Tallahassee: by the author, 1831). That second edition makes it not only the first novel published in Florida, but the first published in Alabama as well.

13 Ibid., "Preface," n.p.

14 Ibid., 5.

ashore, the family is captured by Seminoles, who decide to adopt the adorable ten year old Calista, who will become the lost virgin. At the very moment she is taken, the family's savior, Cevillo, secretly slips a golden locket around her neck.

Living among the Seminoles, Calista, even more precocious than Chateaubriand's Chactas, finds a Bible, teaches herself to read it, and converts herself to Christianity. Meanwhile, her brother Casender joins Andrew Jackson in the Indian Wars. Years later at the battle of Tallushetche, Caesender, fighting for the American army, unknowingly wounds his sister, who is trying to rescue her Seminole family. Luckily, Perendio, watching the battle, saves her and recognizes the little girl he had rescued years ago by the locket which he had placed around her neck but which she apparently has still not noticed. Despite her extraordinary intelligence, she only realizes their connection when he opens the locket to show her his portrait.

Smith tells his version of the First Seminole War with constant shifts in scenes and interrupts the narrative with digressions into military strategy, theological discourse, political analysis, and an extended history of the pirate Es Joebe. In one twenty-eight page debate about Christian hypocrisy between a Presbyterian minister and a Creek ally of the Americans, for example—a debate dropped into the middle of preparation for a battle—the Creek points out that “you Christian people act from the authority of the examples of the Bible, in cases that suit your own interests and inclination; but if the examples or commands of this same Bible are in opposition to them, you refer the application to the Jews, to whom alone you say the Old Testament was given.”¹⁵

As that passage indicates, Smith shows a deep admiration for the Native Americans despite his clear belief in Jackson's mission and the inevitability of American hegemony. Perhaps the greatest strength of Smith's work is his willingness to allow the Indians to provide their own perspective. A Creek chief named Wetherford (William Weatherford) points out, “Our cause is just, the Great Spirit knows it is just. We did not go into the country of the whites; they came to our country.”¹⁶ While the Indians' cause may be just, Smith shows, it is also doomed. Despite a clear sense that

15 Ibid., 59.

16 Ibid., 35. In 1855 Alexander Beaufort Meek made Weatherford the central figure in his epic poem *The Red Eagle, A Poem of the South* (New York: Doubleday, 1855).

Jackson's victories were not only inevitable—an underlying theme which limits the tension of the battle scenes—but morally right, Smith does show a good deal of ambivalence when he occasionally contrasts, even if implicitly, Euro-American and Native American values:

As Indians do not own their land, any of them can take up their habitation in any place they find vacant, and they or their offspring can keep it during their life. They believe the Great Spirit made the ground and water for the use of all his children, and that it is wrong for people to sell any part and keep more than they can use.¹⁷

The displacement of Native Americans from their territory remained at the core of Florida's early fiction, although it was not until the end of the decade that the next novel, *Osceola: or, Fact and Fiction; a Tale of the Seminole War* (1838) appeared under the pseudonym of Seymour R. Duke. The actual author, James Burchett Ransom, who would go on to fame in Texas as the private secretary to that new republic's president, Mirabeau B. Lamar, draws heavily on a wide range of literary sources, from Chateaubriand and Oliver Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, to Sir Walter Scott, Alexander Pope, Wordsworth and Byron.

Ransom establishes his melancholic tone in the early pages as a young woodsman finds an almost deserted Uchee (Yuchi) village. Nearby he meets an old Scotsman named Powell who introduces him to his young son Osceola.¹⁸ The story focuses far more on Osceola's coming of age and wooing of a girl from another tribe than on the Second Seminole War. That post-adolescent pursuit reflects the author's sentimentalized romanticism, complete with a "throbbing bosom," a "tear of affection," and both a "tender sigh" and a "tremulous sigh" on the same page.¹⁹ The lovers' idyll ends abruptly in a passage that clearly shows Ransom's moral assessment of the Florida War:

But, alas their bright days of happiness and sweet delusive dreams of perpetual bliss were not always to be enjoyed. Year after year the avaricious whites continued to advance farther and deeper into the peaceful country of the

17 Ibid., 117.

18 James Burchett Ransom, *Osceola: or, Fact and Fiction; a Tale of the Seminole War*, by Seymour R. Duke (pseudo) (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838), 18.

19 Ibid., 123.

Seminole until they occupied the fairest portion of their soil, and with the vile axe and cruel ploughshare cut down and tore up the verdant and unbroken face of creation . . . until, finally, by extortion and oppression, they roused the slumbering spirit of revenge, and drove the savages to madness and desperation.²⁰

Stories and legends surrounding Osceola and the other Seminole leaders continued to appeal to novelists throughout the century, including two works by military men about Billy Bowlegs, Lt. Col Hazelton's *The Seminole Chief; or, the Captives of Kissimmee* (1865) and L.A. Jones' *Billy Bowlegs: The Half-Breed Seminole Chief* (1900). Hazelton's tone and frequent asides affect even-handedness but his adjectives and adverbs reveal his fairly simple reading of history: "In justice to the chief [Bowlegs], we are compelled to say, that he did not encourage, or even countenance the outrages committed by his men on the defenseless settlers. He was, nevertheless, burning with hatred towards the pale-face invaders of his soil, and the word 'extermination' grated harshly upon his ear."²¹

As with most of the century's adventure novels, noble characters like Bowlegs, especially those who share Eurocentric values, often because they are half white, have difficulty protecting their tribes from more primitive challengers like Hazelton's renegade Black Jim, "for the savage is apt to mistake deeds of barbarism for those of heroism."²²

The nineteenth century's two finest novels about Osceola, however, came from two well-regarded British writers of popular novels, best known for their boys' adventure stories. One of the last novels by William Henry Giles Kingston (1814-1880), a writer praised by Robert Louis Stevenson in the preface to *Treasure Island*, is the awkwardly titled *In the Wilds of Florida: A Tale of Warfare and Hunting* (1880), the story of Maurice Kearney, a young Irishman.

What gives Kingston's novel distinction is the complexity of his characters and the way he often compares the struggle of both Seminoles and African-Americans to the Irish struggle for independence. One of Maurice's companions, Maulins Rochford, another, even more idealistic young Irishman, comes to America with what Maurice's unsympathetic cousin calls "wild notions of getting

20 Ibid., 126-127.

21 Lt. Col. Harry Hazelton, *The Seminole Chief (Billy Bowlegs): or, the Captives of the Kissimmee* (New York: Beadle & Adams, 1865), 9-10.

22 Ibid., 50.

freedom for the blacks and giving the Redskins their rights."²³ During their adventures, Rochford is captured by Seminoles but released by a chief who turns out to be Osceola. The legendary Seminole explains why he trusts this white man: "I know that I can rely on the honour of an Irishman."²⁴

Osceola appears only occasionally in Kingston's novel, but he is at the center of Captain Thomas Mayne Reid's *Osceola the Seminole, or the Red Fawn of the Flowerland* (1853). Mayne Reid (1818-1883) achieved a popularity in Britain that rivaled his contemporary Charles Dickens and fired the imaginations of generations of European novelists from Arthur Conan Doyle and Robert Louis Stevenson to Vladimir Nabokov²⁵ and Czeslaw Milosz.

Born in Ballyroney in County Down, Mayne Reid studied to become a Presbyterian minister before sailing to America and working in the South. He left his job after refusing to whip slaves, using his experiences in his bestselling anti-slavery novel *The Quadroon*, and moved North to become a writer. After a brief military career as a lieutenant in the Spanish-American War, he began writing novels and promoted himself to captain, a title he used for the rest of his career. His friend Edgar Allan Poe once described him as "a colossal but most picturesque liar. He fibs on a surprising scale but with the finish of an artist, and that is why I listen to him attentively."²⁶

Reid grounds his stories in the exploits of idealistic young adventurers, like George Randolph. In *Osceola* the young transplanted Virginian, a descendant of Pocahontas, forms a friendship with the young Seminole, accompanying him on his adventures and eventually falling in love with his sister. With the ethnic ambivalence frequent in Reid's novels, George announces that all distinguished "white men in America, who have Indian blood in them, are proud of that taint."²⁷ In Reid's naïve but charming world, all of his idealized young men speak like British aristocrats, including Osceola himself. When Randolph gives him a rifle, the Seminole responds, 'This is a splendid gift . . . a splendid gift; and I must

23 William Henry Giles Kingston, *In the Wilds of Florida. A Tale of Warfare and Hunting* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1880), 302.

24 *Ibid.*, 97.

25 When he was 11, Nabokov was so impressed with Mayne Reid's *The Headless Horseman* that he translated it into French alexandrines.

26 Howard Paul, "Recollections of Edgar Allan Poe," *Munsey's Magazine* Vol 7 (1892): 556.

27 *Ibid.*, 12.

return home before I can offer you aught in return. We Indians have not much that the white man values—only our *lands*.”²⁸ What might be ironic in less skillful hands becomes compelling in Mayne Reid’s chivalric universe, reinforced by the earnest sincerity of its first-person narrator.

Not everyone admired Native Americans, however. In 1839, the year after Ransom’s *Osceola*, a popular Philadelphia novelist, playwright and physician, Robert Montgomery Bird (1806-1854), took a decidedly unromantic view in *The Adventures of Robin Day*, a novel which introduced a Florida picaresque tradition a century before Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road*. *Robin Day* shows a sophisticated, experienced writer with a clear knowledge of the genre’s traditions and potential, and skewering everything from America’s sense of its manifest destiny to military heroism.

Like the Lost Virgin and her family, Robin Day begins his adventures as a child washing on shore in New Jersey during a shipwreck. In the tradition of the classic picaresque, Robin Day stumbles from misadventure to misadventure, surviving largely on his wit, guile, and cunning. Picaresque novelists, from the earliest authors like Mateo Alemán and Alain LeSage to Thomas Nashe and Voltaire, set their work in a random universe, one which lacks the providential order and essential benevolence of most seventeenth and eighteenth-century prose fiction. Their protagonists’ disdain for convention reflects their disconnection from traditional moral codes, just as their apparent dishonesty often reflects their choice of alternative moral values.

The novel’s eponymous narrator, Robin, falls under the influence of a boyhood schoolmate and role model, Dicky Dare. The son of a Revolutionary War hero, Dicky Dare constantly, although unsuccessfully, attempts to emulate his father both in his commitment to republican principles and his fascination with violence. Robin’s description of Dicky’s first dreams of glory reflects both his admiration and the ironic tone of the novel: “The military spirit, which, it was said, he had inherited from his father, and which had hitherto been indicated only by a love of fisticuffs, was beginning to blaze out in its nobler attributes; ambition, the love of rule, and a desire and resolution to fight his future battles, not with his own hands merely, but with the fists of his inferiors.”²⁹

28 Ibid., 35.

29 Robert Montgomery Bird, *The Adventures of Robin Day*. Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1839), 47-48.

Robin Day assists in a school rebellion, then flees to Philadelphia, where he pursues a series of military and maritime adventures. Nothing sums up Robin's erratic and capricious journey as much as his decision to go south and join a militia against the British in the War of 1812, only to find that he has actually joined a group of British loyalists. Bird clearly enjoys the absurdist nature of Robin's essentially random journey through life.

And those adventures move forward as breathlessly as a movie serial racing from crisis to crisis. In only three chapters of the second volume (15—17), for example, Robin faces a typical set of frenetic perils. Seized by a group of Creeks and made to run the gauntlet, he attacks his captors by throwing sand in their eyes but finds himself finally condemned to burn at the stake, only to be saved by a hurricane. Escaping, he rejoins his old military unit, the Bloody Volunteers, in one of their insane campaigns, but he is captured by the Spanish and taken to Pensacola. At the end of the novel, the narrator discovers his true identity, finds a sister and uncle, marries the daughter of his patron, Dr. Howard, and appears to live comfortably, if not necessarily happily ever after as the heir of a distinguished family.

In addition to Native Americans, early novelists were fascinated by pirates, and the rich racial diversity of early Florida, often mixing them together in their works. South Carolina's prolific William Gilmore Simms, whom Edgar Allan Poe considered America's finest novelist, focuses on conflicts and conciliation between cultures centuries earlier in *Vasconcelos: Romance of the New World* (1853).³⁰ At the end of the novel, set in sixteenth-century Cuba and Florida, Simms offers a romantic vision of hope and harmony when his Portuguese hero, Philip Vasconcelos, marries the Indian Queen, Cocalla.

Simms' other Florida book is only partly fiction and has a far less happy ending. A historian as well as a novelist, Simms combines both his interests in retelling the tragic story of the French Huguenots' attempts to establish a colony in the New World in *The Lily and the Totem, or, The Huguenots in Florida* (1850). Although not actually a fiction—he calls it a “series of sketches” on the title page—Simms embellishes liberally, especially when he believes it

30 William Gilmore Simms, *Vasconcelos: Romance of the New World* (New York: Redfield, 1853).

necessary "to supply the deficiencies of the record."³¹ That process includes adding dialogue, interpreting emotions, and embellishing legends.

The merger of what Simms calls "the picturesque and the historical . . . the *certain*" and "the *conjectural*,"³² also appears in an 1855 collection of tales and essays by the writer, historian, and diplomat Washington Irving, best known for his stories "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." *Wolfert's Roost* contains a number of pieces inspired by his friendship with William Pope Duval, the territorial governor of Florida from 1822 to 1834. In Irving's account of the governor's "eccentric career,"³³ Duval at times appears under his own name and occasionally as the fictional Ralph Ringwood, a pragmatic, self-made hero who imposes his will on an embryonic frontier in the service of his country.

The Florida stories revolve about the Seminoles, since a key part of Duval's responsibility was their "instruction and civilization."³⁴ While he shows some sympathy for them, his primary goal was preserving the rights of the new settlers by convincing the natives to accept American values. Even when he claims to re-tell one of the Seminole legends—"Origin of the White, the Red, and the Black Men"—he has the chief recounting it to justify an unbending hierarchy with clear white dominance. Reacting to the governor's mandate that their children need to go to school, the chief explains why they should not. In his version of a creation myth, God first forms the black man ("it was his first attempt, and pretty well for a beginning; but he soon saw he had bungled"), then the red man ("He liked him much better than the black man, but still he was not exactly what he wanted").³⁵ And finally the white man, who satisfied him.

In describing a potential uprising in "The Conspiracy of Neamathla," Duval re-enforces that idea of an inherent white ascendancy as he explains how he imposed his will on four to five hundred Seminoles. Riding into their village accompanied only by a terrified interpreter, he stares down the warriors.

31 William Gilmore Simms, *The Lily and the Totem. The Huguenots in Florida. A Series of Sketches (Picturesque and Historical) of the Colonies and Coligni in North America 1562-1570* (New York: Baker & Scribner, 1850), iv.

32 Ibid.

33 Washington Irving, *Wolfert's Roost, and Other Papers, Now First Collected* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1855), 216.

34 Ibid., 260.

35 Ibid., 261.

The young men made way for him; an old man who was speaking, paused in the midst of his harangue. In an instant thirty or forty rifles were cocked and levelled. Never had Duval heard so loud a click of triggers; it seemed to strike to his heart. He gave one glance at the Indians, and turned off with an air of contempt. He did not dare, he says, to look again, lest it might affect his nerves, and on the firmness of his nerves everything depended.

The chief threw up his arm. The rifles were lowered. Duval . . . walked deliberately up to Neamathla, and demanded, in an authoritative tone, what were his motives for holding that council. The moment he made this demand, the orator sat down. The chief made no reply, but hung his head in apparent confusion.³⁶

By acknowledging both his awareness of the danger and his need to control his emotions, Duval offers himself as a classic heroic example of American grace under pressure.

Pirates proved as attractive as Seminoles, especially to the popular novelists of the time. Joseph Holt Ingraham, a well-established writer of historical romances, published *Rafael, or: The Twice Condemned* in 1845. Set largely in the Florida Straits, the vengeful buccaneer Rafael escapes death in Key West only to be captured by Cuba's even more vindictive governor. The book's protagonist resembles not only the rebels and pirates who had filled the author's earlier works, but the implacable Biblical heroes who would dominate his work after he became an Episcopal priest in 1852.³⁷

In 1847, the ebullient, prolific Edward Zane Carroll Judson, writing under his pen name Ned Buntline, published *The Red Revenger; or, The Pirate King of Florida*. Buntline, who had served in the U.S. Navy's Mosquito Fleet during the Second Seminole War, combined writing with politics throughout much of his life. He was not only one of the first dime novelists, publishing at least 266 during his frequently scandalous life time, he also helped found the Know Nothing Party and, as a journalist and political agitator, inspired the nativist gangs of New York to start the Astor Riots.³⁸

36 Ibid., 267-268.

37 Joseph Holt Ingraham, *Rafael: or, The Twice Condemned. A Tale of Key West* (New York: H.L. Williams, 1845).

38 Jay Monaghan's biography, *The Great Rascal: The Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952), offers the best overview of Judson's raucous, mercurial life.

After serving as a sergeant in the Civil War until he was dishonorably discharged for drunkenness, Buntline moved to the West and introduced his readers to a young scout named William F. Cody whom he renamed Buffalo Bill. Like most of his works, *The Red Revenger* reads like a boys' adventure story, filled with fabulous palaces built into cliffs, a harem of alluring women, and exotic figures with names like Rinard, Gaspar, and Chico the Dwarf.

Rinard, the Red Avenger, sails in full armor and speaks of himself in the third person, like a professional boxer, in Buntline's flamboyantly lurid and bombastic prose. When a ship tries to escape, he roars, "Ho-Ho! The fools, to spread their canvas in hopes to escape from Rinard, the Red Revenger! They had better spare their pains. Nor fiends from hell nor saints from heaven can save them now!"³⁹ While often chatting directly to his audience, Buntline allows action to overcome improbability in a story filled with coincidence, violence, and cliché.

The following year, Buntline published his second novel about the state, one with a similar vengeful theme but loosely—very loosely—based on history: *Matanzas; or, A Brother's Revenge: A Tale of Florida*.⁴⁰ He sets the story, for example, in 1548 on Isla Anastasia, assuming that the Spanish have already settled St. Augustine and built a second fort on Anastasia. In Buntline's adventure, a corrupt priest uses threats of the Inquisition to control the Spanish governor and garrison at the fort on Anastasia. When a group of French Huguenots wreck off the coast and are rescued by the governor's daughter Elisa, the villainous Padre Sabano recognizes an uncle, Baron Ludovico de Gournes, and cousin, Edouart, who had refused to help him years before. Imprisoning the governor, baron and his son, Fr. Sabano plots the seduction of Elisa and crucifies the French crew as heretics. The baron's second son, Dominic, comes to the rescue, crucifies some of the Spanish troops in retaliation, and has the demoniac priest branded with a cross on his brow and a coiled serpent on his cheek. As the Buffalo Bill stories and his frequent journalistic malpractice attest, Buntline had little interest in either facts or history. The past and present exist for him only as a framework in which to create epic heroes and monstrous villains engaged in the eternal war of good and evil.

39 Edward Zane Carroll Judson, *The Red Revenger, or, The Pirate King of the Floridas* (Boston: F. Gleason, 1848), 10.

40 Edward Zane Carroll Judson, *Matanzas, or a Brother's Revenge* (Boston: George R. Williams, 1848).

Pirates also inspired authors of shorter fictions, like John Howison's story "The Florida Pirate" (1823)⁴¹ and William Henry Herbert's novella *Ringwood the Rover* (1843).⁴² In almost all these stories the title character has suffered some traumatic event that drove him to piracy. Contemporary piracy was also the subject of the only serialized novel by America's most celebrated author, James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851). *The Islets of the Gulf; or Rose Budd* began appearing in *Graham's Magazine* in 1846 while Florida was celebrating its first year as a state and the United States had just begun its war with Mexico. Two years later, with the war lingering on, Cooper's melodramatic sea yarn appeared in book form with a new title, *Jack Tier; or, The Florida Reef*. In changing the work's title, Cooper locates his work more precisely by identifying the islets of the Gulf as the Florida Reef. But he also shifts attention from one of the central characters in the book's fairly traditional love story to an apparently marginal comic figure. It was on this southernmost edge of the southernmost state that America's premier novelist could work into a fairly conventional romance questions of race and gender, reconciliation and redemption while constructing his version of the American myth.

Jack Tier's primary story is itself fairly simple and conventional. For his last voyage, Captain Stephen Spike mans his aging ship primarily with hands who have sailed with him for years. Relying on their unquestioning loyalty, he intends to smuggle gunpowder, disguised as barrels of flour, to the Mexican grandee Don Juan Montefalderon, who will use it against *la intervencion norteamericana*. Without his crew's knowledge, Spike also hopes to retire in Mexico, where he will force his youngest passenger, Rose Budd, to marry him.

The novel is replete with every incident and theme found among stories of the sea: shipwrecks and salvaging, tornados and hurricanes, abandoned sailors and lighthouse ghosts, piracy and sea battles, Spanish doubloons and turtle soup, circling sharks and Key West wreckers. At the same time, it shows Cooper's uneasiness with the idea of a multi-racial American nation.

Cooper portrays Mexico, for example, as a "nation [with] a mixed race [that] has necessarily the various characteristics of such

41 John Howison, *The Florida Pirate; or, An Account of the Schooner Esperanza, with a Sketch of the Life of Her Commander* (New York: W. Borradaile, 1823). First published in *Blackwoods' Edinburgh Magazine* IX (August 1821), 516-31.

42 William Henry Herbert, *Ringwood the Rover: A Tale of Florida* (Philadelphia: Wm. H. Graham, 1843).

an origin; and it is, unfortunately, little influenced by the diffusion of intelligence which certainly exists here."⁴³ Black crew members fare poorly in Cooper's social universe. Two black crew members, ship's steward Josh and cook Simon, are cases in point. Once the crew abandons ship for an overloaded yawl, Josh and Simon become the first expendable figures, thrown overboard to lighten the load. Like the Native Americans in his *Leatherstocking* saga, the black crewmates can temporarily coexist in a yet unrealized United States, accepted for their skills and even tacitly admired for some often undefined moral sensitivity. But Cooper's vision offers them no real future; he never suggests a model of integration. Even other non-Anglos, such as the idealistic Don Juan, a pure blooded Iberian, share this essential separation; he can never be a viable suitor for Rose Budd despite his deep admiration for her. In this first of our major postcolonial novelists, it should not be odd that lingering assumptions of colonial values like racial purity should snuggle up against questions about those assumptions.

The noble, patriotic, idealistic Don Juan, however, is also the perfect figure to voice Cooper's ideal. One evening, as he paces the ship's deck and reflects on the war, he recalls his surprise at the "warlike qualities of the Americans of the North, as he was accustomed to call those who term themselves, *par excellence*, Americans, a name they are fated to retain, and to raise high on the scale of national power and national pre-eminence, unless they fall by their own hands."⁴⁴

While Cooper's vision of the future and reservations about a multicultural nation are consistent with his other work, the most striking aspect of the microcosmic world of *Jack Tier* is Cooper's exploration of gender, especially the challenge to assumptions about gender posed by the title character. Jack Tier is first introduced as a "dumpling looking" figure with "little waddling legs."⁴⁵ Then, in the penultimate chapter when Jack visits the dying Spike in a Key West hospital, Jack, now dressed as a female, reveals that she is actually a woman—and not only a woman, but Spike's abandoned wife, Molly. Jack had spent the last two decades pretending to be a boy and then a man while searching for her errant husband. She sits next to the dying Spike, trying to learn to sew but still with

43 James Fenimore Cooper, *Jack Tier; or, The Florida Reef*. 2 vols. (New York: Burgess, Stringer, 1848), 1: 150-151.

44 Ibid., Vol. 2, 51.

45 Ibid., 134, 20.

a hard, coarse complexion and mouth full of chewing tobacco. Spike, her hyper-macho antiheroic husband is so confused by this figure of a "half-unsexed wife"⁴⁶ at his bedside that he asks her, "Are you man or woman?" She answers, "That is a question I hardly know how to answer. Sometimes I think myself each; sometimes neither."⁴⁷

Cooper had provided a clue to the disguise in his headnote from *As You Like It*: "Ay, now I am in Arden; the more fool/ I: when I was at home I was in a better place; but/ Travellers must be content." In Shakespeare's play, the cross dressers easily revert back to their true gender without any lingering trace of their male personae.

Jack, on the other hand, continues trying to explain her transformation and current state to her dying husband: "It is hard for a woman to unsex herself, Stephen; to throw off her very natur', as it might be, and to turn man."⁴⁸ That honesty about the effect of living life as a male not only raises questions of the effect of disguise on character, it also suggests that she has become, if not transgendered, at least bi-gendered. Although both Spike and Jack remember a time when Jack was "pretty,"⁴⁹ adopting the life of a sailor had altered her appearance so fully that even Cooper himself cannot call her Mary or Molly. "As for Jack, we call Molly, or Mary Swash by her masculine appellation, not only because it is more familiar, but because the other name seems really out of place as applied to such a person."⁵⁰

In the final chapter, back in New York City, where Jack attempts to return "gradually into the feelings and habits of her sex,"⁵¹ Cooper juxtaposes that quest to recover her original sexual identity with the constant use of her new name. Jack's—and Cooper's—decision to graft her male name and some of the habits she adopted under that persona onto her original gender creates a continuing dissonance throughout that last chapter. As difficult as Jack found it for a woman to unsex herself, it seems equally difficult in the universe of *Jack Tier* for the man Jack pretended to be to unsex himself.

Cooper's own uncertainties about his character appear in his last sentence, which juxtaposes the male name with female

46 Ibid., 212.

47 Ibid., 196.

48 Ibid., 209.

49 Ibid., 296.

50 Ibid., 195.

51 Ibid., 217.

pronouns: "This child Jack is beginning to love intensely; and the doubloons, well invested, placing her above the feeling of dependence, she is likely to end her life, once so errant and disturbed, in tranquility and a homelike happiness."⁵² With *Jack Tier* Cooper explicitly, if tentatively, starts questioning the ambiguous boundaries between genders. By suggesting that gender may be as much a social construction as an innate identity, he opened a discussion that would not be developed in the United States for generations.

The middle of the 1800s mark the emergence of a new type of Florida novel, one tied to the rise of fiction for young readers. Unlike Bird's *Robin Day* with its satirically picaresque version of youthful folly, Georgia's Francis Robert Goulding's *Robert and Harold: or, The Young Marooners on the Florida Coast* (1853) established the earnest model for works which today would fit into the juvenile or young adult categories of popular fiction. Second in popularity among Florida's nineteenth-century novels only to Chateaubriand's *Atala*, *The Young Marooners* went through nineteen editions in slightly over half a century. Strongly influenced by *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1812), and Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611), Goulding's novel shows how four devout youths can not only survive on a barrier island south of Tampa in 1839 but impose their will on the wilds of Florida by combining faith, resilience, diligence, and ingenuity with practical knowledge based on experience, observation, and reading.

Accidentally marooned in a remarkably well-equipped boat—it carries everything from goats and books to medications and an umbrella—three Georgia siblings and their cousin—"a fearless Harold, an intelligent Robert, a womanly Mary, and a merry Frank"⁵³—spend months learning woodcraft and demonstrating Christian virtues, while they search for a way back to their family wintering in Tampa. One of the charms of the book is its practical lessons; at various times we are shown how to test air in caves and wells to avoid dangerous fumes and how to use cobwebs to stop bleeding.

Goulding's work is a model of how well educated young Southern Christians can not only survive but domesticate the wilderness by combining what they have learned from books with a combination of Southern gentility, Presbyterian values, and Victorian

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Francis Robert Goulding, *Robert and Harold: or, The Young Marooners on The Florida Coast* (Philadelphia: Wilfred S. & Alfred Marten, 1852), viii.

American enterprise. And they do so almost entirely on their own. The only Floridian they encounter is Riley, a native described in Goulding's hierarchical antebellum world as a half breed. Like the African slaves in the book, his primary purpose is to serve the needs of the white settlers, providing day labor and food as necessary.

Part of the children's maturation in Goulding's universe is learning the basis for the South's racial hierarchy. After hearing Riley discuss his affection for his wife, the young Mary, who has been so properly raised that she refuses to talk with an Army officer who visits the house until she is properly introduced, finds herself surprised "to perceive that a savage could feel and act so much like a civilized being."⁵⁴ But her respect only lasts until she learns that he has drowned his newborn baby after discovering the child had a cleft palate. In Goulding's version of providential justice, Riley, of course, must suffer before the end of the book for his savagery.

The deeply devout Goulding (1810-1881), a Presbyterian minister who would later edit another enormously popular work, *The Soldier's Hymn Book* (1863) for Confederate troops, clearly wishes to reflect his belief that God's providence will always bless those with "brave hearts and steady hands,"⁵⁵ reinforced by solid Christian values. Harold undergoes an emotional conversion to Christianity during their adventure, and all four children quickly agree to daily Bible reading. The novel's conclusion demonstrates his young Marooners' triumph over circumstances when they rescue their parents whose ship has been wrecked in a hurricane while searching for the missing children.

Unlike Goulding's youngsters, who change only marginally, becoming a little more reflective, physical, and confident, George Morton, the seventeen-year old hero of Cyrus Parkhurst Condit's *A Trip to Florida for Health and Sport* (1855), undergoes a significant transformation as he comes of age during his visit to the Sunshine State. Set largely along the St. Johns River in Welaka and the Lake George area, the story's incidents and descriptions are so circumstantial in detail that they appear clearly based on first-hand experience or taken from a familiar local anecdote. Condit offers a unique record of distinctively Floridian customs in the large and small events of day-by-day antebellum life.

54 Ibid., 59.

55 Ibid., 416. See also Francis Robert Goulding, *Soldiers Hymn Book: Charleston* (Charleston: South Carolina Tract Society, 1863).

The manuscript of this work was only discovered and published in 2009.⁵⁶ Condit (1830-1861) begins his novel by introducing a New York prep school student who becomes sick after his father dies. His concerned mother allows an uncle to take the teenager to Florida for his illness. The frail George spends part of the steamboat voyage south inside protective walls, either in his own room or the First Engineer's cabin on deck. Only when this first stage of his journey ends in Welaka can the author begin George's Florida odyssey of regeneration and growth.⁵⁷

But George's physical health is only one indication of what he lacks. When he goes on an extended visit to a local farm the Hunter family introduces George to the life of ordinary people who work regularly in their fields, negotiate for cattle, and attend makeshift religious and social events. As he joins them, he comes to understand the value of cooperation, mutual reliance, and community. Although he starts out as a boy afraid to sleep alone, he becomes a mentor to the Hunters' sons.

And the teenager, who thought of hunting as a recreational activity, comes to disapprove of killing just for the sake of killing. The maturing process for George appears in his ambivalence about shooting a bear. While he finds the hunt thrilling, his response reflects the growing complexity of his emotions: "As to killing it, he felt very pleased at having a hand in the hunt, although he did not think it was a thing to brag of as they had every advantage of the poor creature."⁵⁸ When he finally kills his first deer, "he felt almost sorry for it."⁵⁹ But he accepts the principle of a ranking among species, believing that animals were made for human use and knowing that all of his kills would eventually become food or clothing.

Condit's quietly domestic account of everyday life on what was still a raw frontier anticipates themes that would appear more consistently in Florida literature after the Civil War. Following the Civil War, an increasing number of travel writers and novelists would create works more concerned with exploring contemporary life in the

56 After Wenxian Zhang, the archivist at Rollins College, identified the manuscript in the college's holdings, he and Maurice O'Sullivan published it with the Florida Historical Society Press. Kathryn Seidel found parallels between the novel and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings' Pulitzer-Prize winning novel *The Yearling* in "A Boy and His Fawn," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (Spring 2011), 423-436.

57 Cyrus Parkhurst Condit, *A Trip to Florida for Health and Sport*, ed. Maurice O'Sullivan and Wenxian Zhang (Cocoa: Florida Historical Society, 2009).

58 *Ibid.*, 47.

59 *Ibid.*, 76.

southernmost state than in tales of action and adventure. Condit's descriptions of a country wedding, farming practices, and loading cattle onto the ships which would transport them to the North or Cuba presage a fascination with the state's flora, fauna, history, culture and customs which fill works like Ledyard Bill's *A Winter in Florida* (1869), Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Palmetto Leaves* (1873), and Sylvia Sunshine's *Petals Plucked from Sunny Climes* (1879).

While Condit's novel obliquely acknowledges a handful of slaves in and around Welaka, most of the families he portrays, like the Hunters, had none. At a time of rising sectional tension, it is odd that a New Jersey resident visiting the South never gets into a discussion of the growing alienation of North and South. It would be another Northerner, Caroline Lee Hentz (1800-1856), an eventual resident of Marianna, who would address slavery, but as the South's leading fiction-writing apologist for the peculiar institution.

Hentz's most famous novel, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854), is her rebuttal of her old friend Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Both Massachusetts' women had followed their husbands to Cincinnati in 1832 to open schools—Hentz's husband, a French political refugee, frequently initiated quarrels that forced the family to move—and both women joined the Semi-Colon Club, a literary group in the Queen City. While *The Planter's Northern Bride* is her most explicit defense of the plantation system, an earlier novel, *Marcus Warland: or, The Long Moss Spring* (1852), set somewhere along the Florida/Georgia border, offers an even more idealized vision of life in that system.⁶⁰ Her extensive defense of slavery as a necessary moral imperative may explain why literary historians from both states have been reluctant to claim her.

At the heart of Hentz's novel is the Bellamy plantation, an idealized Shangri La, in which everyone understands and happily accepts his or her place. For Hentz, God even color coded the divinely ordained hierarchy underlying the plantation system, dying Africans with "the hue of night" and whites with "the fairer tint of morning."⁶¹

All of the residents show enormous affection for and generosity towards their slaves. The Bellamys, for example, plan a ball for neighboring slaves to celebrate the marriage of Mrs. Bellamy's favorite,

60 Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson, 1854); Hentz, *Marcus Warland: or, The Long Moss Spring* (Philadelphia: A.Hart, 1852).

61 Ibid., 18.

Cora, "a mulatto slave girl."⁶² When a fire breaks out during the ball, the mistress races to help Cora, severely burning her hands but refusing help until Cora can be taken care of. The novel is full of incidents in which both blacks and whites sacrifice themselves for one another, most notably when a black river pilot tells a white woman to tie herself to him so he can save her from their sinking ship. When she refuses unless he will also take her slave girl, he finally agrees and does so with what we are told is superhuman strength.

Hentz's florid style frequently pauses for stanzas of popular and classical lyrical poetry, with a special emphasis on odes. And she returns again and again to her theme, most extensively when Marcus engages in a debate at a law school dinner with a fervent Northern abolitionist. His arguments win over all but the most entrenched, especially when he invites them all to come South to see for themselves the truth of his examples. Just before the inevitable weddings that conclude her novel, Hentz speaks directly to the reader, hoping that her story might help erect "a barrier against the ocean-wave of rage that threatens to lay waste our land."⁶³

The appearance of the country's first science-fiction novel can also be traced to a Florida story. Jules Verne's *De la terre à la lune* (*From Earth to the Moon*) first appeared in Paris during the last year of the Civil War. Set in Tampa, it tells the story of the Gun Club of Baltimore's decision to build an enormous space gun that can fire a projectile to the moon.

While admiring the inventive genius of Americans ("le genie inventif des Américains"), Verne (1828-1905) also has fun with what his countryman Alexis de Tocqueville described as the American passion for organizing associations: "Whenever an American has an idea, he seeks a second American to join him. When they have three, they elect a president and two secretaries. With four, they name an archivist and the group starts working. By the fifth member, they convoke a general meeting and the club is officially formed" ("quand un Américain a une idée, il cherche un second Américain qui la partage. Sont-ils trois, ils élisent un président et deux secretaries. Quatre, ils nomment un archiviste, et le bureau fonctionne. Cinq, ils se convoquent en assemblée générale, et le club est constitué").⁶⁴ Within a month the club has 1,833 effective members and 30,565 corresponding members.

62 Ibid., 61.

63 Ibid., 209.

64 Jules Verne, *De la terre à la lune*. (Paris: J. Hetzel, 1865), 3.

With the end of the war, the military no longer needs the services of the club in designing weapons, so the club president, Impey Barbicane, proposes building a space gun.

Assuming that mechanical issues will not be a problem, the Gun Club now focuses on funding and location. The location comes down to Texas or Florida, with the latter's lack of development the deciding factor: "Florida, in its southern part, has no important cities. It is only bristling with forts built against the nomadic Indians. Only one town, Tampa Town, was able to present a claim for the project." ("La Floride, dans sa partie méridionale, ne compte pas de cités importantes. Elle est seulement hérissée, de forts élevés contre les Indiens errants. Une seule ville, Tampa-Town, pouvait réclamer en faveur de sa situation et se présenter avec des droits").⁶⁵

After a long, public, and wonderfully comic debate between the two states and their supporters, Barbicane chooses Florida. While leaving, the disgruntled Texas delegation tosses out one last argument, claiming that the recoil from the gun could well split Florida in two. Florida's triumphant civic boosters can only shrug their shoulders and respond tersely, "Oh, well. That would be a shame" ("Eh bien! Qu'elle saute").⁶⁶

The *Indiens errants* never prove much of a threat, emerging only briefly but impotently when the Gun Club inspects the site: "Some Seminoles appeared on the horizon. Agitated, they charged and retreated quickly on their horses, brandishing long lances and discharging their rifles loudly, but restricting their behavior to hostile demonstrations. None of this affected Barbicane and his companions" ("quelques Séminoles apparaissaient à l'horizon; ils s'agitaient, ils couraient de l'un à l'autre sur leurs chevaux rapides, brandissent de longues lances ou déchargeant leurs fusils à détonation sourde; d'ailleurs ils se bornèrent à ces démonstrations hostiles, sans inquiéter Barbicane et ses compagnons.")⁶⁷

The project moves forward rapidly, and a French poet, Michel Ardan, proposes adding a capsule which could carry him to the moon. Ardan brings a lighter touch to much of the technical detail that Verne loves. Becoming a focal point of the mission, he is besieged by groups with their own agendas, including the *lunatiques*: "One day, some of these unfortunate people, so numerous in America, came to visit and asked to return with him to their native

65 Ibid., 115-116.

66 Ibid., 122.

67 Ibid., 143.

country" ("Un jour, quelques-uns de ces pauvres gens, assez nombreux en Amérique, vinrent le trouver et demandèrent à retourner avec lui dans leur pays natal").⁶⁸

The space gun, named Columbiad, fires but misses the moon, sending the capsule into orbit around it. In his less popular and less well developed sequel, *Around the Moon* (*Autour de la Lune* [1870]), Verne, apparently interested simply in tying up loose plot strings and adding a bit of science, focuses on the travelers' observations of the lunar surface and their return to earth.

De la terre à la lune has had a significant impact on popular culture, receiving homage from a raft of sci-fi writers and inspiring multiple re-interpretations, including George Meliès' brilliant 1902 film *Le Voyage dans la Lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*), the basis for Martin Scorsese's 2011 *Hugo*, winner of five Academy Awards. And even though NASA has never confirmed it, many believe that the space shuttle *Columbia* was named by the engineers and tekkies who created it, most of whom were strong Verne enthusiasts, partly in honor of the space gun Columbiad.

Verne was not yet finished with Florida. In 1887 he published *Nord contre Sud*, generally translated as *Texar's Revenge, or North against South*, a novel about the Civil War set in and around Jacksonville and centering on the struggle between an enlightened Northern abolitionist plantation owner and a villainous Confederate sympathizer.

Although it has a more coherent plot, *Nord contre Sud* suffers from some of the same problems as Smith's *The Lost Virgin of the South*. Verne often strays from his very predictable plot for long stretches to discuss his views on everything from the course of the Civil War to the inherent flaws among Southerners. He divides the South, for example, into three classes. At the bottom are four million African slaves. At top are the slave holders, a "relatively poorly educated, rich, arrogant" class ("relativement peu instruite, riche, dédaigneuse"). Between those two is the most dangerous group, the *petits Blancs* or poor whites, who ardently support slavery for fear that free blacks might rise to their level: "Entre les deux, la classe remuante, paresseuse, misérable, des petits Blancs. Ceux-ci, contre toute attente, se montrèrent ardents pour le maintien de l'esclavage, par crainte de voir la classe des Nègres affranchis s'élever à leur niveau."⁶⁹

68 Ibid., 239-240.

69 Jules Verne, *Nord contre sud* (Paris: Hetzel, 1887), 52.

In the postbellum era, as Florida became an accessible frontier and an exotic destination for Northerners who preferred traveling in some comfort and within the nation's boundaries, novels with a Florida setting increased in number and prominence. Where once the Beadle & Adams pulp series had dominated Florida's fictional universe, by the last quarter of the century more eminent houses like Scribner's, J.B. Lippincott, Street and Smith, Harper Brothers, and Appleton all began offering a wider range of work. In 1873, Florida was the setting for only one novel, a classic Beadle & Adams historical thriller whose extended title leaves little to the imagination: J.F.C. Adams' *Lighthouse Lige: or, Osceola, the Firebrand of the Everglades. A Tale of the Haunted Lake*. In contrast, by 1898 the Sunshine State served as the location for a dozen novels, from romances (*The Belle of Pensacola*, *A Fair Maid of Florida*, *A Golden Sorrow*, and *By Sunlit Waters*) and historical stories to modern adventures of naval officers preparing to blockade Cuba as part of the Spanish-American War. One sign of the changing times: two-thirds of these books were written by women.

The Huguenots continued to appeal, especially as the century ended with the state becoming more Protestant and worries about Catholic and Jewish immigration increasing. Harris Dickson's *The Black Wolf's Breed* (1889) takes its hero quickly out of the New World into the intrigues of the Old, while Mrs. Susan Sheppard Pierce Stevens' *The Sword of Justice* (1899) tells the story of a survivor of Fort Caroline who hides with natives until de Gorgues arrives to avenge the Huguenots. Flora Alexander Mann's *Story of the Huguenots* (1898) gives an unexceptional version of the same events. That same year Jean Baptiste Thill published a far more colorful, better researched first-person account of Jean de Marquette, a special courier for Gaspard de Coligny who sails with Jean Ribaut to relieve the colony. The novel admires both Ribaut and Laudonnière, while blaming the disaster equally on Spanish perfidy and the adventurers accompanying Ribaut: "a disorderly concourse of disbanded soldiers, who knew no other master than their own wills, restless young nobles whose only patrimony was their swords" plus "some few discontented tradesmen."⁷⁰ Marquette's report shows little regret over the loss of La Floride: "'Tis a country wherein there lies but small chance of honorable advancement, the tale of

70 Jean Baptiste Thill, *A Huguenot Sword: The History of Cavalier de Marquette, Special Courier to Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France* (New York: Tennyson, Neely Publishers, 1898), 68.

its riches having been proven a myth, and, withal, these bare forests and black swamps offer nothing to gentlemen."⁷¹

Following the spirit of Goulding and Condit, stories of young people exploring Florida, included youngsters aiding Andrew Jackson against the British (George Cary Eggleston's *Captain Sam: or, the Boy Scouts of 1814* [1876]), fighting mutineers and pirates (William Livingston Alden's *The Loss of Swansea* [1889]), surviving a shipwreck (Frank Richard Stockton's *Captain Chap: or the Rolling Stones* [1882]) and eliminating smugglers with one of the dime novels' enduring heroes (Edward L. Wheeler's *Deadwood Dick Jr. Among the Smugglers: or, Clearing Out the Gulf Gang* [1890]). Less dangerous stories of adventure on a fairly safe frontier appeared in Oliver Optic's *Down South; or, Yacht Adventures in Florida* (1881), James Maurice Thompson's *The Boys Book of Sports and Outdoor Life* (1886), Lizzie W. Champney's *The Vassar Girls at Home* (1888), and Will Allen Dromgoole's *Three Little Crackers from down in Dixie* (1898). By the end of the century, one sign that Florida had arrived in the literary world of young adult novels came in 1899 when Martha Finley set the twenty-fourth book in her extraordinarily popular Elsie Dinsmore series, *Elsie in the South*, in the Sunshine State.

Four writers from this period stand out. The most prolific, Kirk Munroe (1850-1930), published seven adventure novels about Florida before the end of the century, adding two more during the twentieth century, along with a *Florida Almanac*, a travel book (*Florida: A Winter Playground*), and even a Florida madrigal. A Wisconsin native and sportsman who moved to Coconut Grove in 1886, Munroe became a leading conservationist, tennis enthusiast, and boater. As a founding vice president of the Florida Audubon Society, he recommended his friend Guy Bradley for the position of warden to patrol the state's west coast and enforce its ban on hunting wading birds.⁷²

When Bradley was shot by plume hunters in 1905, Munroe's 1894 homesteading novel *Big Cypress* appeared prophetic. In it Allan Lawton, the idealistic young protagonist chastises a trader for plume hunting near his homestead with the dictum, "Humanity and justice forbid it!"⁷³

71 Ibid., 197.

72 Details about Monroe's life are available in the Kirk Munroe Papers at the Library of Congress and in Irving A. Leonard's *The Florida Adventures of Kirk Munroe* (Chuluota, FL: Mickler House, 1975).

73 Kirk Munroe, *Big Cypress. A Story of an Everglades Homestead* (Boston: W.A. Wilde, 1894), 20.

Munroe's work shows a deep admiration and advocacy for Native Americans, one that stretched to novels about many North American tribes and even beyond the borders of the United States in *The White Conquerors: A Tale of Toltec and Aztec* (1894). Within Florida it also encompassed natives of the early contact period, especially in *The Flamingo Feather* (1887), the story of an orphan, Rene de Veaux, taken to Florida in 1564 by the relative for whom he was named, René de Laudonnière. There he studies military science with his uncle and art with Jacques le Moyne, while befriending a young Native American his own age. The two boys become blood brothers, their bond reinforced as they save each other from danger and symbolized by the flamingo feather the young Has-se, his tribe's greatest warrior and future chief, gives Rene.⁷⁴

While some of Munroe's novels are explicitly designated for juvenile readers, most of the books actually fit that designation with their action-driven plots, limited characterization, and idealized heroes. The opening of *Through Swamp and Glade: A Tale of the Seminole War* creates the romanticized and slightly elegiac tone, mixed with a wobbly sense of history, so often found in his novels: "The scene is laid in Florida, that beautiful land of the far south, in which Ponce de Leon located the fabled spring of Eternal Youth. It is a land of song and story, of poetry and romance; but one also of bitter memories and shameful deeds. Its very attractiveness has proved its greatest curse."⁷⁵

As that opening paragraph suggests, his works frequently focus on the mistreatment of natives, especially since a "tide of white immigration is already lapping over the ill-defined boundaries of their reservations."⁷⁶ *Through Swamp and Glade* presents the idealized story of Coacoochee, the Seminole leader, with a sharp division between heroes like Coacoochee, Osceola, and their sympathetic white ally Ralph Boyd, and villains like the slave hunter Troup Jeffers and Andrew Jackson, who initiated the conflict between white settlers and natives when he entered Florida "with a hearty relish" to kill Indians and enslave blacks.⁷⁷

Even more than offering a rousing adventure, Munroe's interest is in his stories' political and historical significance. Like many writers of the time whose audience was largely adolescent, he saw

74 Kirk Munroe, *The Flamingo Feather* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1887), 67.

75 Kirk Munroe, *Through Swamp and Glade. A Tale of the Seminole War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), 1.

76 Ibid., ii.

77 Ibid., 10.

his novels serving didactic and moral as well as aesthetic and literary purposes. After a white drunk shoots Coacoochee's dog and tries to kill him, other whites follow the Seminole, seize him and whip him. Munroe then pauses to explain the act's significance:

That blow was to be paid for with hundreds of innocent lives, and millions of dollars. It was to be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land, and was to be atoned by rivers of blood. In a single instant its fearful magic transformed the young Indian who received it, from a quiet peace-loving youth, with a generous, affectionate nature, into a savage warrior, relentless and pitiless. It gave to the Seminoles a leader whose very name should become a terror to their enemies, and it precipitated one of the cruellest and most stubbornly contested Indian Wars ever waged on American soil.⁷⁸

Munroe understood that the century's adventure fiction rested on the explicit duality of right and wrong, good and evil presented in a hyperbolic, repetitive prose relying on the cadence of a popular preacher or politician. Working within the genre, he built a large, loyal audience and began shaping sympathy, especially among young readers, for the Seminoles who had never migrated to the Indian Territories.

While adventure novels continued to flourish, postbellum Florida also began seeing a number of works set not in pirate ships, Indian villages or frontier settlements but drawing rooms, fashionable shops, and dinner parties. By the end of the nineteenth century, the works of Jane Austen were familiar in the Sunshine State and a number of writers, primarily women, began exploring the drama, intrigue, and hazards of romance.

Some of these works echo the *Brontës*, rather than Austen, in combining romance with mystery, adventure and history, especially as dime novels began exploring ways of attracting female readers. The most famous publishers of popular adventure novels, Beadle and Company, offered Mary Reed Crowell's 1870 *The Ebon Mask: or, the Mysterious Guardian* in its Waverley Series, while a new Chicago publishing company, Donohue, Hennebry, trying to break into the inexpensive popular novel field, published Beatrice Marean's *The Tragedies of Oakhurst* in 1889. History remained popular with both female and male novelists. Mary Moncure Parker turned to

78 Ibid., 57.

the Spanish world of the eighteenth century with *A Fair Maid of Florida* (1898) and Katherine Madison Cochran the period immediately after the Civil War in *Posie: or, From Reveille to Retreat* (1896). Perhaps the most devoted Brontëan was Marion White Wildrick in *A Zealot in Tulle* (1887), a remarkably confusing account of broken engagements and lost treasure.

Most of the women writing novels about Florida, however, placed the pursuit of relationships, rather than gold, at the center of their books. What may be the most notable aspect of this genre was its range of sites: Tallahassee (Mary Jane Hawes Holmes' *Queenie Hetherton* [1880] and Elizabeth Whitfield Croom Bellamy's *Old Man Gilbert* [1889]), Pensacola (Alice King Hamilton's *One of the Duanes* [1885] and Anna Cosulich's *The Belle of Pensacola* [1898]), the Panhandle (Mrs. Mary Andrews Denison's *Cracker Joe* [1887]), Ocala (Beatrice Marean's *The Tragedies of Oakhurst* [1889]), the East Coast (Caroline Washburne Rockwood's *An East Florida Romance* [1897]), Venice (Alice Vivian Brownlee's *The Affinities* [1890]), Miami (Caroline Washburne Rockwood's *In Biscayne Bay* [1891]), and Yalaha (Miss Will Allen Dromgoole's *Three Little Crackers from Down in Dixie* [1898]). Women were not the only writers to focus on romance. Maurice Thompson (1844-1901), a lawyer born in Indiana but raised on a Georgia plantation, left his legal career to become, first, a writer of essays, short fiction, and poetry, and later a novelist. His *A Tallahassee Girl* (1882), set largely in Governor Richard Call's home, the Grove, and possibly influenced by stories from the governor's daughter Ellen Call Long, focuses largely on two Northern males, Herman Willard, Jr., and Lawrence Cauthorne, both dropped into Tallahassee society "like strange beings from another planet."⁷⁹

St. Augustine, the oldest and arguably most romantic of Florida's cities, generated a host of works including, Mrs. Emma Merse-
rau Newton's *Boscobel* (1881), Nina Larre Smith Duryea' *Tales of St. Augustine* (1891), Beatrice Marean's *Her Shadowed Life* (1893), and the productive Maria Louise Poole's *The Two Salomes* (1893), *Out of Step* (1894), and *A Golden Sorrow* (1898). Constance Fenimore Woolson (1850-1894), a great niece of James Fenimore Cooper, took advantage of this growing interest in both Florida and women writers to turn her memories of St. Augustine into a series of stories and novels. Her strange life as a wanderer involved in a

79 James Maurice Thompson, *A Tallahassee Girl* (Boston: James Osgood, 1882), 353.

never clearly defined relationship with Henry James and her even stranger death from falling or jumping into Venice's Grand Canal often obscures her art.

Like the work of James, her friend and mentor, Woolson's fiction expects a discerning, sophisticated, thoughtful reader with the ability to recognize nuances elegantly knitted into subordinate clauses and the patience to unravel them. And like James, she is more a cultural and linguistic anthropologist than psychologist, fascinated with every detail of the mating rituals of the ruling classes. Her classes, like her settings, differ significantly from the Anglophiliac James, but the two share an obsession with the significance of minutiae in their exquisitely accurate portraits of societies either fading or emerging.

For readers, especially contemporary readers, the virtues and challenges of *East Angels* (1886) have the same source in Woolson's labyrinthine prose, with its complex analyses and microscopic evaluations of every aspect of life and culture. Working through Woolson's sentences, with their knotty syntax, multiple qualifications, and pervasive allusions, requires dedication and time. When early in the novel Evert Winthrop reflects on the antiquity of St. Augustine, he calls upon an encyclopedic knowledge:

There was—he could not deny it—a certain comparative antiquity about this southern peninsula which had in it more richness of color and a deeper perspective than that possessed by any of the rather blank, near, little backgrounds of American history farther north. This was a surprise to him. Like most New-Englanders, he had unconsciously cherished the belief that all there was of historical importance, of historical picturesqueness even, in the beginnings of the republic, was associated with the Puritans. Puritans . . . When Raphael was putting into the backgrounds of his pictures those prim, slenderly foliaged trees which he had seen from Perugino's windows in his youth, the Spaniards were exploring this very Florida shore . . . And when, in Venice, he dwelt with delight upon the hues of Titian and Veronese, was he not sure (though without thinking of it) that in their day the great forests of his own New World untrodden by the white man's foot, had stretched unbroken to the sea? Because no Puritan with grave visage had as yet set sail for Massachusetts Bay, he had not realized that here on this southern shore had

been towns and people, governors, soldiers, persecutions, and priests.⁸⁰

For those who love the work of Henry James, Woolson's *East Angels* offers a distinctively Floridian version and critique of the Jamesian universe at a time when the tectonic plates underlying the state's culture and value were shifting dramatically.

Working within the realm of popular fiction, a universe away from Woolson and James, the most interesting and innovative of all Florida's late nineteenth-century novelists, Archibald Claverling Gunter (1847-1907), challenged genres and norms in three very different novels set largely in the Sunshine State. Born in Liverpool, he worked as a civil engineer and stockbroker before focusing on his passion, fiction and theater. With enormous self-assurance, Gunter created the modestly titled Home Publishing Company in order not only to write the books he chose but to profit from what he believed would be their success.

His first Florida novel, *A Florida Enchantment* (1892), which would become even more famous in Sidney Drew's 1914 silent film version with the same title, takes James Fenimore Cooper's tentative questions about the boundaries of gender and shatters them. The novel, written with Fergus Redmond, begins with Miss Lillian Travers, a wealthy young New York socialite visiting her aunt Constantia in St. Augustine during Lent and buying a small locked casket at Vedders, a shop "disposing of Florida curiosities and horrors to Northern tourists."⁸¹

Lilly, a curious, headstrong young woman, goes to the Ponce de Leon Hotel with her far more naïve and sheltered friend Bessie and Bessie's father, Major Calhoun Benham Horton. Dr. Frederick Cassadene, her fiancé, then appears: "his figure and bearing are of that manly recklessness, jovial good humor, and dashing, devil-may-care coolness—perhaps impudence—that makes deadly war upon human hearts,—the face of an Adam whom Eve will love and run after for all time, and who for all time will betray his despairing

80 Constance Fenimore Woolson, *East Angels* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), 15.

81 Archibald Claverling Gunter, *A Florida Enchantment* (with Fergus Redmond) (New York: Home Publishing, 1892). Dr. John Vedder opened the Vedder museum on the corner of Bay and Treasury Street to show off his collection decades before Robert Ripley began his syndicated newspaper cartoon. After Vedder's death in 1899, the St. Augustine Historical Society purchased and maintained the building and collection until they were destroyed by a fire in 1914.

Eve." Realizing that the roguish doctor is also flirting with a beautiful widow, appropriately named Stella Lovejoy, Lilly laments, "Oh, if I could love like a man!"⁸²

When Lilly expresses her frustration to her spinster aunt, that very practical *grande dame's* answer is not to remain single but "marry and believe!";

"Everything?"

"Everything," returns Miss Elder Speaker. "If your husband says he has been detained until two in the morning by business, *swallow* it! If he declares he has been at his club until three—don't ask him *which* club . . . Have the faith of the martyrs—believe in miracles! It is the only way to be a happy wife!"⁸³

Left with the warning that men "are what nature made them—selfish animals,"⁸⁴ the headstrong Lilly opens the casket she bought to find a note from her grandfather and a vial of four seeds. The note explains that the seeds, the product of a magical African tree, allow people to change their sex.

Finding out that her fiancé had taken a moonlight cruise with the widow after claiming he needed to visit a patient, Lilly takes one of the seeds and wakes to find her view of the world radically altered; "if, as a woman, she was entirely engrossed in Fred Cassadene, as a man she is entirely engrossed in self—a much more comfortable and contented state of feeling." Still dressed as a woman, she begins exploring her new sexuality by admiring the beauty of the other women and greeting her rival with a kiss: "Lilly's coral lips press those of the beautiful widow;—a thrill, an ecstasy—an electric shock!"⁸⁵

As Gunter explores Lillie's new sexuality, he does so with a curious erotic humor mixed with an affectionate commentary, "For the late Miss Travers is still only a reckless boy and has a young blood's eagerness to show off and triumph over and be envied by his fellow and rivals."⁸⁶ Lilly not only finds a deeper sexual and physical pleasure from her physical contact with other women; they find themselves begging her for more embraces and kisses.

82 Ibid., 24-25.

83 Ibid., 45.

84 Ibid., 46.

85 Ibid., 76, 84.

86 Ibid., 106.

While Gunter clearly enjoys exploring the gender bending behavior, both culturally and physically, of his characters, it is never clear whether he means this to represent a simple satire on both male and female sexuality, a fantasy about the possibility of trans-gendering, or a metaphoric representation of homoerotic exploration. The novel, far more interested in presenting experiences than reflecting on them, offers its characters little more than momentary meditation. The exuberant, comic tone throughout makes it clear that, whatever his ultimate purpose, the author is having a good time with his story.

Lillie transfers all her wealth to her new persona, Lawrence Talbot, and goes to Silver Springs so that Lillie can disappear and the new Lawrence emerge. In one of his/her rare moments of anxiety, the new man briefly connects this transformation to Florida's mythology: "Like Ponce de Leon, who came to find youth, I have come here to find manhood. He failed and died. Shall I be disappointed also?"⁸⁷

Back in St. Augustine, Lily, as Lawrence, pursues Bessie and, flirts with the widow Lovejoy, finally recognizing the power of male sexual drive. She forces her former fiancé to take one of the last two seeds, turning him, in a chapter titled "The Horrible Metamorphosis of Doctor Frederick Cassadene," into a gaunt, masculine looking woman who now wants to marry Lilly/Lawrence and pursues him recklessly.

While other popular works of his era, like Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), punish their subjects for what their authors' Gothic morality perceives as unnatural transformations and metamorphoses, Gunter's exuberantly amoral gender-bending novel shows its absolutely self-centered protagonist marrying his love with all expectations of a long, happy, and manly life. The author appears as comfortable splintering genres as genders.

His second Florida novel, four years later, introduced Florida's first detective, Thomas Duff Mastic of the U.S. Revenue Service, the prototype of Mike Shayne, Travis McGee and Serge Storms. A no-nonsense Fed with few qualms about bending rules, in *Don Balasco of Key West* (1896)⁸⁸ Mastic has moved on from shutting down

87 Ibid., 169.

88 Archibald Claverling Gunter, *Don Balasco of Key West* (New York: Home Publishing, 1896).

stills in Georgia and North Carolina to catching filibusterers smuggling arms to Cuba.

Gunter's third Florida novel is his most ambitious, the two part *Power of Women* (1897). A sprawling historical epic revolving around Andrew Turnbull's settlement of New Smyrna, the book holds nothing back as characters travel from Sussex and London to Florida, Cuba, Gibraltar, Greece and Paris. At the heart of it all is Turnbull's niece Susan, the wicked witch of Southeast Sussex, a woman whose self-centered social climbing rivals Becky Sharp's, whose vindictiveness surpasses Miss Havisham's, and whose malevolence outstrips Morgan le Fay's.

Setting his work in 1767, Gunter reflects on the end of the Seven Years War when England traded Cuba to Spain, "receiving in exchange Florida, which she thinks will make her North American possessions complete, one of the worst bargains probably ever made in the history of nations—relinquishing the richest island of the Antilles, the domination of all the trade from South America, Mexico and Peru, that must come borne by the Gulf Stream, past the fortresses of the Havana—for a land uninhabited, unsettled, and unknown."⁸⁹

Into this brave new world come a pair of rogues, the privateer Dick Boccock and Terence O'Grady O'Donohue Fitz-Ballyhoo, known as Ballyhoo Bey, an Irish soldier of fortune now in the employ of the Turks, who plot the seduction of two young women attending Arcadia Lodge, a boarding school for upper-class girls. Central to the plot, however, is Susan Turnbull, heir apparent to her uncle's fortune. Gunter captures her combination of brilliance and remorselessness in a magnificently hyphenated passage that reflects his love for the playful potential of language; "But over all this depth of intellect, force of unforgiveness, and untiring capacity to avenge what wrongs my come to her in the world, this lady has an extremely pretty manner, an arch piquancy of expression and very charming baby, put-myself-in-your-hands, trust-you-and-love-you style of expression in both speech and deportment."⁹⁰

Susan foments a plan for expanding the Turnbull colony in New Smyrna. Inspired by Machiavelli, she "soon gives to [Turnbull] what he considers the grand idea of his future commercial triumph—i.e., that of turning human flesh, for which he will pay

89 Archibald Clavering Gunter, *The Power of Woman*, Volume 1 (New York: The Home Publishing, 1895), 6-8.

90 Ibid., I: 33.

nothing, into British pounds sterling at a very rapid rate" by getting the Turks to sell him Greeks for use as indentured servants.⁹¹ As one of his partners says, "We have nothing to fear from the shrieks of a lot of devils who don't speak English 4,000 miles away from here and 5,000 miles away from their native country."⁹²

The novel is full of plot twists. Susan is the instigator of most, while she pursues a variety of beaux, including a buccaneer and a Dominican priest. While it lacks the expansive sexual fantasy of *A Florida Enchantment*, the novel does suggest Susan's erotic pleasure in punishing her female slaves, for whom she keeps a special torture den with its own whips. As she prepares to discipline a bound and stripped Irene, "Miss Turnbull opens the door and gives a half cry of astonishment, half of delight and joy, the beauty of her victim, who is affrightedly awaiting her coming stripes, nude, helpless, and unprotected, is so exquisite and so great."⁹³

A rebellion by the indentured Greeks and Minorcans allows Gunter to extend his story. After encounters with buccaneers, Turks, and rebels, Susan Turnbull ultimately meets her end as a Carmelite abbess sent to the guillotine in the French Revolution for trying to save a young aristocrat.

If Florida has a preeminent short story, it is Stephen Crane's story "The Open Boat." First published in 1897, this work remains the most popular and most widely anthologized of the state's short stories. On New Year's Eve 1896, Crane (1871-1900), the celebrated young author of *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), sets sail from Jacksonville to Cuba on the steamer *Commodore*. Sent by William Randolph Hurst's *New York Journal* to report on the filibustering expeditions to Cuba as part of the publisher's plan to foment a war, his trip became part of a very different kind of adventure. An accident damaged the ship's hull, and as the ship began to sink, the crew made for shore in open boats. Crane's ten-foot dinghy took about thirty hours to reach Daytona, where the survivors finally made it through the breakers on the morning of January 3. Six months before Mark Twain offered his famous comment about the exaggerated reports of his death, Crane was able to read his obituary in a number of papers and magazines. One especially heroic account in *The Philistine* told its readers, "He died trying to save

91 Ibid., I: 109.

92 Ibid., I: 114.

93 Ibid., I: 263.

others." After reporting his adventure to his paper, the young novelist turned the experience into his classic story.⁹⁴

Crane's tale opens with one of the most memorable lines in literature: "None of them knew the color of the sky."⁹⁵ So focused on their chore of rowing, none of the boat's four survivors has the time, energy or even curiosity to glance beyond the waves looming over them. The writing conveys the vastness and dangers of the natural forces confronting ordinary men. At first, the threats seem purely physical, an endurance struggle for survival between man and nature, as their "craft pranced and reared, and plunged like an animal," facing the "terrible grace" and "snarling . . . crests" of the waves.⁹⁶

As each effort to reach shore fails and each hope dies, nature begins to appear malevolent, not only mocking their attempts to save themselves with failure but also sending "more formidable" waves⁹⁷ and additional challenges like a shark that circles their boat. Their only faith lies in each other, "the subtle brotherhood of men that was here established on the sea."⁹⁸ Crane's alter ego, the correspondent from whose point of view the story is told, finally understands the truth of his condition in a world without external values or objective truths, without a providential deity or a benevolent universe. He recognizes that "nature does not regard him as important, and that she feels she would not maim the universe by disposing of him." The correspondent "first wishes to throw bricks at the temple, and he hates deeply the fact that there are no bricks and no temples."⁹⁹

Once free of his romantic vision of the world and the socially imposed creeds which underlie them, he can then begin a new existentialist ideology with its first article of faith: "Yes, but I love myself."¹⁰⁰ He now can understand and accept the world's view of him: "She did not seem cruel to him then, not beneficent, nor treacherous, nor wise. But she was indifferent, flatly indifferent."¹⁰¹

94 R.W. Stallman, *Stephen Crane, A Biography* (New York: George Braziller, 1968), 256.

95 Stephen Crane, *The Open Boat and Other Stories of Adventure* (New York: Doubleday & McClure, 1898), 3.

96 *Ibid.*, 6-7.

97 *Ibid.*, 26.

98 *Ibid.*, 16.

99 *Ibid.*, 44.

100 *Ibid.*, 45.

101 *Ibid.*, 52.

It is that indifference that finally spurs the men to take full responsibility for themselves and their survival.

Recognizing their need to rely on themselves and not fate, the four men decide to take one last chance against the breakers to reach the shore. As the boat breaks up and they all struggle frantically to shore, help comes, inevitably from another human who wades in towards them. In the correspondent's new human-centric creed, that act canonizes the rescuer: "He was naked, naked as a tree in winter, but a halo was around his head and he shone like a saint."¹⁰² The story's last paragraph reinforces the correspondent's acceptance of his new understanding and reveals his future role: "When it came night, the white waves paced to and fro in the moonlight, and the wind brought the sound of the great sea's voice to the men on shore, and they thought they could then be interpreters."¹⁰³

Before concluding, consideration needs to be given to the evolution of poetry in Florida during the 1800s. During the first two thirds of the century, Florida's poetry consisted largely of folk songs with a few formal pieces by non-Floridians, like Emerson's verses on St. Augustine. During the debate over slavery before the war, the New England Quaker, abolitionist, journalist and Emerson's fellow transcendentalist, John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) wrote a tribute in 1846 to Captain Jonathan Walker who had been captured while attempting to help seven fugitive slaves escape from Pensacola to the British West Indies. Tried in a federal court, Walker was sentenced to imprisonment, a fine, and the public branding of his right hand with the letters SS for Slave Stealer. After serving his time, Walker lectured on the evils of slavery before retiring to Michigan.¹⁰⁴

In "The Branded Hand," Whittier offers a prophetic homage to the "brave seaman" and a warning to those defending slavery, "to him who crushes the soul with chain and rod." The entire poem, with its abstractions and ponderous phrasing, places the conflict not only in axiological terms but specifically in the framework of New England Quaker Christian ethics. In the poem's final

102 Ibid., 62.

103 Ibid., 63.

104 Morrison Foster, *My Brother Stephen* (Indianapolis, IN: Privately Printed), 1932), 47; Frank Edward Kittredge, *An Authentic Sketch of the Life and Service of Capt. Jonathan Walker, the Man with the Branded Hand* (Rochester, NY: H.L. Wilson Printing Company, 1899).

quatrain, Whittier foresees the branded hand becoming an apocalyptic emblem of judgment:

And the tyrants of the slave-land shall tremble at that sign,
When it points its finger Southward along the Puritan line:
Woe to the State-gorged leeches, and the Church's locust band,
When they look from slavery's ramparts on the coming of that hand!¹⁰⁵

In a completely different vein, the best known and most controversial of the poems associated with antebellum Florida is a wistfully sentimental minstrel song by a man who never visited the state, a song that would appeal strongly to Caroline Lee Hentz. Stephen Foster's "Swanee River" ("Old Folks at Home"), written in 1851 for the blackface singing group Christy's Minstrels, would become Florida's official state song in 1935 when the state legislature chose it to replace C.V. Waugh's "Florida, My Florida." This hymn of longing for his childhood plantation by an elderly African American relies on its vague imagery and nebulous topography to evoke a world that never existed. The song actually has little to do with the state. Since it could apply to any Southern state, Foster asked his brother to find the name of a regional bi-syllabic river. After rejecting Yazoo and Pee Dee, he selected Suwannee, shortening it to fit his meter.

The state's folksongs, like many of the spirituals, have often untraceable roots. Alton Chester Morris and Leonhard Deutsch brought together a remarkable collection in their *Folksongs of Florida* (1950), and Stetson Kennedy collected more with the WPA, which are available in the Library of Congress. These poems deal with the everyday life of Floridians, from their frustrations as settlers ("I Want to Go Back to Georgia"), to life in the turpentine camps, as cracker cowboys ("Sittin' on a cow-horse/The whole day long, /Thinkin' of those good times/All past and gone"),¹⁰⁶ boatmen, spongers, and wreckers. As with many folksongs, the essential tone of most of the poems combines a bittersweet nostalgia with a deep sense of endurance and resignation.

105 John G. Whittier, *Voices of Freedom*, 4th edition (Philadelphia: Thomas G. Caver, 1846), 140. Curiously, usually reliable modern online poetry sources (e.g., poetry.net, poemhunter.com, and wikisource.net) use a gentler version of these lines, changing "tyrants" to "masters" and ending with a pair of questions rather than the original's prophetic admonition: "Can the craft of state avail them? Can a Christless church withstand/In the van of Freedom's onset, the coming of that hand?"

106 Jane Anderson Jones and Maurice J. O'Sullivan, eds., *Florida in Poetry* (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1995), 69.

The Civil War brought its own anonymous poems. One ballad about a Union raid on Confederate supplies in Baldwin, twenty miles west of Jacksonville, on February 9, 1864, "I Can Whip the Scoundrel," is a classic of bravado and ridicule. The ballad begins with an allusion to the Southern trickster: The Yankees came to Baldwin; / They came up in the rear; / They thought they'd find old Abner, / But old Abner was not there.

After the Yankees steal everything and take prisoners, who, if they could, would "go right back and fight them," the poem ends with a strong sense of the South's inherent nobility built on a vision of its chivalric—and stylistic—superiority to the common Yanks: Jeff Davis was a gentleman; / Abe Lincoln was a fool. / Jeff Davis rode a dapple gray; / Abe Lincoln rode a mule.¹⁰⁷

That Southern determination also appears in "The Homespun Dress," a rare portrait of a woman's view of the war in rollicking iambic heptameters. The speaker tells us that she glories in the name "Southern girl" and in the homespun dress she must wear because of "Old Abe's blockade." While she claims not to envy Northern girls for their wardrobe and jewelry, her imagination lingers perhaps a little too long on the gems of those she does not envy, "though pearls bedeck her snowy neck, and diamonds in her hair." Even her claim to satisfaction with what she has sounds a little too aggressive:

My homespun dress is plain, I know; my hat is palmetto too;
But now you see what Southern girls for Southern rights can do;
We sent the bravest of our land to battle with the foe.
And we would lend a helping hand; we love the South you know.¹⁰⁸

During the last third of the century, Florida attracted a more diverse body of poetry. Perhaps most notably, Walt Whitman (1819-1892) included two poems about iconic Florida subjects in *Leaves of Grass* (1855), the most influential volume of American poetry in the nineteenth century and already a classic when he added these late works. The first is a brief newspaper verse, "Orange Buds by Mail from Florida," first published in 1888 in the *New York Herald*. In it he marvels at receiving oranges at his New Jersey home during a snow storm. For him this simply reinforces his belief in the value of democracy, the potential of technology, and the brilliant

107 Alton C. Morris, ed., *Folksongs of Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1950), 28-29.

108 *Ibid.*, 31-32.

heterogeneity of his country, "proof of this present time, and thee, thy broad expanse, America."¹⁰⁹

His second poem, written, as is most of his work, in free verse the year before he died, offers a reflection on Osceola based on a description of the Seminole's final day from one of the marines who had guarded him. The poem is famous in the Whitman canon for its apparent unfinished state and its final parenthetical comment:

When his hour for death had come,
He slowly rais'd himself from the bed on the floor,
Drew on his war-dress, shirt, leggings, and girdled the belt
around his waist,
Call'd for vermilion paint (his looking-glass was held before him,)
Painted half his face and neck, his wrists, and back-hands.
Put the scalp-knife carefully in his belt — then lying down, resting moment,
Rose again, half sitting, smiled, gave in silence his extended
hand to each and all,
Sank faintly low to the floor (tightly grasping the tomahawk handle,)
Fix'd his look on wife and little children—the last:
(And here a line in memory of his name and death.)¹¹⁰

What may look like an odd fragment might well be less an incomplete poem than Whitman's tribute to an unfinished life and legacy.

Another, far less well known Whitman, the African American poet Albery Allson Whitman (1851-1901), also chose the Seminoles as the subject of what he intended to be an epic about race in America. Born a slave in Kentucky, Whitman eventually became a pastor and the financial agent and fund raiser for Ohio's Wilberforce University. In 1884 he published *The Rape of Florida*, which would reappear that year in a slightly revised edition as *Twasinta's Seminoles, or The Rape of Florida*.

Whitman's elegiac epic, organized into very formal Spenserian stanzas, uses a fictional doppelganger of Osceola, Atlassa, to tell the story of the Second Seminole War and removal of the tribe from its Edenic, multiracial home. In his poem the Seminoles become a metaphor for all minorities, especially Africans, displaced in the United States:

109 Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1892), 401.

110 Ibid., 417.

If e'er the muse of history sits to write,
 And Florida appear upon her page
 This nation's crimes will blush the noonday light.¹¹¹

His dedication makes his sympathies clear. He admits to being born in bondage but asserts emphatically, "*I never was a slave.*"¹¹² In fact, he disdains the idea of using that condition as an excuse: "I am a negro, and as such, I accept the situation, and enter the lists with poised lance. I disdain to whine over my 'previous condition'. . . . Petition and complaint are the language of imbecility and cowardice —the evidences of that puerile fear which extinguishes the soul. The time has come when all "Uncle Toms" and "Topsies" ought to die."¹¹³

His first canto begins with a fugitive slave from Georgia fleeing south and being welcomed by the Seminoles. For Whitman, moral principles are universal: "Man hath of justice and of right a cause./ Prior to all that e'er has contravened." The primary challenge to achieving that original state is Mammon, and only by freeing society of "those who buy and sell" will humans realize the lives they deserve:

Oh! isn't the goal of life
 Where man has plenty and to man is fair?
 When free from avarice's pinch and strife,
 Is earth not like the Eden-home of man and wife?¹¹⁴

Perhaps because he recognized the very different responses Osceola evoked, Whitman presents his hero Atlassa as the pure, noble double of what he portrays as that psychologically and emotionally wounded warrior:

Not so with Osceola, thy dark mate;
 The hidden terror of the hommock, he
 Sat gloomily and nursed a bitter hate, —

111 Albery Allson Whitman, *The Rape of Florida* (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones, 1884), Canto II, lxxiii. Whitman's choice of the Spenserian stanza is a bit ironic, given the Elizabethan poet's attitudes towards colonialism. The author of *The Faerie Queene*, who made his fortune in Ireland, strongly supported the growing plantation system there, a forerunner of England's pattern of settlement in its American colonies. In 1596 Spenser wrote *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, which called not only for more British settlement but for the use of starvation as a way of controlling Ireland's native Celtic population.

112 Ibid., 5.

113 Ibid., 4-5.

114 Ibid., I, ix-xiii.

The white man was his common enemy —
 He rubbed the burning wounds of injury,
 And plotted in his dreadful silent gloom;
 As dangerous as a rock beneath the sea.
 And when in fray he showed his fearless plume,
 Revenge made sweet the blows that dealt the white man's
 doom.¹¹⁵

Eventually removed to the West, the Seminoles may, at last, have what, to the poet, all men deserve, a "land of free limb and free thought. . . Here man is unhindered as he ought."¹¹⁶

For Whitman, who like Walt Whitman apparently never visited Florida, the story of the Seminole war and expulsion, their loss of Eden and resettlement in a brave new world, offers a clear metaphor for both the African removal to America and the emancipation of Africans from slavery, a connection he often underlines both directly—"Is manhood less because man's face is black?"¹¹⁷—and indirectly by describing an "injured race" taken to a "foreign shore."¹¹⁸

The poem's elevated diction, formal meter, and cadenced rhetoric announce the earnestness of Whitman's intent. As the first attempt at a Florida epic poem, *The Rape of Florida* combines elegy and hope, outrage and idealism in its author's passionate plea for a multicultural future.

One well known poet who did visit Florida is Sidney Lanier (1842-1881), the widely respected if often impoverished writer, musician, composer and critic. In 1875 the Atlantic Seaboard Railroad hired Lanier to write a Florida travel guide, *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate and History*. Two years later, suffering from tuberculosis, he visited Tampa and wrote a series of poems. In what might be a slight touch of self-irony, the poet imagines walking on the coast and meeting "A Florida Ghost," the spirit of an entrepreneur whose plan to build a sanitarium for Northerners falls victim to a bad squall.

Sounding much like a Southern Emerson, "From the Flats" offers Lanier's complaint about Tampa's "inexorable, vapid, vague" landscape, the "drear sand-levels" that "drain my spirit low." Unlike Georgia's colorful hills, in Tampa "Nature hath no surprise." He becomes far more forgiving and interesting when he celebrates

115 Ibid., I, xxv.

116 Ibid., IV, xlix.

117 Ibid., II, iv.

118 Ibid, IV, xxii.

the flora and fauna he admires in poems like "The Mockingbird," "Tampa Robins," and especially "A Florida Sunday" with its "pea green paroquets," "pranked woodpeckers," and "palmettos ranked, with childish spear points/set against no enemy."¹¹⁹

Perhaps because she was the daughter of Florida's third (and fifth) territorial governor, Richard Keith Call, Ellen Call Long (1825-1905) included "The Ton," a satire on Tallahassee social and political life written, she claimed, by a "certain disappointed wight,"¹²⁰ in her book *Florida Breezes* (1883). Using the kind of comic tetrameter couplets with which Jonathan Swift skewered his society and which she calls doggerel, Call's narrator finds a wide range of customs to examine, including the capitol's mating habits

Since first I came to Tallahassee,
I've seldom seen a stylish lassie,
Who in the first bloom of her life
Was made a happy, trusting wife.
And why? Because each one is taught
That love, like dry goods, should be bought.¹²¹

A talented woman who organized the country's first Memorial Day services a few weeks after the end of the Civil War in an attempt to reconcile Union and Confederate sympathizers, she also wrote a biography of Princess Achille Murat, a book on silk farming, and a study of what she called Negro witchcraft.¹²²

As they had throughout Florida's long colonial history, writers continued to serve their roles as interpreters and re-interpreters of the southeastern edge of North America while it steadily grew from a marginal, sparsely populated Spanish colony into an American territory. During the 1800s, Florida joined the Union as the twenty-seventh state, left it as the third state of the Confederacy, and re-joined it. During this tumultuous, dynamic, and erratic time, Florida's literature steadily became, paradoxically, both more diverse and more American.

119 *Poems of Sidney Lanier*, edited by his wife [Mary Day Lanier] (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1888), 26 and 144.

120 Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes* (Jacksonville, FL: Ashmead Brothers, 1883), 249.

121 *Ibid.*, 250.

122 Ellen Call Long, *Silk Farming* (Philadelphia, PA: Press of J. Glover, 1884); Long, *Princess Achille Murat, A Biographical Sketch* (Richmond, VA: William Byrd Press, 1931, 1867); Long, *Negro Witchcraft* (Tallahassee, FL: publisher not identified, 1893).

Part of Florida's appeal was that it remained more a state of mind than a set of physical coordinates, a mythic presence in both the American and European imaginations that allowed writers who had never visited to set stories in this fabled, largely unexplored land so closely associated with rebirth and regeneration. Those stories inevitably reflect the cultural collisions which transformations always involve, especially as writers explored not only Florida's shifting physical and racial boundaries but the boundaries of gender and genre as well. Above all, these authors continued enriching the nation's oldest literary tradition and preparing the way for the remarkable flowering of talent attracted to the Sunshine State in the twentieth century.

Abiaka, or Sam Jones, in Context: The Mikasuki Ethnogenesis through the Third Seminole War

by Patsy West

The general flight path to Fort Lauderdale/Hollywood International Airport gives a clear aerial view of two major elements of this story. First is a direct flyover of the Pine Island Complex, a prominent greenspace that was the two-and-a-half-mile-long habitation island of Abiaka, or Sam Jones, and his Mikasuki people. During the Second Seminole War, the island was often referred to as Sam Jones' "stronghold," used by Jones and his Mikasuki leaders until the last year of the conflict.

Next appears the bright white domes and turrets of the Seminole Tribe of Florida's Hard Rock Hotel and Casino, the former site of the Tribal and U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Headquarters. Purchased from the London-based Rank Group in December 7, 2006, acquisition of the Hard Rock brand launched the then 3,500 member Seminole Tribe into the international marketplace.¹

Patsy West is Director of the Seminole/Miccosukee Archive in Ft. Lauderdale and the author of *The Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes of Southern Florida* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Press, 2002), *The Enduring Seminoles: from Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), and with Betty Mae Jumper, *A Seminole Legend: The Life of Betty Mae Tiger Jumper* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001). This article is excerpted from a larger work in progress.

- 1 Throughout this essay "Mikasuki, or Mikasuki-speakers" refers to the people of Mikasuki-speaking heritage; "Miccosukee" refers to the nineteenth-century town, while "Miccosukee" in contemporary usage refers to the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, federally recognized as a tribe in 1962, whose linguistic heritage is Mikasuki. Two-thirds of the citizens of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, federally recognized in 1957, are also of Mikasuki-speaking heritage, while one-third of the citizens of this tribe speak Muscogee Creek, creating a

Another of Abiaka's habitation complexes lies far to the west on Interstate 595 in the remote western Everglades in the Big Cypress. Nearby, a monumental bronze statue of the leader was commissioned by Tribal Chairman James E. Billie and erected in 2003. It rises from a stepped earthwork island, towering above the Everglades on the federal Big Cypress Seminole Reservation. Abiaka's outstretched arms embrace Christ-like the totems of the tribal clans.²

Abiaka was the central figure in the Second Seminole War (1835-1842) and the leading opponent of the Indian Removal Act (1830) that sought to forcibly relocate all Seminoles to the trans-Mississippi West. As the Grand War Chief at the head of all "Seminole" forces in Florida, he directed battles, worked shipwrecks to supply his resistance initiatives, and kept his people one step ahead of capture. Ultimately, it was Abiaka's strength, personal determination, and resolve during the Second and Third Seminole Wars that produced the "Unconquered" Seminole and Miccosukee tribes of today. The observation of Major General George A. McCall perhaps sums up Abiaka's nature; "...I have known [Abiaka] for many years as a proud, independent, self-willed man, who once

language barrier. The total of both tribes that are of Mikasuki-heritage equals 70%, statistics based on current demographics; "Mikasuki" then references all peoples of Mikasuki-speaking heritage in Florida, past and present. [Mikasuki persons who have been taught their traditional culture, call themselves "*i: lap-onathi*," a contraction meaning "the people," and "*ilaposhni cha thi*" that literally means "the people who speak," which could be seen to refer to their early Southeastern roots]. Patsy West, *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Casino Gaming* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), 3. From oral history interviews conducted with Billy L. Cypress, September 5, 1996, Andrew Buster, September 16, 1996, and Jimmie O. Osceola, September 18, 1996; William C. Sturtevant, "Creek Into Seminole." *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, ed. Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (New York: Random House, 1971), 92-128.

- 2 The monumental statue of Abiaka is a "Bronze by Cooley." Abiaka's tribal affiliation was Mikasuki; William C. Sturtevant, Curator of North American Ethnography, Smithsonian Institution, *Notes*, January 17, 2002, in the collection of the Seminole/Miccosukee Archive, Fort Lauderdale, FL. Sturtevant, long a student of Mikasuki Seminole ethno-history (whose 1950s fieldwork was with the Medicine Man Josie Billie), writes Abiaka's name as *a:paya:ka:*. This represents the normal shortened form of his Indian name, (one of his war names) in Mikasuki meaning "yellow rat snake" (*Elaphe obsoleta*). The full form of the name is "*abayak ha:ci*" in Mikasuki, the ending "*ha:ci*" meaning 'crazy, furious in battle.' Sturtevant's sources were: Josie Billie (Panther clan), with possible contributions from Charlie Cypress (Otter clan) and William McKinley Osceola (Big Towns clan). The spelling used herein, "Abiaka," is most often used by the Mikasuki-speakers with whom I have collaborated for the past 43 years. Abiaka's nick name "Sam Jones" will be discussed later in the text.

having made up his mind, is not likely soon to be diverted from his purpose."³

Born c. 1781, Abiaka was a Mikasuki, a member of his mother's Panther clan, in a matrilineal society where the woman was the head of the family.⁴ The Panther clan was the ruling or war clan, whose members formed the leadership echelon in military prowess, cosmic power, and medicine, both good and bad. Abiaka (also seen as Aripuki), "Yellow Rat Snake," grew in stature in the community by religious-medicine training and advanced himself socially through war deeds. This was the manner in which young men grew in power and prestige, receiving new names indicative of their accomplishments.⁵

Abiaka's first adult name was *tastanakata:fi*, meaning "wise warrior."⁶ By his thirties, he was well on his way to achieving status as a War Chief. The early historian of Florida, John Lee Williams, commented on Abiaka in the late 1820s; "[Aripuki] resided at Oakhumke. He has become a popular warrior among the Seminoles."⁷ Abiaka married a niece of Micanopy, the prominent Alachua head chief, probably before the outbreak of the Second Seminole War.⁸ She was Holatoochee's sister, whose name was Sap-pee-faht-hoih-'tsee. She had most probably been a former war-widow, as she had a child, a daughter named Ya-tim-hoh'-kee. Much

3 Major General George A. McCall, *Letters From the Frontiers* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974, originally published in Philadelphia by J.B. Lippincott, 1868), 411.

4 The year of Abiaka's birth was averaged from a first person observation made by a reliable witness, a Junior Officer of the Medical Corps in 1839. The unidentified medical officer [possibly Dr. David Camden DeLeon] estimated Abiaka's age between 55 and 60. I have averaged and rounded it to around 58 years old in 1839.

5 William C. Sturtevant, Curator, North American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Personal communication with the author, Ft. Lauderdale, FL, April 1, 1990. Note: Today's Mikasuki call this man Abiaka. Aripuki (in variations of spelling) was a formal name by which Abiaka was called by the military and others during the early period of the Second Seminole War, but he was generally known as "Sam Jones."

6 Ibid.

7 John Lee Williams, *Territory of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1962), 275. [Reprint of Williams' 1837 edition].

8 The clan of Micanopy, his relative Holatoochee, and Holatoochee's sister (Sam Jones' wife) has unfortunately proven extremely allusive. Micanopy was apparently known at a younger age as "pond frequenter" and Hulpatta Hadjo, meaning "Crazy Alligator," but youth names do not necessarily attest to one's clan. It is however possible that "Alligator" was indeed the clan of this family; Mark F. Boyd, "The Seminole War: Its Background and Onset, (II) The Seminoles of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (July 1951), 3-115, citing 12.

later, Ya-tim-hoh'-kee would become Abiaka's "second" wife.⁹ The elite Mikasuki practiced polygyny (having more than one wife) usually with women of the same clan, often sisters, or in this case, a mother and daughter.

Abiaka doubtless grew up in the vicinity of the town of Miccosukee near Lake Miccosukee. By the nineteenth century, this significant town was described as the most powerful, and certainly the most bellicose, of the Native American towns within Spanish Florida. Moreover, its inhabitants had roots dating back to pre-European contact. One of the leaders in the early 1800s was an aged elder, Old Cappechimicco. The active and powerful civil leader "Kenadgie of Miccosukee or "Cappechimicco Kinadgie," who was probably his nephew, also held this commemorative title. The place name "Cappechi" in the names of these chiefs indicated great time depth for the people of Miccosukee. It was a virtual "naming DNA" existing all the way back to the 1500s. Town chiefs carried the name of their town affiliation. Some of the best known were: Cusseta Micco, Tallahassee Micco, and Coweta Micco. However, we can only find the town of "Capecheque" if we go back to 1540, specifically in March, when Hernando De Soto crossed the Capecheque River (Flint River) and marched into today's southwest Georgia. After traveling a little over 40 miles, "they reached the main settlements of Capecheque."

This is valuable data concurs with linguistic studies, pinpointing the pre-Contact origins of the natives of Miccosukee. It shows that the people of Capechequi were the ancestors of the Florida Indians of Mikasuki-speaking heritage. This strong sense of heritage may also account for the Mikasuki's strong sense of contemptuous disconnect from the influences of the Creeks of the Creek Confederacy, and of the Mikasuki's strong resistance to be parted from "the land," during the Seminole Wars.¹⁰

9 John C. Casey, "Memoranda Concerning the Seminoles etc. etc. 1837," John C. Casey Papers, U.S. Military Academy CU551 1809-1856, Papers and Diaries U.S.M.A. 1829, 107.

10 Gentleman of Elvas, *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando De Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida*, "Desoto in Florida" (Deland: Florida Historical Society, 1933), 1-17; John Reed Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 42-43. The contact town of Capechequi was within the small culture area in southwestern Georgia that included the town of Hitchiti. In the twentieth century the unique language spoken by the Hitchiti immigrants from this area, who had been removed to the reservation in Oklahoma, was called "Hitchiti" by linguists. It was later discovered that the Hitchiti language was virtually the same as that of the Mikasuki-people living in

During his youth, Abiaka doubtless came under the influence of the powerful leaders, perhaps they were even clan relatives. The policies of the Mikasukis, and especially the town's aggressive defense of their territory, would undoubtedly have impressed itself upon Abiaka. In records from the early 1800s, Kenadgie was known for favoring the British over Spanish and American interests. From Miccosukee, young Mikasuki warriors frequently raided settlements within Spanish Florida. Such activities provided the only means by which young men could advance in this warrior-based society. It was as a direct result of these exploits that "the Mikasuki" in the eighteenth century grew in reputation and retained their identity as a strong, aggressive, and contentious tribal entity over whom leaders in the Creek Confederacy had little influence.¹¹ These Mikasukis received harsh admonishments from the Creek Confederacy in regard to their pursuit of bellicose traditions, but they totally ignored them.¹²

Kenadgie and men from Miccosukee joined British forces against the Americans during the War of 1812 and the Creek War in 1814, following the receipt of a "printed proclamation" from the British.¹³ He carefully preserved his copy of this proclamation, which was described thusly:

...under the Hands and Seals of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane and General Sir John Keane dated December 1814 and addressed to the Indian Tribes in Florida calling upon them to join the British Army against the Americans

southern Florida, 70% of the post-war peoples. Again, from studies conducted in Oklahoma, came confirmation of the origin of the tribal name "Mikasuki," which was given to an adventuresome group of Hitchiti speakers who went hunting long ago "to a point where two rivers met." On their return with stories to tell, they received the new name "Mikasuki," translated as "Hog King." John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnography, 1922), 341.

- 11 James F. Doster, *The Creek Indians and Their Florida Lands, 1740-1823*, Volume 1 (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974), 196, 215, 219, 226-227, op. sic.
- 12 Ibid., 227-228. It is apparent that the Creek Confederacy has received too much credit in mid-twentieth-century literature for its assumed "control" of the southeastern tribes.
- 13 Mark F. Boyd, "Historic Sites in and around the Jim Woodruff Reservoir Area, Florida-Georgia," in *River Basin Surveys Papers*, ed. Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of North American Ethnology, Bulletin 169, Numbers 9-14 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1958), 195-314; Boyd designated Kenadgie as the "civil" leader, while documentation has shown him to be pro-active to the extreme. (226)

and promising in general terms to the Indian Nations protection and support as Friends and Brothers.¹⁴

Abiaka would have been around thirty-three years old at the time of the Red Stick Prophetic Movement of Tecumseh, when a close associate of Kenadgie's, Hillis Hadjo, became a disciple of Tecumseh and emerged as the Prophet "Josiah Francis."¹⁵ Abiaka witnessed the power of this movement, as personified by the prophets, and would later utilize the expertise of his own Prophet during his leadership of the resistance in the Second Seminole War.

The Mikasukis were drawn into the general conflagration of the 1814 Creek War and subsequently took on a leading role in the hostilities of the First Seminole War of 1817-1818. Initially, when it became apparent that American military forces intended to invade Florida, the task of organizing a native response fell to Bowlegs who was an Alachua, the first group of "Seminoles" to settle in Florida. He had become an active leader in pre-First Seminole War days. However, after a span of only a few months, the previously mentioned "Old Capechimico," the elderly principal chief in the Miccosukee town, took command of all the Indians.¹⁶

The First Seminole War, however, shattered lives in all the Florida towns. Following major routings and the burning of settlements by U.S. soldiers, the Indians in Florida found themselves in a precarious position with their gravest enemy in control of their destiny. There was no town infrastructure, fields, granaries for surplus left to them, and only a few cattle. Their African slave work force was in jeopardy from slave catchers. Famine was soon a harsh reality.

At the 1819 Green Corn Dance, (post war location unknown) Kenadgie probably led the proceedings that included decisions about the future. "It was determined in an Assembly of the head men of the Tribe, that Kenadgie and some of his Chiefs should repair in person to New Providence or Jamaica for the purpose of soliciting assistance" against the Americans.¹⁷

14 William Versey Munnings [Governor of the Bahamas] to Lord Bathurst [London], Nassau, September 30, 1819, Colonial Office 23/168.

15 J. Leitch Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 161-162.

16 Arbuckle to Gaines, Dec., 29, 1817, United States, *American state papers. Documents, legislative and executive of the Congress of the United States ... Class V. Military Affairs* (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 691.

17 *Royal Gazette*, Nassau, New Providence, Bahamas, October 2, 1819.

Thus, September 29, 1819 saw Kenadgie and twenty-eight unidentified men, including five chiefs, "six sub-chiefs and seventeen attendants," heading south. Most likely, they took the route from Oklawaha along the trail going by the Indian settlements to Tampa, as described by Horatio Dexter in 1823.¹⁸ They then journeyed by canoes around the point of Florida to Tavernier, as described by Surveyor Charles Vignoles in 1822.¹⁹ Then they boarded a wrecking ship at Tavernier and arrived at Nassau, New Providence, Bahamas, the closest British port of call, on September 29, 1819. The Bahamas governor, Honorable William Versey Munnings, describing Kenadgie as "an old man" and "very advanced [in] Age being upwards I suppose of 80 years," heard the delegation's testimony, read their copy of the aforementioned British Proclamation, and sent correspondence of their request for help on to London.²⁰

Unfortunately, their experience would be like Hillis Hadjo's meeting with British Secretary for War and Colonies Henry Bathurst in London in 1815.²¹ That is, no aid would be forthcoming.²² However, in a show of gratitude for Kenadgie's past service to the Crown, Governor Munnings sent the Mikasuki contingency back to the Florida mainland on the wrecking ship *Primrose* on October 8, 1819, provisioning the delegation with an abundance of supplies. The total tonnage was over 2,000 pounds in weight, with a generous allowance of Sterling to cover their trip home.²³

Given Abiaka's later association with bases in the Everglades, it is significant that this group of Mikasuki could really only access the area of Upper Biscayne Bay with their stores of valuable and heavy supplies. They most assuredly settled on one of the islands accessed through Little River off upper Biscayne Bay (today's North Miami). John Lee Williams, exploring the southern Everglades in

18 Horatio Dexter, 1823, 3, Record Group 75, Records of the Secretary of War Relating to Indian Affairs, WOLR—1823, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1958.

19 Charles B. Vignoles, "Report of the Last Voyage of Survey of the Southern part of Florida, dated April 7 and 22, 1822," *Boston Patriot and Daily Mercantile Advertiser*, August 20, 1922.

20 *Boston Patriot and Daily Mercantile Advertiser* Letter, Munnings to Bathurst, September 30, 1819; November 30, 1819.

21 Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 194-195.

22 Ibid., 190.

23 Munnings to Bathurst 1818-1825, 375; Munnings to Bathurst, November 30, 1819; *Royal Gazette*, October 9, 1819.

1828, identified this habitation as "Tuscane's Island."²⁴ Tuscaneha or Tuscane was one of Kenadgie's sons.

William Cooley's account in 1827, Williams' account in 1828, and Dr. John Strobel's account from 1829 show that the Mikasuki-speaking population was firmly ensconced in southern Florida by this time.²⁵ In discussing the Miami and New River outlets, Strobel noted, "Indians traverse these everglades in all points, with their canoes."²⁶ The permanent presence of Mikasukis in the Everglades in the 1820s indicates time depth to their residence in this area, and it challenges any assumption that they "fled" south in the 1830s. Moreover, their active involvement in salvaging of wrecks was significant. Vignoles, for example, noted direct Seminole involvement in salvaging shipwrecks as early as 1822.²⁷ Salvage would later become a major war-time means of resupply. Abiaka, who was well seasoned to the art of wrecking, kept his resistance movement well supplied with its bounty. In fact, without the invaluable supplies from wrecking, his resistance movement might well have been extremely short-lived.

Meanwhile, by 1823, American officials were actively formulating a policy to embrace the future concept of "Indian Removal." This was abhorrent to the Mikasukis. Besides losing their ancestral lands, they were to be placed on a western reservation under the jurisdiction of their long-contested enemies, the Creeks.

The first formal gathering of all the people, identified by American policy under the generic term "*Seminoles*," was arranged at Moultrie Creek near St. Augustine in September 1823. Because this was the first "pan-tribal" meeting, there was no single leader to speak for the group. The assembled chiefs chose the Mikasuki leader Neamathla. The American plan was to move all the Indians displaced by war to a reservation in the uplands Florida interior, where they would have no chance of contact with either Spanish

24 U.S. House of Representatives, Exec. Doc. 5, 55th Cong. 3rd Sess. Exhibit G. "Report of A. J. Duncan, United States Indian Inspector, to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, in regard to the reservation of lands for use of the Seminole Indians of Florida." *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 3, 1898*, Volume 1, cc-ccxxxviii. [This Report contains portions of an unpublished manuscript under the subject heading: "Ms. of John Lee Williams, Esq." (ccxxix). This data is specific to Williams' 1828 sojourn across the lower Everglades interior].

25 Joe Knetsch, Introduction to "William Cooley Explores the Everglades," *Broward Legacy* 12:1-2 (1989): 40-44, citing 41.

26 E. A. Hammond, ed., "Dr. Strobel Reports on Southeast Florida, 1836," *Tequesta* XXI (1961): 65-75, citing 71. [Records Strobel's first visit in 1829].

27 Vignoles, "Report," August 20, 1822.

Cuba or the British Bahamas. The Indians rightfully felt that the Fort Moultrie Treaty, with its concessions, allowed them to live on the interior reservation unmolested for twenty years.²⁸

By 1824, however, an Office of Indian Affairs was established in the War Department and the land west of Arkansas began to be considered as "Indian Territory." The military was placed in control of the Indians' destiny and was to oversee their relocation. Meanwhile, the Mikasukis, as a tribal entity continued to live up to their long established custom of "protecting the soil." In 1826, Governor Duval noted of the "other" Seminole chiefs in Florida: "These chiefs are disposed to do their duty [regarding the plans for immigration], but are afraid to exert their authority for fear of a part of the nation called the Mickesuky tribe, who are a very bad set of men...."²⁹

It is not until William's account in 1828 that we actually catch up with Abiaka (known by the name Aripucki at this time). He was then around 47 years old and "at home" in island complexes located in the western Everglades and in the eastern Everglades at Pine Island, *choshi atalie'* or *coyisoka:coko:li*, both referring to the pine trees that covered the islands, translating as "pine clump place" in the Mikasuki language.³⁰ These Mikasuki settlement complexes were connected by handy stops of small caravansary islands with Mikasuki names across the Everglades.³¹

Abiaka's habitation in the western Everglades was described by Williams as "twenty miles west of Tuscan's... It has three villages... Attached to this are many smaller islands, all cultivated for provisions, but no houses. Narrow channels of water separate them from each other. The old chief is said to have here 70 warriors, many of them with families."³²

The Pine Island Complex was located just inside the Everglades and west of New River. The two and a half mile long Pine

28 John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War 1835-1842* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967), 42-50.

29 Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States. XXIII, 1824-1828* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934), 453.

30 U.S. House [Duncan] ccxxviii; Juanita Cypress Osceola, Interview with the author, (Interpreter O.B. White Osceola), October 10, 1985, Naples, FL, Type-script, Seminole/Miccosukee Archive, Fort Lauderdale, FL; William C. Sturtevant, "A Seminole Personal Document," *Tequesta* 16 (1956):55-75.

31 U.S. House [Duncan], ccxxviii-ccxxix. Williams visited Chitto's Island in 1828 and crossed the lower Everglades, noting the caravansary islands that followed roughly the route of the trans-Everglades U.S. Highway 41, also called the Tamiami Trail, built 100 years later.

32 Ibid., ccxxviii.

Island of rolling hills, oaks, and tall pine trees is a natural anomaly in the eastern Everglades. Reaching an altitude of twenty-nine feet above sea level, it is the highest point in Broward County. This location would become infamous as Abiaka's "Pine Island stronghold," mentioned with frequency in the military annals throughout the Second Seminole War. The Pine Island Complex included also Big City Island (today's Hollywood Seminole Reservation) and Long Key, or "Sam Jones' Seven Islands" as depicted on wartime maps.³³

In 1828, Abiaka's Everglades settlement became closely affiliated with a young Seminole leader. Chitto Hadjo (later Chitto Tustenuggee). Chitto settled "20 miles west of Little River," where he "cleared 20 acres" on two co-joined islands and "built upon it two small towns." In a traditional "town division," usually created when one town grows too large, he, "drew to it from Sam Jones's men near 60 inhabitants [with their families]." This excess of inhabitants under Sam Jones, showed his popularity as a leader. In the future war years, Chitto would be one of Abiaka's main warriors and by 1839 he served as his War Chief.³⁴

There, in the serene and bountiful Everglades, life was a direct contrast to that in the uplands communities, where fear, strife, and terrible famine raged in a society that would never again see the visage of its former existence. Except for the more accessible Pine Island, located just inside the Everglades near the outlet to New River, these strategic habitations in the Everglades remained unexplored by the U.S. Military until January 1841. Indeed, in 1837, General Thomas Jesup observed, "... that we have as little knowledge of the interior of Florida, as of the interior of China!"³⁵

The Treaty of Payne's Landing (May 1832) called for all the chiefs in Florida to gather on the Ocklawaha River. The terms were critical to the implementation of President Andrew Jackson's "Indian Removal Bill," dictating that three years after its ratification,

33 Patsy West "Seminole Indian Settlement at Pine Island, Broward County, Florida: An Overview," *Florida Anthropologist* 42:1 (March 1989): 43-56; Robert S. Carr, Patsy West, and Willard Steele, "Archaeological and Historic Survey of Pine Island" (typescript, Sea Ranch Properties, Inc., November 1986), 19; Pine Island was threatened by development in 1990. It was preserved as a Broward County Park with Florida's C.A.R.L. and Trust for Public Lands funding, and support from the Seminole Tribe of Florida. Long Key was later preserved by the Town of Davie.

34 U.S. House [Duncan], ccxxviii.

35 Maj. General Thomas S. Jesup to J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, April 9, 1837. *Territorial Papers, Fla.* Vol. 25, 385-387.

one-third of the Indians would leave for Arkansas every year to become part of the Creek Nation, and they would surrender all claims to Florida. An important preamble was, however, to send a delegation of chiefs to Arkansas to *approve* the new land.³⁶

Around the time of the treaty, Abiaka is mentioned more frequently in records. When a delegation of chiefs departed to reconnoiter proposed lands in the western Indian Territory, the Mikasuki Chief Tukose Emathla, also known as John Hicks, "took the place of Sam Jones, who was an old man."³⁷ This affords some indication of Abiaka's importance *within* the Mikasuki hierarchy, as town leader Hicks was considered, "head of the Mikasuki," but he was taking the more prominent Abiaka's place on the journey. Abiaka was then around 51 years old and had become the highest ranking Mikasuki civil leader, the foremost in the Florida Indian socio-political arena since Kenadgie.

Also in 1832, Abiaka acquired his pseudonym of "Sam Jones," by which he was generally known among his white opponents and friends from then on. Major General George McCall recalled in his memoir: "When the 4th Regiment first came to Tampa this Indian was poor and apparently supported his family by fishing [in the falls of the Hillsborough River]; the fruits of his labor being disposed of at the Fort... This Indian, who was nameless as far as our information on that point had extended, daily brought his string of trout to the Fort at sunrise, as was well known by all the garrison as the town-pump, received from the Regimental Sutler the cognomen of Sam Jones, as the embodiment of the myth celebrated at that time in New York in a low ballad, a burlesque of 'Dunois, the young and brave....'"³⁸

Dr. Ellis Hughes, writing in February 1839, wrote a similar account from his time at Camp King near Ocala, the military installation accessed by the Fort Brooke Road from Tampa. Hughes noted, "Apopka [Abiaka] Sam Jones used to bring fish before the war to Fork King. Capt. Galt had written a parody on 'twas Dunois the brave,' substituting Sam Jones a Sandy Hook fisherman to Dunois and the officers at Ft. King transferred the name to Apopka

36 Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 75-79.

37 Ibid., 79.

38 McCall, *Letters From The Frontiers*, 411-412.

[Abiaka]."³⁹ Hughes further attested that, "... Apiaka was delighted & was proud of the name."⁴⁰

That Abiaka's ruse was documented at *both* Fort Brooke and Fort King truly seems "fishy." Obviously, he was "undercover," spying on the mobilization of activities and troops at both of these strategically pivotal military outposts as the military presence in Florida was escalating.

Sam Jones did not regale the troops with the flamboyance attributed to other younger Seminoles familiar to the military like Osceola, the half-Creek warrior, "native Red Stick" of great charisma that was very popular at Camp King before the Second Seminole War. The young and fiery, Osceola acculturated more than other natives, perhaps due to his patrimony, was most admired, echoing the popular literature of the day he cut quite a "heroic" figure.⁴¹

Within his own culture group, however, Osceola had not been born into a leadership clan. Yet in these tumultuous times, Osceola asserted his views outside his station, speaking out forcibly against immigration in a Council meeting in the autumn of 1834, perhaps at the annual Fall Hunting Dance. His demeanor was near and dear to the heart of the Red Town Mikasuki.⁴² Both he and Coacoochee were elevated to serve as the very visible "young lieutenants," or *tas-tanagis*, of Sam Jones. Because of these young men's major wartime exploits, their outward gregariousness, their pride, and approachable visibility, they also became targets of the American military. Osceola served only nineteen months in the war before he was captured, while Coacoochee was captured and escaped in 1837; then was captured again in 1841, and was immigrated later that year.

By contrast, white officers seem to have been frequently uncertain about Abiaka's position, but not his significance, while others treated him as a shadowy figure, or completely mischaracterized him, as Captain John T. Sprague did in his 1848 work *The Origin*,

39 Ellis Hughes Papers 1836-1861, Diary #1, February 25, 1839 University of South Florida Libraries, Special and Digital Collections, Tampa, Florida. Ellis Hughes had forgotten Aripeka/Abiaka's actual name calling him "Apopka" in his *Journal* entry, however during the peace in 1839, he was personally in Jones' company frequently at Ft. Lauderdale.

40 Paul Eugen Camp, "Boredom, Brandy, and Bickering—Garrison Life at Fort Lauderdale, 1839-40," *Broward Legacy* 2:1-2 (1978): 7-12, 31-38.

41 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 91-92.

42 Williams, *Territory of Florida*, 273; Williams also noted, "...the old chiefs are jealous of this man."

Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War.⁴³ Sprague offered guesstimates of Jones' age that were sometimes off the mark by nearly 30 years. He further depicted Jones as, "small and bent," "old," "ill," "feeble," and "senile." These "descriptions" exist incongruously alongside Sprague's claims that Abiaka was capable of superhuman feats of endurance, obviously the physical exploits of an energetic man and Grand War Chief who strategized, commanded, and led battles. This chief also made medicine and mentored warriors, poled his laden canoe across the length and breadth of the Everglades, and engaged in major and plentiful wrecking expeditions on the beaches. Sometimes, like after the Okeechobee Battle in 1837, he accomplished the above within a few days.⁴⁴

It is indeed interesting that such an infamous person as Sam Jones, with his name bantered about around military campfires, in songs, poems, curses, and in the press throughout the country (a *meme* in his day), has until now rested in anonymity. He was never captured, so there are no fine paintings (like Osceola) or photos (like Geronimo) of Abiaka. There is a wretched doodle of Jones in profile that Dr. Hughes made at Fort Lauderdale, but the doctor's artistry was unfortunately far more suited to natural history subjects than portraiture.⁴⁵

First-hand descriptions of Abiaka differ sharply from Sprague's. The first is from July 5, 1839.⁴⁶ It was peacetime at Key Biscayne following the Macomb Treaty, and an unidentified "Junior Officer of the Medical Staff," (most probably Doctor David Camden DeLeon who was the future Surgeon General of the Confederacy) wrote home a detailed description of Abiaka. His observation was spe-

43 John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964); In Sprague's defense, the literature is indeed resplendent with Sam Jones' many, very politely worded excuses (or those of his associates or bi-lingual interpreters) for not attending meets. Of course if Sam Jones had attended such meetings, his freedom could have easily been compromised and the war would have been over. As *The National Intelligencer* noted on November 14, 1838: "Sam Jones is very sick and perhaps by this time dead... Should Sam Jones come in, or die, the long agony is over."

44 DeVane, Albert, DeVane Papers, "Billy Bowlegs III" (Typescript of Interview), Sebring Historical Society, Inc. Sebring, Florida; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 235

45 Camp, "Boredom, Brandy, and Bickering," enlarged sketch: 35.

46 *Correspondent of the Journal of Commerce*, Key West, FL, July 15, 1839. This source has verified the date of the meet: "On the 5th and 6th, Sam Jones by invitation of Col Harney...came into the camp at Key Biscayne;" Harney to Macomb, July 15, 1839, Roll 189, H 168—I-J 1839, Microcopy No. 567, AGLR, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1964. [Harney recapped the conference with Jones to Macomb, but neglected to give the actual dates.]

cific and "clinical," because Chitto Tustenuggee had just recently excused Abiaka's presence at the important Macomb Conference, pleading Abiaka's *severe illness*. Aware of the supposed malady that kept Abiaka from attending this pivotal meeting, the doctor was flabbergasted to note in his letter home. In his professional opinion, Abiaka:

... was entirely destitute of the infirmities of age.... It is true that he was spare and thin in his habit of body, but nothing more than what was natural and healthy; the hair on his temples was white, and apparently he bore the age of fifty-five or sixty years; but otherwise, he maintained a nervous and energetic disposition both in his physical frame and in his air, gesture, and force of speech, &c... in a perfect state of health.⁴⁷

Then on August 13, 1839, Jones met formally with Colonel William S. Harney at Fort Lauderdale on the beach. According to account published in the *The Key West Floridian*, "His person is spare, tall, and erect; he is about sixty-five years old, yet enjoys good health, being hale and hearty."⁴⁸

By far the most intimately detailed description of Sam Jones is also from Fort Lauderdale:

Sam is described, by a gentleman who had an interview with him, thus: of slight elastic frame, six feet high, a mild benevolent countenance, very small feet, long bony hands; hair nearly all grey, occasionally interrupted with a few black ones, with the exception of a dark tuft on the back of his head on the right side. His long grey locks hang down in front of his ears, with a beautiful wave, amounting almost to a curl. He has a mole on the top of his right ear, the upper part of which has the appearance of having been cut. Complexion light, and wears mustachios. The lips project somewhat; teeth sound, but small and worn in the lower jaw; nose long; eyes small, and will not bear the

47 "Junior Officer of the Medical Staff," *Daily Pittsburg Gazette*, October 3, 1839.

48 "From Florida," *Daily Pittsburg Gazette*, October 3, 1839 [From *The Key West Floridian*, September 7, 1839]. Author unidentified.

gaze of any one.⁴⁹ His voice is fine and very distinct; dresses plain.⁵⁰

In Indian Territory, Seminole John Hicks and other representatives were coerced into signing their approval to relocate at Fort Gibson on March 28, 1833. They were not empowered to do so by their tribal Council, so the document had no validity. Nonetheless, the Americans sent it to Congress, where it was approved. Two years later, when the Fort King Council convened in April 23, 1835, the Treaty of Ft. Gibson was considered by the Americans to be "suspect" enough that it required further ratification. Approximately 1,500 Indians attended the meeting.⁵¹

Sixteen leaders had signed a ratification of the Treaty of Fort Gibson at Fort King, but Sam Jones, Jumper, Halatter Micco, and Coa Hadjo refused. The U.S. Indian Agent, Wiley Thompson, then dramatically struck the names of Jones and the other three dissenters from the official "List of Chiefs." The day's proceedings progressed and an Englishman, John Bemrose, who was on the Army's medical staff, observed the negotiations. He described the barracks where an inside drill area served as the traditional council house for the Treaty meet. A "...platform was built upon piles, about ten feet from the ground... On one side, sitting upon benches, were the principal chiefs of the nation. Opposite to them, in full uniform, sat General Clinch and his officers."⁵²

During the talks, as the chiefs were relating truly heartrending reasons why they did not wish to leave their homes, Thompson would rudely break in with, "Tell him Cudgo [the African interpreter]" "if he breaks his word with us [dramatically pointing to General Clinch and his men]," "I shall be obliged to call upon the white warriors to force him."⁵³

Bemrose noted that Sam Jones, who he described as "a ferocious looking Indian Chief" was "...reclining carelessly against the

49 Note: Author's personal recognizance from 43 continuous years in Mikasuki and Creek field research in South Florida (1972-2016). As can be said of many traditions, it was still not culturally appropriate to "make eye contact" with Mikasuki elders in the latter decades of the 20th century.

50 "From Florida," *Daily Pittsburgh Gazette*, September 3, 1839 [From *The Charleston Courier*, August 26, 1839]. This was most likely a very informal interview, as Jones was not wearing any head covering. The meet most probably took place at Camp Lauderdale, between June 19 and September 9, 1839.

51 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 95.

52 John Bemrose, *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, ed. John Mahon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966), 17.

53 *Ibid.*, 17-21, 24.

Barracks partition... He was evidently dissatisfied with the proceedings. I noticed him stamp his feet as if in a great rage, shaking his head, white with [r]age, as if to show his utter contempt for the agent, and for the officers. After this palaver had gone on for some time, there was a sudden crash, and the platform where they sat, owing to the unusual weight, gave way, precipitating both parties to the ground."⁵⁴

In October, Thompson wrote, "The Indians generally appear willing to leave the country except the Mikasuky tribe, who have broken out almost into open rebellion, parading around and giving the war whoop. . . defying all authority, they roam at large about the country."⁵⁵

On November 26, 1835, Chief Charlie Emathla capitulated and prepared to emigrate with his people. He was promptly shot by Osceola. A cultural analysis would show that the coins that Emathla were paid, that were scattered around him, most probably lay there untouched by the Indians, tainted by "bad medicine" both because of his traitorous deed and his violent death. And by this time, since war had been declared, Abiaka was no longer just the most powerful civil leader. He had taken his rightful position as War Chief. Osceola, as noted previously by John Lee Williams, served as Jones's sub-chief, but nonetheless had the reputation of being considered "*nobody* by all the Chiefs."⁵⁶

An attack on Major Francis L. Dade's troops followed in December. His detachment of 107 soldiers marched from Fort Brooke (Tampa) to fortify Fort King (Ocala), where the Seminoles were by now agitating for war. Half-way there, they were ambushed by 180 Seminole warriors under Micanopy, Alligator, and Jumper. This surprise attack was a Seminole victory, as all but two soldiers were killed, while Osceola had also assassinated Thompson at Fort King. Historian J. Leitch Wright has suggested that Sam Jones encouraged his firebrand Osceola to take revenge on Thompson for his earlier incarceration and embarrassment suffered under Thompson's orders at Ft. King. Of course, Jones also had his own axe to grind with Thompson.⁵⁷

54 Ibid., 20. With the powers that Jones commanded, this event no doubt fueled his reputation in both ranks. It also adjourned the council for the day.

55 *Key West Intelligencer*, October 24, 1835.

56 Williams, *Territory of Florida*, 273; *Savannah Georgian*, April 24, 1837; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 101.

57 Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 254.

War spread at the end of the year with another pitched battle on December 31, 1835, the Battle of the Withlacoochee. Approximately 250 Army regulars and 500 Florida volunteers attempted to cross the Withlacoochee River when they were met by 250 warriors under Osceola. This engagement was also listed by the U.S. military as a Seminole victory. Meanwhile, Phillip, Kenadgie's younger son and Coacoochee's father, was the leader responsible for wiping out the chain of established plantations along the St. Johns River.⁵⁸

While Sam Jones' doubtless planned and/or suggested the Dade and Withlacoochee attacks in the Florida uplands, he was otherwise occupied far south, deep in the lowlands of southeastern Florida, seizing a cache of lead and other goods vital to the war effort. These supplies were in storage at the New River settlement on the property of Justice of the Peace William Cooley. A close friend of Sam Jones' Pine Island Mikasukis for many years, Coolie also salvaged goods from wrecked ships like most area men. He had been hired by the new owner of a beached wreck, the *Gil Blas*, to salvage its contents. A good portion of the six ton cargo of lead was stored in Cooley's shed, but he and his eldest son were still at work moving the rest. This commodity was of vital necessity to the Mikasuki resistance effort.⁵⁹

On January 6, 1836, the New River Settlement was attacked by Abiaka's Mikasukis, bringing the Second Seminole War to south-east Florida. The victims who were humanely dispatched were the family of William Cooley. Their slave Peter, an eyewitness, confirmed that the Cooley victims "knew their attackers well."⁶⁰

Mikasukis also attacked the Miami settlement in January. Then, on July 23, the Cape Florida Lighthouse on Key Biscayne was disabled by the Indians, who afterwards had free reign in southeast Florida while the Dade County seat was removed to Indian Key, an island in the Florida Keys, some 32 miles off the mainland. As early as 1836, American assessments of the Second Seminole War were harsh. Capt. H. L. Thistle of the Philadelphia Volunteers wrote after the Battle of the Withlacoochee "...both parties fought well,

58 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 111.

59 Knetsch, "William Cooley Explores the Everglades," 40-44.

60 Cooper Kirk, "William Cooley: Broward's Legend," *Broward Legacy* 1:1 (1976):12-20. Cultural precedence exists for the Mikasukis to kill their special friends "good," as opposed to allowing others to kill them "bad," or vengefully. See Patsy West, "Old Tiger Tail and the Period of Isolation," *Florida Anthropologist* 45:4, (December 1992): 363-368; The *Gil Blas* wreckage was excavated in the 1970s just north of the Commercial Boulevard Pier, Lauderdale-by-the-Sea, FL.

difficult to say which was victorious... Things have been badly managed...for the last three years and more with the Indians. The truth is, the Indians have been underrated, and held in most unwise contempt...."⁶¹ John Bemrose had voiced similar sentiments even at the time of the Treaty of Payne's Landing, May 1832:

...I stood amongst a group of [the Indians] watching our men at target practice, I could not help but see they knew and felt their own superiority. Also when [the soldiers] were drilling in the woods at Indian fighting, their faces would express to each other a sense of the ridiculous, intuitively conveying their knowledge of our inferiority if opposed to them in the native wilds . . . How common is it for the civilized and trained combatant to teach themselves to despise these wild men, thereby entailing upon themselves defeat and disaster....⁶²

The Seminoles also took advantage of the Americans' military practice of suspending campaigns in Florida during the summer. They used those months to harvest and dry food, including any crops left in the fields near deserted military outposts. But in August 21, 1836, at the recently abandoned Ft. Drane, 300 Mikasuki and Seminole harvesters under Sam Jones and Osceola got caught during a harvesting operation. They were hit in a surprise sunrise attack by Major B. K. Pierce who, wise to their standard procedure at abandoned installations, improvised the novel attack. In spite of the surprise, however, military records note that this was a "well contested" engagement in which the Mikasukis "fought with determined bravery for over an hour."⁶³

General leadership of the "Seminoles" at this time rested with Alachua Seminole Micanopy. This chief appears not to have been blessed with much spirit, as one of his first actions was to agree to a tentative Capitulation Agreement with General Thomas Jesup. As a result, a truce was to go into effect from February 8 to February 18th. It was on February 8 that Sam Jones attacked Ft. Monroe-Mellon in what was to be the first of his personally orchestrated military tours de force. He made a surprise attack with 300 to 400 men

61 Captain H. L. Thistle to "Sirs," July 4, 1836, Roll 153, T 73—V 1837, Microcopy 566. AGLR, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1964.

62 Bemrose, *Reminiscences*, 25.

63 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 177; Arthur E. Francke, *Ft. Mellon 1837-42 A Microcosm of the Second Seminole War* (Miami, FL: Banyan Books, Inc., 1977), 16.

under Phillip, Coacoochee, and some of the "Alabama Creeks," in hopes of destroying the fort's stores.⁶⁴

In the pre-dawn darkness, Jones fired the first shot and retired to the rear to excite the warriors and administer to the wounded as was his cultural role as War Leader. However, as soon as there was enough light to see, the cry "*Tohopeka*" went up, meaning "FORT!" Unknown to the attackers, just the evening before, the area had been fortified by a 2 to 3 foot high picketing, suggested by a newly arrived officer and a veteran Indian fighter named Lt. Col. William S. Harney. In the ensuing (and far more problematical) attack, and despite being bombarded by a gunboat from the lake, Jones' men nonetheless fought hard in a heated three hour battle before withdrawing.⁶⁵

Micanopy's capitulation agreement with Jesup was carried to fruition on March 6, 1837, stipulating immediate emigration, food for one year, and most importantly for the Indians, "*their negroes, their bona fide property, shall accompany them to the West*".⁶⁶ They packed up forthwith and moved to the detention camp at Tampa.

The "Tampa Detention Camp" that held the Seminoles prior to immigration was an important installation that was key to the military's removal of the Seminoles. However, the camp was not located, as might be assumed, under the security of Fort Brook at Tampa, but at a satellite location *near* Tampa. By May, the camp gradually filled with Micanopy's people, estimated at some 700 Indians and their African slaves, men, women, and children.⁶⁷

Jesup learned that a possible raid on the detention camp might be attempted by the Mikasukis. He took the precaution of sending out spies to the Indian camp to gather information and he put on extra guards. Nonetheless, on the night of June 2, 1837, Sam Jones and Osceola, accompanied by 200 of their men, absconded in total silence with Micanopy, whose life would have been forfeited had he not complied, and the estimated 700 individuals.⁶⁸ This was an amazing feat, and another unbelievable, virtually "supernatural" coup for the Mikasuki War Leader.

64 Franke, *Ft. Mellon*, 15.

65 Thomas Jesup to Lt. Col. A. G. W. Fanning, Fort Dade Headquarters, March 6, 1837. Jesup identifies the attackers as "...the Miccosukees under Sam Jones with the Creeks who came down last summer from Alabama and some other scattering Indians;" Sprague, *The Florida War*, [Coacoochee's account], 325.

66 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 200.

67 *Ibid.*, 204.

68 *Ibid.*, 204.

Crestfallen, Jesup wrote to the Secretary of War, Joel Poinsett, that, "The Miccosukeys and the war party among the Seminoles appointed Sam Jones principle Chief at the head of the entire Indian Nation. It is probable that the war will be renewed by the Miccasukeys." Sam Jones was then around 56 years old. As the war leader of "multi" tribes, predominantly Mikasuki, Alachua Seminole, and Creek, Jones was in a rare position seen infrequently within the southeast.

With precedence, he could now be designated as the "Great War Chief."⁶⁹

This event had a decided effect on Micanopy's career. In Jesup's frustrating and bitter letter to Poinsett the morning after Jones' and Osceola's extrication of the detainees at Tampa, while outlining "the entire failure of the scheme of emigration," Jesup noted:

It is stated that the Warriors have degraded Micanopy, and have placed Sam Jones, the Micasuky Chief at the head of the Nation. Those who removed last year were upper Creeks, not Seminoles. I believe the emigration of the Seminoles to be impracticable under any circumstances—...The country can be rid of them only by exterminating them."⁷⁰

On October 1, 1837, Captain John C. Casey, an Emigration Agent, counted 1,409 Seminole Chiefs and Warriors and 76 Negro Warriors, bringing the total number to 1,485. Significant to this narrative, Sam Jones had 280 warriors, Phillip had 350, and

69 Major General Thomas S. Jesup, Tampa Bay to Hon. J.R. Poinsett Secretary of War, Washington City, June 7, 1837, WDADJ, R694, Letters Received by the Adjunct General Office "Main Series"; John R. Swanton, *Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), 40. Every town had its own *tastanagis*, and the major *tastanagi* assumed the role of "head" *tastanagi*, or War Leader. However, Jones, now as head of the Mikasuki, Alachua Seminole, Creek and any other war-active tribal peoples in Florida, had reached a significantly higher and more unique level that was seldom necessitated. The position of "Great War Chief" is further discussed in: Louis LeClerc Milfort, *Memoirs or A Quick Glance At my various Travels and my Sojourn in the Creek Nation, Tastanegy or Great War Chief of the Creek Nation, and Brigadier-General in the Service of the French Republic*, c. 1802. Chapter 9, Page 1. Key word: LeClerc Milfort. Copy accessed via Rootsweb, Ancestry.com. April 3, 2015.

70 Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 394. Jesup's remark on "exterminating" was his frustration and chagrin speaking, but the results of Jones' coup would in the future make Jesup intent on creating situations which would result in immigrations, even putting his reputation on the line to do so.

Holatoochee (Col. Davey, Micanopy's nephew, Jones' Brother in law) had 130.⁷¹

Actions taken by Jesup would change native leadership. He had experienced quite enough of the Indians' empty promises of emigration and began to look for situations that would result in capturing Seminoles. In the March of 1837 in St. Augustine, John Philip, an African slave and his wife formerly owned by Chief Phillip, deserted their Indian master due to the hardships of wilderness fighting. Jesup subsequently used John Philip to guide a detachment of 170 men under General Joseph M. Hernandez on the night of September 8 to locate Phillip's hidden settlement near the abandoned Dunlawton Sugar Mill. Phillip and his entire settlement were easily apprehended. Then in October, when Coacoochee came in to visit his father in prison, he too was taken.⁷²

Osceola, the powerful force in Jones' resistance, was perhaps targeted by Jesup due to his part in the successful extrication effort near Tampa. On October 21, 1837, Osceola was camped at military headquarters, technically "on site" under a flag of truce. But he continued to proclaim himself unwilling to immigrate to Indian Territory. This time, when the question was officially asked, and Osceola openly reiterated his non-compliance, he was surrounded and taken into custody. His capture, along with those of Phillip and Coacoochee earlier, was a great loss to Sam Jones.⁷³ Jesup took much abuse throughout the nation for seizing Osceola during a truce. With Osceola in custody, Sam Jones was obviously the next leader Jesup desired to remove from action⁷⁴

In November 1837, Jones was on the west side of the St. John's River, Phillip's former territory, now with 600 warriors drawn to him due to Phillip's absence from the field. Jesup now sent emissaries to Sam Jones to persuade him to immigrate. He engaged Cherokee mediators Bushy-Head, Conrad, Woodward, and Polecat, and

71 John C. Casey Immigration Agent to C. A. Harris Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 1, 1837, OIALR.

72 Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, ed. James Sunderman (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953), 119-120; Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 211-212.

73 It was indeed typical for the Indians to "come in under a flag to be fed and gifted" on the good faith of their vague promise of emigrating. Then they would withdraw to "contemplate removal" or give another excuse. They would later return again, expecting the same scenario.

74 Mahon, *The Second Seminole War*, 216-217.

sent them repeatedly to parlay with Jones, who was encamped some fifty to sixty miles away.⁷⁵

Around this time, Jones was temporarily disabled after a fall from his horse. It was suggested by the leader of the Cherokee mediators that Jones was at least giving the appearance that he would come in with his people.⁷⁶ But then Coacoochee escaped from his imprisonment in St. Augustine and made his way to Jones' side. According to the Cherokee mediators, Jones immediately "changed his mind," and they replied to Jesup, "Wildcat's escape had destroyed all the plans for peace."⁷⁷

Jones "refused to talk about emigrating and he should not do so unless compelled," further taunting that he "...was ready to give [the US troops] battle whenever they came into his country."⁷⁸ Since continuance of the war rested on Jones' decision, Jesup asked the exhausted Cherokees to try and persuade him one more time. They turned around, and retraced their journey through the night. Around 11 a.m. the next day, they reached Jones' encampment. But Jones would not yield, though Bushy-Head assured that he presented his case as strongly as possible. Reportedly his last words to Jones were: "Well, Abiaka the consequences will be on your head. The blood that will be shed you will be answerable for, if you will not regard my advice, farewell."⁷⁹

All hopes of negotiation with Jones and "the Mickasukies" were at an end, as they "were determined to fight it out to the last." General Zachary Taylor mobilized 1,000 men and 200 Delaware Indians to try his luck capturing Jones and ending the war. On December 19, Jesup directed him to "...proceed with the least possible delay against any portion of the enemy I might hear of within striking distance, and to destroy or capture him."⁸⁰

The Battle of Okeechobee ensured that the name Sam Jones became prominent in the minds of army officials. On December 25, 1837, Jones was camped with 175 Mikasukis on the east side of the Kissimmee River near Lake Okeechobee. He occupied one of the strongest positions, a difficult place to approach and enter,

75 Franke, Jr., *Fort Mellon*, 41-47.

76 Ibid., [Appendix B, Lt. John Pickell's "Brief Notes of the Campaign against the Seminole Indians in Florida, in 1837," 123.]

77 Ibid., 46.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid., 46-47; *Washington Daily Intelligencer*, December 28, 1837.

80 "Report of the Battle of Okeechobee On The 25th December, 1837," *Niles National Register*, February 10, 1838.

via a swamp, which put the advancing troops in a most hazardous position, even before they reached firm ground. Numerous historians have commented on the sophistication of the choice for battle. John Mahon observed, "Never had Indians prepared a battleground with greater care."⁸¹ Air Force historian Phillip Thomas Tucker noted, "The ranking Indian leader, the Mikasuki chief Sam Jones or Arpeika, had organized a brilliant defense."⁸² The five foot high sawgrass was cut to provide a corridor for fire, and Jones' warriors had notched the trees in the hammock to steady their guns. Jones commanded "more than half" of the 380 to 480 warriors on the right. As mentioned, Jones' traditional role as War Chief was to fire the first shot, then retire to the rear and make strong medicine for the warriors and for the success of the mission. At this task, Jones and his relatively new, thirty-eight year old Creek Prophet, Otulkee Thlocco were engaged.

Sprague has provided the only known biographical sketch of the Wind clan Prophet to date.⁸³ Otulke doubtless delivered his talk at the Mikasukis' Fall Hunting Dance, 1837.

This Prophet recited to his listeners his exploits in the Creek War of 1836, narrated in an affecting manner the way in which he escaped from [a Georgia prison], when chained hand and foot, inducing them to believe that the Great Spirit came to him, in the form of an Indian, striking off his irons and opening the prison-door. He was told to flee to Florida, and enjoined to revenge the wrongs of those who had suffered in his own land.⁸⁴

Alligator was in the center with 120 men, while Coacoochee was on the left with about 80. What followed was a pitched battle orchestrated by Jones. Jones' line, however, came under such intense pressure that eventually he had to withdraw. The battle lasted from 12:30 to 3:00 p.m. "Wild Cat [Coacoochee] the *detenu*, who escaped from St. Augustine, was fiercest in battle."⁸⁵

In the Battle of Okeechobee, Jones, Alligator, Coacoochee and their men were outnumbered 2 to 1, but when it was over, their

81 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 227.

82 Phillip Thomas Tucker, "A Forgotten Sacrifice: Richard Gentry, Missouri Volunteers and the Battle of Okeechobee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (October, 1991):150-165; 158.

83 Sprague, *The Florida War*, 270.

84 Ibid, 296.

85 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 227-228; *National Intelligencer*, January 16, 1838.

only confirmed losses were 11 warriors killed and 14 wounded, while the U. S. military had 26 soldiers killed and 112 wounded. The *National Intelligencer* noted the sobering fact in an extract of a "Letter from Florida by Express Mail," "Nearly all of the surgeons are ordered from Tampa to Kissimee [sic]."⁸⁶ Jones' strategy paid off and his men had planned and fought well. Taylor commented in his "Official Account" that Jones' men had succeeded in "... killing and wounding every officer of our four companies, with one exception, and every orderly sergeant; killing its gallant commander and adjutant ...and mortally wounding the sergeant major...." Yet eventually, as Taylor noted, "...the enemy was completely routed, and driven in every direction, and were pursued by the troops until near night, and until they were completely exhausted." He concluded that, "The victory was dearly purchased." Indeed, in the opinion of historian Philip Tucker, Jones and his men had "... inflicted the highest losses on any American force during the Second Seminole War and one of the highest in the annals of Indian warfare."⁸⁷

According to Coacoochee's recollections in Sprague, "The following day [the Indians] scattered... in parties of ten and fifteen, throughout the country and Sam Jones moved into the Everglades to go wrecking on the Atlantic for needed supplies."⁸⁸ On January 24, 1838 along the Loxahatchee River, Jesup himself engaged with 200 to 300 warriors in yet another pitched battle, where once again the Mikasukis had the advantage of ground. In the foray, a bullet creased Jesup's cheek and broke his glasses. While the Mikasuki casualties are not known, the military suffered seven deaths and thirty-one wounded including Jesup. While the same strategic plan employed at the Okeechobee Battle was utilized at Loxahatchee,

86 "Report Of The Battle Of Lake Okeechobee," *Niles National Register*, February 10, 1838; *National Intelligencer*, January 16, 1838 (Letter dated: December 31, 1837).

87 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 227-229; "Excerpt of a Letter, Fort Foster, December 31, 1837," *National Intelligencer*; "The Battle of the Kissimmee," by Z. Taylor, Col. Commanding to Maj. Gen T.S. Jesup, Jan 30, 1838, *OFFICIAL ACCOUNT*, December 26, 1837, Newspaper Files, Seminole Miccosukee Archive, Ft. Lauderdale, FL; Author's Note re: routing. The Indians were not "routed ...and driven in every direction." This was a tactic employed by the Mikasukis (with substantial wartime and post wartime examples), designed so that they could not easily be tracked to a rendezvous point; Tucker, "A Forgotten Sacrifice," 165.

88 "Billy Bowlegs III" (typescript of interview by Albert DeVane), Albert DeVane Papers, Sebring Historical Society, Inc. Sebring, Florida; Sprague, *The Florida War*, 214.

the actual leadership involved in the Battle of Loxahatchee remains unidentified.⁸⁹

A letter published from an "Officer at Fort Pierce" on January 29, 1838 complained of the Indians' strategy. "[The Indians] have never fought on fair terms; in every fight except Capt. Powell's, they have had their advantage of ground." But the "Officer" then praised their preparations at Loxahatchee. "They had holes mortised in the trees, pickets set up, and palmettos set up so as to cover them and form blinds, and had cleared away the hammock on the side Jesup attacked them, which exposed his men all together. Without their seeing the enemy." In fact, the letter summed up the situation and the surprise. In underestimating the force of Indians, and in Jesup's haste to engage, he encountered a "number of the Indians considerably more than had been supposed."⁹⁰

Meanwhile, in February, Jones and his people were at work salvaging an important wreck off the New River Inlet (which then opened to the Atlantic to the south, at today's Sheridan Street in Hollywood). This wreck contained badly needed provisions, an estimated 200 barrels of rice that would feed the resistance fighters and their families.⁹¹

Following the Battle of Okeechobee, Jones had become the military's designated target. So valuable was Jones' capture that he faced a new threat to his personal freedom and the continuance of his so far successful resistance efforts through the involvement of turncoats. In March 1838, two of Jesup's detainees, Tuskegee and Halleck Hadjo, made overtures for a bit of land to live on in Florida. Jesup queried President Martin Van Buren. Meanwhile, "they offered to guide us to where the Micasukeys, with whom they were not on friendly terms, were concealed in their fastness...." However, as Motte noted, "[Tuskegee and Halleck Hadjo]...were met at the south fork of the Coontee-Hatchee or New River, and the whole of them shot dead by a party of their own people, who accused them of being spies for the whites, and did not therefore deserve to live...The assassination was carried out by the order of Sam Jones."⁹²

A military expedition also braved the legendary Everglades to confront Jones on his home turf. On March 22, 1838, during the

89 Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 234.

90 *National Intelligencer*, January 29, 1838.

91 *National Intelligencer*, February 13, 1838.

92 Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, 205, 235, 310.

last days of the 1838 winter campaign and while a cease fire was in effect, Lt. Colonel James Bankhead, stationed at Fort Lauderdale, took 400 men and 21 boats into the Everglades through the south fork of New River and headed northwest towards Jones' stronghold of Pine Island. Dragging and pulling the boats in unbelievably difficult circumstances, by dusk they had succeeded in partially surrounding a section of the two and a half mile long island. Colonel Bankhead reported, "I then advanced, ...and as a truce still existed as I supposed, I determined to offer peaceable terms to them, and showed the white flag, which they fired on..."⁹³

After the startled Indian sentries posted in the heights of the oak trees on the periphery of the island fired on the flag, Bankhead took their response at face value. He held off firing until his men could get closer, but a four pound cannon mounted in the bow of one of the boats bombarded the Indian snipers in the trees. The surprised Pine Islanders, which included Sam Jones, "fled west, leaving virtually all of their goods and provisions, including lead and powder behind...."⁹⁴ However, Pine Island would continue to be utilized as a haven through 1841, presumably with better security.⁹⁵

With slave John Phillip's knowledge of the Indian camps and his great success in the mission that had netted Chief Phillip, in April 1838, Jesup ordered Lt. Colonel William S. Harney to use John as a guide in hopes of capturing Jones in a similar manner. Harney took dismounted dragoons and made "rapid forced marches at night" to the south. Then, utilizing fifteen canoes on Biscayne Bay, they approached the area of the Hunting Grounds on April 24. They then journeyed even farther to the south, twenty miles below Key Biscayne, walking over Cutler's coral spikes and experiencing South Florida's intense heat before they succeeded in surprising Jones in an inland temporary camp.⁹⁶

A heated fight ensued as the Indian warriors fired from behind trees, and the soldiers took that stance themselves. Motte was there, observing, "...from the moment we discovered the enemy

93 Cooper Kirk, ed. "Skirmish at Pine Island," An officer's letter and a Charleston newspaper recount the legendary battle," *Broward Legacy*, 1, no. 3 (1977):16-23.

94 Cooper Kirk, ed., "Skirmish at Pine Island, An officer's letter and a Charleston newspaper recount the legendary battle," *Broward Legacy*, 1, no. 3 (1977):16-23; George E. Buckner, *Swamp Sailors* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975), 65-66.

95 Kirk, "Skirmish," 16-23.

96 Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, 231-232.

until we found ourselves in complete possession of their camp" was two and a half hours. After the Indians had fled with whatever the women could carry away, Harney's hungry men commandeered the food. They found prepared *coontie*, venison, hides, cooking utensils, coontie graters, and a valuable bag of gunpowder left behind. Again, as at Pine Island, Jones paid dearly with a great loss of supplies.⁹⁷

During the routing of Jones at Cutler, a Mikasuki woman was accidentally shot by a "fine soldier" of Harney's named Hall. It upset Hall so badly that he had "severely wounded" a woman that under Harney's orders, she was given special attention. She asked for a fire, which they built. Then the next day, Harney ordered a lean-to made to protect her from the sun.⁹⁸

From the interrogation of the wounded woman, Captain Cost of the Revenue Cutter *Campbell* reported that Jones had made a "junction" with the Spanish Indians on the Keys and that his group then consisted of 35 Mikasukis and 27 Seminoles. Cost also noted that Halak Hadjo (of Tuskegee's tribe), who had been sent out to bring in the Seminoles attached to Jones' party, had been shot with his immediate followers by order of Jones, "Chief of the Mickasukies" and this shooting had created a serious "difference" between the Mikasukis and the Seminoles. "...We are told that many of them now beg our troops to allow them to remain and assist in exterminating their late allies Sam Jones and the Mikasukis."⁹⁹ Meanwhile on the beaches, Jones and the Mikasukis were resupplying themselves from wreck salvage:

The French brig *Courier de Tampico*, en route from Havana to Bourdeaux, went ashore in a storm the night of September 7, 1838. "When the Indians visited this group they offered the Frenchmen aid and informed them that the Seminole nation was at war only with the Americans." However, nearby three small fishing sloops, the *Alabama*, *Dread*, and *Caution*, all of Mystic, Connecticut, had grounded on the beach and the seventeen American crewmen were all massacred by the Indians but one, "...who managed to reach the men of the *Courier de Tampico* and passed himself off as a Frenchman." The *Alna*, a brig from Portland, Maine, also became

97 Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, 232-234.

98 L. U. Reavis, *The Life of Military Services of Colonel William Selby Harney* (St. Louis, MO: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1878), 130-131; Motte, *Journey into Wilderness*, 234-235.

99 *Philadelphia American Sentinel*, May 21, 1839; Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, 235.

the Mikasukis' prize. In this period some eight wrecks lost cargo and/ or crew to the Mikasuki.¹⁰⁰

There were around 19 ships wrecked during 1838 with loss of lives and cargoes attributed to Jones. Indeed, those cargoes added greatly to replenishing the Mikasukis' larder, personal needs, and ammunition. The extent of wrecking was so great that both the army and navy sent forces to patrol the coastal area in an effort to curtail the Mikasukis' access to supplies and "...Captain William B. Davidson and a company of the Third Artillery selected a site on the beach opposite New River Sound for the location of the Third Fort Lauderdale."¹⁰¹

The mystique of Jones grew amongst non-Indians. He was sighted by the military from the uplands to the lowlands, all seemingly at the same time. He had a reputation among the troops (and his own people as well) as an uncanny spiritualist known to make horses die on the road and capable of who knew what other atrocities through magic. The bane of the troops and their officers, Jones had begun to reach into their very minds. As young Lt. Henry Prince wrote in his *Diary* while apprehensively scanning the forests around Ft. King, "The Spirit of Sam Jones pervades these woods if perchance he is not here himself."¹⁰²

Part of his mystique, was due to his "water road" logistics in the Everglades. His secret weapon was the Okaloacoochee Slough, an inland waterway in the southwest Big Cypress. The Slough ran north to south providing access to Lake Okeechobee as well as Florida Bay. From this location, travel virtually anywhere was feasible, rapid, and totally undetected. Coupled with the ease of communication between the Big Cypress and the Atlantic coast, the slough afforded Jones thorough access to much of south-central Florida.¹⁰³

This raises a question: Were the Seminoles "pushed down" into the Everglades by the Seminole wars? The history of Jones' Mikasuki people indicates this is a fallacy that should not be continued.

100 George E. Buker, *Swamp Sailors: Rivertine Warfare in the Everglades, 1835-1842*, (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1975), 73-78.

101 Cooper Kirk, Edward Zane Carroll Judson, *Alias Ned Buntline*, Broward Legacy, Vol. 3-4 (Fall 1979) 16-17; The site of the beachside Fort Lauderdale (#3) was excavated by Robert S. Carr, Historical and Archaeological Conservancy, 2011.

102 Lt. Henry Prince, *Amidst A Storm of Bullets: The Diary of Lt. Henry Prince in Florida*, ed. Frank Laumer (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 1998), 114.

103 Patsy West, "Reflections," Historical Series, March 13, 1998, Number 146; "The Okaloacoochee Slough," *The Seminole Tribune*, Seminole Tribe of Florida.

As has been shown, the Mikasukis have been documented in a thriving continuous settlement pattern in the Everglades, living in *chickees*, and utilizing the water roads, their generational home by choice for well over seven years before the outbreak of the Second Seminole War.¹⁰⁴

Jones and his Prophet Otulkee Thlocco maintained settlements within the Everglades' aforementioned western island complex. Residing at Prophet's Island, Otulkee partnered with Jones' Panther clan in a traditional position as the Panther leader's "Wind Clan Messenger." Otulkee was thus placed in a most viable position of traditional importance, as it is the Wind's responsibility to "carry" the Panther leader's "message" to the people. Sprague noted of Otulkee; "The Prophet ruled with an iron hand; despotism reigned without remonstrance or reproach." And the messages that Jones delivered by Otulkee regarding turncoats and dissenters were very strong indeed.¹⁰⁵

The next military officer to confront Jones was Alexander Macomb, Commanding General of the U.S. Army. On the advice of his predecessors, he attempted to end the war by treaty with an offer to allow the remaining Seminole to stay in Florida for a time to be determined. Jones, as with previous negotiations, excused himself from Macomb's conference, pleading illness. Instead, he sent Chitto Tustenuggee as his emissary with twenty others. Chitto and his delegation left with Col. Harney from Key Biscayne bound for Fort King on the steamboat *Isis*.¹⁰⁶

The oft-called Macomb Treaty, based on a peace conference called by Macomb near Ocala, was a complicated affair in which the U.S. agreed to leave the Seminoles in a boundary south of Peace Creek. It was unclear if this was to be permanent. At the meet held at Fort King, Macomb's officers looked upon Chitto as the chief voice for the Seminoles, and the African interpreter,

104 Patricia R. Wickman, *The Tree that Bends: Discourse, Power, and the Survival of the Maskoki People* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 71. The view of noted Mikasuki elders Frank J. Billie, Henry John Billie, James E. Billie, Mary Frances Johns (Creek), Alan Jumper, and a leading medicine man Pete Osceola Sr. in the 1990's, "...was that the Seminoles were not driven into Florida by pressures of United States soldiers and settlers. Rather they recall oral history that their ancestors had been migrating southward toward the lower reaches of the peninsula for all time because their medicine people always had told them that *ichi bolan*, literally "the nose of the deer," (the pointed tip of the southeastern peninsula), was the place where they would ultimately find refuge and peace."

105 Sprague, *The Florida War*, 296.

106 *Niles National Register*, Baltimore, 5th Series, Vol. 1, No. 14, June 1, 1839.

Sandy Perryman, introduced Chitto, "...as the chief of the Seminoles *replacing* Sam Jones." As such, in the course of the conference proceedings, Chitto was presented the highest honor that the Americans bestowed on chiefs at that time, a Great Medal!¹⁰⁷

Sandy had been given a huge responsibility to bring in Jones or Coacoochee for the meet and had failed. According to a well informed eye witness, Perryman was actively downgrading the importance of both Jones and Wild Cat at the meet, saying that, "...he found Sam Jones so thick headed and Wild Cat such a fool [doubtless as they were unwilling to be persuaded attend this conference] that he, [Sandy]... made Chitto Tustenuggee chief, and brought him to make peace with the General..." Meanwhile the eye witness, while heartedly debunking Chitto's "newly acquired" status, of "chief" reported that once outside the view of the officials, he actually saw Chitto "spit on the medal" and react with other violent physical and verbal disrespect towards the Americans. In short, the eye witness' observations and commentary showed a most farcical side of Macomb's conference, to which the *Floridian's* reaction was, "Shame, Shame, Shame."¹⁰⁸

There was no formal written treaty, but on May 20, 1839, the U.S. issued a General Order proclaiming the war had ended. Initially, news of the treaty or truce seemed sufficiently well-founded, so Jones made efforts to learn more about it. In April, Dr. Ellis Hughes was discussing Jones in his *Journal*. "...[Jones] says he will never shake hands with the white man—he is an old wrinkled withered active hoary white headed Indian of small stature and has done more mischief given more trouble than Occola [sic, Osceola] ever did. Apiaka [sic] may this moment be within 6 m. of us. No white man has seen him since the war began."¹⁰⁹ It must have been quite a shock then for Hughes to actually meet Jones, who arrived at beachside Fort Lauderdale unannounced on June 19 from his settlement at Pine Island six miles up New River with "15 or 20 warriors." This was Jones' first public appearance in around four years. He appeared because, "He desired a recapitulation of the terms of

107 General Orders #6. Alexander Macomb, Major General, Commander in Chief, Headquarters of the Army of the U. S. Fort King, Florida, May 18th 1839. Roll 289, Microcopy No. 234. Letters Rec'd by the OIA 1824-81, FL Superintendency, 1824-1853, 1838-1850, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1958.

108 *The Floridian*, June 22, 1839.

109 Camp, "Boredom, Brandy, and Bickering," 34.

the [Macomb] treaty..." from Lieut. Commanding C. Tompkins, aided by his trusted African interpreter Toney.¹¹⁰

Tompkins wrote most enthusiastically to Headquarters that following his recap of the Macomb treaty to Jones:

[He]... professed himself pleased. He laid down the law to the Indians and ordered them to understand and obey it. The high opinion entertained of this Chief is fully warranted by the deference paid to him by his people & even Chitto Tustenuggee who was present...[Their] main camp lies at the head of this river [New River] which Sam Jones informed me at any moment could turn out 300 ... warriors. He said moreover that the treaty had met with some opposition and it would be sometime before the Indians who inhabit the Swamps could hear of it.¹¹¹

On July 5 and 6, Jones also met with Harney at the fort at Key Biscayne. Upon actually "seeing" Jones, the aforementioned medical doctor (probably Dr. David DeLeon) exclaimed in a letter home, "We believe [Chitto] told what was not true when he said that Sam Jones was *too old and infirm* to be present at the treaty ground. We all at once saw that ...he did not show in his *appearance* any indications of having been sick, but was also entirely destitute of the *infirmities* of age."¹¹²

And a correspondent representing the *Journal of Commerce* (Key West) was also on hand to chronicle this historic meeting:

On the 5th and 6th, Sam Jones by invitation of Col. Harney, in whom he placed great confidence, came into the camp at Key Biscayne, and had a talk. He said that Col. Harney, had never wore [sic] two faces with the red men, or spoken with a forked tongue . . . that the Great Spirit had ordained it that he and Col. Harney should meet that day. He spoke an hour with great force and fluency, and at his

110 C. Tompkins Lt. 3d Arty. to Sir, June 22, 1839, Camp near Fort Lauderdale. Roll No. 198. Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1822-1860. T 235—V63. 1839. National Archives Microcopy No. 567. Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1964. Record Group 94; *Pittsburg Gazette*, July 23, 1839. Transcript of a letter printed in the Savannah Georgian, dated at Fort Lauderdale, East Florida, June 22, 1839.

111 Tompkins to Sir, June 22, 1839, Roll No. 198, AGLR (Main Series.) 1822-1860. T 235—V 63. 1839. Record Group 94, Microcopy 567, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1964.

112 [Possibly Dr. David Camden De Leon on July 5, 1839], *Pittsburg Daily Gazette*, October 3, 1839.

conclusion, the warriors gave a yell of assent, that chilled the blood of the stout hearted colonel, who was attended by few officers among those savages, and unarmed.

The correspondent further noted that the Indians were low on ammunition and desired a trading post.¹¹³

On July 15, Harney also wrote a letter about Jones, noting to Macomb that, "On my return to Key Biscayne from this place about two weeks since I understood that Sam Jones was in the neighborhood and I sent for him & when he arrived, in course of conversation he informed me that he was still the head Chief that they had made Chitto Tustenuggee head Chief when he went to meet you at Fort King, but since his return, that he Chitto was only the Second chief."¹¹⁴

It appears the treaty fostered a change of directive on the part of Jones. If he was earnest in accepting peace on terms that would benefit his people, then he had moved into "peace mode." He apparently would retain the position of "Grand War Chief" as the head of all the "Seminoles" as he was elected in June 1837. Now though, instead of fighting due to a lack of ammunition, his focus would be the continuing enforcement of the tribal ban on voluntary immigration.¹¹⁵

On the whole, the terms of the Macomb Treaty continued to receive mixed reactions from Seminole leaders, strongly exacerbated by rumors attributed to the prominent African interpreter Permyan that the whole thing was a ruse, "intended to draw together a large number of Indians for the purpose of seizing them."¹¹⁶

113 *Journal of Commerce*, Key West, Fla. July 15, printed in *The Floridian*, August 10, 1839. Note: Jones placed "great confidence in Harney" specifically because of Harney's humanitarian treatment and release of the wounded woman following the skirmish at Cutler, April 1838. This incident was most significant. L.U. Reavis, *The Life and Military Services of Colonel William Selby Harney* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1878), 130-131.

114 Harney to Macomb, July 15, 1839, AGLR. This news must have joggled Macomb a bit, but since Sam Jones was happy, all was well.

115 Swanton, *Social Organization and the Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy*, 326. Swanton's definition of the role of the grand war chief illustrates plainly why Jones retained his position of respect and ultimate authority until his death; There was not only strong opposition to the Macomb Treaty from the western Everglades and Big Cypress, but others "who refused to treat with Macomb," such as the "Tallahasseees" living "north of Tampa Bay," who also were concurrent in the fight to keep fellow Indians from agreeing to immigrate. *Niles National Register*, May 25, 1839.

116 Tompkins to Harney, August 30th 1839, AGLR; *National Register*, October 5, 1839.

Hostilities broke out just eight days after Harney wrote to Macomb. Early on July 23, while encamped on the Caloosahatchee River at the site of Dallam's Store, a provision of the Macomb Agreement, 160 "Spanish Indians" under Chakika, Hospetarke, Passack (his war chief), and the young Alachua Seminole Bowlegs hit the camp and store in a well-planned attack, killing thirteen of the twenty-eight people on site. Those killed were mostly Harney's hand-picked Dragoons.¹¹⁷ Interpreters Perryman and Sampson Forrester were taken captive.¹¹⁸ Goods, fifteen-hundred dollars specie, and valuable kegs of powder were also confiscated.¹¹⁹

Harney had just arrived on site the evening before. This was a fact the raiders did not know in their pre-dawn attack, which most assuredly saved Harney's life, for he would have been targeted. Harney had received inadequate camp staff for this "peacetime" detail. As a result, the mission had not only been badly compromised, but many of Harney's young sharpshooters had given their lives. As Harney made his way back to Fort Lauderdale by steamer, he doubtless suspected a plot and possibly Jones' hand in it.¹²⁰

While Harney was in route from the Caloosahatchee River back to Key Biscayne, the "barges of the Steamer *Poinsett*" captured and detained Chitto Tustenuggee and Tiger Tail [Cotsa Chopka] with their families in four canoes on the Miami River. Harney transferred these prisoners to the Steamer *Cincinnati*. He then, "proceeded to New River to send Tuskuenago [Chitto] to bring in Sam Jones with the ultimatum: "or the prisoners would all be put to death."¹²¹

Chitto Tustenuggee set out in earnest "to bring in" Jones.¹²² According to Dr. Hughes, writing in his *Journal*, Jones' son Sponge accompanied Chitto. Jones was away again, supposedly ill on the Loxahatchee River, where he spent a good deal of time. On August

117 "The War Renewed," *Office of the News, St. Augustine*, August 3, 1839, National Archives, Washington, DC.

118 Sprague, *The Florida War*, 316. Sampson Forrester described Perryman as "an old negro." Forrester, a younger man, had been one of Colonel Gad Humphreys' slaves, who "was captured by the Indians at Micanopy in 1837...and lived with Oseola [sic]." When Osceola was imprisoned in October 1837, Forrester "surrendered at Fort Mellon," and became an interpreter for General Thomas Jesup.

119 Sprague, *The Florida War*, 317.

120 *Philadelphia American Sentinel*, May 21, 1839; Sprague, *The Florida War*, [Forrester's Narrative], 317.

121 "Capture of Indians by the U.S. Steamer *Poinsett*," *Norfolk Beacon*, August 26, 1839.

122 *Ibid.*

1, Chitto swam all the way across the New River Sound to the beach fort, scaring two soldiers, to say that—"his heart is sad—no sleep—no eat - a treaty is a treaty..." and he professed great distress over the war deeds on the Caloosahatchee River. Dr. Hughes continued, "Sam [had] advised Chitto hadjo [Tustenuggee] to come in openly & boldly for otherwise it would bespeak guilt."¹²³

By August 3, Jones sent a message to Fort Lauderdale. Lt. Tompkins reported, "Apiucki says, he hopes the whites will not for a moment believe that his people had anything to do with the Massacre..." and Jones identified the perpetrators as Hospetarke (Micanopy's half-brother married to a Spanish Indian), Chakika, and Holata [Billy Bowlegs]. "These three had opposed the treaty from the first and have sworn to take the lives of Col. Harney, Api-ucki, and Chitto Tuste-nuggy. They lead [sic] the Spanish Indians..." wrote the commander of Fort Lauderdale, Lieut. C. Tompkins, to his friend Burke.¹²⁴

Perhaps the seriousness of this situation, with Harney understandably in a rage, and the prisoners being held warranted Jones to not make excuses. At any rate, he lost little time complying with the summons, though Tompkins' two runners to Jones "returned with the information that Api-uck-i was very sick, so sick they thought it doubtful whether he would ever get up again."¹²⁵

For the meet at Fort Lauderdale, August 13th, once again appearing in fine health, Jones arrived dressed in the best traditional "formal" meeting attire that his wives could muster under the wartime conditions, and for the first time recorded, he brought his entire family with him. His wives Sa-pee-faht-hoih'-tsee and Ya-tim-hoh'-kee accompanied him with their children, which included Sam Jones' and Ya-tim-hoh'-kee's son and two young daughters. The women were described by a reporter from the *Key West Floridian*: "...The first [is] about thirty five, and yet very fair to look upon; the other about sixteen, and very beautiful."¹²⁶

The *Key West Floridian* further described this historic event:

[Jones] came to the camp [Lauderdale] in a canoe with three hoary headed counselors [sic]...He was dressed in a

123 Hughes, *Journal*, August 1, 1839.

124 Tompkins to Burke, August 3, 1839, Roll 189, H 168 -I-J 1839, Microcopy No. 567, AGLR (Main Series), National Archives, Washington, DC, 1964.

125 Ibid.

126 In the *Daily Pittsburg Gazette* (10/03/1839) from *Key West Floridian* 09/07/1839 [Actual date 08/13/1839].

plain hunting shirt,* made out of an old sail, and under it wore a flannel shirt. In his hand he carried a calico hunting shirt trimmed with red fringe. On his head he wore a colored cotton handkerchief in cravat form. His legs were bare. He with great dignity, approached Lt. Tompkins' tent, where we were sitting around a table, and after being introduced by Col. Harney, took a seat—The others placed themselves on benches nearby, and the squaws and girls sat on the ground.

Sam expressed himself very happy to see us, he said the war, he hoped, was now ended. He spoke of their great sufferings and present wants. He regretted much the murder on the Caloosa Hatchee. Those who did it, he said, were a band of traitors and Spanish Indians that had not fought during the war, and now wished to break the peace. They had rebelled, and he would punish them. He must do so, for they had denied his authority even before his own warriors. Chitto, he said, must go and show himself a man, for some of them were Seminoles. If the whites would leave it to him, he would give hostages of women and children, and go punish these murderers, and bring them in dead or alive. He had never lied to man, and when he did, he might be distrusted. He conversed freely, and with every appearance of honesty.¹²⁷

Meanwhile Interpreter Sandy Perryman had paid the price for the role he had played in stirring up conflict. In the Big Cypress, just four days after his abduction on the Caloosahatchee River, it was learned from his fellow Interpreter, Sampson Forrester, that the Mikasukis tortured Sandy to death slowly, by torches and

127 *Author's Note: Jones was wearing the ruffled "frock" or "hunting" coat ("Long Shirt, *foks'ikbacki*", a garment frequently worn, but always donned for formal occasions. The fact that Jones' Long Shirt was made of salvaged sail cloth, instead of bright colored cotton, again illustrates just how impoverished the Mikasukis were at this point, as by this time, even sailcloth was not accessible due to the blockade that curtailed their wrecking ventures. The colored *foks'ikbacki* that Jones carried in his hand was doubtless folded to obscure its tatters, but it was significant that he felt compelled to carry it. The southeastern Indians had been wearing English cottons (flannels, wools, etc.) for generations. Powder and clothing (textiles) are frequently noted as the Indians' greatest wartime needs.

lighter pine skewers "by the decree of the council, Sam Jones and the Prophet."¹²⁸

Jones continued to frequent Fort Lauderdale at this time. At one point in September, Dr. Hughes, who was often in Jones' company, asked him pointedly, "What did you go to war for?" [Jones replied:] "It was all about the immigration. I never consented to do it and there is no use to talk any more at all about it" and "you whites have been fighting us and after all what have you done?"¹²⁹

However, chances for a negotiated peace continued to dwindle as factions among the Indians advocated for a resumption of hostilities. On September 27, Chitto attempted to lure the officers and soldiers from Fort Lauderdale into an ambush, (significantly while Jones was away), by inviting them to a dance up river. Just by chance only three attended. While the planned massacre failed, it brought the split among Indian leadership into the open.¹³⁰

Due to the vote of the war chiefs, war would continue for another three years, with Harney writing to Macomb on October 20, 1839 to reiterate, "I am satisfied that our failure is to be attributed to the general belief accorded by the Indians to the story told them by the interpreter Sandy..." His letter to Capt. G. H. Griffin, the Asst. Adj. General, bemoaned the failure of "...Our humane efforts to Save a portion of the Indians from extermination..." and ended with violent aggression, "[now] they must be hunted down like beasts...."¹³¹

A revival of war meant the U.S. military had little option but to pursue the hostile groups into the Everglades. The final years of the war would feature such expeditions. First to be targeted were warriors under Chakika, following their dawn raid on August 7, 1840 against the small island community of Indian Key to capture quantities of lead and power.¹³² With a command of twenty men and African "John" as a guide, Harney moved against Chakika in December and successfully breached Chakika's Island in canoes. Harney's sharpshooter, Private Hall, killed Chakika. They captured and hanged two other men, then strung Chakika's body up as

128 Sprague, *The Florida War*, [Sampson's Narrative], 316.

129 Hughes, *Journal*, September 5 - September 8, 1839, 159.

130 Tompkins to Harney, September 29, 1839, AGRL (Main Series 1822-1860), Roll 189, National Archives, Washington, DC.

131 Harney to Macomb, October 20, 1839, Roll 189; Harney to G. H. Griffin, September 30, 1839, Roll 189, National Archives, Washington, DC.

132 Carter, *Territorial Papers*, Vol XXVI, 1839-1845, 194-195.

well.¹³³ By December 15, Harney had hanged a full dozen Mikasuki men in the Everglades.¹³⁴

As Mikasukis gathered at the Green Corn Dance of 1841, calls for retaliation were strong. Interpreter Sampson Forrester, still a prisoner in the Big Cypress settlements at that time, noted in his valuable "Narrative" account: "They declared [in Council], eternal hostility, and cruelty to the whites." Directed specifically at Harney, Jones was quoted as saying, 'We, have given them heretofore'... 'when prisoners, a decent death, and shot them instead of hanging them like a dog.'¹³⁵

Forrester further related:

In April, 1841, a great Council was held [in the western Everglades] to prevent further intercourse with the white men. A law was passed that should any Indian, male or female, be found in communication with a white man, they should be put to death.¹³⁶

[And] it was also understood in Council, that being so reduced in numbers, and in so confined a space, they must now ambush the enemy, fire, and then run.¹³⁷

The war chiefs in the Big Cypress and Everglades at that time were Chitto Tustenuggee, Parsacke, and Assinawa, commanding 160 men. "They, together with some young sub chiefs, head the scouts and execute with fidelity the mandates of the council, or the wishes of Sam Jones and the Prophet." "The Mickasuckies preponderate; they mingle, with more harmony than any period in their history, and are willing to accept any others, who will subscribe to

133 Lieutenant Colonel William W. Harney to Captain W.W. Bliss, Assistant Adjunct General, Army of Florida, December 29, 1840, Roll 154, National Archives, Washington, DC.

134 Theophilus F. Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Canon with the Second Dragoons 1836-1875* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1875), 45-46. For a Mikasuki, to die by hanging meant that their soul would not go to Heaven. The U. S. military was always "threatening" such treatment of hostages, "if" the person did not comply to demands, but the threat was not carried out. Harney appears to be the major perpetrator and from this incident forward, he was truly feared. It would be assumed that he knew the seriousness of this act. Was it revenge, or "sending a most serious message?"

135 Sprague, *The Florida War*, 319.

136 Albert G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry, From The Formation of the Federal Government to the 1st of June, 1863*, 43, Greenwood Press Publishers, New York, Facsimile of the 1865 Edition.

137 Sprague, *The Florida War*, 317-318.

their laws, and believe in Sam Jones as a wise man and doctor, and the Prophet, as one who talks with invisible things, and controls their destinies. Sam is a skilful navigator of the everglades. He goes from the Cypress to the Atlantic in four days; knows all the great passages, and cultivates fields in the neighborhood. He is a sort of patriarch, and bestows his blessings."¹³⁸

Jones, his Prophet Otulkee, and the Mikasukis actively prevented defections to the cause of emigration. "If any [people] were suspected, the Prophet visited them; and by various dances, gestures, songs, &c., together with his blowpipe, proclaimed their fate...The Prophet they believed, could make known the approach of troops, find game, and control the seasons, heal the sick, or inflict disease upon anyone—even death."¹³⁹ In October, Coacoochee had persuaded 300 of Hallack Tustenuggee's people to accompany him to Tampa to emigrate. But on their way, they were overtaken by "a prophet" from Jones, who scared them back.¹⁴⁰

Harney, meanwhile, implemented his second Everglades expedition, a joint effort of the army and navy, to find camps hidden in the Everglades. The Navy's "Mosquito Fleet" was deployed in the Everglades in January 1841. The canoe fleet reached deserted islands such as Chitto's, describing the infrastructure as, "two towns, two dancing grounds, and one council lodge." At Jones' equally deserted Pine Island settlement north at the headwaters of New River, they noted, "three villages and dancing grounds."¹⁴¹ While another account estimated at Pine Island, "...with each island inhabited and planted, their population could not have been less than 600."¹⁴² But no one was at either location, as Chitto's and Jones' people had withdrawn. This situation was summed up by Major Thomas Chiles out of Fort Dallas, "No part of the Everglades will hereafter be a safe resort as all the camps discovered had evidently been abandoned many months...."¹⁴³

138 *The Floridian*, "Sam Jones, (Ar-pi-i-ka.)," December 25, 1841, [quoting from Sampson Forrester].

139 Col. W. J. Worth to Adj. General, Washington, DC, July 20, 1841; Sprague, [Forrester's "Narrative"], *The Florida War*, 318.

140 Bracket, *History of the United States Cavalry*, 44.

141 *Niles National Register*, LX, April 3, 1841, 71-72; See also West, "Seminole Indian Settlements at Pine Island," 43-56.

142 Harney to Griffin, September 30, 1839, Roll 189, H 168—I-J 1839, Microcopy No. 567, AGRL, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1964;

143 Thomas Childs to Major Cooper, August 13, 1841, Roll 242 W 287-369 1841, Microcopy No. 567, AGLS, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1964.

December 1841 saw a full invasion of the Mikasuki stronghold in the western Everglades. By then, interpreter Forrester had escaped from his captives and accompanied the military expedition with other guides as the Big Cypress settlements were destroyed. At Prophet's Island, there were "some thirty acres of corn, beans, rice, tobacco, pumpkins and squashes [and]... some hundred lodges [palmetto thatched *chickees*]...;" while Jones' Island had "sixty to seventy" *chickees*, showing the extent of the towns' infrastructure in this area, an area so steeped in the lore of Jones that by the early twentieth century it became known as the "Devil's Garden."¹⁴⁴

The Navy had succeeded in accomplishing the job in the watery Everglades ecosystem that the Army couldn't complete earlier in the seven year war. Jones remained elusive, a very lucrative fugitive for traitors to want to apprehend for cash, but few dared try. In November 1841, W. J. Worth had promised Hallapatter Tustenuggee (Alligator) \$2,500 a piece if he could bring in the Prophet or Jones.¹⁴⁵ And in a letter to Major William G. Belknap, Worth said that if Jones himself were to communicate with him, "You may promise Jones five or ten thousand dollars and if the opportunity occurs of communicating with him privately he may be assured of permission to remain in the country: that is himself & family beyond which the indulgence cannot be extended."¹⁴⁶

In 1841, other pressures were brought to bear against the Florida Seminoles and Jones. The Arkansas delegate Hospitarke was returned from Indian Territory to persuade "one half of the "Alachua Seminole portion" of Jones' wartime accumulated followers to go back with him to Indian Territory. This culling left Jones' group significantly smaller, but ethnically "more Mikasuki."¹⁴⁷

On November 1, 1841, a letter from Colonel William F. Worth to the Adjutant General confirmed that Jones had indeed left the Everglades with his people to relocate on the Locha Hatchee River,

144 *Niles National Register*, LX, April 3, 1841 71-72; West, "Seminole Indian Settlements at Pine Island," 46; Peter G. Gallagher, "Distinction sought for Sam Jones Trail," December 30, 2014, *The Seminole Tribune: Voice of the Unconquered*, Seminole Tribe of Florida; Jones was the only person to whom the term "devil" was applied in the historical literature and poems of the Seminole War Period, hence the "Devil's Garden" area of the upper Big Cypress where he lived, has long been associated with his presence.

145 J. Cooper to Major Fauntleroy, August 28, 1841, Roll 242, W 287-369 1841, Microcopy No. 567, AGLR, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1964.

146 Letter from William J. Worth to William G. Belknap. February 23, 1842, William Worth Belknap Papers, Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ.

147 W. J. Worth to Adj. General, July 21, 1841, Roll 242, W 287-369 1841, Microcopy No. 567, AG, National Archives, Washington, DC, 1964.

where, "recent intelligence places Jones & his band of seceders [sic] from the Prophet with whom he has quarreled." A military census made the following August (1842) still placed Jones with 15 warriors, 31 women and children [46 persons], "...up [the] headwaters of Locka Hatchee."¹⁴⁸

Fosse Hadjo, a speaker for Bowlegs in July 1842, commented in "Minutes of a Talk at Fort Brooke (Tampa)" that, "Sam Jones is the principal chief of the Southern Indians, but he has only ten warriors with him...." And most importantly, Fosse made the statement that, "Jones had not made war upon the whites since the arrangement with General Macomb in 1839."¹⁴⁹ Fosse's then seems to corroborate Jones' current strategy: to discontinue fighting, to punish his own people when necessary, to crack down even more on immigrations, and to preserve his capacity to pull back into the wilderness in a last ditch measure to assure the survival of his people in Florida.

This was the situation when the Second Seminole War officially ended on August 14, 1842 after six years, seven months, three weeks, and a day. Only the Southern Indian band of Billy Bowlegs and the Upper bands of Tiger Tail and Octiarche signed the "Agreement of 1842" that ended the war. Significantly, no articles of peace were signed by Jones for the majority population of Mikasuki or by Chipco for his small band of Muscogee Creeks...peoples whose ancestors today represent the two "Unconquered" tribes of Florida.¹⁵⁰

During the thirteen years between the Second and Third Seminole Wars (1855-1858), Jones (Mikasuki) and Bowlegs (Alachua) continued to represent their two distinct bands "with differences." When Jones, the elected "Grand War Chief," then becoming the peacetime "civil" chief, continued to be sought out for audiences and consulted by the military, government representatives, and settlers on missions, it was much to the young Bowlegs' displeasure. By 1845, Sprague, who had been appointed the Federal Officer in charge of Indian Affairs in Florida, noted, "My insisting upon seeing [Jones]... tended to disparage the position and power of

148 Carter, *Territorial Papers*: Volume, XXVI: Territory of Florida, 1839-1845, 517: William J. Worth to the Adjutant General, November 1, 1841, 385-387.

149 Carter, *Territorial Papers*: Volume XXVI: Territory of Florida, 1839-1845, 517: "Minutes of a Talk Held at Fort Brooke, July 22, 1842.

150 James W. Covington, "The Agreement of 1842 and its Effect upon Seminole History," *Florida Anthropologist* 31, no. 1 (March, 1978): 8-11, citing 10.

Holatter Micco...."¹⁵¹ And, while Covington rightly noted the elevation of Great Medalist Bowlegs by the government, he noted, "Persons like Sprague did not understand that though Billy Bowlegs had the largest band of warriors (fifty-four), and considerable political power, he lacked the religious influence of Sam Jones who had a following of only thirty-two warriors."¹⁵²

In July 1849, there was more trouble. Some young Indian men who had been "declared outlaws," by the Indian Council, probably at the recent 1849 Green Corn Dance, began murdering and pillaging. Immigration Agent John C. Casey noted that these men represented the Muscogee [Creek] Chipco with five other Muscogees, seven Mikasukis, six members of Bowlegs' group [Alachua "Seminoles"], another Creek [perhaps a former Red Stick], and a Yuchi.¹⁵³ In conjunction, they had attacked settlers on both coasts at Indian River and at Peas [Peace] Creek. Heartily concerned over the possible ramifications, Jones' asserted his authority as civil leader. Casey wrote "... Sam Jones had sent a runner to Billy with the first news and urging him Billy to aid in preserving peace."¹⁵⁴ This incident, as it was apparently "planned" by the young men, could have been the catalyst for war, but General Twiggs handled the situation.¹⁵⁵

However, while Bowlegs readily gave up his errant men, Jones refused to deliver any of his people. Again, Covington concluded "...it was Sam Jones and the 'hard liners' who had made the decisions concerning the selection and surrender of [the] possible murderers..." illustrating Jones' ultimate authority over Bowlegs and to "discipline his own" per the Macomb Agreement.¹⁵⁶

Jones continued to monitor interactions that could lead to immigrations. Casey learned from Mikasuki Kapiktsootsee in December 1849 that, "his people wanted to surrender, but since 'Sam Jones and the others had made a strong law,' he would "only surrender when protected by a large force of cavalry."¹⁵⁷

151 James W. Covington, "Billy Bowlegs, Sam Jones, and the Crisis of 1849," *Florida Historical Quarterly* LXIII, no. 3 (January, 1990), 299-311, citing 301.

152 *Ibid.*, 301.

153 *Ibid.*, 303.

154 John C. Casey, Ind. Duty to Major W.W. Mackall, Asst. Adj. General, September 6, 1849. Correspondence accessed via Fold3, August 5, 2015.

155 Covington, "Billy Bowlegs, Sam Jones, and the Crisis of 1849," 306.

156 *Ibid.*, 389. Indeed, from the time of Macomb's conference, Jones reserved his right to "punish his own."

157 [John C. Casey] In Letter Brevet Major General D. E. Twiggs to Hon. G.W. Crawford Secretary of War, December 10, 1849, published in Covington, "Billy Bowlegs, Sam Jones, and the Crisis of 1849," 301-302.

However, this did not stop Holatoochee, Jones' brother-in-law, from coming back to Florida from Indian Territory to retrieve his clan members. After months of discussion, he took away his sisters and niece, who were Sam Jones' wives Sa-pee-faht-hoih'-tsee and her daughter Ya-tisn-hoh'-kee along with the daughter's three children, two girls and a boy. Holatoochee also took away his younger sister A-wo-laih'-tsee, wife to Kotsa Tustenuggee [Jones' nephew], with her four girls and one boy. In total, Holatoochee abducted eleven of his clan members.¹⁵⁸ This was certainly a tough price for Jones to pay when he had already given so much for the greater cause. The nation's newspapers noted that Holatoochee had "*Stolen Away* the wives of Sam Jones," but rather than being sympathetic, they hoped that this situation would further subdue Jones into immigrating.¹⁵⁹ It was actually a miracle that Holatoochee survived, as his "life was often threatened, and great opposition was made to the removal of his relations," by his own clan members in Florida.¹⁶⁰ But in the end, the women immigrated with him.

Military surveys, additional patrols, and troop mobilization around the Big Cypress area ultimately led to the first incident of the Third Seminole War on December 20, 1855. By then, highly decorated Brevet Brigadier General William Selby Harney was brought back to the field as commander of the Florida troops. As Harney was ready to take to the field in November 1856, however, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis sent him an order. "You are authorized to negotiate with Sam Jones and, if he cooperates with emigration, he could stay in Florida. Other families whose cooperation is needed could be offered some terms."¹⁶¹ But Jones again refused. Despite all of the ploys, turncoats, special detachments, and the high price on Jones' head, in the two and a half year Third Seminole War, he and a substantial number of his Mikasuki people

158 Casey, John C., "Memorandum Concerning the Seminoles &c &c" John C. Casey Papers, CU551 1801-1856, Papers and Dairies, USMA 1829, United States Military Academy, October 23, 1850), 107; [As previously mentioned, the clan of this family has yet to be positively documented; Casey, "Seminole Census of 1850," John C. Casey Papers 1845-1856, Thomas Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Oklahoma [verified by Billy Bowlegs 1850, updated]; "Delegate" was the term used by the military to denote Indians brought back to Florida as immigration emissaries.

159 *Oshkosh Democrat*, November 29, 1850.

160 Casey, *Memorandum*, 109; John C. Casey, Letter to Sir: "Tampa Bay, Florida, October 30, 1850." In Senate Exec. Doc, 31st Cong, 2nd Sess, Ex. Doc. No 1, December 2, 1850, 90-91.

161 James W. Covington, *The Billy Bowlegs War, 1855-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles against the Whites* (Chuluota, FL: Mickler House Publishers, 1982), 59.

still managed to remain free. Bowlegs' Alachua Seminoles however did capitulate, leaving for Indian Territory, which ending the Third Seminole War in April 1858, (additional Alachua immigrations in 1859.

Hardly "senile" and "feeble," Jones had remarried. She was a young Otter clan woman, Asi:ho'hyi, who, born in 1840 was sixty one years his junior.¹⁶² It was reported by the *Southern Cultivator* newspaper in 1859 that, "Chief Sam Jones band worked the wreck of a slave ship near Jupiter Inlet...."¹⁶³ And Jones' nephew and heir, the gregarious Old Tigertail, also known as Kotsa Hadjo, used to regale post war settlers frequently with his stories of battles from the Third Seminole War "in excited Mikasuki/English vernacular, calling the regular troops 'Yankees' and the Florida volunteers on horseback 'Cowboys.'"¹⁶⁴

There was sporadic but documented communication with Jones and his people during the American Civil War. In 1862, "Sam Jones requested a meeting via a messenger he sent to Tampa" and cattleman Jacob Summerlin responded, setting off to Jones' remote camp to quell a rumor concerning a "war party on the loose." Meanwhile, agents of the Confederacy became overly paranoid that the Seminoles, in exchange for valuable Union trade goods, might be swayed by the Union to act against the southern cause, disrupting the all important raising of cattle in the Big Cypress and the supply line north. In August 1863, Confederate Agent Henry Prosen's "met and parlayed with Sam Jones in his settlement of around seventy people," to see what their needs might be!¹⁶⁵ Then around 1864, when Jones was about 83 years old, he and Asi:ho'hyi' had a daughter, Sakhi'his.¹⁶⁶ Jones death was reported to Agent John T. Sprague at Fort Dallas (Miami River) in January 1867. Jones presumably died in late 1866 at around 85 years of age.¹⁶⁷ He left as his

162 Worth to Fautleroy, August 22, 1847, AGLS; William C. Sturtevant, "Personal Communication and Notes," January 7, 2001 (Seminole/Miccosukee Archive, Ft. Lauderdale, FL). As mentioned, Sturtevant collected genealogical data on Sam Jones from Josie Billie (Panther clan).

163 Robert A. Taylor, "Unforgotten Threat: Florida Seminoles In The Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LXIX:3 (January, 1991): 300-314, citing 301.

164 West, "The Seminole Old Tiger Tail," 364.

165 Taylor, "Unforgotten Threat: Florida Seminoles in the Civil War," 305-307.

166 Sturtevant, "Personal Communication and Notes," January 7, 2002 (Seminole/Miccosukee Archive, Ft. Lauderdale, FL).

167 Taylor, "Unforgotten Threat," 313

heir his nephew, the aforementioned Kotsa Hadjo, or Old Tiger Tail, as the head of the Mikasukis.¹⁶⁸

While the tribal structure around Jones had indeed shrunk with every immigration to Indian Territory, it appears indisputable that he retained his position of authority. Indeed, with so many leaders immigrated to Indian Territory, Jones had survived, and he left his people with a rigid set of traditions that were to be followed as law. In this respect, Sam Jones became the embodiment of the post war traditions, while the imprint of the Seminole wars lasted.

In the late nineteenth century, the approximately 350 Mikasuki survivors remained extremely reticent in their general interactions with outsiders. With the tribe in the hands of the Council of Elders, the people remained under the influence of a strict, distinctive continuance of tribal dictums from the Jones' era that were strongly enforced. Before the 1950's, the Council was judge and jury and designated those who would mete out and receive punishment, including the death penalty. These "Old Men" were ever watchful of deviations from the norm, outside influences that might corrupt the traditional mores of the people or challenge the sovereign freedom of the corporate tribe. As late as the pre-federal tribal recognition era 1950's, the Mikasuki people living in the relatively isolated freedom of the Everglades appear to have existed as the most traditional tribal peoples east of the Mississippi River.

The Seminole Tribe of Florida's state of the art Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum opening in 1997, the seat of Seminole and Miccosukee culture and history that is "A Place to Learn—A Place to Remember," was a project spearheaded by Seminole Tribe of Florida Chairman James E. Billie. Billie purposefully built the museum on the remote Big Cypress Reservation near where Jones lived and died. And in further commemoration of Jones, the next Museum building, scheduled to open in 2017, will be dedicated to Abiaka. The funds to create the outstanding state of the art museum were made possible by the tribe's early twenty-first century economic windfalls. As a savior of his people in his own right, from his initial election in 1979, James Billie proposed then parleyed and fought the State of Florida and the Federal Government for 24/7 Bingo and then

168 Patsy West, "The Seminole Old Tiger Tail," 363-364. Old Tiger Tail had been "an officer under Osceola" and fought in the Battle of Wahoo Swamp, November 26, 1836. He died in 1881 when he was struck by lightning in Big Cypress; Sam Jones' daughter Saki'hsi' had five Otter clan children. Sturtevant, "Personal Communication and Notes," January 7, 2002.

High Stakes gaming ventures on the Seminoles' tax free reservation land. The tribe's victory in these efforts brought the possibility of prosperity to his impoverished tribe, while his efforts redefined "tribal sovereignty" for others across Indian America. Chairman Billie, Jones' greatest proponent (who in 2000 had named the Tribe's 45 million dollar jet "Arpeika"), has recently requested at the State level to officially name State Road 833 that runs through the Big Cypress Reservation to the Devil's Garden area "Sam Jones Trail," a very fitting reminder to all who travel through Sam Jones' country.¹⁶⁹

169 Peter B. Gallagher, "Distinction sought for Sam Jones Trail," *The Seminole Tribune—Voice of the Unconquered*, December 30, 2014, 38:12.

"The Indians Are Scattering, I Fear": Mobility and Power in the Second Seminole War

by Christine A. Rizzi

Five days after Christmas in 1837, Brigadier General Thomas Sidney Jesup wrote a letter to Colonel Zachary Taylor on the subject of cypress canoes. The latter officer was fresh off an engagement against a large band of Seminole Indians. Taylor's force of 800 regular soldiers and volunteers engaged some 400 Seminole warriors and their black allies on the north shore of Lake Okeechobee.¹ The Indian group, led by fabled leaders Sam Jones, Alligator, and Wild Cat, retreated across the lake after injuring and killing a significant number of Taylor's detachment.² With the enemy withdrawing across the large, unfamiliar lake, and Taylor boat-less, the U.S. Army found itself once again stymied by circumstance.³

Christine A. Rizzi is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Mississippi in Oxford. She wishes to thank James G. Cusick for his invaluable suggestions in crafting the article and Michelle Wilbanks for her assistance in the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History archives.

- 1 Historian Joe Knetsch puts the total number of Seminole warriors involved in the Battle of Okeechobee between 380 and 480. John and Mary Lou Missall likewise estimate that around four hundred warriors fought in the battle. Joe Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars, 1817-1858* (Charleston, SC: Arcadian Publishing, 2003), 103; John and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 142.
- 2 The final tally of casualties for Taylor's forces, according to Knetsch, was 26 dead and 112 wounded. The Seminoles incurred 11 dead and 14 wounded. Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars*, 103.
- 3 As John and Mary Lou Missall argue, the Seminoles retreated from the battlefield after Taylor ordered his fresh reserve forces "against the Indian's right side." In addition, the Seminoles' goal in the battle did not involve keeping the ground. Instead, they endeavored "to slow the Americans down enough to allow the women and children to escape." John and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 143.

Jesup's letter, brimming with optimism, offered a strategy for pursuing the Seminoles. He acknowledged that it was "doubtful whether wagons or even packhorses can be taken" to the eastern side of Okeechobee from the principal headquarters of the army, Fort Brooke, located on Tampa Bay. Instead, the army should employ cypress canoes. Jesup received intelligence from "Indians and others" that the lakes extending just south of Kissimmee were navigable and connected to Lake Okeechobee. Frustrated in his attempts at drawing out the enemy, Jesup realized that he had to use the technology of the Seminoles in order to access their hiding places and achieve the dubious goal of his tenure in Florida: the removal of the entire Seminole tribe. Jesup conjectured that, if the intelligence concerning the lakes was true, and the canoes could be easily obtained, "the war may be certainly closed this winter."⁴

For those who know how the war ended, Jesup's optimism is laughable. The war would not conclude by winter. In fact, it would continue another five years, and it would end up costing millions of dollars and the lives of thousands on both sides of the conflict.⁵ Jesup himself would tire of the war by May of 1838, when he handed command over to Taylor. Jesup's futile canoe strategy was yet another hard lesson learned in the Florida wilderness.

Numerous volumes recount the major engagements of the Second Seminole War and the larger-than-life personalities who directed the conflict. The earliest work that aimed to grapple with the conduct of the war came from a man who served in the conflict, John T. Sprague. Although Sprague intended his account as a historical treatment, he could not help but give voice to the frustration felt by men of the U.S. military endeavoring to remove the Seminoles in an unforgiving landscape.⁶ Indeed, the role of

4. Thomas Sidney Jesup to Zachary Taylor, December 30, 1837. Military Correspondence, Second Seminole War, 1835-1842; Letters between Walker Keith Armistead, 1785-1845; James A. Chambers; William Grigsby Freeman, 1815-??; Thomas Sidney Jesup, 1788-1860; Thomas Beasley Linnard, ?-1851; Frederick, K. Searle, Florida Misc. Manuscripts, 00,137, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History (hereafter cited as PKY), University of Florida, Gainesville, FL.

5. John K. Mahon estimates that the U.S. government spent between \$30 and \$40 million to wage the Second Seminole War. Total U.S. deaths numbered approximately 1,466, according to John and Mary Lou Missall, with disease claiming the most lives. Seminole warriors killed 269 officers and enlisted men in all. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1967), 326; John and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 204.

6. John T. Sprague, *The Origins, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1848).

Florida's difficult terrain remains an integral factor in studies of the war. For example, George Buker gives extensive treatment to the development of specialized warfare in the Everglades in *Swamp Sailors in the Second Seminole War*.⁷ Comprehensive summaries of the war, including John K. Mahon's *History of the Second Seminole War*, Joe Knetsch's *Florida's Seminole Wars*, and John and Mary Lou Missall's *The Seminole Wars*, also explore the impact of the landscape on Seminole guerrilla strategy and the army's struggle to conform their tactics to Seminole fighting. A plethora of new research likewise addresses the longstanding importance of the Florida wilderness to the conduct of the war, while also using various lenses to ask new questions of the war generally. These approaches include exploring individual diaries of servicemen, shifting chronological or geographical focus, or asserting the force of race and identity to the execution of the war on both sides.⁸

This article seeks to fit the wartime challenges of Florida's landscape into a larger framework of the difficulties Americans faced while encountering new frontier environments. I argue that

7 George E. Buker, *Swamp Sailors in the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997).

8 Recent books on the Second Seminole War include Frank Laumer, *Amidst a Storm of Bullets: The Diary of Lt. Henry Prince in Florida, 1836-1842* (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 1998); John and Mary Lou Missall, *This Miserable Pride of a Soldier: The Letters and Journals of Col. William S. Foster in the Second Seminole War* (Tampa, FL: University of Tampa Press, 2005); Joe Knetsch, ed., *Fear and Anxiety on the Florida Frontier* (Dade City, FL: Seminole Wars Foundation, Inc., 2008); William S. Belko, ed., *America's Hundred Years' War: U.S. Expansion to the Gulf Coast and the Fate of the Seminole, 1763-1858* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011). Recent articles include James M. Denham, "Some Prefer the Seminoles': Violence and Disorder Among Soldiers and Settlers in the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (July 1991): 38-54; C.S. Monaco, "Fort Mitchell and the Settlement of the Alachua Country," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 1-25; James M. Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt, "Everything is Hubbub Here': Lt. James Wilmoughby Anderson's Second Seminole War, 1837-1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 82, no. 3 (Winter 2004): 313-359; Matthew T. Percy, "'The Ruthless Hand of War': Andrew A. Humphreys in the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 123-153; Evan Nooe, "'Zealous in the Cause': Indian Violence, the Second Seminole War, and the Formation of a Southern Identity," *Native South* 4 (2011): 55-81; C.S. Monaco, "Alachua Settlers and the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 1-32; C.S. Monaco, "'Wishing that Right May Prevail': Ethan Allen Hitchcock and the Florida War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 93, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 167-194; Cameron Strang, "Violence, Ethnicity, and Human Remains during the Second Seminole War," *Journal of American History* 100, no. 4 (March 2014): 973-994. A recent thesis produced on the war is by Toni Carrier, "Trade and Plunder Networks During the Second Seminole War in Florida, 1835-1842," (MA thesis, University of South Florida, 2005).

the disparity in environmental knowledge that characterized the Second Seminole War typified a much larger conflict over access that emerged in the nineteenth century. As the American frontier gradually moved westward, the reach of American power simultaneously extended south into Florida. The Florida frontier, like the frontiers of the West, alternately captivated and frightened Americans. Frontier spaces harbored both potential wealth and almost-certain danger.

The allure of the Florida frontier justified the importance of the Second Seminole War to the United States. Removing the Seminoles, according to supporters of Indian Removal, would open more territory to American cultivation and development. The painstaking progress of the American military, however, exposed the difficulty of controlling frontier space and people. Indeed, native people on American frontiers often held the upper hand in navigating space. White Americans frequently relied on Native American knowledge of routes and waterways to guide their own travel or, as in the Second Seminole War, deeply resented Native American control of territory. Studies by scholars such as Thomas W. Dunlay, Lisa Blee, Angela Pulley Hudson, and Daniel Papsdorf explore the complex role of Indian knowledge about space in shaping the white experience of various American frontiers.⁹ Indian routes of travel initially helped white Americans to reach and settle frontier areas. Gradually, however, settlers tried to impose their own travel needs onto native spaces, leading to contestation. In Florida, white settlers and the American military used Indian guides both prior to and during the Second Seminole War. Toni Carrier's work on trade and plunder networks focuses on the importance of Seminole interactions to white settlers and other travelers in Florida. Jesup used Creek Indians hostile to the Seminoles, such as Echo Harjo, and captured Seminole Indians or Black Seminoles, such as Tomoka John and the legendary Abraham, to

9 Thomas W. Dunley, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries in the United States Army, 1860-1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987); Lisa Blee, "Mount Ranier and Indian Economies of Place, 1850-1920," *Western Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (Winter 2009): 419-433; Angela Pulley Hudson, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Daniel Papsdorf, "Fear and Dependence: Native Control of Euro-American Travel in the Mississippi River Valley During the Late Eighteenth Century," (paper presented at annual meeting of the Gulf South History and Humanities Association, Natchez, MS, October 1, 2015).

gain knowledge of the Florida terrain.¹⁰ The overwhelming experience of mobility for the U.S. military in the Second Seminole War, however, was one of profound frustration toward Seminole ways of using the landscape.

From the start, the primary challenge working against the U.S. military was the Seminoles' superior knowledge of the waterways and topography of Florida, especially their capacity to move quickly and to blend into the dense palmetto brush and hammocks of the landscape. The first major engagement of the war, the Dade Battle of 1835, was an ambush that depended on the ability of Seminole warriors to maintain an invisible presence alongside the marching detachment of Major Francis L. Dade. As Dade and his men made their way from Fort Brooke to the undermanned Fort King, they came upon the Wahoo Swamp in which a large force of Seminole and Black Seminole warriors led by Jumper, Alligator, Abraham, and Micanopy lay in wait. In Alligator's own words, "Every warrior was protected by a tree, or secreted in the high palmettos," awaiting Jumper's signal to open fire.¹¹ In a succession of attacks, the concealed Seminoles decimated Dade's ranks. The ambush taught the army a costly lesson: Seminole invisibility was deadly. The Seminoles continued to use environmental features, such as hammocks, swamps, and marshes, to plan and execute ambushes throughout the war. Their guerrilla-style tactics posed a significant dilemma to the U.S. military with its West Point, European-style training.¹²

10 "...wrote to Echo Harjo requiring him with 100 of his warriors to come to Tampa Bay." Diary Entry, December 24, 1836. Thomas Sidney Jesup Diary. State Library of Florida. Tallahassee, FL.; J.A. Chambers to Brig. Gen. Abraham Eustis, Jan. 7, 1838. Military Correspondence, Second Seminole War, 1835-1842. For more on use of Black Seminoles as guides, see Kenneth W. Porter, "Negro Guides and Interpreters in the Early Stages of the Seminole War, December 28, 1835- March 6, 1837," *Journal of Negro History* 35 (1950): 174-182; Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 283-284; George E. Buker, "The Mosquito Fleet's Guides and the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (January 1979): 308-326; Larry E. Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., "The Indispensable Man": John Horse and Florida's Second Seminole War," *Journal of the GAH* 18 (1997): 1-23.

11 "December 28, 1835: Alligator (Halpatter Tustennuggee) gives his account of the Dade Battle," *In Their Own Words: Selected Seminole "Talks,"* ed. John & Mary Lou Missall and Frank Laumer, (Dade City, FL: Seminole Wars Foundation, 2009), 21.

12 Sgt. Maj. Joel W. Jones described the guerrilla strategy of the Seminoles in his letters home, which he quoted in his memoir. The Seminoles, he said, "follow our columns of soldiers about, keeping themselves out of danger, plundering when opportunity offers a chance, and picking off sentinels and stragglers." Joel W. Jones Memoir: A New Yorker in Florida's Second Seminole War. Transcription. Joel W. Jones Journals, PKY, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/>

In the early years of the conflict, the Seminoles were able to deploy large numbers of warriors, yet maintain surprise and concealment. The Seminoles and black warriors that attacked Dade and his men numbered almost two hundred individuals.¹³ Later battles at Dunlawton, Withlacoochee Cove, and Okeechobee also featured large forces. The goal of pitched Seminole fighting, however, rarely aimed at a definitive victory. Warriors endeavored to create enough confusion and casualties to allow for gradual withdrawal into the Florida wilderness. Indeed, traveling with families and other noncombatants made such withdrawals a necessity.¹⁴ Withdrawal also allowed Seminole warriors to plan and execute other surprise attacks. The strategy essentially created a chase across the peninsula, with the U.S. Army in constant pursuit of an enemy that always seemed somewhere in front of them. As the war dragged on, however, the piecemeal defeat of Seminole bands, coupled with a negotiated surrender of many of the Black Seminoles, decreased the Seminoles' ability to field large, strong forces, and meant that large, pitched battles were no longer feasible.¹⁵ The last major engagements of the war, the Battle of Okeechobee in 1837 and the 1838 Battle of Loxahatchee, ushered in a change in Seminole tactics, which still exploited the natural landscape. Small groups of Seminoles concealed themselves in the hard to reach areas of Florida to avoid capture and removal. Small raids, guerrilla tactics, and near-constant mobility became the dominant strategy. Subsistence strategies became essential to the mobile nature of Seminole life during the war. As Patsy West notes, the Seminoles were able to secure food and supplies in the Everglades and the southern coasts

AA00017193/00003, 64 (accessed February 6, 2016). For more in-depth studies of Seminole guerrilla strategy, see Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*; John C. White, Jr., "American Military Strategy during the Second Seminole War," (MA thesis, Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1995); James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993).

13 John and Mary Lou Missall estimate approximately 180 warriors at the Dade Battle. *The Seminole Wars*, 96.

14 John and Mary Lou Missall note that the famous Battle of Okeechobee resulted after the army discovered the Seminoles' principle hiding place in marshes on the banks of the lake. Mikasuki leader Sam Jones and Seminole warriors Alligator and Coacoochee led an assault with the ultimate goal "to slow the Americans down enough to allow the women and children to escape." *The Seminole Wars*, 143.

15 Black Seminoles especially feared removal because of the potential consequences to their freedom. When they received confirmation from the government that they would not be sold into slavery, they agreed to depart for Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

of the peninsula, using wrecking and other means to sustain the small groups still opposing the U.S. military and removal.¹⁶

The decentralized nature of Seminole settlement also meant they could move through the landscape with greater ease than an American military force. The tribe already existed as a decentralized collection of bands that often formed around towns and a sub-chief of considerable influence.¹⁷ Bands included warriors, families, and slaves. During the war, family units could disperse if danger came too close and they deemed fighting impossible. The diffusion of Seminole bands made collecting them for removal a time-consuming process, a fact that some chiefs used to their advantage. A standard response in negotiations was to inform military officials that bands were gathering together to surrender, then use the time to relocate away from danger or prepare a series of raids and strikes. Jesup complained to Taylor in 1837 that sub-chief Holatoochee caused Jesup much embarrassment by assuring the general "that he was collecting his people, when [Jesup] had information the day before the Seminole Camp broke up near Tampa that [Holatoochee] had made no effort to do so."¹⁸ Distrust of Seminole intentions affected all ranks, and soldiers freely shared their opinions that chiefs were simply playing tricks to elude capture. Captain Joseph Rowe Smith lamented to his wife in February of 1838 that he was afraid the army "shall not do much more this campaign. The Indians are scattering, I fear."¹⁹ "Although it is no

- 16 West characterizes wrecking, one of the subsistence strategies of the remaining Seminole population, as "actively engaged in salvaging materials and food-stuffs on the Atlantic beaches from the numerous wrecked ships or jettisoned cargos that were seasonal weather casualties of Gulf Stream shipping lanes." Patsy West, *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Casino Gaming* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 5. See also Patsy West, this issue.
- 17 Seminole identity was rooted in connections to matrilineal clans, villages, and bands rather than an overarching tribal identity. Indeed, the group of native people who came to comprise the Seminole tribe originated from their resistance to Creek centralization. See John K. Mahon and Brent Weisman, "Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee," *The New History of Florida*, ed. Michael Gannon, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); Brent Weisman, *Unconquered People: Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999); James Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida*; Patsy West, this issue.
- 18 Jesup to Taylor, December 30, 1837. Military Correspondence, Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, PKY.
- 19 Joseph Rowe Smith to Juliet Smith, February 14, 1838. Joseph Rowe Smith Correspondence, Military and Personal, 1837-1844, PKY, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00017217/00001/allvolumes> (accessed February 6, 2016).

great matter to capture an Indian," he continued, "still so many have failed to do so,—that it is in fact quite a feat."²⁰

Later operations in the Everglades proved no more successful in corralling bands of Seminoles, whom Lieutenant Colonel N.S. Clarke characterized as "erratic," due to their dispersal and "the facility with which they usually elude search and pursuit."²¹ Lieutenant John Bonnell Marchard likewise testified to his Mosquito Fleet Commander Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin that Marchard had "every reason to believe that many of the Islands in [the Everglades] are peopled with [Seminoles]."²²

The Seminoles' knowledge of the Florida landscape made both their early battles and the eventual scattering of bands possible. The diverse environment of the territory allowed Seminoles to conceal themselves in various types of terrain in order to coordinate attacks. Captain Smith found the area surrounding the Suwannee River to be "a most beautiful hiding place for the Indians," due to the "country alternating with hammocks, and pine barrens, oak ridges and Cabbage hammocks... [and] in many places, a very luxuriant growth of Palmetto."²³ The Seminoles also surreptitiously mapped the movements of the army through their territory. While in pursuit of a band of Seminoles, Smith stumbled upon a tree carving on the bank of the Suwannee River that indicated the presence of patrol boats. The drawing of two schooners above a crooked line, "was designed, undoubtedly, to convey to the other Indians, the information of vessels being somewhere on the river."²⁴

Military men apparently were not surprised at seeing marks and signs left by Seminole scouts when they occurred in fairly open areas like hammocks and pine barrens. Spotting clues in inhospitable marshes and swamps, however, truly shocked the men of the U.S. Army. They found such terrain "nearly impracticable for man," and it suggested to them that Indians could go where it was

20 Smith to Smith, February 29, 1840. Joseph Rowe Smith Correspondence, PKY.

21 N.S. Clarke to S. Cooper, July 9, 1841. Box 1, Folder 2, Edward T. Keenan Papers, PKY.

22 McLaughlin referred to his joint Army and Navy Everglades detachment as the Mosquito Fleet. Letter from John Bonnell Marchard to John T. McLaughlin, March 6, 1842, Marchard, John Bonnell, Lt. Com. 1808-1875 - Letters written when in command of the steamer Van Buren 1841-1842, Florida Misc. Manuscripts, 00,986, PKY [copies, originals in the Naval War College]. For an in-depth study of the Mosquito Fleet, see George E. Buker's *Swamp Sailors*.

23 Scouting report by Smith, Feb. 1, 1840. Joseph Rowe Smith Correspondence, PKY.

24 Ibid.

impossible for whites to follow.²⁵ This fed a prejudice that existed even before the war that Indians, being "primitive," could live in places that no white settler would consider. After completing a survey of the eastern bank of the Ocklawaha River in 1827, Major Joshua A. Coffee reported to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs that "no white person would think of residing" on the land.²⁶ The report of Lieutenant C.R. Gates in 1841 echoed Coffee's opinion. Gates stated that the area along the Withlacoochee River, which the Seminoles favored, did not possess "one acre of land which is hospitable for a white man."²⁷ The movement of the Seminoles through rugged terrain during the war reinforced the perceived differences between the Seminole tribe and white society.

Although the Seminoles were able to stay mobile and maintain concealed hideouts, the rigors of such heightened movement strained their ability to produce crops or maintain food supplies and caused considerable hardship. Hardships fell not just on the warriors but on women, children, the elderly, and the infirm. Captain Smith came across the trail of a lone woman and child while scouting near Fort Fanning in February of 1840. Their tracks were close to a large Indian camp of what Smith estimated to be about eight or ten families, where he saw signs of agricultural cultivation.²⁸ Indeed, Seminole women attempted to farm in concealed areas where bands made their camps. They performed this necessary labor despite the probability that the site would have to be abandoned or would be destroyed by soldiers on expeditions. While scouting in the Everglades in 1842, Lieutenant Marchard reported the vast amount of cultivation taking place on remote islands in the area around what he referred to as Cocoa Nut Island. One such island held five acres of crops, including corn, pears, beans, and pumpkins, all of which "had a thriving growth." Marchard proudly reported that he "destroyed every thing useful to the Indians."²⁹ In

- 25 Scouting report by Joseph Hatch LaMotte, July 28, 1841. Joseph Hatch LaMotte, ?-1888. - Report of a scout along the Waccasassa River, Florida Misc. Manuscripts 00,514, PKY.
- 26 The Bureau of Indian Affairs commissioned Coffee to supervise the border of the Seminole reservation created in 1823. Joshua A. Coffee to Thomas L. McKenney, June 13, 1827. J.A. Coffee - Letters to Thomas L. McKenney, Florida Misc. Manuscripts, 00,212, PKY.
- 27 C.R. Gates to N.S. Clarke, July 3, 1841. Box 1, Folder 2, Edward T. Keenan Papers, PKY.
- 28 Scouting Report by Smith, February 1, 1840, Joseph Rowe Smith Correspondence, PKY.
- 29 Marchard to McLaughlin, March 23, 1842. John Bonnell Marchard Letters, PKY.

fact, as the war progressed, destruction of Seminole food supplies became a major goal of the U.S. military as an indirect means of inducing tribes to give up.

In contrast to Seminole mobility, the U.S. military experienced slow progress during forays into Florida. As discussed above, the military strategy of the U.S. broke down into two categories. First, early in the war, commanders attempted to engage the Seminoles in open combat in the style familiar to all trained U.S. officers. This strategy was deemed ineffective due to the eventual dispersal of the Seminole tribe. Search-and-capture then became the dominant method for waging the war. In both cases, the U.S. experience resulted in deep frustration for soldiers over their inability to traverse complicated and unfamiliar terrain.

Attempting to coordinate the movement of large forces over frontier space made the first year of the war especially grueling for the U.S. army. The example of territorial governor Richard Keith Call's expedition of 1836 was especially instructive on the difficulties that could result in the Florida wilderness. Call, a favorite of President Andrew Jackson, tried to gain prestige as the newly appointed governor of Florida by leading troops to the Wahoo Swamp on the southern bank of the Withlacoochee River, the stronghold of the Seminoles.³⁰ As one Call biographer wrote, Call's campaign, intended to launch in the summer of 1836, "met with every hindrance imaginable."³¹ The draft of discontented Florida volunteers and the late arrival of the Tennessee volunteers delayed Call's departure to September. Upon arriving at the Withlacoochee, where he intended to cross, Call discovered that General Leigh Read had failed to establish a crucial supply depot due to the grounding of a supply vessel. Crossing the Withlacoochee proved impossible owing to the swiftness of the current and the high water. With his men and horses possessing rations for only two additional days, Call led his men back to Fort Drane. That fort, however, possessed few supplies as well. Call, after "[losing] horses daily to starvation, and the Tennessee boys grumbl[ing] to the point of near mutiny," led the contingent all the way back to Black Creek, far northeast

30 Call pleaded to Jackson for the chance to lead an expedition, writing that he would "be highly gratified to command the army and believe I could soon bring the war to a close." Sidney Walter Martin, "Richard Keith Call, Florida Territorial Leader," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (April 1943), 341.

31 Ibid., 343.

of his intended target.³² Though he subsequently brought his men back to the field to engage the Seminoles, overall his expedition failed for two important reasons. First, Call underestimated the difficulties of establishing supply caches on the sparsely settled frontier. Second, despite previous experience in the Creek War and in Florida, he was unprepared for the nature of the terrain and the length of time needed to traverse it.

Faced with situations like Call's, the main concern of the U.S. Army was to tame the landscape through the construction of roads. The military constantly worried about the integrity of supply routes in the Florida interior, especially because wagons and pack animals necessitated open, easy-to-follow roads. After Taylor assumed command in May of 1838, he crafted a winter campaign strategy that consisted principally of road construction.³³ The surveying and building of roads allowed for the manning and supply of more outposts as bases for army operations. Officers frequently commented on the practicability of road construction in their scouting reports. Many of them found the prospect unsavory, however, given the propensity for impossibly thick brush and the alarming amount of standing water. In the absence of roads, marching proved dangerous. More often than not, the military found maps to be unreliable, and getting lost with dwindling provisions could be disastrous. Marching through undeveloped terrain was also physically grueling. Marchard reported that part of his force had to return to Fort Henry due to the "laceration of their feet caused by the sharp limestone rocks over which they passed in the pines." "Indeed," he said, "many of the men returned almost barefooted."³⁴

Sergeant Major Joel W. Jones likewise recounted the pain endured on overland expeditions. Although Jones did not find St. Augustine to be a picturesque location, his foray into the Florida interior, begun on March 13, 1836, made him long for the town.³⁵ Jones' detachment was "much fatigued" from marching all day on March 21 in an area Jones curtly described as having "No roads. Water most of the time knee deep." Indeed, although the men pos-

32 Due to Call's unfortunate foray, Secretary of War Benjamin F. Butler removed him as commander of forces in Florida, installing Jesup instead. Knetsch, *Florida's Seminole Wars*, 95.

33 Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 158-160.

34 Marchard to McLaughlin, March 4, 1842. John Bonnell Marchard Letters, PKY.

35 Jones, Memoir, "St. Augustine is full of soldiers and all sorts of rioting and drunkenness are indulged in," 60, PKY.

sessed mules and wagons to move supplies, the men had "to assist the mules in getting along with the wagons and two pieces of artillery." Insult piled onto injury on the morning of March 30 after Jones and his men could not pursue a retreating band of Seminoles into a dense cypress swamp. According to Jones, the Indian group "absolutely laughed at us and when we retired they jeered at us."³⁶

Traversing waterways was almost as daunting as contending with overland travel. The army struggled early in the war with river crossings, and soldiers suffered dearly for their trouble. The Withlacoochee Cove area witnessed three failed attempts by the army to successfully cross the river and engage a large force of Seminole fighters on the south bank. General Duncan Lamont Clinch was the first to attempt a crossing on New Year's Day, 1835. The commander, possessing what John and Mary Lou Missall politely term "an imperfect knowledge" of the river, tried to ferry his men across one of its deepest points using an abandoned canoe that the detachment discovered on the north bank.³⁷ The difficult crossing gave the Seminoles ample opportunity to plan a surprise attack from a dense hammock, resulting in an American retreat. General Edmund P. Gaines fared little better, returning to the exact same spot in February of 1836. After a harrowing attempt to cross the river, he erected a small fort on the north side called Camp Izard.³⁸ Near-constant Seminole pressure, however, forced Gaines to eventually abandon the position.³⁹ Finally, as previously noted, territorial governor Call tried his hand at crossing the Withlacoochee in October of 1836. His supply issues, coupled with the fact that his men brought no tools with which to make rafts, forced Call to abandon the crossing.⁴⁰ The Withlacoochee offered no quarter for the over-confident and under-prepared U.S. military.

Marshes and swamps proved especially vexing during the search-and-remove phase of the war. Marching through standing water was both unhealthy and physically draining, leading to many instances of disease and exhaustion. W.E. Pima's scouting report from July of 1841 spoke directly to the harsh conditions his men endured during their trek inland from Cedar Key. Pima lamented

36 Ibid., 62-63.

37 Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 98-100.

38 Gaines named the fort after the only casualty of their first crossing attempt, 1st Lt. James F. Izard. Seminole snipers killed Izard from the opposite bank of the Withlacoochee River.

39 Ibid., 107-109.

40 Ibid., 119.

that his "movements were somewhat impeded by the appearance of sickness among the men." He also reported that, of the distance traveled by the group, three-quarters of it was under water. They encamped in hard-to-find hammock land, but the abundant mosquitos deprived his men "of that rest the fatigue, incident to the duty, required."⁴¹ The soldiers' zeal in tracking fleeing Seminoles through such terrain could sometimes result in absurd difficulties that made the army's progress even more labored. Smith's men made a nearly fatal error while searching for Seminoles in the swampy area between Fort Fanning and Fort Jennings in what is now Levy County. After following a stream, the detachment discovered a well-supplied but recently abandoned Indian camp that had several cypress canoes. The soldiers destroyed everything in the camp, including the canoes, in an attempt to limit the access of the Seminoles to another hiding place. The soldiers' pride turned to consternation the next day, however, when they discovered they were on an island and had destroyed their only means of transportation the day before. They hastily repaired the canoes, which nonetheless sank during the crossing. Luckily for them they only lost a musket in the debacle.⁴²

The Everglades proved similarly confounding for the U.S. Navy, which struggled for mobility in the seemingly endless expanse of water and grass. Before the navy could properly scout the area, they needed to figure out which boats worked best for the Everglades, eventually employing shallow-draft, flat-bottomed boats for the purpose. Possessing vessels well suited for traversing the waters of the glades, however, did not guarantee success at finding the Seminoles. Marchard reported that his fellow officer, Lieutenant Rodgers, was "almost in despair at not having caught any Indians on his last scout."⁴³

The combined effects of such difficulties with the Florida landscape created a pervasive atmosphere of frustration among U.S. soldiers. Smith took the time in a Valentine's Day letter to grouse to his wife that Congress "appear[ed] to think the army is toiling

41 Scouting report by W.E. Pima, July 30, 1841. Pima, W.E. - Letter describing scouting expedition along the Gulf Coast inland from Cedar Key, Florida Misc. Manuscripts, 00,520, PKY.

42 Scouting report by Smith, February 1, 1840. Joseph Rowe Smith Correspondence, PKY.

43 Marchard to McLaughlin, February 25, 1842. John Bonnell Marchard Letters, PKY.

in vain... through the Swamps of Florida."⁴⁴ If the expectations of the American public weighed heavily on a captain, they must have been more cumbersome to the numerous generals who served their time in Florida. Although Taylor found acclaim in the wilds of Florida, the frustration of wrestling with the treacherous landscape tarnished the reputations of most other commanders. The questionable decisions made by numerous officers evidence the extreme political stress under which they labored. Jesup earned the ire of soldier and civilian alike when he began taking captives under a flag of truce.⁴⁵ Brigadier General Walter K. Armistead used the same tactic after chiefs Tiger Tail and Halleck Tustenuggee embarrassed him by fleeing during negotiations. General Alexander Macomb came under fire by some for using bloodhounds in the pursuit of the Seminoles.⁴⁶ Lower-ranked officers and enlisted men demonstrated a more existential unease concerning their mission in Florida. Lieutenant Colonel N.S. Clarke remarked that his men "have been animated by a desire to achieve something. That they have not achieved more may be attributed to the nature [of] the country."⁴⁷ Non-commissioned officer Sergeant Major Jones described the entire conflict as "senseless and useless," avowing that "Uncle Sam shall not catch me in such a place again."⁴⁸ Finally, in an anonymous letter to the *National Intelligencer* in March of 1837, one man vented the frustration common to his fellow soldiers. He outlined the difficult marches through hammocks and swamps, the ease of the Seminoles in retreating to concealed locations, and the "maledictions" of the press that assailed the efforts of the military. To all of this, the soldier replied that, "No one, certainly, can pretend to say that the swamps and hammocks of Florida are more easily penetrated than the fastnesses of the brigand and guerilla."⁴⁹ Overall, the frustration of tracking Seminoles and their

44 Smith to Smith, February 14, 1838. Joseph Rowe Smith Correspondence, PKY.

45 According to Major Reynold Kirby, Jesup "surprised and made prisoners of 516 of these stupefied and miserable creatures [Seminoles]. [...] These People were all under the protection of the white flag. Thus has been again perpetrated a great National Crime by General Jesup." Diary entry by Reynold Marvin Kirby, August 16, 1837. Kirby, Reynold Marvin Major, 1790-1842. - Transcript of diary, Aug. 16, 1837 - May 18, 1838, PKY.

46 Missall and Missall, *The Seminole Wars*, 171-173.

47 N.S. Clarke to S. Cooper, July 9, 1841. Box 1, Folder 2, Edward T. Keenan Papers, PKY.

48 Jones, *Memoir*, 64, PKY.

49 "The Army in Florida," *National Intelligencer*, March 21, 1837.

black allies through unforgiving terrain fomented a palpable self-consciousness among the members of the U.S. military

In conclusion, the role of movement is crucial to understanding the Second Seminole War. The restrained mobility that typified the U.S. experience during the war weighed heavily on the minds of the soldiers sent to remove the Seminoles. Marching, searching, and fighting were physically exhausting exercises, especially when exacerbated by disease. The monotony of pouring over the wilds of Florida also mentally drained U.S. soldiers of all ranks. In their reports, letters, and diaries, men fighting in Florida bemoaned their arduous movements and their disappointing efforts at removing the Seminoles. The slow progress of the war took on personal and collective meanings. Individual soldiers, including high-ranking officers, internalized their frustration. Many also feared the implications of the war for the strength of the American will.

While the men of the U.S. military grappled with these questions, they only fleetingly thought of the plight of the Seminole Indians. Indeed, the Seminole tribe would be almost completely removed from the territory that they fought to call home. Those that the U.S. forced to emigrate encountered a perilous and often debilitating journey to Indian Territory. The Seminoles who remained in Florida kept to the relative security of the Everglades and only rarely interacted with whites. Even with their relegation to the extreme south of the peninsula, the Seminoles would again have to defend their freedom during a third war in 1855. Ultimately, the Second Seminole War slashed the Seminoles' access to the peninsula to a fraction of its original size, all in the American pursuit of land, resources, and power.

Runaway Slave Advertisements in Antebellum Florida: A Retrospective

by Matthew J. Clavin

We are told that the slaves are contented and happy, faring a great deal better than northern laborers, and not wishing to leave their masters if they could. At the same time we see southern papers filled with advertisements of runaway slaves, offering great rewards for their apprehension. How strange is it that they should make such attempts, and hazard so much, to get away from contentment and happiness!¹

Reverend David Root (1836)

As the abolitionist minister's observation suggests, enslaved African Americans were neither content nor happy. Indeed, from day-to-day acts of covert resistance to brazen acts of open rebellion, slaves in the antebellum United States daily proved the lie of paternalism as even a cursory glance at the historiogra-

Matthew J. Clavin is an Associate Professor of history at the University of Houston. He is the author of *Aiming for Pensacola: Fugitive Slaves on the Atlantic and Southern Frontiers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015) and *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). His article, "An Underground Railway: to Pensacola and the Crisis over Slavery," published in the Spring 2014 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, won the Florida Historical Society's 2015 Arthur W. Thompson Award for the best article published in the *FHQ* in the previous year.

¹ Rev. David Root, *The Abolition Cause eventually triumphant. A Sermon, Delivered Before the Anti-Slavery Society of Haverhill, Mass.* (Andover, MA: Gould and Newman, 1836), 4.

phy of the South over the last half-century attests. Nevertheless, for anyone still unconvinced of the American slaves' thirst for freedom, there is a large cache of historical records that obliterate the myth of black Southerners accepting their enslaved status passively. Published in independently owned newspapers in nearly every significant city and town in the antebellum South, runaway slave advertisements—which offered cash awards for the capture of fugitive slaves or notified slaveowners of the incarceration of suspected runaways—have changed the way students, teachers, and scholars understand slavery.

Anyone interested in the study of slavery and slave resistance in antebellum Florida will find that many of these announcements are now easily accessible online. In recent years, public universities and private institutions have opened their archives to larger audiences through the digitization of collections and their presentation on open access databases. As a result thousands of runaway slave advertisements can now be accessed with the click of a mouse; in fact, with a high-speed connection and a little patience, researchers can embark on an extraordinary virtual tour of the antebellum South without ever leaving home. The result is a breathtaking look at the fierce contest over slavery and freedom between black and white Southerners in the first half of the nineteenth century.²

Almost ten years ago, as part of my research for a book on fugitive slaves in Pensacola, *Aiming for Pensacola: Fugitives Slaves on the Atlantic and Southern Frontiers*, I began seeking out every extant runaway slave advertisement published in antebellum Florida.³ Though the search continues, I have thus far encountered hundreds of unique ads identifying more than 600 enslaved men, women, and children who fled from their owners, overseers, and employers in the four decades before the Civil War.⁴ Often published multiple times in

2 Many of the advertisements used for this essay are available at the following: Florida Digital Newspaper Library, University of Florida Digital Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/newspapers> and *Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers*, Gale Cengage Learning, http://www.cengage.com/search/productOverview.do?sessionId=6AEED04B571051B08CA7DC7B0C9ABAA1?N=197+4294895417&Ntk=P_EPI&Ntt=1676709507209959652110620868681243297815&Ntx=mode%2Bmatchallpartial, (accessed January 16, 2016).

3 Matthew J. Clavin, *Aiming for Pensacola: Fugitive Slaves on the Atlantic and Southern Frontiers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

4 This number reflects only a portion of the number of actual runaways as most slaveowners never paid to advertise for their absconded property. In their separate studies of fugitive slaves in antebellum Florida, Larry E. Rivers and Donorena Harris used slave advertisements and other primary materials to identify

multiple newspapers, and frequently appearing on the front pages of Florida's most widely read newspapers, these advertisements reveal that fugitive slaves in antebellum Florida shared many of the same characteristics of their counterparts in every other part of the South. They were, like the more than 8,000 runaways documented in John Hope Franklin's and Loren Schweninger's *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*, "young and old, black and mulatto, healthy and infirm, female and male, skilled and unskilled, urban and rural. They absconded from farms, plantations, urban residences, town houses, job sites, and riverboats."⁵ Still, despite the similarities, fugitive slaves in antebellum Florida distinguished themselves from their contemporaries by seeking refuge in, or escaping from, an immense and largely uninhabited wilderness bounded by water.

An examination of these advertisements highlights their potential as informational and pedagogical tools for students, teachers, and anyone else interested in discovering a nineteenth-century Florida that was much more dynamic and divisive than is generally understood. In this article, analysis will only scratch the surface of the significance of these invaluable historical artifacts; nevertheless, it will illuminate the persistence of slave flight on the outer reaches of the United States' southern slave society, while revealing several key insights about slavery and slave resistance on the Florida frontier.

Runaway slave ads demonstrate that despite the concerted efforts of slaveowners and their allies—which consisted of federal, state, and local law enforcement officials along with ordinary citizens—slaves across the South considered Florida a refuge in both the territorial and state periods. The flight of American slaves to Florida during the Spanish colonial era is well known due to the pioneering work of Jane Landers.⁶ Runaways also continued to travel there in the four decades of American rule before the Civil War, demonstrating that fugitive slaves ran southward to freedom far more frequently than the chroniclers of the Underground Railroad would have us believe.⁷ "Florida's history, geogra-

1,009 and 742 runaways respectively. Larry E. Rivers, *Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012); Donorena Harris, "Abolitionist Sentiment in Florida 1821-1860" (MA thesis, Florida State University, 1989), 99.

5 John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 210 (quotation), 328.

6 Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

7 Seminal studies of the Underground Railroad that emphasize northern routes of escape include William Still, *The Underground Railroad* (Philadelphia, PA:

phy, and topography combined to set a unique state for its rebels and runaways," Larry E. Rivers has noted. "Unlike other southern states, Florida boasted a matchless history as a runaway slave haven, the reality of which changed little over time, at least until the final countdown to the Civil War."⁸

As was the case in the days of Spanish rule, Georgia was a common point of origin for fugitive slaves who escaped into antebellum Florida. On the Gulf Coast at Apalachicola in 1837, City Marshal John Endiman took into custody a handsome, thirty-year-old man named John, who belonged "to a Mr. Hurd, who lives in Hamilton, Harris county, Ga."⁹ In 1840, St. Marks jailer Henry Lander reported the imprisonment of Bob, who said he belonged to "Julius Accles, Stuart county Georgia," and Frederick, who confessed his owner was "Aaron Champion of Savannah, Georgia."¹⁰ In 1844 in St. Augustine, jailer Joseph Andreu announced the incarceration of "TWO NEGRO MALE SLAVES," belonging to "the Estate of James Moore of Brunswick, Georgia."¹¹

Despite the distance of several hundred miles, Pensacola also attracted bondspersons from Georgia. William White arrived in the former West Florida capital in 1828 after absconding from his owner, "Sandy King, now deceased, of Indian Springs, Georgia." According to information gleaned in a jailhouse interview, "Said negro ran away about a month since from the heirs of the deceased and made his way to this City."¹² In a similar case in 1840, Pensacola's jailer Peter Woodbine locked up Isaac, "aged about 22 years, four feet five inches high, of black complexion, stout and well made, says he belongs to Amos Whitehead living in Burke county, in the State of Georgia, and that he runaway in the month of May or June."¹³

Similar evidence demonstrates the flight of large numbers of slaves from Alabama to Florida. Among those who failed in their attempts to escape from bondage and landed behind the bars of

People's Publishing Company, 1871); William Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1898); Fergus M. Bordewich, *The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America* (New York: Harper Collins), 2005.

8 Rivers, *Rebels and Runaways*, 161.

9 "Taken Up," *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 17, 1837.

10 "Runaways in Jail," *Tallahassee Floridian*, August 15, 1840.

11 "To all whom it may concern," *St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, August 13, 1844.

12 "TAKEN UP," *Pensacola Gazette*, July 1, 1828.

13 "NOTICE," *Pensacola Gazette*, April 25, 1840.

one of Florida's local jails were "a negro man, who says his name is WIET, and that he belongs to Thomas Ware of Monroe, County, Ala;"¹⁴ Sancho, who said "he belongs to one Mr. Seeberry of Baldwin County, in the State of Alabama;"¹⁵ and Abraham, who "Says he belongs to Lawrence Rambo, who resides about 20 miles from Montgomery, Alabama."¹⁶ When Miles, Jiblo, and Bob arrived in the St. Marks jail on suspicion of running away, their return to bondage seemed certain; however, as James Denham reminds us, "during Florida's antebellum period, experience proved that few jails could hold those determined to escape."¹⁷ The following advertisement placed by the St. Marks jailer confirms Denham's observation: "\$150 REWARD. BROKE Jail at St. Marks, on the 15th inst. a Negro Boy called MILES, about 24 years of age, five feet ten inches high, belongs to James McNeill, of Montgomery, Alabama. Also two negroe fellows, named GIBLO and BOB, belonging to Thomas Frizzle, of Pike County, Alabama." Evidence on just how long the three fugitives remained at large is wanting, but it is tempting to imagine they accomplished the near impossible and became free.¹⁸

Because of its proximity to the Alabama border, Pensacola was an attractive destination for bondspeople from the southern and central parts of the state. When slaveowners from those areas placed ads in Florida papers, they often cited Pensacola as a likely destination for their runaways. For example, Jacob Merrel of Covington County, Alabama, offered \$25 for the apprehension of the "negro boy named ATHEY," who while leaving home "stole a horse from Valetton (Ala.) and is on his way to Pensacola."¹⁹ John Lamkin of Lowndes County, Alabama, wrote of Harry, who absconded the previous month, "He is supposed to be about Pensacola—or may be making his way towards that place, from Alabama."²⁰ James Conyers of Montgomery County, Alabama, wrote similarly of Sam and Shaderick, two runaways for whose apprehension he offered a \$20 reward. "The above Negroes will no doubt try to get to Pensacola

14 "Committed to Jail," *Pensacola Gazette*, February 13, 1830.

15 "Taken Up," *Pensacola Gazette*, July 16, 1836.

16 "Taken up," *Pensacola Gazette*, May 12, 1838.

17 James M. Denham, "A Rogue's Paradise": *Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1861* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 178.

18 "Committed to Jail," *Tallahassee Floridian*, July 21, 1838; "Brought to Jail," *Tallahassee Floridian*, July 28, 1838; "\$150 REWARD," *Tallahassee Floridian*, August 18, 1838.

19 "\$25 Reward," *Pensacola Gazette*, September 3, 1842.

20 "\$50 Reward," *Pensacola Gazette*, October 20, 1838.

as Sam was once there as [a] runaway."²¹ Thomas Barnett of Mount Meigs, Alabama, insisted of Bill, Frank, and Virgil, "I have no doubt all the above Negroes will aim for Pensacola."²²

Florida's reputation as a safe haven extended all the way to Mississippi. After conveying two suspected runaways to the Pensacola jail in 1826, city constables learned that Josiah belonged to Isaac Harrel, "living in Green County, State of Mississippi," while Frank was a part of the estate of a recently deceased man named Amos Reed. The constables informed additionally, "The above negroes state that they ran away together from the same County about six months ago."²³ In an ad that ran in the *Tallahassee Floridian* every Saturday for six months in 1837, S. W. Barrington, the jailer of Jefferson County, Florida, announced the detention of "two fugitive slaves," including Bob of Leon County and Wesley, who claimed "he belongs to George Brown of Sumpter county, Mississippi."²⁴ The *Pensacola Gazette* advertised the incarceration of "a Negro man" calling himself Ranson for four months, noting, "he belongs to Jehu Evans, living in Winchester, Mississippi." Having made it as far as Pensacola, Ransom succeeded in breaking out of the jail on August 2. An exasperated city constable offered "a reward of six dollars (being what the law of the Territory allows, which it is probable would be increased by the owner of Ranson) and all necessary expenses, for the apprehension of said Negro and his delivery to me in Pensacola."²⁵

Given Florida's enduring tradition as a destination for American slaves, it may come as a surprise that the territory and state served just as frequently as a point of departure. There are instances of enslaved Floridians trying to reach the North or the West Indies, but they much more frequently aimed for parts of the South they recently called home. The finding is significant, for it suggests that time and again the primary goal of fugitive slaves from Florida and the rest of the slave South was reunification with loved ones rather than liberation. Among those hoping to rejoin friends and family was Byrd, a runaway from the public stables in Tallahassee in 1839, who, according to his employer, "was brought here by a trader named Ham, from Savannah, (where he had been confined

21 "\$20 REWARD," *Pensacola Gazette*, October 20, 1838.

22 "\$50 Reward," *Pensacola Gazette*, June 30, 1838.

23 "TAKEN UP," *Pensacola Gazette*, May 6, 1826.

24 "Jailor's Notice," *Tallahassee Floridian*, January 28—September 16, 1837.

25 "TAKEN UP," *Pensacola Gazette*, July 6, 1827, November 16, 1827.

in jail sometime) and to which place he probably has returned."²⁶ After Charles, George, and Jacob ran from their employer on the St. Johns River in 1857, they garnered the following description in the *Jacksonville Florida News*: "These negroes were purchased in Charleston in February inst. and may be attempting to get back to Charleston or Savannah." Though the chances of any slave returning home safely were never good, they were in this case particularly poor, for the boat the runaways appropriated "was leaking badly when they left."²⁷

As victims of the domestic slave trade, which brought hundreds of thousands of slaves from the Upper South to the Lower South in the decades before the Civil War, enslaved Floridians often tried to reach destinations several hundred miles away. Among those hoping to reach the Upper South was Dick, a "daring artful villain" who, according to his owner, had illegally "procured free papers to enable to get to a free state, or to Virginia, where he was raised."²⁸ Samuel Richard of Hickstown in Middle Florida, the region roughly halfway between Pensacola and St. Augustine, thought similarly of a twenty-four-year old runaway named Henry. "He had, when passing through Tallahassee, a forged pass until Christmas, which he will no doubt renew, as he can write a tolerable hand. He has relations in Richmond, VA, from whence he was purchased two year since, and to which place he will no doubt attempt to make his way."²⁹

The expansion of racial slavery across the Old Southwest wreaked havoc on the antebellum slave family and advertisements include accounts of bondspeople risking their lives to reunite with mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, spouses, and children. As Ira Berlin noted "The Second Middle Passage, like the first, dismantled families, but not the idea of family."³⁰ Some ads record families escaping together.³¹ In a typical case involving an enslaved family

26 "TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS, REWARD," *Tallahassee Floridian*, May 18, 1839.

27 "\$50 Reward," *Jacksonville Florida News*, July 18, 1857.

28 "\$20 REWARD," *Tallahassee Floridian*, June 1, 1833.

29 "\$20 Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, January 2, 1841.

30 Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003), 190.

31 The topic of the enslaved family has long enamored historians of the antebellum South. A sampling of the historiography includes: E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976); John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979);

fleeing Florida, F. W. Sams of Palatka offered \$50 for the jailing of "my negro man Hampton, and his wife Nanny, with their 5 children." The family disappeared "very mysteriously;" nevertheless, Sams believed they were headed to Jacksonville, "where they may be harbored for any length of time, or they may have been secreted on board some outward bound vessel."³²

Slave families also fled toward Florida. In 1839, Charles Dubignon advertised in the *Jacksonville East Florida Advocate* the escape of a married couple from his plantation on Jekyll Island near Savannah, Georgia. The notice offered little information on Mary, other than her age of 35 and the loss of "her upper front teeth," but it described her husband at length: "Charles is about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches in height, rather bald, and of erect carriage, and has the marks of an African on his cheeks—speaks the Minorcan and Seminole languages very well—is about 45 years of age and has a very prominent forehead for a negro, and deep set and reddish eyes." Before offering a "liberal reward" for any information leading to the couple's capture, Dubignon informed, "The above negroes will endeavor to make their way to 'Musketo,' in Florida, where Charles has formerly lived."³³

Dubignon was only partly right. Six years later he published another advertisement for Charles, Mary, and this time added their teenaged daughter Fayette to the list of runaways. "These negroes all made their escape some few years since and there [sic] apprehended and confined for a time in the St. Augustine prison," the planter explained. Consequently, he expected they were hiding in the vicinity of the city and offered a \$100 reward "for their delivery in the Fort at St. Augustine" or \$150 for their conveyance all the way to Savannah.³⁴

The fate of both of these enslaved families is unknown as local newspapers provided no additional information on them or, for that matter, most fugitive slaves. Yet there are exceptions. United States Marshal G. W. Hutchins jailed the bondsman Dick, his

Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999); Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

32 "Fifty Dollars Reward," *Jacksonville Florida Republican*, September 26, 1850.

33 "RUNAWAY," *Jacksonville East Florida Advocate*, October 12, 1839.

34 "\$150 Reward," *St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, June 24, 1845.

wife Margaret, and their five-year-old son, Charles, after they were "picked up at sea, in a canoe a few miles from St. Marks light, on the 12th ult. by the St. Marks Pilots." Hailing from Marion County in East Florida, the family was "last from Cedar Keys, whither they had gone for the purpose of making their way to New Orleans."³⁵ In Jacksonville, Elijah Higginbotham offered \$100 for the capture of "THREE negro slaves, a man, wife and child, the man and wife named John and Moll," who had recently fled from the region. Though Higginbotham had "no knowledge where the negroes took their way," he quickly regained his property.³⁶ A brief report published subsequently read, "The negroes of Mr. Elijah Higginbotham, which were advertised in our paper week before last, have been discovered and restored to him."³⁷

Because the risks of capture were so great, enslaved families took extreme measures to increase their chances of reaching their destination successfully. When Edmund and his pregnant wife Rebecca absconded from Tallahassee, the duo demonstrated a fierce determination to remain out of the reach of their owner, Samuel Parkhill. The couple made it as far as Hawkinsville, Georgia, where they were apprehended and confined in the local jail. But their visit behind bars was brief, for Parkhill reported just days later, "Edmund fired the Jail and subsequently broke out, and now I understand is travelling towards Hamburg, S.C. through to Virginia, if possible."³⁸ Cornelius Devane of Leon County asked readers to "LOOK OUT" for Loveless and his wife Pink, who were "trying to get back to North Carolina, where they were raised." The couple took with them "three of their children—Isaac about 5 years old, Ellen about 3 years old and Jane about 5 months old." Desperate to remain together and return home, they also took "an old shot-gun."³⁹

Loveless and Pink were not unique in fleeing from slavery with arms. To the contrary, the pages of Florida's antebellum newspapers are filled with descriptions of fugitive slaves carrying guns, pistols, knives, and other deadly weapons. The point is worth considering as it belies the widely accepted notion that running away was a non-violent form of resistance. Even Larry E. Rivers maintains

35 "Committed to Jail," *Tallahassee Floridian*, September 9, 1848.

36 "Ran Away or Stolen—\$100 Reward," *Jacksonville Florida Republican*, October 12, 1854.

37 "JACKSONVILLE," *Jacksonville Florida Republican*, October 26, 1854.

38 "100 Dollars Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, April 6, 1839.

39 "LOOK OUT," *Tallahassee Floridian*, June 8, 1833.

that slaves generally "recoiled at the idea of violent resistance."⁴⁰ Yet, if we are to take the purchasers, printers, and publishers of runaway slave advertisements at their word, it is apparent that large numbers of fugitive slaves carried weapons to fend off anyone attempting to apprehend them.

For example, when the "Negro Man Slave, Jupiter," fled from the house of the respected Pensacola doctor Eugenio Antonio Sierra, he "Took away with him a shot-gun and hatchet."⁴¹ The "NEGRO FELLOW, named Edmond" fled Seth Tatum's farm in southern Georgia and headed toward Florida, where, according to Tatum, he would seek employment as a carpenter "in some city or village." Anticipating a confrontation with those who would return him to bondage, the twenty-five-year-old carpenter traveled with "a large horseman's pistol, iron barred and brass mounted."⁴² Edward, Ned, and Willis fled from Thomasville, Florida, in the opposite direction. According to their owner, John Gauley, they were headed "for some port where they will endeavor to get aboard some vessel." To improve their chances of escaping, they took two horses and were "carrying with them two pistols, which they stole from the subscriber."⁴³ Neither slaveowner Joseph Reese nor his business partner William Hammack were as knowledgeable of the personality of the "Mulatto fellow, named CHARLES," as they claimed, for when the bondsman they described as having a "timid countenance" left Georgia for Florida, "he carried off a shot gun."⁴⁴

Armed and dangerous, fugitive slaves repeatedly resorted to violence. In one remarkable advertisement, Florida Governor William Duval asked the public's assistance in apprehending two runaways suspected of murdering a white man named George Roundtree. According to the notice, "The deceased was murdered in Leon County, near the line between Georgia and Florida." The two fugitives were the "daring and bold villain" Crittendon and Joe, a blue-eyed mulatto who would "attempt to pass as a free man and may change his name." On behalf of the territorial government of Florida, Duval offered \$100 for each runaway delivered to the authorities, while "the citizens of Tallahassee and vicinity" promised an additional \$205 along with "such further sums, as may

40 Rivers, *Slavery in Florida*, 219.

41 "Ten Dollars Reward," *Pensacola Gazette*, January 25, 1828.

42 "Twenty Dollars Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, October 6, 1838.

43 "\$50 Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, March 30, 1839.

44 "50 Dollars Reward," *Tallahassee Florida Intelligencer*, October 27, 1826.

be contributed by those who have not yet had an opportunity to subscribe."⁴⁵

Another fatal confrontation began on the Apalachicola River with the flight of Richard and Caesar from the proprietor of the steamship *Ellen*, John Jenkins, who reported the runaways were "well known by the men employed on all the steamers."⁴⁶ Richard and Caesar were at large for more than a year when they connected with "a negro boy named Hunter," who also worked on the vessels that plied the Apalachicola River.⁴⁷ One month after joining forces, the *Apalachicola Gazette* reported a violent clash between several hunters and the three runaways, along with "a gang of runaway negroes, whose camps they came upon unawares." No doubt in an effort to collect award money totaling more than \$100, the white hunters tried to apprehend the fugitives who seemed ready for a fight as they were "well armed with knives and pistols." In the "deadly struggle" that ensued, a "Mr. Herring was killed being shockingly cut and mangled; another of the party had his arm broke with a bludgeon, and was otherwise severely injured."⁴⁸ The murder sparked a statewide manhunt that lasted several weeks until Escambia County Sheriff Jesse Allen announced the capture of Caesar and Hunter as well as their incarceration in the Pensacola jail. What became of Richard is unknown.⁴⁹

The willingness of fugitive slaves to both kill and die for freedom is understandable given the depravity of the South's peculiar institution, something that runaway slave advertisements lay bare. Descriptions of runaways almost always mention scars rising on the shoulders and backs of enslaved people. Two advertisements placed by the Sheriff of Franklin County, C. J. Shepard, are representative. In the winter of 1844, Shepard reported the incarceration of an unnamed black suspected of running away from Harris County, Georgia. The prisoner, who carried "a badly written and worded pass," was roughly thirty-years-old with "a small scar over the right eye, one under the chin, and on each hand; and a large

45 "\$405 REWARD," *Tallahassee Floridian*, May 3, 1834.

46 "Forty Dollars Reward," *Apalachicola Gazette*, January 20, 1838.

47 "100 Dollars Reward," *Apalachicola Gazette*, April 15, 1839.

48 "Apalachicola," *Apalachicola Gazette*, May 11, 1839.

49 "Notice," *Pensacola Gazette*, June 22, 1839. According to court records in the State Archives of Florida and a reading of local newspapers, the territorial government of Florida executed Caesar for his part in the murder, while Hunter escaped the noose by freeing himself from jail just days before the scheduled execution. The case is described more fully in Clavin, *Aiming for Pensacola*, 93-94.

scar on the left shoulder blade, back slightly scarred by the whip."⁵⁰ Four months later, Shepard confined a dark-skinned bondsman named Robert, who managed to make it more than 100 miles from eastern Alabama to Apalachicola before being apprehended. The five-foot-ten-inch tall bondsman of indeterminate age was "considerably scored on the back and legs with the whip."⁵¹

Without minimizing the marks left by leather whips, wooden paddles, and other instruments of torture, the physical tolls of slavery were not limited to the thick, raised scar lines that so many African Americans endured. In Tallahassee, C. P. Maher asked for assistance in locating Katy, an eighteen-year-old bondswoman who fled in the direction of St. Marks with "one of her front teeth broken out, and is somewhat lame in the ankle."⁵² Pensacola entrepreneur George Willis reported the escape of Smart, "a short mulatto fellow, lame in his left leg, having had his thigh broken."⁵³ Thomas Brincefield of Lee County, Georgia, described a "Negro Man" belonging to him, who had fled south into Florida, as "about 26 years old, five feet five or six inches high—stout built, dark complected, has had his Jaw bone broken near the chin by a blow."⁵⁴

Like scars and broken bones, runaways also bore the signs of amputated body parts, reminders of the punishment system intended to keep slaves in line. In the town of Bunkerhill, Florida, D. A. Gaillard hoped to regain possession of a bondsman named May, who was likely a repeat offender, given "one of his small toes is cut off."⁵⁵ In Pensacola, Marshal John Gonzalez announced the incarceration of a bondsman from Alabama named Martin, "about 25 years of age, six feet high, stout built, has the first joint of the forefinger of his right hand cut off."⁵⁶ A thirty-eight-year-old tailor named Leonard, who came to Florida from Georgia, had a "scar near each eye and two scars upon his head, and a part of his right ear cut off."⁵⁷ According to Pensacola constable, F. T. Comyns, a "Dark Mulatto Fellow" from Mobile, Alabama, who wound up in the city jail, had "both his ears cropped."⁵⁸

50 "Runaway Negro," *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, March 11, 1844.

51 "Runaway Negro," *Apalachicola Commercial Advertiser*, June 29, 1844.

52 "RUNAWAY," *Tallahassee Floridian*, February 15, 1840.

53 "\$30 Reward," *Pensacola Gazette*, April 15, 1837.

54 "25 DOLLARS REWARD," *Tallahassee Floridian & Advocate*, January 6, 1831.

55 "RANAWAY," *Tallahassee Floridian*, May 18, 1839.

56 "Taken up," *Pensacola Gazette*, November 15, 1834.

57 "NOTICE," *Pensacola Gazette*, February 1, 1840.

58 "TAKEN UP," *Pensacola Gazette*, November 7, 1828.

Probably no other bodily relics exemplified the inhumanity that was at the root of racial slavery than brands. Practiced throughout Florida as well as the rest of the antebellum South in an effort to control the enslaved, branding epitomized what David Brion Davis has referred to as the "animalization" of enslaved people.⁵⁹ When the twenty-five-year-old blacksmith Harry absconded from Washington County, his owner, Myles Everett, thought the runaway was heading north to Alabama or Georgia. Everett described Harry as "a black, low, well set fellow, and has the letter O branded distinctly on each cheek."⁶⁰ Of the three valuable bondsmen who ran away from Henry Mash in Jones County, Georgia, toward Tallahassee, one stood out. Glenn was "an African about forty-five years of age, five feet 7 or 8 inches high, spare made, some teeth out in front, branded on both sides of his face, H. M." Whether the owner's initials, which he had burned into the bondsman's face, assisted in the runaway's capture is unknown.⁶¹

The baseness of the act of branding suggests another powerful impulse at work among slaveholders. Often overlooked in scholarly discussions of fugitive slaves is the amount of anger and affront slaveowners felt every time an individual believed to be under their control took flight. But it should not be overlooked, for it helps explain the often savage response of otherwise respectable people. In an era when slaveowners maintained that a paternalistic, reciprocal relationship existed between them and the people over whom they claimed ownership, there is no doubt they were personally offended when slaves absconded.⁶² It is why so many slaveowners

59 David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), passim.

60 "FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD," *Tallahassee Floridian*, July 5, 1834.

61 "\$100 Reward," *Tallahassee Florida Intelligencer*, November 24, 1826.

62 The scholarly discussion of paternalism begins with Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Régime* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929); Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976); and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). For some of the various critiques of the concept, see: Richard C. Wade, *Slaves in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social & Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Lacy Ford, "Reconsidering the Internal Slave Trade: Paternalism, Markets, and the Character of the Old South," in *The Chattel Principle*:

often acted irrationally and even against their own economic self-interests. Among them was the reputable St. Augustine lawyer and banker, A. Watson, who placed the following ad in the *Florida Herald & Southern Democrat* after one of his bondsmen took flight: "\$25 REWARD. RUNAWAY the 14th instant, my slave TOM. I will pay twenty five dollars reward to any person who will give me information where I can find him, or produce him to me dead or alive."⁶³

Despite slaveowners' savagery and undoubtedly in part because of it, bondpeople continued to dash to, from, and across antebellum Florida. And while slaveowners in every southern state struggled to maintain control over their human property, those in Florida seemed particularly susceptible to the problem of runaway slaves for at least two significant reasons. First, nearly every enslaved person lived or worked near a body of water, which not only provided them access to a possible route of escape but additionally offered them an opportunity to acquire some of the skills and knowledge necessary to embolden them to make the attempt. These slaves possessed an "Atlantic worldview," writes Larry E. Rivers, and thus understood "that freedom could become a reality beyond Florida's shores."⁶⁴ With this in mind, it is anticipated that along Florida's coasts and waterways, where bondpeople with names like "Port," "Bayou," "London," and "Dublin," were often described as being "used to the sea" or "accustomed to a sea-faring life," fugitive slaves turned to the water to escape, belying the image of the barefooted runaway racing across the land with a bundle and stick slung over his shoulder.⁶⁵

The cases of groups of fugitive slaves embarking on the water with the assistance of northern abolitionists are often well-known. In 1844, for example, when Jonathan Walker failed to deliver seven bondsmen from the Pensacola Navy Yard to the Bahamas in his whaleboat, he became a cause célèbre of the American and British abolitionist movements after being branded in the palm of his

Internal Slave Trades in the Americas, ed. Walter Johnson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004); Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013)

63 "\$25 REWARD," *St. Augustine Florida Herald & Southern Democrat*, April 2, 1841.

64 Rivers, *Rebels and Runaways*, 64.

65 "RAN AWAY," *Pensacola Gazette*, November 5, 1825; "RUNAWAY," *Pensacola Gazette*, June 8, 1822; "One Hundred Dollars Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, January 2, 1836; "Notice," *Jacksonville Florida News*, July 6, 1850; "\$50 REWARD," *Tallahassee Florida Intelligencer*, October 27, 1826; "Fifty Dollars Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, March 25, 1837.

hand "S.S.," which stood for Slave Stealer.⁶⁶ Walker's was only one of countless collective efforts of fugitive slaves to escape from antebellum Florida on the water; however, most of these attempts failed to draw much attention from contemporary media and later historians. Because such attempts did not involve the efforts of northern abolitionists, they lacked the sensationalism of Walker's endeavor.

Just a year before Walker's historic journey, the enslaved crew of the U. S. transport schooner *Walter M.* and several of their companions fled from St. Augustine on a vessel loaded with a compass and spy glass, bread, watermelons, pork, and water. "It appeared, beyond a doubt," reported one local newspaper, "that the runaways had stolen the boat and put out to sea for a long voyage." City officials sought the runaways' capture in Florida, Georgia, or South Carolina, even though some suspected the seven bondsmen were headed for the Bahamas as at least one of the fugitives was an island native. Also among the runaways was "the notorious *Andrew* who made some noise in the beginning of our Indian troubles." The advertisement that offered \$350 for the apprehension of Andrew, William, Robert, Joe, Jim, Casper, and Henry read, "Said Slaves went off in a whaleboat, belonging to the pilots of this port. They were seen last night about ten miles north of this city, and it is supposed they went to sea immediately thereafter." As was typical of the time and place, local observers seemed genuinely shocked by the slaves' daring for "With one or two exception they were thought to be most faithful negroes and stood high in the estimation of their owners."⁶⁷ Three years before this episode, Abraham Brown, George, and William Isaac fled from a sawmill on Barkers Island near the St. John's River. Wearing striped blue jackets and carrying blankets and cooking equipment in preparation for a long trip, the bondsmen "left the mill in a whale boat, part of the left side broken in."⁶⁸ Given that these collective efforts to escape from Florida on the water occurred while Walker made Pensacola his home, it is

66 Clavin, *Aiming for Pensacola*, 124-140; Bordewich, *The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America*, 268-271.

67 "Negroes Absconded," *St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, July 31, 1843; "THE RUNAWAY NEGROES" and "350 DOLLARS REWARD," *St. Augustine Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, August 7, 1843. For an enlightening overview of this case and the resulting international dialogue, see Irvin D. S. Winsboro and Joe Knetsch, "Florida Slaves, the 'Saltwater Railroad' to the Bahamas, and Anglo-American Diplomacy," *Journal of Southern History* LXXIX, No. 1 (February 2013): 51-78.

68 "RUNAWAY," *Jacksonville East Florida Advocate*, June 16, 1840.

highly probable that the egalitarian northern ship captain and the fugitive slaves who boarded his boat drew inspiration from them.

The second factor underlying the continuance of slave flight in antebellum Florida was the presence of large numbers of free people who resided on the geographic and economic margins of the United States' southern slave society and thus had nothing to gain by assisting slave owners in their never-ending war against those they held in bondage. As a result, fugitive slaves frequently had help. Aid from Native Americans, along with their African American allies, who dwelled in the woods and swamps of the Florida wilderness, are well-known to anyone familiar with the history of the Seminole Wars. But there were also people of European descent from the northern United States or other parts of the Atlantic world who helped bondpeople abscond.⁶⁹

In most cases, identifying these anonymous poor white farmers, laborers, sailors, and seamen is nearly impossible since slaveowners themselves usually had no idea who it was that aided and abetted fugitive slaves. Confused and frustrated, the slaveowners often resorted to name-calling. In the *Tallahassee Floridian*, William Reid offered \$100 for the capture of the bow-legged runaway named Wiley and another \$100 for the "villainous white person" who encouraged the "boy" to run away.⁷⁰ By comparison, Seth Tatum offered only \$50 for the apprehension of the "villainous white man" who assisted his bondsman in escaping, while George Willis offered a measly \$15 for the "worthless white man" who helped a twenty-five-year-old mulatto escape from Willis's lumberyard.⁷¹ After Sam, Joe, Bob, Bryan, Rachel, and Tom absconded from Jefferson County, their owner K. M. Moore Lipona offered \$20 for the capture of each of the first five runaways and \$100 for Tom, who had absconded three years earlier. As for the "white scoundrel" who "induced them off," Lipona offered \$100 for any information leading to his prosecution.⁷²

69 For assistance in escaping from Florida and the rest of the antebellum South see Clavin, *Aiming for Pensacola*; Stanley Harrold, *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002); and David Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

70 "My negro boy WILEY," *Tallahassee Floridian*, June 1, 1839.

71 "Twenty Dollars Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, October 6, 1838; "\$30 Reward," *Pensacola Gazette*, August 4, 1838.

72 "\$300 Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, March 13, 1847.

Cases involving named co-conspirators are fascinating to consider as they often raise more questions than they answer about the white Southerners who tried to help their enslaved black friends, neighbors, and co-workers become free. In Gadsden County, William McCall suspected the twenty-five-year-old mulatto Jesse was "induced to go off by the persuasions of a white man who calls himself William Sitzar, who is a blacksmith by trade, and has been in Quincy for some time past, but left the place about the time that Jesse absconded."⁷³ An enslaved Georgia blacksmith and carriage smith named Ruben, who may have been headed to Florida, likewise received support and assistance from a nefarious white man. According to his corporate owner, the "very intelligent" and "superior workman" absconded "with a man by the name of David McDowell, an Irishman, [who] is very tall, with large whiskers and dark hair—supposed to be about forty years of age."⁷⁴

Like workshops and factories, jails were potentially subversive sites in antebellum Florida as they united men across racial and ethnic lines. When Governor Richard Call offered \$400 for the apprehension of Hugh Duncan and Alek, two prisoners who had escaped from the Jefferson County jail after burning a hole through the building's floor, he ordered "all magistrates and peace officers to be vigilant in the apprehension of the said offenders." Duncan was a white man, "about five feet 10 inches high, dark skin, black hair and eyes, thin visage, and about thirty years old, was originally from the lower part of North Carolina." Alek, a "Negro man Slave is about five feet two or three inches high, thick set, quite black, of a forbidden countenance, a down look, and when addressed seldom looks up."⁷⁵ It is apparent that the two fugitives succeeded in avoiding capture for at least three months, because that is how long Call's reward offer appeared prominently in the classified pages of the *Tallahassee Floridian*.⁷⁶

Members of the United States military stationed in Florida also helped bondspeople escape from slavery.⁷⁷ When Nelson, Jinney, Judy, and Mary fled from the Oscilla Ferry on the St. Augustine River, suspicion fell immediately on two soldiers residing at Fort Roger Jones. One of the soldiers quickly returned to the fort.

73 "\$130 Reward," *Pensacola Gazette*, July 17, 1830.

74 "\$1000 REWARD," *Pensacola Gazette*, March 19, 1836.

75 "Four Hundred Dollars Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, July 21, 1838.

76 "Four Hundred Dollars Reward," *Tallahassee Floridian*, October 20, 1838.

77 Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 168.

The other, however, remained at large for several days before the owner of the absconded slaves placed an advertisement in the *Tallahassee Floridian*. According to the unusually long notice, the enlisted man's name was Francis Ashley, "aged about 23 years. Height, five feet four inches, complexion dark, eyes hazle, hair black, and born in Canada, speaks very bad English, owing to his French descent." Cornelius Beazley, who recently purchased the slaves from a well-known trader in Tallahassee, believed that with Ashley's assistance, "the said negroes will endeavor to go back to South Carolina, or be working their way towards Pensacola or New Orleans." The slaveowner concluded his advertisement with a warning that was typical throughout the antebellum era: "All Masters or Captains of vessels are cautioned against taking said negroes off, at the peril of the law."⁷⁸

This account of a small group of enslaved men and women fleeing towards the Gulf Coast, seeking reunification with loved ones elsewhere in the Deep South, with the assistance of a foreign-born enlisted man, does not fit squarely into the standard account of fugitive slaves and the Underground Railroad. Nevertheless, it is typical of what one can expect to find when reviewing runaway slave advertisements published in Florida's antebellum newspapers. More than any other contemporary primary source, the ads lift the curtain on slavery in the Old South, revealing at least two important ideas worth remembering about antebellum Florida. First, they reinforce the fact that slavery was a ruthless economic and social system in which white people bought, sold, and traded black men, women, and children with impunity and then hunted them like animals when they tried to escape from enslavement and enjoy the same rights and privileges that free people had enjoyed for generations. Second, they demonstrate that resistance to this inhumane labor system was extraordinarily widespread, and that antebellum Florida, like the rest of the South, was an expansive battlefield on which black and white people contested and fought over the meanings of freedom and slavery daily. It would be wise to continue to collect, study, and circulate these advertisements as they provide important insight to many of the problems of the past and just might offer some clues as to how to deal with some of the problems of race and racial injustice we are likely to face in the future.

78 "\$100 REWARD," *Tallahassee Floridian*, June 8, 1839.

A Flower at Elmira: The Prisoner of War Diary of Wilbur Wightman Gramling

by Robert Saunders, Jr.

“I-want-to-go-home—so—bad.” These forlorn words, expressing such homesickness, appear lengthwise within the right margin on the last page of Wilbur Wightman Gramling’s pocket diary, a day-by-day journal of his experiences while imprisoned at Elmira Prisoner-of-War (POW) Camp in New York during the Civil War. Struck by a minié ball in the right arm and captured at the Battle of the Wilderness on May 6, 1864, Gramling, a private in Florida’s 5th Infantry, spent eleven months at Elmira Prison. The journal he faithfully kept throughout his imprisonment is the only known existing document of this type written by a Florida soldier.¹

The Gramling Collection housed at the State Library and Archives of Florida in Tallahassee includes but two folders: one containing “The Gramling Diary,” and a second with a transcribed copy of the diary and a “Manuscript Inventory” which explains that Gramling’s pocket journal is “one of the few surviving original diaries written by a Florida soldier in the Civil War.” More significantly, “[i]t is even rarer in that it documents the experiences of a Florida serviceman who was incarcerated in a Union prisoner-of-war

Robert Saunders, Jr. is an Associate Professor of History and Assistant Dean of Administration at Troy University in Dothan, Alabama. He earned his Ph.D. at Auburn University and is the author of *John Archibald Campbell, Southern Moderate, 1881-1889* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997).

1 Wilbur Wightman Gramling Diary, Record Group 90000, Collection Number MSS 88-070, Folder 1, State Library and Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL, back cover page (hereafter Gramling Diary).

camp.”² From a purely historical perspective, Wilbur Gramling’s diary offers invaluable insight into prison life at a Union POW camp—one that gained a notorious reputation as a veritable dying ground for Confederate POWs and that was often scathingly referred to as “Helmira” by more than 12,000 southern captives held within its gates.³ Nearly forty years after Elmira had closed as a POW camp, Dr. G. T. Taylor, who served with the 1st Alabama Heavy Regiment before his capture in August 1864, noted in his memoirs that, “Elmira was nearer Hades than I thought any place could be made by human cruelty.”⁴

2 The Gramling Collection, “Manuscript Inventory,” Record Group 90000, MSS 88-070, Folder 2, State Library and Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL.

3 The historiography of Elmira Prison begins with Clay Holmes’ *The Elmira Prison Camp: A History of the Military Prison at Elmira, N.Y., July 6, 1864 to July 10 1865* (New York: Putnam’s, 1912). Holmes gives no credence whatsoever to the post-war southern memoirists—several of whom will be discussed in this essay—and asserts that Elmira prisoners were treated humanely, were well fed, and received proper medical care. No new studies on Elmira Prison appeared for another eighteen years until William B. Hesseltine published *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1930). In stark contrast to Holmes, Hesseltine argues that prisoners were mistreated and that their needless suffering was the result of a “war psychosis” which gripped both the Federal government and the northern people and infused a far more intense level of brutality into the war. James Robertson’s “The Scourge of Elmira,” in *Civil War Prisons*, ed. William B. Hesseltine (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1972), 86, follows the same line of argumentation: “[L]ife at Elmira was humorless; as a matter of fact, it devolved from the outset into a battle for survival.”

Most of the recent works on Elmira recognize varying degrees of credibility with the post-war memoirs; those historians who employ a more critical eye to these accounts generally have produced more balanced studies. Notable among recent scholarly studies, listed by date of publication, include Lonnie R. Speer, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997); Michael P. Gray, *The Business of Captivity, Elmira and its Civil War Prison* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001); Michael Horgan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002); Charles W. Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); and, Roger Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009). Gray’s and Pickenpaugh’s works generally are regarded as the most balanced and accurate. Both historians rely on the post-war memoirs, but they likewise draw heavily from less agenda-driven primary sources such as Gramling’s Diary.

Mirroring Holmes’s 1912 study, James Gillispie argues that the post-war memoirs have little value whatsoever. Based on his assessment of resources generated specifically during the war years, he concludes that Federal POW camps were run as reasonably as could have been expected. James Gillispie, *Andersonvilles of the North, The Myths and Realities of Northern Treatment of Civil War Confederate Prisoners* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2008).

4 G. T. Taylor, “Prison Experience in Elmira, NY,” *Confederate Veteran* 20 (1912): 327.

Though officially cataloged as "The Gramling Diary," this primary source is more of a daybook or a journal than a diary. Distributed as a "Perpetual Diary" in 1862 by A. Liebenroth and Von Auw of New York City, it is small in size—just three inches wide by five inches tall—and includes roughly fifty sheets that allot about one inch of lined writing space for each day of the year. In keeping with the book's physical composition, Gramling's journal includes exactly three hundred and sixty-five entries. Though the treatment Gramling received seems far less brutal than what is normally chronicled as the typical Elmira prisoner's experiences, his daily entries nevertheless reveal the hardships and deprivations suffered behind camp gates. Most important, this journal provides a unique look into day-by-day life in the camp and Gramling's insights; his descriptions of the weather, food, shelter, Union officers, rumors, paroles, escapes, his homesickness, and heartfelt desire to once again be joined with his loved ones, his friends, and his church community. As a young man brought up on a farm, his daily entries were never without some reference to the weather, and his recordings of wild rumors reflected both his hope for Confederate victory and fears of the South's loss. Finally, his heartfelt longings to be home echoed the basic human quest for a peaceful existence among family and friends.

The Gramlings—today a large and extended clan with branches in Florida and South Carolina—trace their family's roots to Germany. In 1735, Adam Gramling and his wife Elizabeth Gassoway Gramling immigrated to South Carolina and settled in the Piedmont back-country, where they hacked out a life of subsistence farming. In early 1845, Adam's ninth son John Gramling and his wife Elizabeth settled in Madison County, Florida, where they raised ten children. In 1847, fourth-born Andrew Peter and his wife Elizabeth Gramling purchased farmland in Leon County and helped establish the little community of Centerville, located about eight miles northeast of Tallahassee.⁵ Their land, roughly one hundred and twenty acres, was situated within the first 640-acre parcel immediately east of the intersection of Centerville and

5 Adam Gramling married Elizabeth Christina Gassoway; John Gramling married Elizabeth Imbroden; Andrew Peter Gramling married Elizabeth Gramling, daughter of Christian Gramling and, hence, Andrew's cousin. Collection Description Page, "The Gramling Diary," The Gramling Collection, Record Group 90000, Collection Number MSS 88-070, Folder 1, State Library and Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL.

Pisgah Church roads.⁶ Andrew and Elizabeth brought with them to their new farm five children: three daughters (Martha, Mattie, and Jane) and two sons (Irvin W. Gramling and Wilbur Wightman Gramling, born March 30, 1843).⁷

The family planted corn, barley, wheat, cotton, and a variety of other crops, and they raised hogs, sheep, and cattle. By 1860, as shown in the census and slave schedule for that year, the Gramling farm had been enlarged to 160 acres and included three slaves: one male aged 50 and two females ages 35 and 13.⁸ Though the Gramlings were never among the planter elite in Leon County, the moderate climate and fertile soil there provided a reasonably prosperous life that allowed Andrew and Elizabeth to send Irvin and Wilbur to receive formal education at Fletcher Institute in Thomsville, Georgia, about thirty miles north of their homestead. It is possible that all five Gramling children attended Fletcher as the school maintained separate departments to educate both young males and females.

Founded in 1848 by the Florida Methodist Episcopal Conference, Fletcher Institute became a highly attended academy for the region. The basic course of study included orthography, reading, writing, and arithmetic, but students could also enroll in, among other subjects, mental and moral philosophy, rhetoric and logic, botany, Latin, Greek, and French. Given this broad curriculum, and also evidenced by the language skills within his diary, it is clear that Wilbur received the best education that was available to him within a reasonable distance from home.⁹ However, the Civil War interrupted his studies. In early 1862, Wilbur and much of his class

6 State of Florida Deed Records, Leon County, Book I, 577; State of Florida, Leon County, Tax Records, 1850, 1853, 1856, 1859, 1861; The Gramling farm was located within Section 24, Township 2, North of Range 1 East. LeRoy D. Ball and Jonathan Bradford, "Map of Leon County Florida, 1883," State Library and Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL.

7 Genealogical Information from "The Gramling Diary" and The Gramling Collection, MSS 88-070, Folder 2, State Library and Archives of Florida; see also Clifton Paisley, "Biographical Note," Gramling Civil War Diary, MSS 0:129 Box 148, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL.

8 National Archives and Records Service, *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Florida (Slave Schedules)*, Microcopy Number 653, Volume 1 (Washington, DC: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1967), Roll 110: 33.

9 W. Irwin MacIntyre, "The History of Thomas County," in the Hopkins Collection of Thomas County, Georgia, "Fletcher Institute," *USGenWeb Archives*, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/ga/thomas/history/schools/fletcher682gms.txt>, (accessed April 3, 2015).

at Fletcher resigned from the school and enlisted in the Confederate service.

Wilbur, along with his brother Irvin, his uncle Joel C., and his cousin John L. Gramling, enlisted on the same day, February 20, 1862, and were assigned to Company K of the 5th Florida Infantry.¹⁰ The one-hundred men who made up Company K chose "The Dixie Yeoman" as the name of their company—one not only accurate in terms of the socio-economic background of these men but likewise reflective of the pride they took in coming from the "middling" sort of smaller farmers. The majority of these boys hailed from families who made their way in life through subsistence agriculture, and the name they chose for their company clearly shows that they were proud of the lives they were living. It was a simple but hard existence—a life of ceaseless toil raising food crops relatively unprofitable compared to cotton cultivation on a large scale. In a general sense, the young men who enlisted in Company K were neither poor nor rich; they survived through farming and they took great pride in that.¹¹

Upon enlistment, the Dixie Yeoman spent the next four months training and drilling at Camp Call near Tallahassee. By mid-July, the 5th Regiment with its ten companies had marched out of the Tallahassee area, boarded a train at Monticello, Florida, and headed north toward Virginia. Wilbur Gramling's unit, combining with Lee's Army of Northern Virginia in early August 1862, was grouped from its arrival with the 2nd Florida Infantry, a battle-hardened regiment that already had been in Virginia for well over a year and had participated in a number of engagements, including Seven Pines and Seven Days. Though the 2nd Florida arrived in Virginia in 1861 with over five hundred men, their numbers by

10 All references in this essay to "Gramling" from this point refer specifically to Wilbur Gramling unless otherwise noted.

11 One notable exception to the yeomanry of Company K was 1st Lieutenant Joel Blake, who owned 188 slaves. The Blake family included several wealthy planters from the Miccosukee area north of Centerville. Lt. Blake was killed at Gettysburg. Zack C. Waters and James C. Edmonds, *A Small but Spartan Band, The Florida Brigade in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 23. For additional information on the 5th Florida Infantry see David W. Hartman and David J. Coles, *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers, 1861-1865*, Vol. II (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1995), 572; State of Florida, Board of State Institutions and Fred L. Robertson, comp., *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Live Oak, FL: Democrat Book and Job Print, 1903), 152, <https://archive.org/details/soldiersofflorid00flor>, (accessed April 21, 2015).

summer 1862 had been reduced to fewer than three hundred.¹² The 8th Florida Infantry, likewise organized and trained during the spring of 1862, had been sent to the Eastern Theater and combined with the 2nd and 5th. After November of that year, the 2nd, 5th, and 8th regiments were known collectively as the "Florida Brigade;" they would remain combined throughout the duration of the war.¹³ Most of these men, Wilbur Gramling among them, subsequently were involved in all of the major battles of the Eastern Theater. They fought well, and many of them suffered battlefield injuries, contracted various diseases such as cholera or typhoid, or were killed in action. Approximately 15,000 "Flowers"—as Florida soldiers were dubbed—served in the war. Of that number, nearly 5,000 died of battlefield injuries or disease. These figures represent one of the highest per-state mortality rates among all Confederate forces.¹⁴

Considering that Wilbur Gramling and his fellow Dixie Yeoman fought in some of the war's fiercest battles—at Bloody Lane at Antietam, for instance, and into the same withering fire that all but obliterated George Pickett's command on the third day at the Battle of Gettysburg—it is rather remarkable that he escaped unscathed for as long as he did. His brother Irvin was not so fortunate. He was wounded at Gettysburg, captured by Union troops, and sent to Fort Delaware, where he remained for the duration of the war. Wilbur Gramling's service records show that he was present for duty for all but six months from the date of his enlistment until he was captured at the Battle of the Wilderness. During his absence, he recuperated on sick furlough in a Richmond hospital designated for Florida soldiers.¹⁵

In the first entry of his diary, dated May 6, 1864, Gramling began with, "Went in to battle at 2 o'clock." It would have been more accurate had he recorded that "*the battle went into him*," as Union troops of Burnside's IX Corps broke through the thick underbrush of the Wilderness and smashed headlong into the Florida Brigade's

12 Waters and Edmonds, *A Small but Spartan Band*, 22-24.

13 Hartman and Coles, *Biographical Rosters*, II: 459.

14 Museum of Florida History, "Florida in the Civil War: Florida's Confederate Soldiers," <http://www.museumoffloridahistory.com/exhibits/permanent/civilwar/05.cfm>, (accessed April 22, 2015). Florida soldiers were called "Flowers" from the old Spanish "Land of Flowers."

15 National Archives and Records Administration, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida. NARA Microfilm Publication M251, Reel 62, 2095-2118, [Ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com), (accessed on April 12, 2015).

left flank. Within a matter of minutes, Gramling and most of his company had been captured, wounded, killed, or driven away from the enfilading fire. "[W]ounded in right arm and taken prisoner," he recorded in his diary. "Sent to rear in great pain. Had ball out and wound dressed. About 600 prisoners with me."¹⁶

For the next three days, Gramling was under the care of medical staff assigned with the IX Corps. On May 9th, he was sent to the Presbyterian Church in Fredericksburg, a prominent institution that had been converted into a hospital by Union forces. Gramling remained at the church until he was well enough to walk the eleven miles to Belle Plain, Virginia, on the 20th.¹⁷ He was then placed aboard a steamer and sent to Washington, DC, where he spent the next week at Columbian Hospital—a pre-war college and the same institution where Walt Whitman served as a nurse. Gramling noted that before reaching the hospital he "Saw Abe Lincoln's house." The president, he added, was "[v]ery comfortably situated." He did well at Columbian and especially enjoyed looking out at the sights from a second-story window. "Saw President Lincoln and Lady pass yesterday," he reported on the 23rd and noted that "[Lincoln] passes here nearly every day." He also wrote that "I see negroes riding out in fine carriages with their drivers. Sometimes a negro man and a white woman riding together in the carriage with a negro driver—frequently see them walking together."¹⁸

On May 27th, Gramling was transferred to Lincoln Hospital on East Capitol Street, "a nasty, out of the way place," he noted, that treated thousands of sick and wounded from both sides. Lincoln was far different from Columbian. It was a terribly overcrowded and understaffed institution that, according to Gramling, doled out "bad attention." The food was lousy too, he complained, "For dinner: bread, soup, and water. Supper: tea, syrup, and bread. Hardly ate it. Head aches now." "I think this is nearly the last place in creation," he lamented, "Expect to leave here before many days for some prison." However, three weeks passed before Gramling left Lincoln Hospital, and despite the conditions there, he noted that he made it through his stay "pretty well." Though he presumably had limited use of his injured arm, he was assigned either kitchen or mopping duty on most days. But those chores did not

16 Gramling Diary, May 6, 1864; May 9, 1864.

17 The Presbyterian Church, Fredericksburg Virginia, "Our History: Formation and Antebellum History" and "Our History: Civil War," <http://fredericksburg-pc.org/about-us/our-history>, (accessed March 15, 2015).

18 Gramling Diary, May 21, 1864; May 22, 1864.

seem to impede healing. "Turned my wound loose yesterday," he noted, "It is doing very well."¹⁹

On July 12th, Gramling was sent to the Old Capitol Prison, a three-story brick building located on the corner of 1st and A Streets on the eastern slope of Capitol Hill that had served as the temporary US Capitol building after the War of 1812, a private school, and a boarding house.²⁰ The structure was purchased by the federal government in 1861 and soon after was converted into a prison. The *New York Times* reported in April 1862 that the Old Capitol as a prison was "a pleasant and desirable place [suitable] for a country residence, which affords our deluded friends [Confederate prisoners] a healthy Summer resort" and one in which inmates were kept as "comfortable as practicable."²¹ Given that the old building was in actuality filthy, overcrowded, damp, and rat-infested, it is not likely that the inmates would have agreed with the *Times*. "They are very strict here," Wilbur Gramling wrote, "[The staff] [w]on't let you get close to the window. Eat twice a day. Quite a dirty place, just alive with chinchies." Three days later, Gramling, who was being held in a central room on the third floor not much larger than five hundred square feet, noted that there were over four hundred POWs crammed into the room. The only benefit, evidently, was that the overcrowding forced the prisoners toward the walls and windows, and, despite the restriction against it, Gramling was one of the fortunate few prisoners situated close enough to a window to enjoy looking out at the passersby. "My principal amusement," he recorded on the 16th, "is looking at the women pass." "Some very pretty ones in the city of Washington." The following day, "[f]ive very pretty young ladies passed by in a carriage and one of them waved to me, which is frequently the case. (Great many Secesh here)," he added.²² Aside from the enjoyment of peering at the sights, Gramling noted that he received but two pitiful meals daily and that the overcrowding, foul odors, sick and dying inmates, rats,

19 Ibid., May 27, 1864; May 31, 1864; June 3, 1864; June 27, 1864.

20 John C. Calhoun resided in the boarding house and passed away in one of its bedchambers in 1850. During the Civil War, the Old Capitol housed high-profile spies and conspirators such as Belle Boyd and Mary Surratt. Alicia Rodriquez, "Old Capitol Prison," in *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War*, Vol. III, ed. David S. and Jeanne T. Heidler (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 1432-1434.

21 "The Old Capitol Building and Its Inmates," *New York Times*, April 19, 1862.

22 Gramling Diary, July 12, 1864; July 16, 1864; July 17, 1864.

and other nuisances made his stay at the Old Capitol a "[v]ery disagreeable life."²³

Though Gramling had no way of knowing such information, preparations were then underway to begin transferring him and thousands of other Confederate POWs to a former Federal training camp in Elmira, New York. General Ulysses S. Grant's Overland Campaign created an immediate need to prepare new facilities for thousands of recently captured Confederates. Ominously, as all former prisoner exchange cartels had broken down and few prisoners would be exchanged between the Union and Confederacy from the summer of 1864 until well into spring 1865, both belligerents scrambled to develop long-term accommodations for prisoners. Neither side had any experience whatsoever in managing such large-scale enterprises, and the results in far too many instances were filthy camps, inadequate food and nutrition, unsanitary privies, and thousands of deaths. The most glaring example of such tragic consequences was, of course, Andersonville Prison in Georgia, where nearly 13,000 of 45,000 Union soldiers died of disease and malnutrition.²⁴ Likewise tragic, though, were the nearly 3,000 Confederate deaths at Elmira Prison between its opening in July 1864 and its final closing thirteen months later.

On July 24th, Gramling and several hundred POWs were boarded onto a train in Washington and taken to Baltimore, where they were marched through several downtown streets and loaded onto a northbound train. Their train arrived at the Elmira depot at six o'clock the following morning, and the prisoners were herded through the streets under the curious eyes of the city's residents and marched through the camp gates. Ever on the lookout for pretty females, Gramling wrote in his diary that "Elmira is noted for pretty women and a good many of them."²⁵

More than 75% of Gramling's entries speak of exchange rumors and of being released and going home. What he could not fully understand was that during the final year of the war, the time period of his incarceration, a much larger dispute involving human

23 Ibid., July 20, 1864.

24 There is no shortage of books on Andersonville. Two recent scholarly works include William Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994) and Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Blue*; see also Robert Scott Davis, "Andersonville Prison," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/andersonville-prison>, (accessed April 22, 2015).

25 Gramling Diary, July 23, 1864; July 24, 1864; July 25, 1864.

dignity directly impacted and ultimately curtailed his chances of being released. The Lincoln Administration was pressing the Confederacy to recognize black Union soldiers as POWs and to afford them the same treatment and consideration as their white counterparts. The Confederate government, however, continued to categorize African American prisoners as contraband and threatened to execute white commanders of black units. This stand-off effectively removed any chance of a "cartel" agreement between the two belligerents regarding parole, exchange, or release of prisoners. Military considerations also affected negotiations about exchange. By mid-1864, with the war turning in the North's favor, Lincoln and his generals reasoned they could drain the Confederacy of man-power by preventing POWs from returning to the field.²⁶ Though Gramling anticipated being quickly paroled or exchanged—as had been the case for virtually all prisoners taken to that time—his captors now had little motivation to provide releases. He spent the next eleven months as an Elmira inmate living in Barracks Number 3.

Assigned to kitchen duty, Wilbur worked as a waiter in the mess hall. He reported that he "had much work to do and get plenty to eat." "The way I spend my time," he reported on October 3: "1st [s]et the table and then clean up afterwards, then 2nd [r]ead and knock about until three o'clock, and 3rd, it is dinner, which I have to take an active part in, working after the rest [have long finished]." ²⁷

As might be expected, one of the leading topics Gramling discussed regularly was his health. His 365 entries include 86 references specific to his physical condition. Fifty-nine of these are positive, meaning that he was feeling good and was relatively healthy. He reported feeling poorly in twenty-seven entries. However, the worst he felt was when he had a toothache (which had been paining him for some time). Complaining of neuralgia deep

26 The so-called "cartel" was formally known as the Dix-Hill Agreement of 1862, which originated through negotiations between Confederate General Daniel H. Hill and Union General John A. Dix and established a system for exchanging and paroling prisoners. The reasons for the ultimate failure of this program by 1864 have been a matter of considerable historical dispute. For a more complete discussion of this agreement, see Benjamin G. Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity, Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 6-12; Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, 85-96; and Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Gray*, 48-49. All three historians show convincingly that the primary issue that brought an end to the cartel was the Confederacy's refusal to treat captured Union African American soldiers similarly to their white comrades.

27 Gramling Diary, July 26, 1864; October 3, 1864.

in his jaw, on August 19th, he wrote that "Suffering very much with jaw ache. Tried to have an old root extracted, and instead of getting [the root,] [I] broke a good one off at the gums." One month later, he contracted a severe upper respiratory ailment, a "cold and cough," he wrote, "bordering on pleurisy." Three days later though, he reported that aside from having a sore chest, he was feeling much better. Other ailments of which he complained included headaches, occasional diarrhea, slight fevers, and "feeling a little puny."²⁸ For the most part then, Wilbur Gramling fared well during his imprisonment and he knew it.²⁹ On December 31, 1864, a date that commonly prompts introspection, he wrote that;

I feel thankful to the disposer of all things for being favored as I have been since I have been a prisoner—for I have gotten enough to eat ever since I was captured except for the little while I was at Fredericksburg, Virginia[,] and the Old Capitol [Prison in] Washington City, about ten days each. I have had enough clothing also all the while. Upon the whole, I have not fared much worse than in Dixie.³⁰

Given that smallpox was then raging within the camp and was by far the most dangerous and lethal illness within all prisons, Gramling no doubt was thankful that he had been vaccinated, even though the process was both crude and especially painful. Considering the terribly overcrowded conditions within a camp that was intended to house five thousand inmates but by that time held over twelve thousand, it is not at all surprising that once introduced into camp, smallpox spread rapidly through Elmira's prisoner population. The medical staff was inexplicably—and, as some contemporary historians argue, inexcusably—late in trying to stem the spread of this pathogen. Some historians have asserted that they were at best lax in their efforts.³¹ "Good many cases of small pox," Gramling wrote on December 19th, "Prisoners are very sickly as a general thing." He was most fortunate to have been vaccinated

28 Ibid., August 19, 1864; September 19, 1864.

29 Gramling's potentially most serious illness occurred between September 19 and 22, during which time he evidently suffered a dangerous upper respiratory infection. He noted on the 20th that he was "feeling very faint and weak," and was taking medication. He was fortunate not to have developed pneumonia.

30 Gramling Diary, December 31, 1864.

31 Pickenpau, *Captives in Gray*, 212; Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North*, 212-213. Horigan is especially critical, stating that camp officials did not construct a proper smallpox hospital until well after the disease was rampant among the prisoner population.

that same week. On the day after Christmas, he reported that his "vaccination was finally taking." About one week later, he noted, "Confirmed that my vaccination has taken," but, "[his] Arm is pretty sore [though] and is still inflamed." Finally, on January 16th, he wrote that "Got the scab knock off my arm again today. Oh, it looks quite bad." He had diarrhea on the 17th, but was feeling well again just one day later.³²

In terms of his health, it appears that Gramling's longest-lasting and most acute affliction was homesickness. There are several dozen entries revealing just how desperately he wanted to go home. "I am getting very tired of prison and am growing more so every day," he wrote on August 2nd. "The thought of staying here all winter and perhaps till the war ends makes the time a great deal longer." "I wished myself at Ma's cupboard," he wrote longingly a few weeks later. Demonstrating his generally depressed condition, his entry for September 17th reads: "Lost all hopes of getting back to Dixie. Still I hope to get there sometime if I live long enough." Within another entry: "I am homesick. Get the blues or something else . . . Makes me want a stalk of cane to chew and some potatoes. Oh me!" "Almost crazy I want to go to Dixie," he confided on March 3rd. "Still live in hopes even as I die in despair." Perhaps most touching of all is his notation for March 12, 1865: "Oh me! So lonesome can hardly keep back the tears. So long since I have seen any of my old associates. Hope my imprisonment won't last always."³³

Sundays were especially difficult for him. Not only did he miss his mother, father, and siblings, he missed his church. The Gramlings were prominent members of Pisgah Methodist Church, located less than one mile from their home. Today listed on the National Historic Register, "Old Pisgah" was first organized in May 1830 and became one of the leading churches in antebellum Florida. It is reasonable to assume that the current structure, completed in 1859, was constructed with the volunteer labor of Andrew, Irvin, Joel, and Wilbur Gramling. To the Gramlings, that church was central to virtually all aspects of their lives. "I think more about home Sundays than any other day," Wilbur wrote, "[N]ot only home, but the Old Pisgah Church house [as well]."³⁴

32 Gramling Diary, January 16, 1865; January 17, 1865.

33 Ibid., August 2, 1864; August 28, 1864; September 17, 1864; September 11, 1864; March 3, 1865; March 12, 1865.

34 Methodist Episcopal Church, South, *Register of Members and Probationers, Pisgah, Leon County, Florida* (Nashville, TN: E. Stevenson and F.A. Owen, 1857), in Pisgah United Methodist Church, "Register of Members," Volume 1, 1830-1903,

Much of the two or three hours Gramling spent each day “knock[ing] about” no doubt involved chatting with his fellow inmates. With little else to do, engaging in idle chatter filled much of the prisoners’ time, and the leading topic of interest was always the events of the war. Yet, being prisoners put them at an obvious disadvantage, and much of their discussions were based on rumors. Some carried at least a modicum of truth, but most of the rumors were flat-out wild and reflected so much wishful thinking. Gramling dutifully recorded many of these—some he believed, some he did not. Early on in his captivity, reports in the diary correspond to Grant’s Overland Campaign for May and June 1864 and dwell on rumors of southern losses. “Yanks still hold Richmond,” he recorded on May 12th, and “Lee is surrounded and entirely cut off from his base.” “General Longstreet mortally wounded in shoulder.” “Lee is retreating and nearly cut off from Richmond. Jeff Davis is captured by Grant and paroled,” he reported on the 26th. “Don’t know whether he will be summarily hanged or not.” On June 23rd, he wrote, “No news from the front; only that Grant has shot down all the clocks and steeples in Petersburg.”³⁵

The rumors among the prisoners continued, of course, while Gramling was at Columbian and Lincoln hospitals and at the Old Capitol Prison. “It is reported,” he entered on July 10th, “that our boys drove the Yankees 18 miles, killed General [Lew] Wallace and captured one other general—forget his name—and are now within nine miles of Baltimore.” This entry reflects Jubal Early’s raid across the Potomac and the general panic that ensued within Washington.³⁶

After his arrival at Elmira, Gramling continued recording reports of the war. He noted the progress of Early’s raid on August 4, and in this instance, the Confederate raiders had dashed headlong into Pennsylvania. “Chambersburg has been burnt down by our forces,” he wrote. “Demanded \$100,000 in gold for saving it but the authorities couldn’t advance the money. Therefore it was burned.”³⁷ On August 7th, Gramling noted gleefully that “Papers

Collection Number M86-041, State Library and Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL; “Old Pisgah,” Historical Marker, CR-151, Leon County, <http://apps.flheritage.com/markers/markers.cfm?ID=leon>, (accessed March 3, 2015); Gramling Diary, September 4, 1864.

35 Gramling Diary, May 12, 1864; May 26, 1864; June 23, 1864; July 10, 1864.

36 Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union: The Organized War to Victory, 1864-1865* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1971), 88-89.

37 Gramling Diary, August 4, 1864; The town was burned on the orders of Brigadier General “Tiger John” McCausland, Jr., supposedly in retaliation for Union

yesterday state that Lee whipped Grant again last Saturday, also that Gen[eral] Hood is getting the best of Sherman. . . . Hill and Longstreet seem to be doing as they please in P[ennsylvania], while Ewell is in the [Shenandoah] Valley threshing wheat." He recorded ten days later that "Rumor says that the Federal Government wants an armistice for six months in order to come to some terms of peace." "Which I think is hardly credible," he added. "Report says that Lee made a flank movement on Grant and fully demoralized his army." "It is reported," he noted on September 4th, "that Lee has whipped Grant again and driven him 6 miles," and he wrote the next day, "Hood has given Sherman a bad thrashing, driven him 9 miles and has taken a good many prisoners." Gramling recorded that on October 6 the *New York Herald* informed its readers that "Lee has whipped and badly crippled Grant's army. . . . Sherman in an unsafe condition." "Papers say that Sherman's army is completely annihilated. Jeff Davis speaks very cheerfully to the soldiers." Gramling entered on the 21st that "Papers state that England and France have recognized the independence of the Confederacy." Clearly indicating he did not appreciate the magnitude of such a report if it was true, Gramling noted immediately following that "Nothing else [is] new."³⁸

"The news from every quarter [is] of the most flattering terms," Gramling wrote on November 3rd. His entry for November 5th relates jubilantly that, "Big gains, another victory. Beauregard captured Atlanta with 10,000 prisoners."³⁹ These reports well represent the wishful thinking one would expect among Confederate POWs. Interestingly though, a sizable number of the rumors Gramling reported originated in northern newspapers. It seems that in many cases at least, most of the North's population remained just as ill-informed as the POWs held in northern prisons.

Elmira prisoners also followed political developments with keen interest, believing—erroneously of course—that Lincoln losing the presidential contest of 1864 would mean a negotiated end to the war. On Election Day, November 8th, Gramling noted that

destruction in the Shenandoah Valley. See Gary Gallagher, ed., *The Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); see also Jim Baugess, "John A. McCausland, Confederate General" in *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War*, Volume III, ed. David S. and Jeanne T. Heidler (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 1272-1273.

38 Gramling Diary, August 7, 1864; August 17, 1864; September 4, 1864; September 5, 1864; October 6, 1864; October 21, 1864.

39 Ibid., November 3, 1864; November 5, 1864.

"Generally thought [among the prisoners] that it will be a close run between Abe and Mc [Lincoln and George B. McClellan]." "[R]ather in the latter's favor," he projected. Over the next few days, he referenced the election within multiple entries: "It is reported that Lincoln is ahead as far as is known." "Great speculation about the election. Some say that Lincoln is elected and some say Mac." "Have not heard who is elected yet for president," he entered on the 14th, "[but] it is a very close run." "I believe it inclines to be in Lincoln's favor," he added disappointedly. Finally, on the 19th, he recorded that "Seems to be no doubt-but Abe is reelected."⁴⁰ All hopes of a McClellan victory were thus dashed.

The "New York papers say General Lee has been killed," Gramling wrote on November 23rd. "Beauregard has taken the oath and Jeff [Davis] is not to be found." No doubt relieved to learn just three days later that Lee was in fact still alive, he read in the *Herald* that "Lee has whipped Grant again, capturing 20,000 prisoners." "It is reported," he wrote on November 28th, "that Beauregard has thrashed out Sherman again [and] completely annihilated his army." He then predicted that "all of us will doubtless eat our Christmas dinner at home."⁴¹ Despite such rosy entries and optimistic predictions, however, most of the rumors in circulation after the election echoed the Confederacy's rapid deterioration throughout the remainder of that winter.

More reflective of the actual course of events, on December 8th, Gramling referenced a newspaper account indicating that "Sherman [has] advanced to within 6 miles of Savannah, some say 40. Not much talk of an exchange." "Think we will stay here all winter, perhaps during war," he mused sorrowfully. Despite the occasionally accurate report, false reports far outnumbered true ones. "Jeff Davis has poisoned himself," was the rumor Gramling recorded on Christmas Eve 1864.⁴²

"Bob Lee whipped," he wrote on March 29, 1865. Five days later, he reported with alarm that "Richmond [has] gone up. 12,000 prisoners, 50 pieces of artillery [taken]." "Papers say General Lee and army surrendered or will soon," he noted on the 7th. "Considerable excitement," he added, then four days later, he entered, "Still rumors that seem to be confirmation of the surrender of

40 Ibid., November 8, 1864; November 11, 1864; November 14, 1864; November 19, 1864.

41 Ibid., November 23, 1864; November 26, 1864.

42 Ibid., November 28, 1864; December 8, 1864; December 24, 1864.

Lee and army. Some [prisoners] seem to be glad, some sorry." Gramling's entry for April 14th reflects his sullen demeanor; "Great rejoicing throughout the U.S. Great exultation and crowing in the papers. Picturing Richmond as entirely destitute of provisions and [of former slaves] receiving the Federals with great joy." "There has been a great deal of excitement this month," he wrote, "the whole Confederacy has gone up." "Sad to think of," he added, "but there might be hope [of release]."⁴³

Then the news of the tragic events at Ford's Theater on the night of April 14th spread throughout the country like a torrent. "Excitement has only begun," Gramling wrote, "Abe and Seward were murdered last night. First rumored by a Virginian, and lastly, a . . . clerk rumored that all Rebel officers at Washington were killed." Two days later, Gramling noted that "Lincoln's murderer is supposed to be one Booth." "The assassin not apprehended yet," he added. There are no further notations in the diary concerning Lincoln's assassination or of John Wilkes Booth.⁴⁴

Though Gramling recorded many of the war reports he heard, he was cautious enough not to believe most of them. "As the saying is, those tales have got no hair in them," he noted. However, POWs giving credence to favorable news, no matter how absurd, was one way of coping with their incarceration, their homesickness, and their difficult circumstances.⁴⁵ In terms of chronicling how prisoners were treated at Elmira, one needs to evaluate basic necessities such as shelter, food, medical care, and punishment. According to Gramling's diary, in each of these categories he fared reasonably well, but that is not to say though that all POWs at Elmira were as fortunate. Arriving during the third week of July before the largest influx of prisoners, he was assigned to a bunk in one of the barracks. Within a few weeks of his arrival, all space within the existing barracks was full. After the first week of August, with the prison population having risen to slightly over 5,000, nearly all of the approximately 7,000 prisoners who arrived between September and December were quartered in leaky, musty tents. The men consigned to tents remained within these pitifully inadequate shelters

43 Ibid., March 29, 1865; April 4, 1865; April 7, 1865; April 14, 1865; April 30, 1865.

44 Ibid., April 14, 1865; April 15, 1865; April 16, 1865.

45 Ibid., March 13, 1865; Debates over the treatment prisoners received within northern POW camps and the conditions under which POWs were forced to live have been, to say the least, historically contentious; finding consensus on conditions within Elmira is especially difficult.

well into the winter months; there was no other place to house them until late December.⁴⁶

Each of the existing barracks by contrast was equipped with two stoves, and Gramling reported that hauling in wood for the stoves occupied much of the inmates' time during October. He later wrote that though there were a few days during the winter months when there was neither wood nor coal to heat the barracks, these instances proved the exception rather than the norm.⁴⁷

As mentioned previously, Gramling was assigned a position as a waiter in the mess hall, and though it was exceptionally tedious work, he evidently received sufficient food. In fact, other than him mentioning his job and his "get[ting] plenty to eat" on July 26th, he rarely discussed food at all. Considering that the quality and quantity of food at any prison of any type always has been a point of contention, it seems rather odd that Gramling made no issue of it. Post-war accounts by dozens of former inmates tell of prisoners being forced to subsist on a diet of bean and onion soup that was mostly water, stale bread, and a small piece of salt pork. According to these reminiscences, eating rats, cats, and dogs as supplements to their meager rations was common among the inmates. It seems reasonable to argue, however, that had the inmates within Elmira been served only the quality and quantity of prison food described in these accounts, hundreds more no doubt would have died, and those fortunate enough to have survived their imprisonment, including Gramling, would have been little more than human skeletons. There are but few accounts of Confederate prisoners being released in such condition due exclusively to malnutrition.⁴⁸

The most controversial issue involving prisoner treatment at Elmira centers on medical care—or the lack thereof. With a death

46 Lieutenant Colonel Eastman originally reported to the Union's Commissary-General of Prisoners, Colonel William Hoffman, that Elmira Prison could accommodate up to five thousand POWs within the existing barracks. However, that number was exceeded as early as August 2, 1864, and from that date until additional barracks were completed in December, the majority of Elmira's prisoners were housed in tents. Statistical data concerning housing in Elmira is provided in Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 257-259.

47 Gramling Diary, January 16, 1865.

48 Gillispie argues that though the quality of rations was by today's standards rather poor, POWs nonetheless received adequate quantities. Gillispie, *Anderson-villes of the North*, 231-232; According to Nathan R. Meyer, on the other hand, the diet at Elmira was so poor that by December 1864, Confederate POWs were "dying of starvation at a rate of twenty five a day." Nathan R. Meyer, "Elmira Prison," in *Encyclopedia of the American Civil War*, Volume II, ed. David S. and Jeanne T. Heidler (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 648-649.

rate of 24.3%, which represented 2,963 deaths out of a total prisoner population of 12,123, it is abundantly evident that even by Civil War standards, far too many prisoners died at Elmira.⁴⁹ It is also clear that most of the deaths occurred due to one of three maladies: bacterial infection, scurvy, or, smallpox. The chief surgeon assigned to Elmira Prison, Dr. Eugene Sanger, was subsequently vilified by many of the former prisoners—as well as by a good number of historians—for what they charged as his decidedly malfeasant approach to addressing the dangerous health conditions inside the camp.⁵⁰

Five hundred Elmira prisoners died in August and September 1864, and roughly one-half of the prisoner deaths during those months can be attributed to a bacteria-filled overflow known as Foster's Pond, which caught spillover waters from the adjacent Chemung River. By late August, with the camp's prisoner population having reached nearly 10,000, the pond served as a catch-all for the camp's latrines and was horribly polluted. Essentially, this stagnant body of water became a microbial cesspool constantly befouled by human waste.⁵¹ Today, Foster's Pond under similar conditions would be declared a biohazard.

Though Sanger reported the dangers posed by the pond, Elmira's commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Seth Eastman, delayed taking action because, first, he did not want to spend the resources necessary for digging a drainage trench to the river, and, second, he was hopeful that fall rains would swell the river and

49 Mortality statistics for Elmira are listed in Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 258-260; see also Robertson, "The Scourge of Elmira," 95. Historian Michael Gray shows slightly different figures: 12,147 prisoners and 2,973 Confederate deaths. Michael Gray, "Elmira, A City on a Prison-Camp Contract," *Civil War History* 45:4 (December 1999): 330, 337.

50 Jesse Waggoner, "The Role of the Physician: Eugene Sanger and a Standard of Care at the Elmira Prison Camp," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 63:1, (January 2008), 3-5; 13-15; 18-21. Waggoner provides an interesting assessment and rather damning indictment of Elmira's medical staff—and especially of Dr. Sanger; Michael Horigan includes a letter written by Sanger in which the chief surgeon boasts that he had "relieved 386 of them [Confederate POWs] of all earthly sorrows in one month." Horigan describes Sanger as "a cold, calculating, self-serving medical officer whose lack of compassion led him to deny his patients at Elmira his salutary medical skills." Horigan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North*, 129-131.

51 The problems created by Foster's Pond are discussed in all secondary accounts. There seems little doubt that addressing such a health hazard should have been more of a priority. Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 57-58; Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Gray*, 78.

thus flush out the pond naturally.⁵² The rains never came and the pond continued to be a health threat well into the winter when falling temperatures alleviated the problem somewhat. By that time though, bacterial infections contracted through tainted water caused deadly dysentery and exacted an enormous toll on the prisoners.

Most of the other deaths that occurred in August and September can be attributed to scurvy; a dietary deficiency of vitamin C that causes hair and teeth loss, a "sponginess" to the gums and roof of the mouth, yellowish and pallid skin, dangerously chronic diarrhea, and internal bleeding. Left untreated, scurvy is invariably fatal. Chief Surgeon Sanger reported 793 cases by the end of August. Much to his consternation, that number had more than doubled by the middle of September.⁵³ Correctly following the most widely held course of treatment, Sanger recommended that increased rations of fruits and vegetables be added to the prisoners' diet. Earlier, however, in May 1864, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton—apparently in retaliation for the horrible conditions Union soldiers faced in Southern POW camps—had ordered a universal twenty percent reduction in rations for all Confederate POWs, and thus the prisoners were deprived of much-needed nutrients, especially vitamin C.⁵⁴ Given that the rations reduction went into effect before Elmira accepted its first POW, it is highly likely that many Confederates arrived in camp already suffering from advanced scurvy—especially those who had spent May and June in other POW camps such as Point Lookout in southern Maryland. On July 30, Gramling recorded that several of the men with whom he had been captured at the Battle of the Wilderness arrived at Elmira. "Cay, Carter, Felkel, Berry, [and] Snipes came here today from Point Lookout and several others from the regiment. They are well but look quite thin. Give Point Lookout a bad name."⁵⁵

The most deadly disease to strike the prisoner population at Elmira was smallpox. It is generally noted that this dreaded

52 Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Gray*, 78.

53 Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 28.

54 The issue of Union retaliation has been especially contentious. See the discussions in Gray, *The Business of Captivity*, 29; Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, 167-168; historian James Gillispie argues that though Secretary Stanton approved a retaliation policy in response to the horrors at Andersonville, the results of that policy were not as severe as some historians have suggested. He argues further that the retaliation program was relaxed significantly by November 1864. Gillispie, *Andersonvilles of the North*, 97-100.

55 Gramling Diary, July 30, 1864.

contagion first entered Elmira in October 1864 via prisoners captured at Fort Morgan near Mobile, Alabama. However, it appears that the disease was limited in October to a relatively few patients and that a full-fledged outbreak did not occur until December. According to Dr. G. T. Taylor, he and several other prisoners were held as POWs at Governor's Island in New York Harbor from August until December, and they all contracted smallpox while there. Despite the contagiousness of their illness, Taylor asserted, they were transferred to Elmira in early December 1864.⁵⁶ By the third week of that month, and, as discussed by Gramling, smallpox had spread rapidly throughout much of the prison population. The mortality figures for January, February, and March, respectively, were astonishingly high: 285, 426, and 491.⁵⁷

As indicated in his diary, although Gramling hardly enjoyed perfect health during his captivity, he was exceedingly fortunate to have endured his time at Elmira without suffering from or contracting any of the three most deadly maladies. Likewise, given the medical office's pitiful record of caring for desperately ill prisoners, Gramling was blessed that the few bouts of illness he experienced never required hospitalization. The smallpox vaccination he received in December, though tremendously painful, likely saved his life.

As a day-by-day account by a young man who spent thirteen months as a Confederate POW, Wilbur Gramling's diary adds considerably to our understanding of how the Union treated its prisoners. Moreover, given that he provides a first-hand description of prison life at Elmira, it would seem that the diary would serve

56 G. T. Taylor, "Prison Experiences in Elmira, NY," 327.

57 Holmes, *The Elmira Prison Camp*, 257-258. Numerous accounts, both primary and secondary, lay most of the blame for the substandard medical care at Elmira before December 1864 squarely into the lap of Chief Surgeon Sanger. These accounts argue that Sanger wantonly neglected his duties by ignoring the health hazards posed by Foster's Pond and did little to obviate the scurvy epidemic until much too late. The critics likewise charge that Sanger delayed taking any action regarding smallpox until well after the pestilence was widespread throughout the prison camp. This information is significant because later accounts charge that Sanger and the medical staff were derelict in addressing the smallpox epidemic throughout October and November. However, it appears that though there may have been a few isolated cases of smallpox during those months, there was no serious outbreak before the second week of December. And by then, Dr. Sanger had been relieved of his duties at Elmira. The medical staff in Elmira vaccinated most of the prisoners throughout that month. Regardless of these efforts though, 1,202 prisoners died during January, February, and March, with a significant percentage of the deaths being caused by smallpox.

as one of the more reliable primary sources on prison life at that camp. In so many respects though, Gramling's diary starkly contradicts to a remarkable degree virtually all other primary and secondary accounts, especially regarding the contentious issue of prisoner treatment. Arriving at Elmira in July 1864 and surviving in relatively good health for the next eleven months seems extraordinary in light of the many testimonials of other prisoners who recounted the horrors of life at "Helmira." Yet Gramling never mentioned being starved or eating pets and vermin. He was never beaten by the guards, he spent his time housed in a barracks heated by cast-iron stoves, and, by his own account, he normally received plenty of food.⁵⁸ The incongruences between sources such as Gramling's daybook and a myriad of first-person accounts written after the war are especially difficult to reconcile.

The experience of being a Civil War POW—or, for that matter, a prisoner during any war fought before international agreements established rules for acceptable treatment—often hinged entirely on how well the captors chose to treat their captives, and like so much else about the Civil War, managing large-scale POW camps was entirely unprecedented for both sides. It is important to remember that even during the nineteenth century, prisoners of war were not viewed as criminals and, generally speaking, were not to be treated as such. Yet, virtually everyone has heard of the horrors that occurred within the walls of Andersonville Prison in Georgia. It is clear beyond any reasonable argument that the Confederacy failed tragically in properly caring for large numbers of prisoners of war, and arguments have raged ever since as to whether the South could have prevented such horrible deaths.

Debates have raged likewise concerning northern POW camps and the experiences of Confederate prisoners. No one would argue that death on a scale of Andersonville occurred within any Federal camp. Yet, the death rate at Elmira Prison—24.3%—came appallingly close to matching the infamous Confederate camp. The question then, as is the question now is: was the high death rate

58 This statement by no means suggests that Gramling enjoyed an idyllic life at Elmira. He mentions on January 22, 1865 that his feet "were frostbitten again," clearly indicating that he lacked adequate shoes on more than one occasion. Though he seemingly was not a person to be involved in trouble, for some unknown offense he spent twenty-four hours on December 13-14 locked in a small shack known as the "guardhouse." This sweatbox was "a pretty lousy hole," Gramling wrote on the 14th. He was allowed only bread and water during his time in the box.

at Elmira preventable? Moreover, did the Federal government, or officials within it or the US military, institute policies deliberately intended to sicken or even to kill Confederate POWs so as to prevent them from returning to the battlefield—or perhaps in retaliation for the inhumane treatment Union soldiers received at Andersonville? Was Elmira Prison, which was being prepared to accept prisoners during spring 1864, when reports of the horrors at Andersonville filtered north, designed specifically as a “death camp,” a place where the North would exact its revenge by mistreating southern POWs? And finally, did the Federal government intentionally deprive the men adequate shelter from the elements, healthy food, and medical care? The answers to these questions have proved difficult to ascertain because most of the first-hand accounts by former southern prisoners were written well after the war and were influenced by considerations well beyond mere historical fact. Primary sources such as Gramling’s diary, on the other hand—written as the events occurred—are indeed rare, and they often tell far different tales of prison life at Elmira than the memoirs written well after the guns had silenced and the prisoners released through the prison’s gates.

The issue of how prisoners were treated at Elmira became hopelessly ensnared in post-Civil War debates over which side, Union or Confederate, mistreated POWs more. During much of the three decades following Lee’s surrender at Appomattox, a number of highly exaggerated accounts by Union soldiers imprisoned at Andersonville and other POW camps were published and received wide circulation, often with the allegations that the intentional mistreatment Union soldiers experienced in Confederate-run camps reflected the savage nature of southern society in general, especially as it had been befouled by the evils of slavery. Incensed former Confederate POWs published their reminiscences in response and, with equally imaginative accounts, charged that they had been mistreated just as severely. Even more unconscionable, they argued, was that their mistreatment occurred within a land of plenty and that all of the deprivations in food, clothing, blankets, medical care, and heating fuel were intentionally and specifically concocted to punish or eliminate Confederate POWs.⁵⁹

59 One of the more informative works covering the debates over treatment within northern and southern POW camps and the ever-changing nature of how Americans chose to remember the war and all of its horrors is Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity*.

These post-war memoirs by former Confederate POWs constitute one genre of publications echoing the Lost Cause interpretation of the Civil War that emerged in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. This interpretation was part of a regional and cultural movement dedicated to honoring the Confederacy, deifying its military leadership, and elevating the southern war effort to a noble and glorious cause. Moreover, organizations such as the Southern Historical Society and numerous local and state-level Ladies Memorial Associations that evolved into various chapters of the Daughters of the Confederacy sought to glorify the war by memorializing its southern participants while ensuring that school-age children were taught the "proper" (i.e., southern) interpretation of the war. Lost Cause enthusiasts thus whitewashed the war, conveniently disposed of the thorny slavery issue, and sought to reclaim some semblance of the moral high ground.⁶⁰

Though Lost Cause apostles generally acknowledged that the South may have been wrong on the slavery issue, they insisted that Confederate soldiers nevertheless fought honorably for the higher ideals of constitutionalism, liberty, and southern independence. Among so many other attributes, the Lost Cause was an effort to reclaim southern honor. Yet northern accounts of the horrors within Andersonville, Libby Prison, and other POW camps presented the Confederacy in darkness and evil, cut southern honor to its core, maligned southern character, and severally tweaked southern sensibilities. In response, between 1865 and 1920, scores of first-hand memoirs were published by former Confederate POWs all generally parroting the same message: the Lincoln Administration—and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton most particularly—mandated a retaliatory policy for Confederate POWs that led to abuse, cruel treatment, inadequate facilities, poor diets, and thousands of deaths.

Few of these Lost Cause memorialists disputed the 29% mortality rate within Andersonville Prison. However, the post-war defenders of southern honor argued that such tragic losses were

60 Recent works that have added significantly to our understanding of the Lost Cause include Gary Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). For a study of the Ladies Memorial Associations see Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead But Not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); see especially Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity*, 67-72.

unavoidable, as the South had by the final year of the war become incapable of caring for so many prisoners. The South could not feed itself, they argued, much less prisoners of war. Conversely, the North suffered no such privations, and the high mortality rate in Elmira, critics of northern prison camps asserted, thereby reflected intentional brutality.⁶¹

The post-war memoirs written by former Elmira prisoners seemingly would offer a treasure trove of primary research material highly useful for documenting life inside the camp. However, as the majority of these sources are decidedly less-than reliable because they are agenda-driven, unabashedly biased, and weighted with ulterior motives, they must be viewed through a most skeptical lens. Virtually all of the first-hand but Lost-Cause memoirs that allege abuse and brutality at Elmira were written in the spirit of reclaiming southern honor by exposing what the memoirists perceived as northern dishonor.

Anthony M. Keiley, a former sergeant in the 12th Virginia captured during Grant's siege of Petersburg, was held as an Elmira POW from September through November 1864. After being paroled, Keiley returned to Richmond and published his memoirs based on what he claimed was a diary he had kept throughout his imprisonment. Ultimately published in 1866 as *In Vinculus; or, The Prisoner of War*, Keiley's narrative is a wild-eyed rant overflowing with colorful invective for his captors.⁶² Keiley hoped to sell books, and he knew that a manuscript highlighting the evils of the northern people would be quite popular. His book likewise was one of the first published responses from a southerner to the charge that the Confederate government intentionally starved prisoners at Andersonville.

Though he described a number of the Union officers at Elmira, Keiley directed his most scathing diatribe at William Peck, one of six captains assigned to Barracks Number 3. "There was" among these officers, he wrote, "a long-nosed, long-faced, long-jawed, long-bearded, long-bodied, long-legged, endless-footed, and long-skirted curiosity, yclept [named] Captain Peck" who, Keiley charged, was notorious for stealing the prisoners' personal belongings and then "huckstering" them for substantial personal gain.

61 Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 23-24, 57; Gillispie, *Andersonvilles of the North*, 29-45.

62 Anthony M. Keiley, *In Vinculus; or, The Prisoner of War, Being the Experience of a Rebel in Two Federal Pens, Interspersed With Reminiscences of the Late War* (New York: Blelock and Company, 1866).

"Of the same block [Barracks Number 3]," Keiley wrote, "Captain Borden was a chip: a fair-haired, light-moustached, Saxon-faced 'Yank'—far the worst type of man, let me tell you . . . whose whole intercourse with the prisoners was the essence of brutality."⁶³ At the same time though, Keiley reported that Major Henry V. Colt, the immediate supervisor for all Union personnel for Barracks Number 3, was "uniformly urbane and courteous in his demeanor, [and that he] performed the varied, and often annoying, offices of his post with a degree of justice to his position and to men under his charge [with] a [level of] patience, fidelity, and humanity that could not be surpassed." In stark contrast to Major Colt, "[Dr.] Sanger was simply a brute," Keiley remarked bluntly, who intentionally abused ill Confederates. This "club footed little gentleman, with an abnormal head and a snaky look in his eyes," he continued, engaged in "systematic inhumanity to the sick." Lastly, Keiley stated that men driven by hunger regularly hunted, killed, and ate rats—which also served as a medium of exchange on the camp's illicit prisoner-run market.⁶⁴

Walter Addison, a private in the 44th Tennessee Infantry, spent nearly twelve months at Elmira and wrote his account of prison life in 1889. Not only did Addison charge that the soldiers in Elmira were treated in the most brutally inhumane manner imaginable, he asserted that killing Confederate prisoners was a matter of policy within the camp. "There is no doubt in my mind," he wrote,

"as to the intention of our enemies to rid themselves of as many of our prisoners as was possible, no matter what the means to which they resorted. Witness in various instances when contagious diseases were introduced into crowded prisons. I recollect, in one instance at Elmira hundreds

63 Keiley, *In Vinculis*, 133-134. Likewise typical were the reminiscences of T.C. Davis, a private in the North Carolina 40th Infantry, who referred to the officers as the "meanest men I ever saw—demons in human flesh." Taylor, "Prison Experiences in Elmira, NY," 65. Referring to one of the guards at Elmira, a former sergeant in the 44th Tennessee Regiment recalled that "one, whose name I have forgotten, was a fiend. He was a humped-back Scotchman [*sic*], nicknamed by the boys 'Old Hogback,' but he was hog all over." G.W.D. Porter, "Nine Months in a Northern Prison," *The Annals of the Army of Tennessee*, Vol. 1, ed. Edwin Drake (Nashville, TN: A.D. Haynes, 1878), 160-161, <http://www.tennessee-scv.org/4455/9months.htm>, (accessed April 15, 2015).

64 Keiley, *In Vinculis*, 134, 138, 145, 146. Keiley alleged that "The most scandalous neglect prevailed even in so simple a matter as providing food for the sick, and I do not doubt that many of those who died perished from actual starvation," 140.

of deaths were the result of smallpox introduced from patients from Blackwell Island, New York.”⁶⁵

Adding to his astonishing claim that smallpox was intentionally and maliciously introduced into the prisoner population, Addison also described the “outrageous manner” of administering vaccinations, noting that as each prisoner approached the head of the line “the butchering began by illiterate and irresponsible men [of the medical staff].” “They would take hold of a thick piece of flesh,” he wrote, “dip a lancet into the diluted virus, and thrust it entirely through the pinched up flesh.” The wounds often became inflamed and gangrenous, Addison remembered, and there were men whose arms had to be amputated because of this procedure.⁶⁶

Addison also described starving men subsisting on a diet of whatever small animal that could be caught and killed. “[O]n one occasion an officer came into the stockade accompanied by his favorite dog. No sooner was the dog discovered by several hungry prisoners than he was seized and converted into food.” “[Neither] rats, dogs, cats nor any other animal would long exist amongst that hungry throng of prisoners.” “Would men eat dogs and rats,” he asked, “unless suffering from extreme hunger?”⁶⁷

Marcus Toney published his memoirs, *Privations of a Private*, in 1907, and, similar to Keiley, assured his readers that his memoirs were based on a diary he kept while at Elmira. Toney recounted having to sleep in tents even when the outdoor temperature plummeted well below zero and subsisting on an inadequate prison diet that compelled hungry men to eat vermin of all sorts. Though thankful that he managed to survive on prison rations and gifts of food from friends, “I have tasted a piece of rat,” he admitted, “and it is much like squirrel.”⁶⁸

John R. King was a Virginia soldier captured at Spotsylvania Courthouse. In 1916, over a half-century after Lee’s surrender, he was asked by the Stonewall Jackson Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to chronicle his memories of prisoner

65 Walter Addison, “Recollections of a Confederate Soldier of the Prison-Pens of Point Lookout, Md., and Elmira, New York,” Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, via Elmira Prison Camp Online Library, <http://www.angelfire.com/ny5/elmiraprison/addison.html>, (accessed 04/15/2015).

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Marcus Toney, *The Privations of a Private*, 2nd edition (Nashville, TN: Publishing House of the Methodists Episcopal Church, South, 1907), 101.

treatment. Describing a line of prisoners entering the mess hall, King recalled that "We went in a trot, canteens, buckets, tin cans, coffee pots, rattled, old rags and strings, and long unkept [*sic*] hair, dirt and grey backs, cheek bones projecting, for there was very little of us except skin and bones." "It has often been said," he added, "that the northern people treated and fed their prisoners well. I wish it were true, but during my imprisonment which was more than a year, I never saw any of the good treatment."⁶⁹

Given that historians chronicling the Civil War have produced several lifetimes of reading on nearly every aspect imaginable, it is curious that secondary works on northern POW camps have until just recently been altogether scarce. During the last two decades, however, a significant number of monographs has been published detailing either one particular prison or the Union's POW policies in general. The primary controversies within the historiography of Elmira Prison center on whether the epithet "Helmira" has any validity whatsoever. Moreover, historians have had to judge to what extent, if any, prisoners at Elmira were abused, mistreated, starved, or improperly cared for. Those historians willing to believe post-war accounts generally argue that, indeed, Confederate prisoners at Elmira suffered both terribly and needlessly and that if Elmira was not specifically Hell, it was at best one of its portals.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the most reliable first-hand accounts, such as Wilbur Gramling's diary, apparently have been used more selectively because these do not portray as much of a horror story at Elmira as do the memoirs. One historian argues that Gramling's relatively tolerable experiences differed so dramatically from those of other prisoners because he was one of the fortunate few who secured jobs in the camp.⁷¹

Despite some historians' inclination to dismiss Gramling's experiences as exceptional rather than typical, other first-person accounts—diaries written while their writers were incarcerated at Elmira—more often support rather than refute Gramling's facts

69 John R. King, *My Experiences in the Confederate Army and in Northern Prisons, Written from Memory* (Clarksburg, WV: Stonewall Jackson Chapter No. 1333, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1917), via Elmira Prison Camp Online Library, <http://www.angelfire.com/ny5/elmiraprison/king.html>, (accessed April 21, 2015).

70 Two recent studies that focus specifically on prisoner suffering at Elmira and other POW camps and are particularly critical of the camp's administration as well as Colonel William Hoffman and Secretary Edwin Stanton include Speer, *Portals to Hell* and Horgan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North*.

71 Horgan, *Elmira, Death Camp of the North*, 64.

as he recorded them. Like Gramling, Thomas Benton Alexander, a sergeant in the 1st Tennessee Heavy Artillery who spent four months at Elmira from December 5, 1864 until March 10, 1865, also kept a day book chronicling his experiences as a POW.⁷² With his arrival at the camp, Alexander noted that “our quarters is [*sic*] very good with 2 stoves in Each Barracks very good Bunks 3 men to each Bunk.” He likewise added his assessment of the food. “[W]e have two meals a Day,” he wrote, “for Breakfast Bread and meat for Dinner soop [*sic*] and Bread [.] [N]o supper[.] [T]he two meals very good Enough to live on if we had one more meal a Day we would do well.”⁷³ Alexander also noted the high death rate during that month’s smallpox outbreak, “Dying by the dozen per day,” he wrote, “some frees [*sic*]”⁷⁴ As not all of the new barracks were fully constructed until late December, it is likely that some of the unfortunate POWs still quartered in tents froze to death in the bitterly cold December weather. Overall though, Alexander’s account mirrors Gramling’s, especially in regard to the prisoners’ relatively adequate diet.

Louis Leon was another Elmira Prison diarist. Having served as a sharpshooter in Company C of the 1st North Carolina Regiment from the war’s outset, Leon was captured at the Wilderness on May 5, 1864. He was held at Point Lookout, Maryland, from May 15th through July 27th when he and roughly seven hundred other prisoners were sent to Elmira.⁷⁵ Noting that there were about 3,000 prisoners at Elmira when he arrived, Leon was among the Confederate POWs who arrived at the camp while there remained sufficient room within the barracks. “I like this place better than Point Lookout,” he wrote.

Leon’s diary entries were written sporadically; he did not write daily but rather added comments pertaining to an entire month or longer. His entry for September was solely to complain about

72 Alexander had been held as a POW twice previous to his incarceration at Elmira. He was captured at Fort Donelson in February 1862, paroled, then recaptured at Port Hudson in 1863, and once again paroled. George Rugg, “Introduction,” *Thomas Benton Alexander Diary, Manuscripts of the American Civil War*. University of Notre Dame, Hesburgh Libraries, Rare Books and Special Collections, http://www.rarebooks.nd.edu/digital/civil_war/diaries_journals/alexander/, (accessed September 3, 2015).

73 Ibid., 38.

74 Ibid., 39.

75 Louis Leon, *Diary of a Tarheel Confederate Soldier*, via *Documenting the American South, or, The Southern Experience in 19th-century America*, Digital Edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Academic Affairs Library), 1998., <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/leon/leon.html>, (accessed September 22, 2015).

the changing weather. "It is very cold," he wrote, "worse than I have seen it in the South in the dead of winter." He mentioned the smallpox outbreak in his October 1864 entry, and he also corroborates post-war memoirs that speak of prisoners eating rats to supplement their rather meager meat rations. "We can buy from prisoners rats, 25 cents each, killed and dressed. Quite a number of our boys have gone into the rat business." For November and December, Leon recorded that not much had changed, other than that the weather had turned bitterly cold and the men spent most of their time indoors. "We dance every night at some of our quarters," he wrote. "Some of the men put a white handkerchief around one of their arms, and these [men] act as the ladies. We have a jolly good time."⁷⁶ Such a report hardly corresponds to post-war memoirs that provide such graphic detail on the never-ending evils within the walls of "Helmira."

In January 1865, Leon admitted that the South could not win the war. "Nothing [new]," he wrote gloomily, "only that I fear that our cause is lost, as we are losing heavily and have no more men at home to come to the army." He noted in February that, "The smallpox is frightful. There is not a day that at least twenty men are taken out dead." "It is the same gloomy and discouraging news from the South," he wrote as his March entry, "and gloomy and discouraging in prison." When word reached Elmira that Lee had surrendered his army on April 9th, Leon and about four hundred of his fellow prisoners "took the cursed oath and were given transportation to wherever we wanted to go."⁷⁷

Considering that Alexander's and Leon's diaries corroborate closely most of the details provided within Gramling's diary, it would be unwise to dismiss Gramling's relatively tolerable experiences as unique or to attribute them to him having had the good fortune of being chosen to work as a waiter. After all, neither Alexander nor Leon worked in the mess hall. Leon evidently supplemented his diet with rodents, but consuming such morsels would not by itself indicate that he barely survived on the rations provided. What is common to all three diarists was that they were fortunate to have arrived at Elmira when there was space available within barracks. There should be no doubt that the roofs over their heads and the stoves that warmed them through the bitterly cold New York winter made their time at Elmira, if not pleasant, far more survivable.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 67-68.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 69-70.

Gramling's good luck, if one wishes to look at it that way, extended far beyond being a waiter in the mess hall. Moreover, the circumstances and timing of his capture and incarceration most likely directly influenced his experiences. It may, for instance, seem altogether counterintuitive to suggest that Gramling was fortunate to have been shot at the Battle of the Wilderness. After all, can being struck by a .54 caliber projectile in any way be viewed as fortuitous? It is reasonable to assume, however, that without this battle injury, he would have been sent to Point Lookout along with the rest of the Company K prisoners, and there he would have suffered in the open air throughout June and July instead of being sent to the hospitals in Washington, DC. Also fortuitous was Gramling's transfer to the Old Capitol Prison. The poor and overcrowded conditions in that facility made relocating the prisoners a priority. Therefore, instead of arriving at Elmira after all of the space in the barracks had been assigned, Gramling arrived in time to be given adequate housing. Had he arrived just a few days later, more importantly, he likely would not have been chosen to serve as a waiter in the mess hall, and hence, he would not have had as much food. Though it is evident that the rations served at Elmira were often less-than-nutritious, the extra portions of soup seasoned heavily with onions meant that Gramling was better able to fend off scurvy. Lastly, fortune smiled on Wilbur Gramling once again when his smallpox vaccine "took" and he did not contract that deadly scourge.

Though he had held out for several months, in his desperation to get home—he never once talked of being released so that he could rejoin the fight—Gramling signed the oath of allegiance on April 26, 1865, two weeks after Lee's surrender at Appomattox. "I am still an R. E. Reb," he wrote proudly on the 24th, but two days later, he entered, "Most all have applied to take the oath and I was weak enough to do so also. Sorry for it since. [Will] [t]ry and live in the hopes that it will prove the best." The next day's entry said, "Am feeling troubled today, afraid I have done wrong."⁷⁸ The remaining nine entries of the diary—it ends on May 5, 1865, one year from the date of his capture—speak of release rumors, the marked decline in the number of smallpox cases, and his general boredom. "Fair and pleasant," he recorded on May 4th. Revealingly, he then noted that "Making a total of 50 cents per day for helping an Ethiopian saw every night." He then commented, "New U.S." Gramling ended his diary the next day. "Fixing up quite a

78 Gramling Diary, April 24, 1865; April 26, 1865.

garden," he wrote as his last line—one that pleasantly brings to mind Voltaire's *Candide*.⁷⁹

On June 22, 1865 Gramling and several hundred of his fellow prisoners were loaded onto trains and sent south. What happened to him beyond that date is unknown. He most likely traveled directly to Florida, returned home, and resumed working on the family farm. However, Wilbur died on December 3, 1870, just five years after the war and at the young age of twenty seven. Though multiple sources note that he died of a lung ailment contracted during his time at Elmira, there is no evidence to support such a claim.⁸⁰ Regardless, he was laid to rest in a small cemetery less than fifty yards from the front door of his beloved Old Pisgah Church.⁸¹

Historians determined to place blame—hell-bent on finding the demons in the story of Elmira Prison—likely would be frustrated in their efforts after consulting the Gramling Diary. And as shown, other diaries, such as those by Thomas B. Alexander and Louis Leon, offer additional and reliable evidence that life within Elmira was more tolerable than described by post-war memoirists whose biased reports and ulterior motives render their accounts questionable at best. Neither Gramling, nor Alexander, nor Leon speak of abusive guards killing men in cold blood, and they never described starving skeletons of men too weak to walk. It would seem that such incidences and images would not have been left out of their accounts. It is imperative, therefore, that each of the post-war, agenda-driven memoirs be used in a highly measured manner and most assuredly not taken at face value.⁸²

Gramling's daybook is one of those sources that should give us pause as it serves as an especially reliable counterbalance. By itself,

79 Ibid., May 4, 1865; May 5, 1865.

80 Though the actual cause of Wilbur Gramling's premature death likely will never be determined, it seems improbable that it can be attributed to any ailment contracted at Elmira. Even as late as March 31, 1865, the day following Gramling's twenty-second birthday, he noted in his diary that "The winter is about over now and it has not been so very hard. I have toughed it out very well. Can't say that I have suffered any either from cold or hunger for which I am very thankful. [I] [h]ave been blessed so far." It might be concluded from these lines, though, that Gramling had seen considerable suffering during his time at Elmira and that he well understood just how fortunate he had been. Gramling Diary, March 31, 1865.

81 "Genealogical Information, The Gramling Diary," The Gramling Collection, MSS 88-070, Folder 2, State Library and Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL.

82 Historian James Gillispie clearly agrees with this conclusion. "The overwhelming majority [of post-war memoirs] from both regions" he notes, "are virulent polemics that often conflict with wartime records and diaries." Gillispie, *Andersonvilles of the North*, 3.

it most certainly would not support the assertion that Elmira was a death camp *by design*. But there is no getting away from the appallingly high 24.3% mortality rate. Indeed, it was a death camp—or, perhaps more accurately stated, it was a place where through neglect, indifference, inexperience, and ignorance, nearly three thousand men died while being held captive within its fences. If Confederate prisoners were ill or malnourished upon entering, their chances of surviving Elmira were that much less. As cruel as it may sound, Elmira was not a spa—and the prisoners were not there on a health cure. The myriad and unprecedented problems associated with housing, feeding, clothing, and providing proper medical attention for POWs throughout 1864 and 1865 tragically reflected the unprecedented nature of the entire war.

Another Invisible Man: Alexander H. Darnes, M.D.

by Charles A. Tingley

The term “invisible man” has become a cliché for the evaporative effect of the Jim Crow Era on African American men and women and the memory of their lives.¹ This article is the story of one such man of great stature who became invisible. What started as the search for a young slave boy named Aleck turned into the re-discovery of Dr. Alexander Hanson Darnes, who was taken as a teenager to a U. S. Army cavalry post in the West, went through the Civil War as the personal valet of Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith, gained freedom through Emancipation, sued for his right to vote, took a medical degree, stood up for equal rights on public transportation, and served the community as Florida’s first African-American physician.

The rebirth of Alexander Darnes occurred in 2001 in a project by the sculptor Maria Kirby-Smith. She approached the St. Augustine Historical Society with the concept of creating a memorial to her great-grandfather Edmund Kirby Smith in a life-size, bronze statue at his birthplace, the Segui-Kirby Smith House in St. Augustine, which serves as the Society’s research library. However, she did not want to commemorate her ancestor’s U. S. Army or Confederate Army careers. Instead, she proposed creating a sculpture reflecting his post-war years, when he was a much beloved math

Charles Tingley is the Senior Research Librarian at the St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library.

¹ Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Random House, 1980), 3, Robert Casanella, *To Render Invisible: Jim Crow and Public Life in New South Jacksonville* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014).

professor at the University of the South and father of eleven children. Also, she wanted to feature two people in the sculpture, Kirby Smith and his valet, known as Aleck.

The first question the Society's executive director posed to Maria Kirby Smith was, "Who was Aleck?" The sculptor explained that he was a slave in the Smith household, also born and raised in the Kirby Smith House, and mentioned in her great-grandmother Cassie Kirby Smith's privately published reminisces, *All's Fair in Love and War* (1945).² As Library Manager, I was tasked with finding enough biographical data on Aleck to convince the Society's Board of Trustees that his inclusion in the memorial was appropriate. More than enough material was found and I discovered a fascinating man who led me on a fifteen-year quest through family papers, newspapers, and other source materials.

While much of the material in *All's Fair in Love and War* is inaccurate family tales, it is correct that Aleck became a doctor in Florida.³ However, histories of Jacksonville written in the twentieth century never whisper the name of Darnes.⁴ Although the medical profession in Duval County is lionized in three books, Darnes' name appears only once in one footnote.⁵ Darnes was in plain sight to anyone who checked the Jacksonville City Directories for the 1880s and 1890s. His name appears among Howard University alumni, the largest historically black medical school.⁶ Yet he was somehow missed in *The Medical Profession in 19th Century Florida: A Biographical Register* (1996) by E. Ashby Hammond.⁷ His eyewitness account of the Civil War was overlooked by at least three historians who mined the Edmund Kirby

2 Personal conversation with Taryn Rodriguez-Boette, July 2, 2015.

3 Cassie Kirby Smith, *All's Fair In Love and War or The Story or How a Virginia Belle Won a Confederate Colonel*, (Nina Kirby-Smith Buck, 1945), 37.

4 T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513-1924* (Jacksonville: Florida Historical Society, 1925); Richard A. Martin, *The City Makers* (Jacksonville, FL: Convention Press, 1972); James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: an Illustrated History of Jacksonville, Florida* (Jacksonville: Florida Publishing Co., 1982).

5 Webster Merritt, *Hundreth Birthday, Duval County Medical Society, 1853-1953* (Jacksonville, FL: Duval County Medical Society, 1954); Marian J. Rust, *The Healers: a History of Health Care in Jacksonville, Florida 1791-1986* (Jacksonville, FL: The Memorial Health, Education and Research Foundation, 1986); Webster Merritt, *A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1949), 154 [footnote].

6 Daniel Smith Lamb, ed., *Howard University Medical Department: A Historical, Biographical and Statistical Souvenir* (Washington, DC: R. Beresford, 1900), 162.

7 E. Ashby Hammond, *The Medical Profession in 19th Century Florida, a Biographical Register* (Gainesville: George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, 1996).

Smith Papers for biographies of the general, although it appears with other tributes at the time of Kirby Smith's death.⁸ Apparently these authors chose not to see him. Darnes' invisibility was complete. Darnes is not unique among many disappearing African Americans. Just to name two north Florida examples, Sitiki (aka Jack Smith) and Anna Jai Kingsley have recently been given their rightful place in history after being lost for a century.^{9 10} This article will attempt to put flesh on his bones just as his life-size bronze statue makes him visible at his childhood home.

The first recorded mention of the slave boy who would become Dr. Alexander H. Darnes seems to be a letter dated February 1st 1845 from Judge Joseph Lee Smith to his son Cadet Edmund Kirby Smith at West Point. The judge wrote, "Your servant boy Alex thrives rapidly and will be a useful waiter for you in a year or two - when you graduate...."¹¹ Surviving documents only partially reveal information about Alex's parents. His mother was Violet Pinckney/Fane, a slave in the Smith household. She is referred to as a slave of the eldest of the Smith children, U.S. Army Captain Ephraim Kirby Smith, as early as 1839. In that year, with the Second Seminole War waning, Captain Ephraim Smith was reassigned from Florida to Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, and he left Violet in the charge of his parents.¹² Aleck's exact date of birth is difficult to determine. In the Slave Schedule of the 1850 U. S. Census, Mrs. Frances Kirby Smith is recorded as having but one male slave, a 10 year-old, mulatto boy, thus born in 1840.¹³ However, Alexander

8 Arthur Howard Noll, *General Kirby-Smith* (Sewanee, TN: University of the South Press, 1907); Joseph Howard Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954); Robert L. Kerby, *Kirby Smith's Confederacy, the Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

9 Sitiki, *The Odyssey of an African Slave*, Patricia C. Griffin, ed. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2009).

10 Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley: African Princess, Florida Slave, Plantation Slaveowner* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003).

11 Joseph Lee Smith to Edmund Kirby Smith, February 1, 1845, Kirby Smith Papers, Southern Historical Collection UNC, Chapel Hill, NC, reel 2.

12 Personal correspondence with Walt Backman by the author, October 26, 2012. For this information, I have to thank the great generosity of Walt Bachman of New York for sharing his years of research in the National Archives combing the U. S. Army Paymaster's Reports concerning officer's pay vouchers for their servants from Record Group 217, Entry 516, Settled Accounts, Army Paymasters, Box 497, U. S. National Archives and Records Management Administration, Washington, DC.

13 1850 U. S. Census of Florida, Schedule 2: Slave Inhabitants, City of St. Augustine, County of St. Johns, FL, 889.



This photo is the first in Dr. Darnes' carte de visite photo album. It is presumed to be his mother Violet Pinckney ca. 1890. Original photo in the possession of the author. It was presented to him by David Earl, great-nephew of Dr. Darnes.

Darnes' 1894 obituary says he was about 48, yielding a birth date ca. 1846.¹⁴ The 1880 U. S. Census gives his age as 32, thus placing his birth about 1848.¹⁵ And finally, the 1885 State Census yields a birth year of 1850.¹⁶ All these post war data appear to be wrong, given Joseph Lee Smith's statement that Alex was born before 1845 and the information from Frances Kirby Smith to the census taker that Alex was born ca. 1840.

The identity of Alex's father is not recorded. According to the 1880 Census, Alex's father was born in Maryland. He may, therefore, have been the son and namesake of Second Lieut. Alexander Contee Hanson Darne (1819-1907) of Darnesville, Maryland.¹⁷ A. C. H. Darne, an 1841 graduate of West Point, was stationed in or near St. Augustine during his brief military career. On the 19th of May 1842, he was at Ft. Picolata, 18 miles west of St. Augustine, and by August, he was at Ft. Shannon at today's Palatka. After spending from September 1842 to July 1845 in southern Florida, he was posted to Ft. Marion in St. Augustine in July of 1845.¹⁸ Lieut. Darne resigned from the army on September 10, 1845 and returned home.¹⁹ Thus he was in the right place at the right time to be the biological father of Violet Pinckney's child.²⁰ This conflicts with Mrs. Smith's account of Alex being born ca. 1840. There is also a possibility, due to Darnes' strong resemblance to the brothers Ephraim Kirby Smith and Edmund Kirby Smith, that he was biologically a Smith.²¹ The only two Smiths who could have been his father were Ephraim, who was Violet's master, and old Judge Smith (Edmund was away at school the whole time). Because of the inconsistencies between various records, the identity of Darnes' father remains conjectural.

Aleck, as he was usually called by the Smiths, was frequently mentioned in family letters in the 1850s when he was in his teens. In September of 1856, for example, Edmund wrote his mother, "I

14 *The Evening Telegram* (Jacksonville, FL) Feb. 13, 1894.

15 1880 U. S. Federal Census, Jacksonville, Duval County, FL, 591.

16 1885 Florida State Census, Jacksonville, Duval County, FL, 725.

17 Photo of tombstone, Chestnut Grove Cemetery, Herndon, Fairfax County, Virginia, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=darne&GSiman=1&GScid=49777&GRid=15827931&> (accessed March 2, 2016).

18 Database: U.S., Returns from Military Posts, 1806-1916, www.ancestry.com.

19 Thomas H.S. Hamersley, *Complete Army Register of the United States: 1776-1887*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: T.H.S. Hamersley, 1880), 393.

20 Dumas Malone, ed, *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. 8 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), 231.

21 Personal conversation with David Earl, Darnes' great nephew, April 2003. (See: photos provided to the author by David Earl illustrating this article.

hope Alec is in good hands. I wish he could be taught to cook and to make himself useful generally as a bachelor's servant."²² From April to October of 1856, he accompanied his master Captain Edmund Kirby Smith with the U. S. 2nd Cavalry, "Jeff Davis' Own," to Ft. Mason in Texas.²³ The cavalry unit's officers were hand-picked by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to keep the Kiowa and Comanche Indians in check.²⁴ Aleck was Smith's slave and personal attendant for the next nine years.

The Smith family correspondence continues to make references to him throughout the 1850s and into the 1860s. "How does Aleck get on?" Mrs. Smith wrote her son at one point. "And does he keep his equilibrium in the midst of [illegible] events. Do remember us all to him and say we feel as if he had a great trust confided to him. I hope he has been faithful in his care of you. I do not think the poor boy is blessed with a brilliant [illegible] but he is affectionate & attached to you."²⁵ In 1859, Edmund reported that Aleck, "grows prodigious in stature and laziness. He is as slow as he is long legged."²⁶

In December 1859, writing from Camp Colorado, Texas, Smith noted, "Aleck sends his love to his Aunt Peggy [the eldest of the Smith slaves and Edmund's nurse] and wants her to write him."²⁷ In January, when Edmund was ill his mother inquired, "I wish old Peggy was with you, how she would nurse you up—is Aleck good for anything?"²⁸

22 Edmund Kirby Smith to Frances Kirby Smith, September 1, 1856, Kirby Smith Papers, Southern Historical Collection UNC, Chapel Hill, NC, reel 1.

23 Personal correspondence of Walt Backman with the author, October 26, 2012, Paymaster's Reports concerning officer's pay vouchers for their servants from Record Group 217, Entry 516, Settled Accounts, Army Paymasters Box 1484, U. S. National Archives and Records Management Administration, Washington, DC.

24 "Second United States Cavalry," Handbook of Texas, <http://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qls03>, (accessed February 1, 2016).

25 Frances Kirby Smith to Edmund Kirby Smith, undated (sometime in the 1850s), Kirby Smith Papers, reel 1.

26 Edmund Kirby Smith to Frances Kirby Smith, August 15, 1859, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2. U.S. Army officers were paid by the government for a prescribed number of servants depending on their rank. Vouchers for \$7.00 to \$8.00 per month plus \$2.50 per month clothing allowance and rations were submitted to the Quartermaster. The paper trail created is an excellent way to track the movements of officer's servants, who in the case of Southerners were usually enslaved men & women.

27 Edmund Kirby Smith to Frances Kirby Smith, December 1859, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2, pg. 4.

28 Frances Kirby Smith to Edmund Kirby Smith, January 11, 1860, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2.

Some letters suggest homesickness in Aleck, as well as some tensions between Mrs. Smith, Peggy, and Violet at home. Edmund wrote to his mother, "Aleck seems rejoiced at the prospect of leaving Texas, dissolution [of the Union] will be to him a God send if it carries him back to Augustine that negroes paradise, the Ultima Thule of all Aleck's aspirations. God bless you all in these trying times is the prayer of your son."²⁹

But in November, still in Texas, a frustrated Edmund added, "Make Peg write to Aleck or write yourself a few lines for her & give him some news of his mother. I almost feel like voting for Lincoln when I see families broken up and children so completely separated from their parents."³⁰ "How is Aleck?" asked Mrs. Smith in December. "Do tell me about him. I sent his mother some [Christmas] presents by [way of] Kate [Putnam Calhoun, the child of Mrs. Smith's sister]. I have just sent Peggy to Fernandina—hired to a Mr. Swan. I shall get \$6 a month for her, that is if she is disposed to work & behave herself. She has been loafing about the last five or six months, doing nothing, a perfect nuisance."³¹

Aleck's mother Violet, meanwhile, had been sent to Pendleton, South Carolina, to serve Kate Putnam Calhoun at the country estate of the late Senator John C. Calhoun, her father-in-law. Kate wanted to buy Violet from Edmund but he would not hear of it. Mrs. Smith observed that the strict discipline given to her by the Calhouns had "...subdued her and she is now a staid faithful servant."³²

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Aleck spent the next four years among Confederate troops. References to him in correspondence are thin. Just after Florida seceded from the Union, Mrs. Smith included in a letter, "Tell Aleck that I have just heard that his Mother is in Charleston and well."³³ Aleck, meanwhile, was accompanying Smith, now a colonel in the Confederate infantry under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, to Harpers Ferry.³⁴ Writing

29 Edmund Kirby Smith to Frances Kirby Smith, January 28, 1860, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2.

30 Ibid., November 10, 1860, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2, pg. 3-4.

31 Frances Kirby Smith to Edmund Kirby Smith, December 13, 1860, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2. The criticism of Peggy's behavior may have marked frustration with her, as masters frequently described the deliberate work slow-downs of slaves as laziness.

32 Parks, General Edmund Kirby Smith, C. S. A., 101.

33 Frances Kirby Smith to Edmund Kirby Smith. January 31, 1861, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2.

34 Parks, General Edmund Kirby Smith, 126-128; Edmund Kirby Smith to Frances Kirby Smith, June 31, 1861, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2.

from Winchester, Virginia, Smith informed his mother, "I have long since dropped trunks... my wardrobe is carried on my back... Aleck & the horses complete the list."³⁵ On July 19th, Mrs. Smith replied, "How is Aleck in these times? Tell him he is often spoken of by us in the hope that he sticks close to you...."³⁶

These sparse references give only hints of Darnes' life during his youth and his war-time experiences. His own autobiographical account of his life with Edmund Kirby Smith came decades later, written at the request of Smith's widow in the summer of 1893. Being an extensive account, and a fairly rare type of memoir, it is included in its entirety here.

An humble attempt to say something to the memory of General Edmund Kirby Smith. He was a generous, virtuous, Christian gentleman. A brave soldier with a benevolent turn of mind and heart of a nobleman. As a private servant, I was brought up by his Mother from my early childhood. She was as good and kind to me as she could be. When he took me from home to serve him, he always kept me near him and took me nearly everywhere he went. I was trusted with everything he had until he got married. His keys, private letters, and papers were always in my care. I had to look often [to] his comfort and welfare as a servant. He always trusted me with full confidence in every respect in my position and relation to him as a servant. A good and happy relation always existed between master and servant to the day of his death. I had a good opportunity to see and know much of this good and most excellent gentleman in his private as well as in his public life. I speak truthfully when I say he was no slave to any habit whatever that was not good. I never heard him make use of any vulgar word in my life. Never saw him under the influence of alcoholic stimulant. Never knew of him taking any part in any game for money. Never saw him in combat with any individual but once with a member of his Company who was so much under the influence of liquor that he did not know much about what he was doing and cared less.

This soldier was disorderly violent and resisting being placed under the guard. He drew his pistol on the General and threatened

35 June 24, 1861; One of his campaign trunks survives in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution, http://www.civilwar.si.edu/soldiering_chest.html, (accessed February 1, 2016).

36 Frances Kirby Smith to Edmund Kirby Smith, July 19, 1861, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 2, pg. 6.

to shoot him if he came near but the soldier did not stop and the General followed after him. This state of things looked very desperate to me. I took-out to his quarters as fast as I could to get his pistol for him but before I could get back the whole company, nearly, had turned out and arrested [the soldier]. This man was court martialed and sentenced to serve out his time of enlistment at hard labor away from his company and fulfill all payment and dues. On returning to his post, the General wrote to the authorities at Washington and had the sentence removed and the man restored to his company. The soldier's name is Alexander, Company B, 2nd Cavalry. No one expected to see anything like this done so soon.

I will mention a few circumstances to show the kind and friendly relation between master and servant. When he first returned to his command [from Florida] and I was with him, the sight of the soldiers and their equipments and the horses were grand to me in every respect. I had never seen anything like it before. I was delighted with everything. I would follow him everywhere he went: the soldier's quarters, and the stables. I would follow him on the parade grounds. One afternoon he was not feeling well but I did not know it. The bugle blew and the company turned out. I did not see him come out as usual. I called him supposing he was sleeping and told him that the company had turned out and it was time for him to get up or he would be late. He said, "I am not feeling well and will not go out." I hastily asked if he wanted anything. "No," was the reply. I went on the parade ground as I had done when he was there. The men in the ranks saw it, but the Orderly Sergeant did not. When the roll call was ended, he turned quickly, saluted and reported the company all present before he detected what he was doing. I need not say, the men had a great laugh. Strange to say yet it is a fact, he allowed me to learn sense by my experience. He never flogged me but once, which was brought about in this way. I took care of his quarters and kept them clean and in order as a duty. I had done so on this day and closed them in the usual order of doing. He went out. I went after a pail of fresh water for which I had to go some distance. While I was gone, he came in the house with a young dog and was training him in the room. I did not know anything of it and opened the door to go in. The dog saw his chance and gladly took to the door and out. I was taken in the collar and flogged. This came upon me like a flash of lightning. I did not know and could not understand why I was being punished. I would say as best I

could, "I ain't done nothing! I ain't done nothing!" until he said, "Yes, you have! You opened the door and let the dog out!" I felt so bad over the circumstances that I took leave of absence without permission for two days. On my return, he spoke very kindly to me but I was thinking that death was better for me, and said to him to kill me, that I did not want to live. I am proud to say he never laid the weight of his hand on me for anyone, not even for his own wife. I don't know that she ever wished him to do so. She is a most excellent lady who loved everything that belonged to the General even his dogs. I had done things that I thought sure I would be punished for my thoughtless neglect. One evening the General called me and gave me a prescription to go and have filled for one of his children, a baby not two years old. I went to the dispensary and saw the doctor in charge who told me to tell the General that he had tried to get the medicine but it was not to be had in the place. I never will forget this. I very foolishly instead of going and informing the General about the medicine, I went five miles out in the country to a dance and frolic. I did not come to my senses until after twelve o'clock at night when an officer and several men came in where I was and said he wanted General Smith's boy. This put a dampness on the party and I was marched to town under guard and kept there in the guardhouse until afternoon the next day. I made up my mind that I would be punished because I knew that the child was sick and I had failed to do my duty, but to my great surprise, I never heard anything more of the matter.

He always provided a horse and equipments for me. He never allow[ed] anyone to use them. I was very proud of it and took a good degree of pride in taking care of them. I was allowed to keep them repaired just as I did his own that he used. I took special pride in keeping his sword, shoes and equipments bright and in good order. I went nearly everywhere he did [and I was] with him during the war until near the end. I was separated from him longer than I ever was. I was on the battlefields with him at the first Bull Run battle on Sunday, July 21st. Saw both armies at that point of the field and saw the men firing on each other but the firing got so hot and heavy that I took to a fence for protection and as soon as convenient I got back to the rear. My bravery was not very much at this time. I had never seen anything like it before and did not like much to be so near. I never saw the General any more that day until after night when I was shown where he was by one of his staff officers. I saw him laying on a bed on the floor and

[he] appeared to be unconscious from a sever[e] wound. I did not feel so bad after seeing that he was living as I did before. [Since] I had been told at General J. E. Johns[t]on's headquarters that he was killed on the field. I saw them bring General Bee from the field dead: he was killed. I knew they had been near each other and when I saw this, I [was] made sure that General Smith was [also] killed and it broke me down completely. I stayed at these headquarters knowing that I would learn the facts about the General sooner here than anywhere else and he belonged to General Johns[t]on's army. My expectation was realized when the officer came and showed me where to find him. Soon as he was able to stand the travel, he was taken to a country residence where everything was comfortable and plentiful as possible. He recovered fast and soon got well enough to travel. He had me to this country residence with him. He went to Lynchburg, leaving me to take care of his things. Soon, he sent for me to come to him at Lynchburg. He was staying with a friend in that [city] and about to get married. I did not know anything of it. Soon after I came, several of the ladies staying in the house called me in where they were, and one of them pointed out Mrs. Clay and asked, "Do you like her? What do you think of her? She is the General's wife." As I was not able to know, I simply replied that I did not know. He got married to a most excellent lady in this city and came home to Fla. with his wife to see his Mother and relatives. He brought me with him and on his return to the Army, he carried [me] with him. I was with him at the battle near Richmond, Ky. Saw the men shooting each other down on both sides. The fields were clear and opened. I could see all the movements of the troops. Was with him at the battle of Sabine River, Ark. This was a bad place and a bad and hard fought battle, yet he was successful and drove the Union troops back to Little Rock. The battle on Red River near the City of Shreveport: [I] did not see so much of it while going on but was on the field. The Union troops were here also defeated and driven down the river. Now comes a change in things and conditions which separated us for the first time for any length. He sent his wife and two children down the Red River on a Union transport to go to her home. This act looked very strange to me at the time. Soon the General called me and told me what he wanted done, that I should come to him in Texas and bring his things and horses. He left Shreveport and as soon as it was known by the soldiers that he had gone it looked as if every man of them was looking out for

himself and taking everything they could lay hands on. I took his horses from the stables to the house where I slept and was successful in keeping them and his things. A few days after the General had gone, he sent me a written order saying, "You let Mason have the black horse. It will be alright." I could read enough to know the General's handwriting and his name whenever I saw it. I felt very proud over receiving such an order by an officer, and thought much of it as being a grand thing. I kept this order in an old-fashioned carpetbag with my clothing. About this time confusion and disorder seemed to reign supreme. I waited day after day thinking the General would tell me to come to him in Texas, but before I heard anything from the General all of his officers had left and could not tell me what [to] do or anything about him, and I was much perplexed not knowing what to do, and hearing all kinds of reports, and the Union Army would occupy the city in a day. I did not know what to do with the horses I had and his things. I was burdened with care and no little uneasiness. The Union troops came and occupied the city. I did what I thought [best] to keep his horses and things. I got no relief from my anxiety and troubled mind until General Buckner of Ky. and one of General Smith's Staff Officers, came from Galveston by Union transportation. Seeing these officers was a great relief. The first transport leaving Shreveport this officer left on it. I got him to take the favorite horse on the transport with him hoping he would take the horse to New Orleans and keep him for the General. This transport, a large one, was to take the troops to New Orleans, and [was] filled to its fullest capacity. I was to go with all the General's things. When about thirty miles from Shreveport at night, the transport sprang a leak and sank. [This was the steamship Kentucky that sank June 9, 1865]³⁷ Many of the soldiers were drowned and all the animals on board: this favorite horse with them. In a few days General Buckner took me with him on a small boat to New Orleans where I met Colonel William Seldon [sic], the brother-in-law of General Smith. Who now lives in Washington[:] a noble, big-hearted gentleman. He took care of me with the General's things. I should say I took charge of the Colonel for so I did. We took a government transport from New Orleans to Fortress

37 "DISASTER ON THE RED RIVER.; Sinking of the Kentucky 200 Lives Lost," *New York Times*, June 25, 1865, <http://www.nytimes.com/1865/06/24/news/disaster-on-the-red-river-sinking-of-the-kentucky-200-lives-lost.html> (accessed February 1, 2016).

Monroe. Up to this time, I had not heard one word of the General and did not know where he was. I was successful in keeping all things in my care until we got to this point. In making changes to land from the large steamer to a small one, someone stole my carpetbag with the order I had for the horse which I thought so much of and intended to keep it as it was the first writing that I ever got from the General's hand direct to me. I had more than I could manage and the men on the boats looked as if they did not care to handle these things because they could see to whom they belonged. This loss I regretted much. I was successful in getting to the General's wife's home with all of his things safe that were in my care. There I remained several months employed and could hear from the General at times which was a great satisfaction to me. When his wife told me that the General would be home today, I was delighted at the thought of seeing him again. I went to the depot and waited for the train to come with him. As soon as I saw him come off the train, I went to him and put my arms around him. I was glad to see him again. Whenever General Smith came to a place where I was he always looked me up and would see me before he left. Glad am I to have the opportunity to say this much in kind remembrance of him. It would be needless to say more of his life, for he is too well known to the people of this country. Though dead in body yet his works and services speak louder than any words can tell and will live as long as this great American country lasts: yes, will be told to generations yet to be born. Agreeable, Modesty, Simplicity, Sincerity, Morality, these qualities of heart and mind he possessed. A noble good man. Lay down thine arms bold soldier. Thy work is nobly done, rest peacefully from thy toils till thou shall be called to receive thy glorious crown.

I would feel ungrateful if I failed to make mention of his sister Mrs. Frances Webster who was a most excellent and Christian-hearted lady who pitied the unfortunate condition of this part of humanity. She first learnt me the alphabet and how to read before the War. I was fortunate enough to find her in Baltimore. She kindly allowed me to come to her house on Thousand Street [sic. Townsend Street] at nights and would...[the letter ends]³⁸

Darnes' recollections can be fitted into what is known about Edmund Kirby Smith's career during the war. As the memoir

38 Alexander H. Darnes to Cassie Kirby Smith, A few days after July 8, 1893, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 5.

indicates, Kirby Smith married Cassie Selden in Lynchburg, Virginia, shortly after the Battle of First Manassas. In 1901, Cassie Selden Smith recalled, "Aleck wept bitterly when the General told him he was to be married..." and she continued, "...I thought he was always jealous of me...."³⁹ Aleck traveled with the newlyweds to St. Augustine. There, Mrs. Smith "was eager to hear all the war news and stories of Edmund's experience, but in his modesty, he would tell nothing, and it was to Aleck she turned for information. He never tired of telling of his 'Marse Edmund's' deeds of bravery. Aleck had saved for 'Old Miss' the blue flannel bloody shirt which he had taken off his General when he was removed from the battle field [sic] at Manassas."⁴⁰

In the winter of 1865, months before the end of war, Cassie Kirby Smith and the children Caroline, born 1862 and Frances, born 1864) retreated home to Lynchburg from Edmund Kirby Smith's headquarters in Shreveport, Louisiana. It was Aleck who handled their move. Nina Kirby-Smith Buck later recounted in 1945, "Aleck being a smart negro and true to the promise given to his 'General,' in some way obtained passage for them on a boat going up the Mississippi river. Of course Mother went 'incognito'..." When a Union officer on board discovered their identities, he forced the captain to put the Smiths and Aleck off the boat immediately. "Here again faithful Aleck met the situation...." He obtained, "...a wagon and a mule, taking them all into a nearby town where he secured tickets on the railroad to Virginia."⁴¹ Somehow, Aleck then returned to Shreveport in the early summer of 1865 to witness, as his memoir says, the final days of the Confederate Department of the Trans-Mississippi.

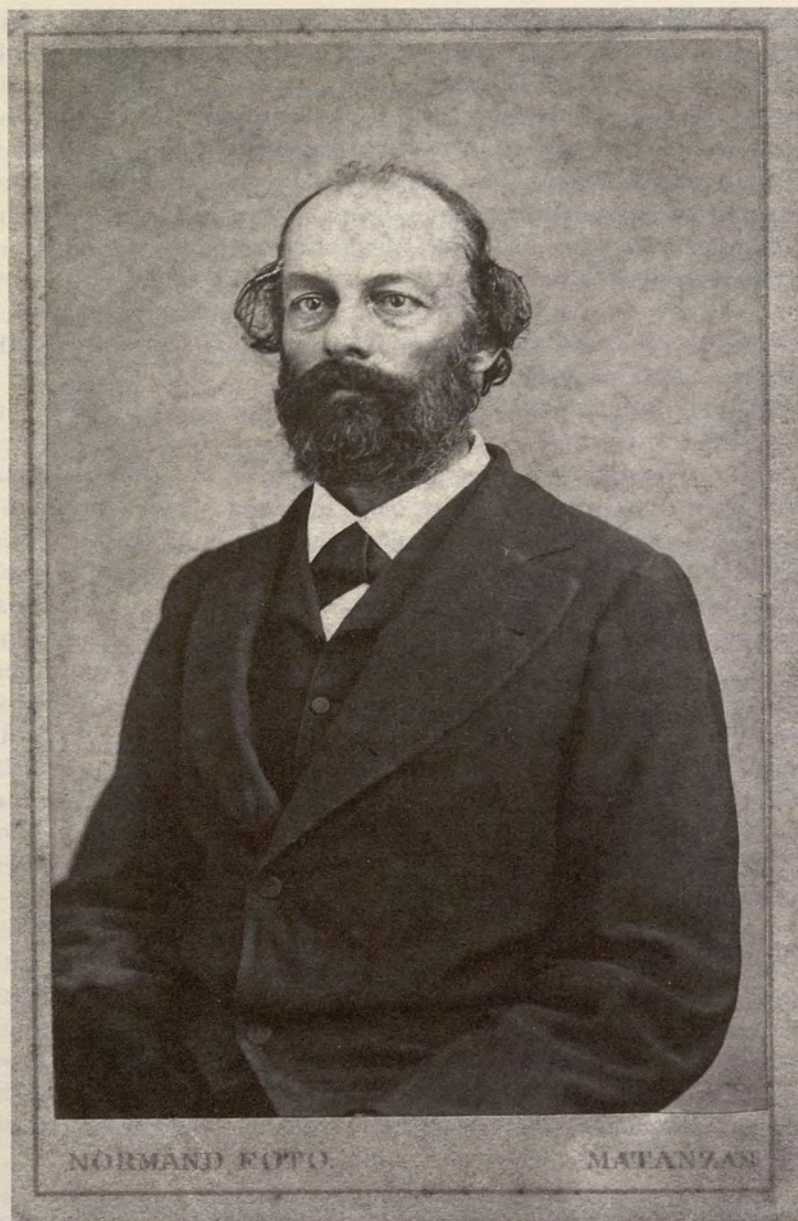
At the close of the war, Edmund Kirby Smith fled to Mexico and eventually to Cuba. Aleck was in Lynchburg, Virginia, with Cassie Selden Smith and the children. Frances Kirby Smith was with friends in Brooklyn, New York and told her daughter-in-law, "I hope Aleck is with you and ready to follow your fortunes—remember me to him."⁴² While waiting to hear the conditions of his parole at Matanzas, Cuba, Edmund Kirby Smith wrote to his

39 Cassie Kirby Smith, *All's Fair In Love and War*, 21 (Also on pg. 21, Mrs. Buck says that Aleck was given his freedom by General Smith but there is no other evidence of this.)

40 *Ibid.*, 26-27.

41 *Ibid.*, 35-36.

42 Frances Kirby Smith to Cassie Selden Smith, August 17, 1865, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 4.



Edmund Kirby-Smith taken in 1865 while he was in exile. He gave the photograph to Darnes as a gift of appreciation as stated in a letter dated October 4, 1865. The photographer was J.H. Normand, 44 Coteras, Matanzas, Cuba. The original photograph is in the possession of the author. It was presented to him by David Earl, the great-nephew of Dr. Darnes.

wife, "I enclose you a photograph for Aleck. I think it is a duplicate of the one I sent to you. I wrote to Aleck enclosed in one of my letters to you—was it received tell him I expect soon to return... and that he has fulfills [sic] his trust in taking good care of my wife & children."⁴³

Aleck remained close to the Smiths during 1866, even as he was making the transition from enslaved laborer to freeman and wage earner. "We have seen Aleck two or three times," Edmund Kirby Smith heard from his sister. "He seems to try hard to please Mrs. Miller. I believe she is satisfied with him. He is perfectly faithful and devoted to you & begged me to say to you that he hoped you would come on soon. It seems that the poor fellow lent all his money \$50 in gold to a colored man in Lynchburg who has not repaid it to him, and Mrs. Hare thinks will not do so—perhaps you & Mr. Booker might aid him in receiving it. I have forgotten the man's name but could easily ascertain it from Mrs. Hare."⁴⁴ A few days later, Edmund Kirby Smith, now staying in Baltimore, Maryland, with his sister, wrote to Stephen D. Yancey of Richmond, Virginia, who responded, "In regard to Aleck, I will be glad to employ him, and you can tell him that if he wishes it, he can come at once to Richmond, I will give him ten (10) dollars per month, the wages usually allowed house servants here, and will endeavor to make him comfortable as long as he remains with me."⁴⁵

Aleck must have spent much of the next few years in Baltimore because there are numerous photos of African American associates taken by Baltimore photographers in his collection of carte de visites.⁴⁶ His departure from the family seems to be recorded in a letter from Mrs. Smith, writing from her daughter's new home in York, Pennsylvania: "Aleck has had bad colds; seemed very sad and dejected at parting—seems to cling to us as *one of us*."⁴⁷

But at this point, life was changing for Aleck, leading to his emergence as a college educated professional. He began his quest

43 Ibid., probably October 4, 1865, Kirby Smith Papers, reel, pg. 3.

44 Frances Smith Webster to Edmund Kirby Smith, February 6, 1866, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 4, pg. 3-4.

45 Stephen D. Yancy to Edmund Kirby Smith, February 26, 1866, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 4.

46 Collection of Darnes' photos given to the author by David Earl, his great nephew.

47 Frances Smith Webster to Edmund Kirby Smith, York, Penn., April 13, 1866, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 4. Did the formerly enslaved Aleck experience what today would be called Stockholm Syndrome or did he consider himself part of the Smith family?

for a higher education in the Preparatory Department of Lincoln University, Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1870.⁴⁸ Enrolled as Alexander H. Darnes, the future Dr. Darnes was among 31 men and boys from all over the country: from San Francisco, California to Dokesville in the Choctaw Nation. He was assigned to Room 5, Ashmun Hall, where he lived for the next five years.⁴⁹ The tuition at that time did not exceed \$150 per year and there was scholarship aid available.⁵⁰

The course of study that year consisted of two sessions. In the first, Geography, Arithmetic, English Grammar, and Latin Grammar were studied. In the second session, the first three classes were continued but the Latin course was changed to using a Latin Reader. Darnes continued in the Preparatory Department the following year, which was normal.⁵¹ In 1872, out of a total enrollment in the Collegiate Department of 94, the Freshman Class in addition to Darnes had 37 men, two of who were from Liberia.⁵² Classes included English Composition, Physical Geography, Greek Grammar and later Greek Reader, History, Algebra, and Latin class concentrated on reading Caesar.⁵³ Darnes progressed through his sophomore year in 1873-74 with thirteen classmates and was a junior the following year with only eight classmates.⁵⁴ His further

48 Lincoln University was established in 1854 as the Ashmun Institute. It prided itself in being the oldest college for persons of color in the world. "Here the despised *Negro* was welcomed to the advantages of Collegiate training." <http://contentdm.auctr.edu/utills/getprintimage/collection/lupa/id/537/scale/83/width/921.14>.

49 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lincoln University, 1870-1871, 14. <http://www.lincoln.edu/node/1340/special-collections-and-archives/digital-collections/library-%E2%80%9393-lincoln-university> (Accessed February 15, 2016).

50 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lincoln University, 1872-73, 7. <http://www.lincoln.edu/node/1340/special-collections-and-archives/digital-collections/library-%E2%80%9393-lincoln-university> (accessed February 15, 2016).

51 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lincoln University, 1871-72, 22. <http://www.lincoln.edu/node/1340/special-collections-and-archives/digital-collections/library-%E2%80%9393-lincoln-university> (accessed February 15, 2016).

52 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lincoln University, 1871-72, 11. <http://www.lincoln.edu/node/1340/special-collections-and-archives/digital-collections/library-%E2%80%9393-lincoln-university> (accessed February 15, 2016).

53 The Fourteenth Annual Catalogue of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, June 1871, 15. <http://www.lincoln.edu/node/1340/special-collections-and-archives/digital-collections/library-%E2%80%9393-lincoln-university> (accessed February 15, 2016).

54 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lincoln University, 1873-74, 8. <http://www.lincoln.edu/node/1340/special-collections-and-archives/>

courses while at Lincoln were a very classic 19th century education: Latin and Greek authors, Trigonometry, Physiology, Logic, English Literature, Astronomy, Chemistry, Geometry, and lectures in the connection between Science and Religion.⁵⁵ Darnes retained many of his college text books to his death.⁵⁶ He graduated with an A. B. degree in 1876.⁵⁷ He received his M.A. degree from Lincoln in 1879.⁵⁸

While at Lincoln University, Darnes was one of 25 students named in a case over voting rights. The case hinged on a point of law concerning whether a student was a resident of the political jurisdiction of his college or at his parent's domicile. The court eventually ruled that if a student had attained his legal majority, had no property, and had no desire to return to his former residence then he could establish his legal residence at Lincoln University. He was therefore eligible to vote in Lower Oxford Township elections. The court ruled that 10 of the 25 defendants, including Darnes, were eligible to vote in the contested election in 1875. This changed the outcome of three of the five local races, in which the votes of Lincoln students put three candidates into office.⁵⁹ In a historic irony, students at Lincoln again faced attempts at voter suppression in the 2008 Presidential election.⁶⁰

Darnes continued his education at the Medical Department of Howard University in Washington, DC in the fall of 1876.⁶¹ Until the 1960s, the vast majority of black medical students attended Howard University or Meharry Medical College in Tennessee.⁶²

digital-collections/library-%E2%80%93lincoln-university (accessed February 15, 2016).

55 Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lincoln University, 1873-74, 15. <http://www.lincoln.edu/node/1340/special-collections-and-archives/digital-collections/library-%E2%80%93lincoln-university> (accessed February 15, 2016).

56 County Judge's Court, Duval County, Florida, File No. 567, In Re: Estate of A. H. Darnes, Deceased, May 22, 1894.

57 Lincoln University, College and Theological Seminary, Biographical Catalogue, 1918 (Lancaster, PA: New Era Printing Co., 1918), 15.

58 Lamb, *Howard University, Medical Department, Washington, D. C.: A Historical, Biographical and Statistical Souvenir*, 162.

59 Oxford Press, October 1875, Chester County Historical Society from Lincoln University of PA, Langston Hughes Memorial Library, Special Collections.

60 The polling place was removed from campus to a small community center several miles away. Students had to wait hours in the rain to cast their ballots. See <https://www.aclu.org/news/lincoln-university-students-and-chester-county-residents-settle-lawsuit-charging-racial> (accessed February 15, 2016).

61 *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Howard University from March 1876 to March 1878* (Washington, DC: W. M. Stuart, Printer, 1978), 6.

62 Thomas J. Ward Jr., *Black Physicians in the Jim Crow South* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003), 3.

The Medical Department received Federal funds and operated the Freedman's Hospital (often spelled Freedmen's).⁶³ It was coeducational as opposed to Lincoln University and persons of all races attended.⁶⁴ Fellow student T. Thomas Fortune commented, "It was easy to enter Howard University in those days, back in 1877. The school was young, and those who entered it had plenty of zeal for learning but little preparation."⁶⁵ Darnes, however, was well prepared, as his course of study showed. Students took lecture courses on "Hygiene, Morbid Anatomy, Microscopy, Diseases of Women & Children, Diseases of the Nervous system, Diseases of the Chylopoietic System, and Medical Electricity." This last class may account for the battery found in his office after his death.⁶⁶ There was a \$5.00 additional fee for dissection.⁶⁷ Darnes lived on 7th Street, NW near Grant Avenue and attended medical school from 1876 until his graduation on March 2, 1880.⁶⁸

While Darnes was an intern at Freedman's Hospital, an incident involving him drew the attention of the press. A letter in the newspaper promoted the removal of Dr. G. S. Palmer as chief surgeon. The complaint revolved around his treatment of a white drunk with more care than a black man with serious health issues. The black man was Henry R. Otey, a Howard student. His brother Charles N. Otey was a Howard Law School alumnus, Class of 1876, who taught at both Howard University and Howard High School.⁶⁹ The letter writer comments, "The honor and praise belong to Dr. Darnes, who like the 'good physician,' watched and cared for Mr. Otey. He went forward without the aid or request of any one, and administered to his every want, staying with him night and day."⁷⁰

63 Ibid., 4

64 *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Howard University from March 1876 to March 1878*

65 T. Thomas Fortune, *After War Times, An African American Childhood in Reconstruction-Era Florida*, ed. Daniel R. Weinfeld (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014), 54.

66 County Judge's Court, Duval County, Florida, File No. 567, In Re Estate of A. H. Darnes, Deceased, May 22, 1894.

67 Lamb, *Howard University, Medical Department, Washington, D. C.: A Historical. Biographical and Statistical Souvenir*, 36-37.

68 *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia*, 1879, 267

69 Testimony of Charles N. Otey, January 30, 1880. U. S. Senate, Reports of Committees of the Senate of the United States, 1879-80 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880), 110.

70 "Dr. Palmer, Reasons for his Removal," *Peoples Advocate* (Washington, DC), July 10, 1880, 1.

Darnes graduated with fourteen others, including one woman and a man from Canada, at the tenth annual commencement of the Medical Department of Howard University on March 2, 1880.⁷¹ An observer in the audience at Lincoln Hall that night noted that the exercises were enjoyable and interesting. The music, provided by Donch's orchestra, was good and the floral tributes were plentiful. Rev. W. W. Patton, D. D., the president of university, conferred the degrees. Dr. Waterman F. Corey of Fairfield, Vermont was the valedictorian.⁷²

The newly minted doctor arrived in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1880, no later than May 31st when the enumeration of the census ended.⁷³ He lived in a boarding house with nine other persons, all white. Felix Valdez Delgado, a cigar maker, and his family from Cuba appear to have run the boarding house that was also home to two unmarried young men and two unmarried young females from the American South.⁷⁴ The *People's Advocate* of Washington reported in November, "...it may be gratifying to his host of friends in this city [Washington] to note Dr. Alexander H. Darnes ... has located in the growing city and hung out his shingle. Although but a short time has passed there, Darnes has gained the confidence and esteem of his fellow citizens, and it may be added enjoys comparatively a large successful and lucrative practice. The skill [&] ability of the young doctor had already received the applause and commendation of the white Medical Fraternity of Jacksonville."⁷⁵

James Weldon Johnson (born 1871) later recalled, "When I was perhaps ten years old a strange being came to Jacksonville, the first colored doctor. He practiced there a number of years and made a success, but he had a hard uphill fight. Few were the colored people at the time who had the faith to believe that one of their own knew how to make those cabalistic marks [in Latin] on a piece of paper that would bring from the drugstore something to stand between them and death. Dr. Darnes made himself a big chum of Rosamond [brother to James Weldon Johnson and his musical collaborator] and me, and we liked him tremendously. He constantly brought us some odds and ends so much prized by boys.

71 *The Washington Post*, March 3, 1880, 4.

72 *Weekly Louisianian* (New Orleans), March 13, 1880, 4.

73 Darnes' original headstone read "arrived in Jacksonville, Fla. Oct. 1880."

74 1880 U. S. Federal Census, Jacksonville, Duval County, FL, 591. This census was taken between June 1, 1879 to May 31, 1880. Darnes may have known some Spanish having been raised in St. Augustine and having lived in Texas.

75 "Howard's Shining Lights," *Peoples Advocate*, November 27, 1880, 2.

He once gave us fifty cents apiece for learning the deaf and dumb alphabet within a given time. I suppose he merely wanted us to feel that we had done something to earn the money; for I couldn't see even then what practical benefit this knowledge would be to us. We did, however, for a while get some amusement out of trying to communicate to each other in sign language. But best of all, Dr. Darnes was an enthusiastic fisherman, and he opened up a new world of fun and sport by teaching us how to fish."⁷⁶

By 1882, Darnes lived in his own house at 21 West Beaver Street. Like so many nineteenth-century doctors, he maintained his office in his home with hours of 8:00 to 9:00 a.m. and 12:00 to 3:00 p.m.⁷⁷ In 1883, he built a new home at 117 Ocean Street in downtown Jacksonville. The street numbers have been changed so this address was then between Beaver and Ashley Streets on the west side of Ocean Street. It consisted of two stories; ten rooms with halls and cost \$2,500.⁷⁸ In 1885, his 55-year-old mother Violet Pinckney was living with him.⁷⁹

Jacksonville was struck by a smallpox epidemic in March of 1883. The outbreak lasted until June, by which time 60 persons had died of the disease out of the 180 known cases.⁸⁰ The first case was said to be a black sailor from New Orleans. Mortality was higher in the African American population in disproportionate numbers to the white community due to a lower percentage of vaccinated persons. Vaccination depots were established in five locations including the city council rooms.⁸¹ Extreme and frequently pointless measures were used in attempts to stop the spread of the disease. Dogs and cats in the homes of victims were killed.⁸² Doctors and nurses were required to bathe in disinfectant upon leaving the "Pest House" created by the Board of Health to house people with smallpox.⁸³ The city was quarantined from the outside world.

76 James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (Westminster, UK: Penguin Books, 2000 [original copyright 1933]), 41. Had Dr. Darnes learned to appreciate sign language in Washington living so close to the Columbia Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb now Gallaudet University?

77 Wanton S. Webb, *Webb's Jacksonville Directory 1882*, 75.

78 *Florida Times-Union*, (Jacksonville, FL), November 3, 1883, 1.

79 1885 Florida State Census, Jacksonville, Duval County, FL, 725.

80 Merritt, *A Century of Medicine*, 138.

81 *Ibid.*, 132.

82 *Florida Times-Union*, June 8, 1883, 4.

83 Merritt, *A Century of Medicine*, 132-133.



Dr. A.H. Darnes, ca. 1885. The original photograph is in the possession of the author. It was given to him by David Earl, Dr. Darnes' great-nephew.

Darnes labored amidst this hysteria and his good work was noted in his obituary.⁸⁴

In 1882, Darnes witnessed an ugly incident in the treatment of Bishop Daniel A. Payne (1811-1893), the most senior bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and founder of Wilberforce University. The bishop was wintering in Florida and writing a history of his denomination. Darnes himself was an active member of Mt. Zion A. M. E. Church, one of the largest black congregations in Jacksonville. On February 25, 1882, Darnes was headed to Fernandina by rail to attend the East Florida Conference of the A. M. E. Church. His party included two female Stanton Institute teachers, and he invited Bishop Payne (who had a half-fare ticket, a common courtesy to ministers) to accompany their group. A new railway had opened the previous summer making the trip faster and safer than by steamship. While Jim Crow laws concerning segregated public transport were on the books, their enforcement was spotty. The day before, Rev. Daniel W. Culp of the Laura Street Presbyterian Church had been forcibly removed from the train of the Fernandina & Jacksonville Railroad due to his race. Payne later recalled asking the doctor if there would be trouble due to race. Darnes replied that he did not think so. Also in their coach was Rev. Samuel Darnell, (a white man and the President of the Cookman Institute, precursor of Bethune-Cookman University), with whom the Bishop was engaged in conversation when the conductor appeared. Conductor Livingston told the elderly Bishop that blacks were not to use the first class coach and that he must move to second class. The Bishop refused to move saying, "before I'll dishonor my manhood by going into that car, stop and put me off." He was removed from the train at the Panama Park, five miles north of downtown Jacksonville, and had to walk in heavy sand in the heat with a twenty-seven-pound bag back to Jacksonville. The conductor later told the editor of the *Florida Daily Times* that he had not tried to eject Dr. Darnes along with the bishop because he was a "powerful young man."⁸⁵

Dr. Darnes and company continued to Fernandina and reported the outrage to the conference. Complaints were quickly sent to the superintendent of the railroad, who wrote the conductor to retrieve Bishop Payne and bring him to Fernandina. Due to the over-exertion of "shanks mare" (Payne's term), the 71-year-old

84 *The Evening Telegraph* (Jacksonville, FL) February 14, 1894, 3.

85 *Daily Florida Union*, Jacksonville, FL, April 6, 1882.

bishop declined the offer.⁸⁶ As might be expected, this incident became a cause celeb for months. Darnes wrote a letter to the editor of the *Florida Daily Times* to tell his account of Livingston's treatment of Payne, noting that some white passengers backed the conductor and that it "made things look very bad in that car for a few minutes." He further stated, "...the colored people have Southern friends who do not and will not approve of any such unfairness."⁸⁷ The *New York Times* published a story in March concerning a related protest rally at Bethel A. M. E. Church in Manhattan, which resolved, "That we denounce the spirit of proscription and prejudice which doggedly follows persons of color everywhere in this country, but especially in certain of the ex-slaveholding States of the South contrary to the spirit of liberty and justice and the most recent amendments of the Constitution of the United States and we announce our firm purpose to agitate and contend until there shall be in this country for which we have suffered, bled, and fought, a practical acknowledgement of the civil as well as political equality of all men."⁸⁸

The events proved to be a great embarrassment to the businessmen of Florida when an account was published in London. Sir Edward J. Reed had recently purchased 2,000,000 acres of central Florida land from Hamilton Disston and wanted to attract British entrepreneurs to invest in a tropical paradise without a blight of racial discord. As a result, Bishop Payne was afforded not only the courtesy befitting his office for the rest of his stay in Florida, but also complimentary first class tickets on all the railways.⁸⁹ He appears to be the exception to Jim Crow's ever tightening grasp. In 1886, the *Florida Times-Union*, not a paper noted for sympathy to African American causes, ran a long letter to the editor called, "A Colored Man's Complaint: Alleged Bad Treatment of Negroes on a Popular Railroad," in which D. V. Hill explains, "...the bad treatment imposed on colored passengers of the Jacksonville, Tampa, & Key West Railway Company because you [the *Florida Times-Union* editor] have not the least conception of the inhuman, even brutal, treatment the colored people have to encounter if they dare to

86 Daniel A. Payne, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Nashville, TN: A. M. E. Sunday School Union, 1888), 286-289. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/payne70/> (accessed September 30, 2015).

87 *Florida Daily Times*, (Jacksonville, FL), April 12, 1882, 4.

88 *Florida Daily Times*, (Jacksonville FL), April 5, 1882, 1.

89 Canter Brown Jr., "Bishop Payne and Resistance to Jim Crow in Florida during the 1880s," *Northeast Florida History*, 2 (1994), 23-39.

attempt to ride anywhere else save in the apartment assigned to persons of color."⁹⁰

Darnes was also active in the fight against the yellow fever epidemic that broke out in Jacksonville in 1888. Dr. Neal Mitchell diagnosed the first case in a visitor who had arrived by way of Tampa, where the infection had been noted in 1887. Patients suspected of having the disease were quickly sent to Sand Hills Hospital, which had been constructed three & a half miles north of the city as a "Pest House" in 1883. By early August, panic had forced hundreds to flee Jacksonville, only to find shelter refused to them in Waycross, Georgia, and elsewhere. Jacksonville was quarantined. Refugees attempting to leave were forcibly placed in Camp Perry at Bourgoigne on the St. Marys River for ten days to prove they were not infected. Another refugee camp was later established called Camp Howard. Trains bypassed the city, the U. S. Mail was fumigated with sulfur, and the Clyde Steamship Co. discontinued service.⁹¹

One useless attempt to remove the disease was to fire cannons in the street on the theory that the concussion would dispel the fever microbes from the air.⁹² The Great Yellow Fever Epidemic ended with the first cold weather. On November 26, 1888, the first freeze of the winter occurred. On December 5th, the last death was reported, and on December 15th, the Board of Health lifted the quarantine. All told, out of the 4,704 cases of the disease, there were 427 deaths (324 white and 103 black).⁹³ Its cause and proper treatment was still unknown. The theory that the disease was carried by mosquitoes advanced in 1881 by Carlos Finlay, a Cuban physician, was ignored.

Darnes was commended for his role in treating patients upon the occasion of the dedication of a new surgical amphitheater at Howard University, where he was invited as a special guest. *The Evening Telegraph* remarked: "He has stood by the citizens of Jacksonville during two epidemics, smallpox in 1883 and yellow fever in 1888, and is now highly thought of and appreciated by the citizens, white and black of Jacksonville, and we know that he was employed by the county authorities and gave good, efficient service and general satisfaction in the time of trouble. This school [Howard

90 *Florida Times-Union*, (Jacksonville, FL.), October 2, 1886, 4.

91 Merritt, *Century of Medicine*, 148-161.

92 Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924*, 182.

93 *Ibid.*, 184-185.

University] is well represented in Jacksonville in the person of Dr. Darnes. Dr. Darnes is recognized by the members of the profession in this city and he highly appreciates it."⁹⁴ Despite the recognition of his contemporaries, when the history of these epidemics was written in 1949, Dr. A. H. Darnes' contribution was diminished to one reference in a footnote.⁹⁵

Over the next several years, Darnes' stature in the community continued to grow. By 1889, Alexander Hanson Earl, his twenty-nine-year-old namesake nephew, came to live with the doctor and his mother on Ocean Street.⁹⁶ In an article titled "Rambles in the South, Remarkable Change in the Attitude of People Toward Professional Men," T. Thomas Fortune noted, "Passing on to Jacksonville, Fla., I found Dr. Alexander H. Darnes, who studied medicine at Howard University when I was a student there. He has a splendid practice, all that he can do. His standing with his professional brethren, since his heroic work in the yellow fever epidemic, is of the most satisfactory character. Indeed, it is just such a man of Dr. Darnes' learning and industry should have. He has accumulated a fine property, to which he is adding every year, including some seashore property at Pablo Beach [now Jacksonville Beach], the Coney Island of Florida."⁹⁷ Darnes had also invested in land in the new African American community of Sweetwater, which was located along the new Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Halifax Railway a couple of miles north of Bayard in southern Duval County.⁹⁸

In the 1890s, there was a reunion of Darnes with members of the Smith Family, and it may have been when Edmund Kirby Smith and his daughter Bessie visited Jacksonville and St. Augustine in March of 1890.⁹⁹ They were the guests of Judge A. Doggett in Jacksonville and John Dismukes in St. Augustine. Dismukes, a banker, had purchased the old Smith house at 12 Hospital Street (now Aviles Street) from Edmund Kirby Smith and his sister's heirs.¹⁰⁰ In

94 *The Evening Telegram*, January 27, 1893, 4.

95 Merritt, *Century of Medicine*, 154.

96 Wanton S. Webb, *Webb's Jacksonville Directory* (Jacksonville, FL: Wanton S. Webb, 1889), 79. <http://archives.ancestry.com/Discoveries/PfRecord?siteid=1&collectionid=4863&recordid>

97 T. Thomas Fortune, "Rambles in the South, Remarkable Change in the Attitude of People Toward Professional Men," *New York Age*, May 24, 1890, 2.

98 In Re Estate of A. H. Darnes, Deceased, May 22, 1894. County Judge's Court, Duval County, Florida, File No. 567.

99 Alexander H. Darnes to Cassie Kirby Smith, A few days after July 8, 1893, Kirby Smith Papers, reel 5, 17.

100 *Florida Times-Union*, March 16, 1890, 4; March 18, 1890, 2.

any case, Darnes was given at some time, two cabinet card photos: one of the General's wife, autographed "Kind remembrance, yr [sic] friend, Cassie S. Kirby Smith" and the other a late-in-life photo of the General with long white beard and in full Confederate uniform which was personally inscribed, "With the esteem & affectionate regards of your old Master and friend, E. Kirby Smith."¹⁰¹

1893 was a year full of activity for Darnes. Miss Lucy Moten (Howard University, class of 1870), who since 1883 was the Principal of the Miner Normal School of Washington, DC, visited Jacksonville. Darnes took her on a day trip to St. Augustine, which was reported in the *Evening Telegram* by Robert Zeigler, "We tip our hat to Miss Moten and can say she could not have been in better hands than the doctor's, for St. Augustine is his old home and he is always made welcome by the citizens there."¹⁰² Later that spring, Miss Moten was appointed one of the vice presidents of the National Education Association, which sponsored a world's congress on education at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The *Evening Telegram* reported, "There is a physician [A. H. Darnes] in the city who is mighty proud of this appointment. He must be little interested."¹⁰³ The reporter may have been implying some romantic interest between Darnes and Moten: neither married. Later, Miss Moten furthered her education at Howard University, obtaining a medical degree and having a long, distinguished career as an educator. Upon her death in 1933, she bequeathed \$51,000 to Howard University that today funds the Lucy E. Moten Fellowship for undergraduate study abroad.¹⁰⁴

Darnes had been an officer in the Free and Accepted Masons since his time in Washington.¹⁰⁵ There, he was Grand High Priest of the Royal Arch Chapter while in the Grand Lodge of Florida, he was Deputy Grand Master the year before his death. In January 1893, from the 9th till his return by the 16th, he attended the Grand Lodge meeting in Pensacola. His fellow Masons on that trip included Riley Robinson, Frank Williams of Jacksonville, former Congressman Josiah Walls, Revs. Waters, Parker and Femster of Gainesville, R. S. Mitchell of Fernandina, Rev. Gaines of Palatka,

101 Collection of the author, given to him by Darnes' great-nephew, David Earl.

102 *The Evening Telegram*, January 6, 1893, 4.

103 *The Evening Telegram*, April 3, 1893, 3.

104 <http://www.coas.howard.edu/lucymoten/> (accessed February 15, 2016)

105 *The Evening Telegram*, February 14, 1894, 3.

Rev. Samuel Henry of Deland, H. M. Emerly of St. Augustine, and many others. One hundred and ten lodges were represented.¹⁰⁶

In May of 1893, in time for the Memorial Day holiday, Darnes opened a bath house directly on the Atlantic Ocean in Pablo Beach a few blocks south of the railway station. It was managed by his nephew, A. H. Earl.¹⁰⁷ There were at least two boarding houses in Pablo Beach catering to African Americans: the Grand Union Hotel and the Certain Cottage.¹⁰⁸ Violet Pinckney, who was not well, must have stayed at the Certain Cottage with her son paying the bill.¹⁰⁹ Churches such as Mt. Zion A. M. E. organized Sunday School picnic train-excursions to the beach beginning on May Day. "It is always pleasant at Pablo, and one can not fail to enjoy it."¹¹⁰ On May 22 nearly 1000 members and 1,400 children from Mt Zion, A. M. E. Church spent the day at the beach.¹¹¹ "Pablo is surely a delightful place, and many of our best [African American] people are spending the summer there."¹¹²

Amidst caring for his patients, Darnes found time for amusements of his own. At a church picnic in East Riverside in mid-July, "Dr. Darnes was the cook and did very well, too. The doctor was mighty gay with all the ladies ... and the boys will kinder (sic) have to look after him. Games of different kinds were indulged in and all came away satisfied with their day of pleasure."¹¹³ In early August, the newspaper reported on a ladies' picnic party at Burnside Beach, just north of Pablo, including Mrs. Violet Pinckney, Mrs. Alexander Earl, and Mrs. Lucy Certain, the proprietress of the Certain Cottage.¹¹⁴

Disaster struck the beach communities of St. Augustine, Mayport, and Pablo Beach in late August 1893 in the form of a tropical storm or hurricane. A church was blown down on Amelia Island. As the wind raged, shaking the Certain Cottage and the Grand Union Hotel, the guests took refuge in Darnes' bath house. Many pleasure seekers returned to Jacksonville the next morning as

106 Ibid., January 9, 1893, 4, and January 16, 1893, 4.

107 Ibid., May 20, 1893, 3.

108 Ibid., August 21, 1893, 3.

109 In Re Estate of A. H. Darnes, Deceased, May 22, 1894, County Judge's Court, Duval County, Florida, File No. 567; A. H. Darnes to Cassie Selden Smith, July 23, 1893, Kirby Smith Papers, 2.

110 *The Evening Telegram*, April 22, 1893, 3.

111 Ibid., May 23, 1893, 3.

112 Ibid., August 21, 1893, 3.

113 Ibid., July 14, 1893, 3.

114 Ibid., August 5, 1893, 3.

frightened people.¹¹⁵ "Commodore" Earl closed the bath house for the season and returned to his uncle's home downtown the first week of October.¹¹⁶ He stored a case of men's bathing suits there.¹¹⁷

The year 1893 also marked the passing of Edmund Kirby Smith. He died on March 28, 1893 in Sewanee, Tennessee. News reached Darnes sometime later. A note of condolence, written by the doctor to Smith's widow, has apparently been lost. But during the summer of 1893, Darnes corresponded with Mrs. Smith at least four times. He regretted that he did not know of Edmund Kirby Smith's death in time to attend the funeral. He chatted about family, both his and hers, enquired about her children's health, and noted that his Mother wished to be remembered to the family.¹¹⁸ He stated, "I greatly appreciate your good will toward me in welcoming me to your home at any time. I always thought such [time] to be in my favor. I shall try to come next fall if possible. O[h], how often the General has told me to come, which I regret that I did not do before."¹¹⁹ This correspondence culminated in a seventeen-page autobiographical account of his life as reproduced above.¹²⁰

In the fall of 1893, Dr. Darnes was attending as usual to his patients such as Rev. S. H. Coleman of Bethel Baptist Church and Mrs. Fannie Turner.¹²¹ On January 22, reporter Robert Zeigler wrote that he was dangerously ill from an unspecified cause.¹²² His "Among the Colored People" column in the *Evening Telegram* was unusually complete in his reportage of Darnes' final illness. The next day, the Masonic community came to assist Darnes and family.¹²³ The death-watch bulletins remind one of those for a king.

115 Ibid., August 28, 1893, 3.

116 Ibid., October 6, 1893, 3.

117 In Re Estate of A. H. Darnes, Deceased, May 22, 189, County Judge's Court, Duval County, Florida, File No. 567.

118 A. H. Darnes to Cassie Selden Smith, July 8, 1893, Kirby Smith Papers, 1-2.

119 A. H. Darnes to Cassie Selden Smith, July 19, 1893, Kirby Smith Papers, 2.

120 Kirby Smith Papers, reel 5. "I have written what I have written with all my heart and the statements are all true and honest. Allow me to say if you think what I have written will honor the name and memory of General Smith, I will be glad to have you publish what I have written." Mrs. Smith sent Darnes' manuscript to the editor of the *Confederate Veteran Magazine* under her title, "A Servant's Tribute to Gen. Kirby-Smith." It was never published and it ends mid-sentence so there was at least one lost page. Mrs. Smith's lightly penciled editing remains on Darnes' original manuscript. To her credit, she only changed a few grammatical flaws.

121 *The Evening Telegram*, October 18, 1893, 3; October 26, 1893, 3.

122 Ibid., January 22, 1894, 3.

123 Ibid., January 23, 1894, 3.

On January 31, "Dr. Darnes was resting a little better this morning, although he is still quite ill."¹²⁴ The report of February 3rd states, "Dr. Darnes passed a very bad night yesterday and was quite feeble this morning: his friends are very uneasy about him and regret that they cannot see him. Still, as it is the instructions of his physician for him not to receive visitors. It is hoped that the doctor will still pull through all O.K."¹²⁵ Alexander Hanson Darnes died on Friday, February 9, 1894 at midnight in his home on Ocean Street from a protracted illness.¹²⁶ The Masonic fraternity was in charge of his funeral. *The Evening Telegram* carried a lengthy account of Darnes' funeral:

The largest number of people ever gathered within the walls of any church in this city was at Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church yesterday to attend the funeral of Dr. A.H. Darnes, deceased. Long before the appointed time for the ceremonies to begin, people could be seen coming from every direction wending their way towards the church, and by 1 o'clock p.m. the church was already crowded, a small space being reserved for the members of the Masonic fraternity. The deceased stood high in the estimation of the people of the city, both white and colored, and was one of the most prominent colored masons in America. The funeral was under the auspices of the Masonic fraternity of the city and the state. Prominent masons from different parts of the state were present. Among whom were H. W. Chandler, R. S. Mitchell, E. J. Alexander, Wade Wood, and others.

The procession started from the parlors of undertaker Clark on Forsyth Street and was led by the Union Coronet and Excelsior bands, both of which played sacred music. The Knights of Archer and other masons were under the command of M. McDonald and State Grand Master Rev. S. H. Coleman, all attired in full regalia and made a credible appearance much admired by everybody. On entering the church, the procession was led by E. L. J. Banks and John Anderson. The body was enclosed and embalmed in a beautiful rosewood casket trimmed with large bar-silver handles, and in the center of the casket were engraved the words: 'At Rest,' and on the foot of the same was a Masonic emblem. On the top laid the sword of the deceased.

124 Ibid., January 31, 1894, 3.

125 Ibid., February 3, 1894, 3.

126 Ibid., February 10, 1894, 2.

The floral offerings were many. Among them were two beautiful crosses made by Mrs. Nora Smith and Mrs. Jake Young, also some excellent geraniums by Mrs. J. H. Keene. In the center of the altar were seven candlesticks all burning during the exercises but one. Rev. J. E. Lee officiated, and eloquently did he speak from the first chapter of Joshua, and said that he wished he had time to explain the possibilities of men of our race such as Dr. Darnes, who now laid cold in death, but who had lived a useful life and died a Christian. He also read a letter of regret from Right Rev. Bishop T. M. D. Ward that he could not attend the funeral of his physician. Rev. J. B. L. Williams and S. H. Coleman also spoke highly of the deceased, they being with him in his last hours. The Rev. J. R. Scott read the ritual services. Just at this time two pigeons flew to the top of the church and remained there. Some of the people present said that t'was angels that came to guard the soul borne to heaven. In the pulpit sat the Revs. W. G. Stewart, W. J. Salmond, Jeffrey Grant, J. R. Howard, and J. F. Elliott. The choir surely sang some beautiful selections, suitable for the occasion, which was admired by all. Dr. Darnes, the deceased, was about 48 years of age, and had been a popular practicing physician in this city for about 16 years, and rendered valuable services during the small-pox and yellow fever epidemics. He leaves an aged mother, also a brother and a nephew. He idolized his mother, and according to the words of the scripture, he must be in heaven.

The family has the sympathy of friends. The pallbearers of the funeral were E. M. Williams, M. H. Decourcey, Eli Ditworth, Parris Wilson, Frank Williams, and J. M. Watson all of the masonic fraternity. The internment was in the old city cemetery, and the body was followed there by a procession of people. The ushers at the church were Romneus Devaughn, Richard Bacon, and John Preston. At least 3,000 people attended the funeral.¹²⁷

After his death, tributes continued to be heaped upon Dr. Darnes. On February 14th, resolutions from the students and faculty of Edward Waters College were published saying to the effect that the much beloved college physician was always ready to respond to a call and a faithful and able practitioner had been lost. The faculty and students deeply sympathized with his grief-stricken mother and relatives and they "extend to them the hand of condolence."¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Ibid., February 13, 1894, 3.

¹²⁸ Ibid., February 14, 1894, 8.

Later in the month, there were ceremonies at the Jacksonville campus of the fledgling Florida Baptist Academy (today's Florida Memorial University, Miami) to distinguish key persons and churches responsible for the success of the school. "The late Dr. A. H. Darnes who gave the first twenty-five dollars toward the school" was honored with a tree planted in his memory.¹²⁹ A final tribute in the year of his death occurred at the annual meeting in Orlando of the Colored State Medical Association. "Memorial services were held in honor of Dr. A. H. Darnes, deceased, formerly of this city [Jacksonville]. Dr. Smith in his eulogy spoke feelingly of Dr. Darnes as the first colored physician of the state, and of his heroism through two epidemics, and his trials, all of which made the road easier for the younger physicians. Eulogies will be made at every meeting of the association in honor of Dr. Darnes, deceased." Dr. Gunn of Tallahassee, who is sometimes given credit for being the first black to have a medical practice in Florida, was present at this meeting honoring Dr. Darnes.¹³⁰

Since 2002, the author has made several presentations on the entwined lives of Darnes and Smith in Bartow, Jacksonville, Venice and St. Augustine. Darnes has been recognized in new books such as *Florida's Pioneer Medical Society, A History of Duval County Medical Society and Medicine in Northeast Florida* by Leora Legacy (2012) and *Remembering Neighborhoods of Jacksonville, Florida, Oakland, Campbell's Addition, East Jacksonville-Fairfield, the African-American Influence* by Mary F. Mungen Jameson (2011). In 2013, the Kirby-Smith Camp of the Sons of Confederate Veterans replaced his damaged headstone with a new, larger one with a new inscription.¹³¹ He even has a Wikipedia page (accessed February 15, 2016). On November 8, 2003, A. H. Darnes, M. D. came forth from ectoplasmic existence when the sculpture group entitled *Sons of St. Augustine*, depicting Dr. Alexander H. Darnes and Prof. Edmund Kirby Smith, was unveiled to an appreciative crowd of St. Augustinians as well as members of the Earl and Kirby-Smith families. The statues were funded by Mrs. Edmund Kirby-Smith, III. Originally, the sculptor

129 Ibid., February 23, 1894, 3.

130 *Jacksonville Evening Times-Union*, November 21, 1894, 8 (The author is greatly indebted to Dr. Canter Brown for finding this key data). The first three African Americans to practice modern medicine in Florida may have been the black physicians serving in the U.S. Colored Troops during the Civil War specifically at the Battle of Olustee and the Union occupation of Jacksonville.

131 Dan Scanlan, "Restoring a piece of Jacksonville history," *Florida Time-Union*, May 25, 2013, B-1.

Maria Kirby-Smith conceived of showing Smith leaning over a seated Darnes teaching him. With fresh insight into their complex personal relationship and the new knowledge of Dr. Darnes' significance to the medical community, that pose was no longer appropriate. The figures stand today as affectionate old friends of equal stature greeting each other after a long time apart. That day, Kirby-Smiths and Earls also met each other after a long separation: reunion was the theme of the day.¹³²

132 Lisa Miller, "'Sons of St. Augustine' sculpture unveiled," *St. Augustine Record*, November 9, 2003, A-1 & 3.

Introduction: A Journal of John Forbes, Part 2: The Continuation of a Journal of Talks with the Four Nations Assembled at Hickory Ground, May & June 1803

by Kathryn H. Braund

Near the end of May 1803, William Augustus Bowles, the dashing adventurer and agent provocateur, whose schemes had ruffled the Creek Country and Gulf Coast for two decades, stood with arms bound on a small island in the Tallapoosa River.¹ Shortly, newly-forged handcuffs replaced the rope and represented a subtle and effective symbol of the outlaw's transfer of custody from Indian to European control. Once in Spanish hands, Bowles floated peacefully away from the center of Creek power toward his ultimate demise in Havana's El Morro prison in December 1805. The story of Bowles's misadventures in the tumultuous post-Revolutionary South has been told and re-told, and still

Kathryn H. Braund is the Hollifield Professor of Southern History at Auburn University. She is the author of *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (1993, 2008), co-author with Gregory A. Waselkov of *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians* (1995), editor of Bernard Romans's *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1999), co-editor with Charlotte M. Porter, *Fields of Vision: Essays on the Travels of William Bartram, 1739-1823* (2010), and a collection of essays, *Tohopeka: Rethinking the Creek War* (2012).

Editor's note: Readers can access the first half of the journal, Mrs. John W. Greenslade, "A Journal of John Forbes, May 1803. The Seizure of William Augustus Bowles" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1931): 279-289 through the *Florida Historical Quarterly* website at <http://fhq.cah.ucf.edu/fhqonline/e-fhq-archive/>

1 Bowles's point of departure, the Creek village of Taskigi, or Tuskegee, and the site of the old French Ft. Toulouse, was the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, where they form the Alabama River.

garners significant attention.² Inevitably described as handsome and charming, Bowles' actions have been cast as "adventures," and his conspiracies to undermine both Spanish authority and the commercial hegemony of Panton, Leslie and Company have been romanticized and analyzed since the publication of his own "memoir" in 1791.³

The self-appointed "Director General of the Creek Nation," he made his first appearance along the gulf coast during the American Revolution as a Loyalist, ultimately landing in Pensacola, where his headstrong disregard for authority resulted in either his expulsion or desertion from the British army. Seeking refuge among the Seminole towns, then under the hegemony of the Lower Creeks, Bowles emerged with a Creek wife and bold plans to establish a new trading empire to replace the Atlantic-coast Indian trading houses wrecked by the war and supplant that of Panton, Leslie and Company on the gulf. Aside from scheming with investors in the Bahamas to establish a viable commercial enterprise, he embarked on a program of harassment and privateering aimed at both Spanish military facilities and the trading stores of Panton, Leslie, and Company. By May 1803, this freebooting had already resulted in his arrest and brief imprisonment, as well as a trip to London, where the "tall, handsome, half incorrigible rogue and half idealist" sought to charm both polite society and the British government with hauteur and Indian couture.⁴

His capture, or arrest as it has been variously described, took place within the context of one of the most interesting events in the region: the 1803 Spring meeting of the Creek National Council. While U.S. agent Benjamin Hawkins took credit for the

2 Gilbert C. Din provides the most recent—and comprehensive—analysis of Bowles. See his *War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight against William Augustus Bowles* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012) and "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 1-25. See also J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967).

3 *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esquire, Ambassador from the United Nations of Creeks and Cherokees, to the Court of London* (London: R. Faulder, 1791). For information on the trading companies, see William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola: University Presses of Florida, 1986). Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) examines the deerskin trade from the Creek perspective.

4 Quotation from Elisha P. Douglass, "The Adventurer Bowles," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Series, 6, no. 1 (January 1949): 3.

establishment of the institution, in truth, it had developed out of the annual meetings of headmen from major Creek towns during the eighteenth century to deal with diplomatic issues and foreign affairs in general. In May 1803, upwards of four hundred Indians had gathered for talks and ceremonies at the Hickory Ground, an influential Creek town that had hosted such meetings since the 1760s. The gathering included headmen from every component of the Creek confederacy, which included the Upper towns from the Coosa and Tallapoosa river basins of modern Alabama, the Lower Creeks from the Chattahoochee River, and the Seminole towns of Florida. Bowles traveled to the meeting with the Seminoles, who though ostensibly part of the Creek nation, chaffed at the heavy-handed Creek leadership of their affairs. Their allegiance to, or at least cooperation or toleration of, Bowles was in many regards symptomatic of their efforts to shake off Creek domination. In addition to leading Creek headmen, representatives from the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw tribes were present, as was the American agent to the Creeks, Hawkins. Representing the commercial interest of Panton, Leslie and Company was John Forbes, who was accompanied by Estevan Folch, son of the governor of West Florida and Spain's official representative at the meeting. Much of what we know about the Hickory Ground meeting of 1803 comes from the journals kept by Forbes, whose missions were two-fold: to collect the debts owed to his firm and to undermine the influence of Bowles among the Seminoles.

The first half of Forbes's manuscript journal, transcribed by Marie Greenslade, was published in the April 1931 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.⁵ This part of the journal, composed on the spot at Hickory Ground, was dispatched to Pensacola on May 27th, arrived there on the 31st, and was then forwarded to Mobile. The manuscript version resides in the Marie Taylor Greenslade Papers at the George A. Smathers Libraries at the University of Florida in Gainesville. The first half of the journal contains a truncated version of events at Hickory Ground. As Forbes was sending off the first part of his journal via an African American slave who belonged to Samuel Moniac, a prominent Creek of mixed ancestry, the real business of the meeting was only just beginning, including the actual apprehension of Bowles. Mrs. Greenslade, a descendant of John Innerarity, a man closely associated with both Panton, Les-

5 "A Journal of John Forbes, May, 1803: The Seizure of William Augustus Bowles," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (April 1931): 279-289.

lie, and Company as well as the successor company owned by John Forbes, noted that a significant portion of the journal was missing, though she did not know the location of the missing section. The second half of the journal ultimately accompanied Forbes on his return to Pensacola. As the surviving document makes clear, when a very fatigued Forbes arrived in Pensacola, he presented the document to John Innerarity, who copied it and sent it on to William Simpson, the company's agent in Mobile. The only surviving copy of the second part of the journal came to reside in the Louisiana Research Collection at Tulane University's Howard-Tilton Library.⁶

Forbes's account of events at Hickory Ground is supplemented by Estevan (Stephen) Folch's manuscript journal, which has frequently been cited by scholars.⁷ The Folch document covers the entire journey, from May 5th through early June 1803. Additional scholarly scrutiny and comparison of the two accounts is needed to fully understand the relationship between these two accounts. While the Folch account is more complete and provides details not present in the Forbes account, it does appear to be nearly identical to the Forbes account in some instances, leading scholars to assume that Folch copied parts of the Forbes journal.⁸

The presence of Bowles at Hickory Ground and scholars' preoccupation with his capture—as well as the fact that the Folch journal has remained in manuscript and the second part of the Forbes journal is relatively unknown—has marginalized the real significance of the material. The Hickory Ground council deserves a closer reading and a renewed interest from scholars for more than simply Bowles capture. The second half of Forbes journal is filled with ethnographic content regarding the Creek Indians. The journal details the machinations among Creek factions and highlights the growing rift between Lower Creeks and Seminoles. The account reveals the circumspection with which the Creeks treated

6 The journal is M656 and was cited by Coker and Watson as "John Forbes's Talks to the Creek Indians at the Hickory Ground, May - June 1803, in [John Innerarity] to William Simpson, June 18, 1803," Historical Association Collection, Indian Affairs Papers, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.

7 "Journal of a Voyage to the Creek Nation from Pensacola in the year 1803," May 5, 1803, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, leg. 2372. A microfilm copy of the document may be found at the University of Florida's P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (AGI PC 2372, Microfilm Box 34, Reel 836).

8 For a comparison of the two journals, see Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*, 245, n1.

Bowles and their careful questioning of his credentials before turning him over to the Spanish. They appear not as a cat's-paw used by Hawkins and the traders, but as a sovereign people with a concern for diplomatic protocol. Among the more interesting details Forbes provides are descriptions of a black drink ceremony and an account of the installment of honorific "kings" along with ceremonial titles for tribal allies. The document reveals also the growing problems facing the Creeks, particularly the gnawing problem of indebtedness, the tensions over the increasing centralization of power in the form of the Creek National Council, and the problems Creeks faced not only in exerting control over Seminole towns, but the troublesome complications that resulted when their distant affiliates roiled the diplomatic waters.

The manuscript printed here, edited by Kelly Innerarity, who is a descendant of John Innerarity's older brother James, follows the editorial style used by Marie Greenslade in her transcription of the first part of the journal. The manuscript, as noted, is actually John Innerarity's handwritten copy of Forbes's journal. Original spellings were retained. Dashes in the transcript reflect the same in the original, where they usually served as terminal punctuation. In some cases, abbreviated words were completed, with the additions appearing in brackets. The inclusion of the bracketed material is designed to make unfinished words understandable but only in cases in which the meaning seems certain. For example, in instances where "Mr. F" appears in the journal and the context does not make clear whether this is Mr. Forbes or Mr. Folch, the editor opted to avoid emendation.

A Journal of John Forbes, Part 2: The Continuation of a Journal of Talks With The Four Nations Assembled at Hickory Ground May & June 1803

Edited by John Kelly Innerarity and Kathryn H. Braund

Pensacola June 18, 1803.

Mr. Wm Simpson,

My Dear friend,

About an hour ago Mr. Forbes and Mr. Stephen Folch arrived here—Mr. F is fatigued and cannot write for himself, but he has given me the continuation of his journal of which the following is a copy—Friday 27 10 OClock AM—

Just as I was busy dispatching Moniac's negro with my letter I saw the Chiefs go in a body to the place of Bowles residence—on my return to Col. H[awkin]'s—he informed me that they had determined upon examining him themselves, respecting his views his commission & the lies he had told—Several of the young Half-breeds slipped in amongst the crowd of Indians that surrounded him as they would admit no white person to be present, and brought us from time to time information that they were putting an infinitive of questions to him, which he answered as well as he could, & as some of them said like a foolish or madman—in

John Kelly Innerarity, a resident of Texas, submitted the typescript of the Forbes Journal with the following supporting information. This typescript is made from the only known copy of the second part of Mr. Forbes journal, the copy made by John Innerarity and sent to William Simpson, all three men belonging to Pantan, Leslie and Company. The company was in a state of flux at the time with mounting unpaid debt and the death of two of the founding partners (William Pantan and John Leslie) in recent years. John Innerarity was a new hire working as a clerk in Pensacola and William Simpson was not yet named as a partner. The significance of this submission is the content of the journal from the first line where Forbes writes that he had just sent the first half of the journal with Moniacs' Negro, to the final few lines where Forbes describes that while making their way out of the meeting back to Colonel Hawkins place "we had two or three views of the Appalachian mountains at a distance as we came along - they end precisely at the Hickory Ground." Some of that content includes Forbes' own account of his (Forbes) actions while Bowles was in the Nation and prior to his capture. Forbes' own accounts are in conflict with what has been written about his interaction with Bowles.

Citation: John Forbes report, Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University, M656.

the evening the mad dog called upon us with the report of the examination—the means of delivering it Shewed that the Council had now made up its mind respecting his fate—he himself now became some what suspicious that all was not going right, but his every motion was watched by the Cherokees who live in the same house—and I believe two Creeks that the Singer had placed with him to defend him from the *whites*—a curious instance of their peoples duplicity is here mentioned. Bowles let drop an expression that testified doubts of the whites to the Big Warrior—No no says he don't be afraid of the whites, they will not be allowed to do you any harm *in this land*, you came with *Indians* & you shall go from [end of page 1] here with *Indians*—Bowles understood it one way—& the Big Warrior soon explained his meaning for

Saturday 28th.

In the morning we received an invitation to the Square to see two new Kings made. They were the Cherokee Interpreter & the Choctaw deputy Mingo Homaitabe'—we found them seated side by side on the front Seat of the Kings [cabin] & beneath them a white deerskin.—Soon after our entrance they proclaimed silence and began cooling the black drink which had been brewed in the morning, two orators advanced & one spoke with considerable force of gesture respecting the ceremony that was to be performed, the Candidate Chosen & the virtues necessary to be possessed by a King; at ending he turned round and put into the Choctaws hand a white flag wing—The other followed him & ended with the same ceremony—All the Kings, Chiefs, Warriors & etc then got up, & gave him their hand—the Black drink was past around & the Ceremony ended—Upon presenting the Black drink, the waiters who served it give two hollows one deep toned & the other shallow, which they extend as long as they have breath—the patient is thereupon obliged to drink as long as they continue to hollow—the beverage is not badly tasted, nearly similar to weak Coffee without sugar but as so many drink out of the same Calabash & from a small hole & generally belch it out upon the ground ~~when~~ after they have drunk, Seeing so many occupied in such a filthy way renders drinking the Cassine no very agreeable thing to a white man—to return . . on coming from the Ceremony—the Big Warrior who seems to be the Executive officer (& indeed is large enough to be an Elephant) came & informed the agent that [end of page 2] Bowles had been Sent that morning to the Taskugees (Old fort Toulouse) under

Guard & that they only waited for the irons to be put on to take their departure for Pensacola. I was anxious to see the Villain—and hesitated whether I should satisfy my curiosity, I felt impropriety, but at length considering I was unknown to him, & resolving not to speak to him, I resolved to go—accordingly Mr. Hile, Steven & I attended with three or four other white men rode down to where he was; it was a Small Island in the Talapoosie—he was standing with his hands tied behind him, & Brian Moltons with a Spanish flag some distance in front—at our approach he went pale, & said he supposed his hour was come—Mr. Hile Said no you have nothing to fear from us—he then ordered the handcuffs to be brought, which he allowed to be put on him without a struggle, observing that he had once been a prisoner, but never was tied before—As Soon as the Irons were rivited he was put aboard a Canoe & the Crowd of men, women & children immediately pushed it off—Mr. Barnard came a moment after to examine whether he had any papers but found none—On our return we understood his portfolio & papers had been carried to the Square where Col. H[awkin] s was busily employed examining them in presence of a great concourse of Indians—when I went there, I found him Seated with a number of anxious faces looking on expecting that a Commis-sion would be found however after opening them all & handing them to the Col. it was generally agreed that there was none—altho Some Indians yet said [end of page 3] that they recollected having [unintelligible] seen it with a big Seal—In the evening a number of Chiefs came to our quarters, with a number of queries respecting Bowles, as if to Satisfy themselves once more that they had done right—they retired perfectly satisfied & some jokes passed upon Bowles friends who were Said to be crying in a corner.

Sunday 29th

Altho Sunday business continued the Choctaws & Chickasaws delivered their talks & in the afternoon I was informed by Alex[ande]r Cornells that I would be called upon in the morning to exhibit my claims against the State of Muscogee.

Monday 30th

We were all called into the Square, a deep Silence prevailed, and after serving the Black Drink with the usual Solemnity, an orator Stepped forward and delivered an oration purporting that

the assembly were to witness that the four Nations were to take the hand of the Governor of Pensacola in token of friendship, the hand of the beloved man, & the hand of their brother the Englishman.

In a little time the Ceremony began by the Kings & followed by the wisemen or Counsellors the warriors & etc—when Kenhagee came up he appeared agitated called up his interpreter (for he Spoke the Stinkard lingo) and turning up his eyes declared that it was not his intention to harm the Spaniards—that the man who had occasioned it was now gone, & he hoped that he would be forgot—Stephen answered that he was Satisfied & the Ceremony proceeded—After the conclusion I was called upon to deliver my Speech which was heard with profound Silence, after which I communicated a list of the negroes that I had in the nation and received intelligence of Several upon the Spot—the Mad Dog told [end of page 4] the assembly, that by their own imprudence they had got themselves into trouble, debt and difficulties that it behoved those who had property to dispose of it as Soon as possible to pay their debts, and that they must now look into the business with intentions to extricate themselves—a Committee of Several principal men were named to go and examine my accounts with Mr. Durouzeaux, and they have been busy all day getting information on the Subject—Cornell the Singer & the Big Warrior were all the evening questioning the Colonel about the propriety of this and that charge & according to his report, he has recommended to them strongly to pay all the damages done by the Indians at St. Marks in the first place—he has recommended to them the necessity they are under to make good the loss on the principle of our having been Called to Settle that place by the Voice of the Nation, who promised us protection at Picolata, & Consequently are bound to make good their promises—he tells me that he has assured them it is impossible for them to go on in their plans of Civilization without an augmentation of their Salary, that at least ten thousand dollars more than they have are wanted to raise the Salaries of Certain Chiefs & add about 50 to the executive part of the Warriors all these advices, I am afraid will do no good, they are extremely jealous of their rights & afraid of any advice that is given them—besides paying for debts is a matter always disagreeable to them—Intelligence arrived from Sam[ue]l Moniac that he arrived & found Bowles & Molton at his house—they Kept him at the Coo-sadas all day yesterday.

Tuesday 31st

This morning I was called to the Square to receive the answer of the Nation—I was placed opposite [end of page 5] the Speaker, who had Semothlie the big warriors as prompters and took down the following Speech Sentence by Sentence in presence of Col[onel] H[awkins].

The Indians are all assembled; even down to the Semanolies have heard your talks: my friend, you desired me to consider you. we are all met; the three Rivers & from the Muchamicky; we are now going to determine upon your Claim—last fall you Sent us a Talk; it was the Same as you now have given—we are now to give you an Answer. at that time we were not all assembled to give you an answer, we are now assembled, the Kings headmen etc to reply to you—It is a very large thing you have put to us, however we think we have got it to bear, & we are going to reply to you—In respect to your Claims down about Mickasuiky Appalachy, etc this man (Semothle') is ordered to look in to them, & Talk about it when he gets there—Jack Kinnaird is also appointed to join him in this talk—The factors trusted with your goods & the traders they are ordered to look to them, to Call a meeting of the heads of that place, & come to a Conclusion what is to be done inst[antly]—Tuskenia Chupko (Long Lieut. of the Cowetas) & Tustanage Hopie are appointed to have a meeting from the Cowetas down to the Eufallus to Speak to the red people ordering them to pay their debts to traders & factors—Those men are appointed for the lower part of the Nation—there is some Salary due that part of the nation from the US.—The robbery was not committed by their own Consent, nor by the voice of the Nation, it obliges them now to take the Clothes from their Children to make up that breach—the demand is large; they Cannot come up to it at once, they may come up to it in time with our endeavors—we the other two rivers of the Upper towns—have appointed men to act in the Same manner as the lower towns,—The Big [end of page 6] Warrior of the Tuckabatchees is appointed to act for the Talapoosae river—This man is appointed to talk to the people to pay their traders—they have hogs Cattle & must pay anything they have—he is appointed to see these things done—he is to see the property of Such traders as are dead white or red, which he is to Collect & See that it is delivered up to pay the debt of the deceased as for Such as are dead, we have all heard the talk if there is not property enough we Shall help it —[It] is well known we Indians are a

poor people. we have nothing to pay debts with, if what we have mentioned does not come up to the debts, we have Cedar wood & other wood which must be made use of for that purpose—we are poor people this is all we can consider of, we have nothing else left us—if you think you cannot get Sale for these things we have mentioned, we Shall apply to Col. Hawkins who will get sale of them for us—This is what the Nation has considered of, all the towns met here together all agree to give you this as payment; if there is not enough there may be enough in time—We have nothing else that we can give, it is the voice of the whole nation here met, of all the towns—We have taken everything into Consideration, & this is all that we can conclude upon—we have not a long talk. It was a Short one you gave us & this is our answer. In respect of the Salary due from the United States I mentioned, I reserve 250 dollars for the expense of this meeting. this is to be taken out of our Salary—Hopoiimiloi Hacyi of the fish ponds is appointed for all the Upper Towns to give a talk in the meeting for payment to their Traders—This is what the headmen & warriors have concluded on at this meeting—this is all they [end of page 7] can say to your demands

In the morning I was called upon to give my reply which was as follows—My friend I am going to answer your talk which you delivered me yesterday in your Square—I have reflected upon it & will now give you my answer—This is the third time of my addressing you—The first time you made me promises; the second time you made me promises the third time when I came myself expecting their fulfillment, I still find nothing but promises.—This will never do. I cannot send these promises to buy Supplies for you, nor to pay my debts—I have been promising my friends over the Big [Water] for two years, and Sending them copies of your talks but I never can Send any more—The orders you have given to your headmen to Speak to your people to pay are very good; but have not these orders been given twice already, & what good has come from them? When will the hunters be able to pay? When you & I are in our graves

With respect to the robbery at St Marks, you Say it was not done by your consent nor by the voice of the nation—I ask you then who did it? Were they not Creeks who committed that robbery & were they not the very people whom we had come to Supply with necessities men whom we had Served & who had promised us protection—who do you think will ever confide in your promises again if

you do not make me Satisfaction? Who, do you think will ever carry them Supplies or fix a trading house amongst them? I here declare I never will—they Shall rob no more Stores of mine, unless I get Satisfaction for the past & Security for the future—

You offer me your Salary in part of my losses—I will not receive it—I do not [end of page 8] come here to beg your Charity I come here to demand Justice—Your children Shall not be deprived of their Clothing by the House of Panton—He has Clothed them before now, but these times are gone & I see you have forgot them—

You say you are poor & offer me wood & Staves—I say you are rich, & that I have no use for your wood & Staves—I only require about a thousand pieces of wood in a year to store with my Skins, which people cut and bring to me for a dollar apiece, I get my Staves from poor white people who owe me—I never want more than five or Six hundred dollars worth in a year. I say again that you are rich you have lands more than you want a small part would relieve both you & me from our distresses if you wish it—do not therefore tell me that you are poor, & have not wherewith to pay me—Say at once that you are resolved not to pay me—In about half an hour I was called upon to receive the following reply

I have received your talk & am going to give you an answer; yesterday you told us that the heads of the four Nations were here & that you wanted none of their lands—you gave them the talk for the whole nation, desiring them to consider you; they gave you their answer—you did not let them understand rightly your talk yesterday, nor did they understand the meaning of it—you told them you did not want their lands; they had nothing to give you but the Small Salary that was depending which they gave you—you now tell us you do not want to rob the old people of what was given them. it was considered of by the whole Nation that they were in the fault, & therefor they gave you that Salary agreed on by all that was present—we now find out your meaning, [end of page 9] you want Some lands the other way—we can perceive it by your talks—we did not understand your meaning we think you are encroaching upon us—we perceive that you thought to lead us on & Deceive us by not asking for lands & then to ask for them—did you expect to encroach on us for your goods? we tell you the Same today that we did yesterday; the Salary is ours we thought it was ours & we gave it to you—we cannot alter our talks So Soon—we thought it was your talks that our lands were Small, that you wanted now, & had you an intent to encroach upon us & use us in this manner? You

told us yesterday a long talk, & you altered it today, did you think there were few of us & did you wish to impose on us? we can talk no more in behalf of your claims, we have made our talk & we cannot alter it—You have refused our Staves & Cedar—you say you do not want them; Such were the Indian things we have no more to offer We cannot Say any thing else; if we were to Say any thing more we might tell a lie—The people are told they thought the Salary was theirs, but it is no longer theirs”—I was a good deal agitated, & told them that I must reply to some part of the Speech I had heard before I left their Square—“You insinuate that I told two talks—a man like me who always Speaks the truth cannot bear Such an accusation. I told you in my first talk that I did not want your lands—I do not. what can I do with your lands? can I send them to buy goods? but I told you in the Same talk that you must do for me what you had done for the United States factory—you Sold your lands to those who wanted them, and paid your debts with it—Do you call this giving two talks—I then rose & left [end of page 10] them—I did not feel at my ease, however I resolved upon refusing the trifle of Salary, which amounted to Somewhere about four thousand dollars—at 2 OClock the Mad dog came, advanced to me & took me affectionately by the hand—“I am an old man Says he. the Chiefs are young like you, & young people are apt to get angry, but you must not think hard of what passed in the Square—I loved the man who was before you & I love you things may take a turn by tomorrow, and the Chiefs are willing to hear anything else you may have to Say. I told him that I was not angry but I could not help feeling the insinuation that had been made by the Speaker that I had two talks; that I requested him to tell the Nation my resolution not to touch a dollar of their money, as every dollar I handled I would think I Saw the little children naked—the old man was moved—I told him my wants were not land, I only wanted to be paid in the same manner as the factory of the US—Sell your lands yourselves, or entrust Someone who will do you justice & pay my demand

In the afternoon they Sent for Col H[awkins] & after a very lengthy preamble they named him a Chief of the four Nations & desired him to converse freely with me & report my Sentiments or proposals—I took a pencil & wrote what follows

“Col. H[awkins] has Spoken with me, he tells me that you desired him to converse freely with me, to lay your case down & get your Sentiments—I now give them to you I did understand that an offer had been made you by Genl. W. [possibly James Wilkinson] to

pay all your just debts, & to allow you a large Sum annually besides Something in hand, which I believe was intended to include my claims—You refused it, & I confess [end of page 11] I felt hurt that you Should have omitted Such an opportunity of doing me justice of providing a fund for your future wants, & obviating the necessity of making any more Sales of your land—When you are out of debt & have 10 or 12 thousand dollars a year, you may be a Safe & happy people—

On the Colonels return he reported that the proposal had been heard with great attention—Some Speeches were made that indicated reluctance, but nothing was finally determined upon—at 7 OClock I was called, & questioned again whether I could take the wood, or Staves or Salary. I told them no—The Singer then assured me that he was sorry to say nothing more could be done, they had committed the fault, but they could not Sell their lands—that Strict orders would be issued to pay the debts & that a great many would be got in

Thursday 2nd.

The mystery is at length explained—Meigs the Cherokee Agent has been giving Some threatening talks to that people, and they have induced the Creeks to thwart my Views as they Saw the land must be sold to the US—Doublehead in a long Speech to Col. H[awkins] recapitulated the [unintelligible] grievances that his Nation had Suffered, at last Says he you came amongst us with your plans of Civilization—Your Views appear good & beneficent, but I much fear you are acting as a man who holds out a Handfull of Salt—to tame his wild Stock until he gets to trample upon them—He Said the Secretary of war had Sent them word that they had been asked thrice for liberty to cut a road thru their land “to beware of the fourth time” in this language to be made use of Says he, after being repeatedly told by you that we should Sell no more land but by our own consent? is our ruin determined upon? I will tell [end of page 12] you continued he as Soon as I heard Such a threat I dispatched runners to the Choctaws & Chickasaws to meet us here in this Square—here we have met, we have become the four nations as our people & we have resolved to Sell no more lands but with the Consent of the whole Confederacy—

All talks were finished in the course of the day & the Chiefs took their departure by twos & threes in the afternoon each coming to give us their hand—I had assurances from Semothle' & the

other Commissioners that every exertion Should be made to get in my debts—

Friday 3d.

We rose early intending to return to Col. H[awkins]'s house—the Col. was with the Singer & the Cherokees patiently making out a law respecting Stolen property which the four nations had agreed should be paid for from the Stipend of the nation the thief belonged to, *but not to retrospect.*

Breakfast & at half past eight Started by a different road than the one we had come leaving the river Talapoosee on our left until we arrived almost opposite the Colonels house

The road was hilly & the Country poor in general but fine range—we had two or three views of the Appalachian mountains at a distance as we came along—they end precisely at the Hickory Ground—Arrived at the agents house in five hours 26 miles

Tate has obtained permission of the chiefs to cut cedar—So has Mr. Durant to pay their accounts, and Sehoys —

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Sacral Groves, Limbo Gateways: Travels in Deep Southern Time, Circum-Caribbean Space, Afro-creole Authority. By Keith Cartwright. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 308. \$24.95 paper.)

"We Americans," the great nineteenth century poet Walt Whitman once observed, would make a very great mistake if "we tacitly abandon ourselves to the notion that our United States have been fashion'd from the British Islands only." Yet, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, some of this nation's most influential opinion makers are still trapped in just such a mindset. Keith Cartwright's *Sacral Groves, Limbo Gateways* is an exciting new challenge to such outdated perceptions. In terrain far south of North America's fabled "city on a hill," Cartwright explores how West Africans and their Afro-creole descendants created a truly New World of cross-cultural communities.

The author, an associate professor of English at the University of North Florida, wrote *Sacral Groves* on his Jacksonville patio. With his sledge-hammer and pen, he set out to transform both his paved-over backyard and Western culture's fixed-in-stone notions of spirituality, artistic expression, and personal identity. His labors have yielded a spirit-sustaining oasis at the rear of his home and a narrative map of Afro-creole agency extending from the Deep South to the Caribbean, Africa, and the broader Atlantic world.

The book's title, *Sacral Groves, Limbo Gateways*, derives from the recreation in the Americas of an African religious rite in which

believers achieved spiritual rebirth in Africa's hallowed bush-groves. Their "reborn" in the sacral groves of the Atlantic slave trade and chattel slavery required greater flexibility since initiates must pass low under a "limbo gateway" to achieve a new sensibility in inter-tribal communities. In their passage, West Africans and their offspring reasserted their agency and created enduring subterranean countercultures within the plantation system.

In the bottom-to-top phenomenon, Afro-creoles slipped beneath the bar of Western culture's fixed ideals to produce forms of expression of their own creation. Because their creolized counterculture did not conform to the Euro-centric model, Western society's standard-bearers rejected the legitimacy of their language, religiosity, performance art, literature, and authenticity.

During Jim Crow's heyday, however, William Faulkner's *Absalom! Absalom!* (1936) and Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) turned North America's standard narrative tide. The two novels, set in Mississippi and Florida respectively, exposed the fault lines in Western legitimacy and opened the limbo gateway to their readers.

Thus inspired, Cartwright maps Afro-creole agency in the migrations that have linked the Deep South to the Caribbean and West Africa. His study centers on the Sea Islands, Louisiana, Florida, and the coastal Gulf South to explain how West Africans and their Afro-creole offspring reasserted their autonomy. In Louisiana, their efforts yielded a rich legacy.

On the subject of New Orleans—the main topic of two of the book's six chapters—*Sacral Groves* captures the city's singular essence. After 1790, ethnic Senegambians and Saint-Dominguan refugees of the Haitian Revolution fused their West African and Latin Creole sensibilities into a dynamic world view. Their melded traditions, Cartwright explains, insured the survival of the nation's most enduring Afro-creole culture.

In New Orleans, as elsewhere in the Americas, religion opened a crucial pathway to autonomy. Voudou, a fusion of ancient African religions with Amerindian and Catholic beliefs, proved essential to the success of the city's underground Afro-creole community. And, like African religions throughout the Americas, Voudou, an internationally recognized world religion, served as a force of resistance and change in both Haiti and Louisiana.

In nineteenth-century New Orleans, Voudou's egalitarian religious ethnic and multiethnic appeal empowered women and

challenged the city's Anglo-American racial order. The legendary Marie Laveau belonged to a sisterhood of Voudouisants who fashioned the city's Afro-creole belief system into one of the nation's most enduring religious traditions. During Reconstruction in 1874, twelve thousand New Orleanians of all ethnicities flocked to Lake Pontchartrain to see Laveau perform her famed religious rites on St. John's Eve. Even today, Laveau's influence draws thousands of annual visitors to her tomb in the city's St. Louis Cemetery Number One on Basin Street.

In his introduction and throughout the book, Cartwright rightly assails twenty-first-century political, media, and religious conservatives who regularly disparage Haitian and Louisiana Voodoo as a "pact with the Devil" and a "progress-resistant" influence (134-135). In French colonial Saint Domingue, the religion served as an organizing medium for the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804). The triumph of revolutionary forces, a watershed event in global history, marked the beginning of slavery's collapse in the Americas. Progress-resistant indeed.

As with New Orleans, the author tracks similar patterns of creolization in St. Augustine, Jacksonville, Miami, Savannah, Charleston, Natchez, and Jackson as well as Cuba, the Bahamas and the French and British Caribbean. To chart his course through such complex and far-flung terrain, Cartwright referenced an impressively broad array of sources. His bibliography includes studies in literature, religion, ethnography, anthropology, musicology, archaeology, linguistics, visual and performance art, folklore, and history as well as Alabama Creek Nation Court Cases, National Park Service records, and cookbooks including New Orleans restaurateur Leah Chase's *The Dooky Chase Cookbook* (2004).

Sacral Groves, Limbo Gateways is a major contribution to the flourishing field of Atlantic world studies. In addition, scholars of the South, the Caribbean, the African diaspora, and African American studies will find its multidimensional approach especially illuminating. Happily, Cartwright's engaging, poetic, and rhythmic writing style holds appeal for general readers as well as academics. Like Jazz music, the author has something to say to everyone.

From the discovery of the Americas, he writes, Afro-creoles were in the vanguard of a "globalizing modernity" as "culture brokers, guides, translators, go-betweens, pharmacists, and scapegoated others" (6). Despite the trauma of the Middle Passage and the degradation of plantation slavery, they created bottom-to-top

Atlantic countercultures. Their "cosmopolitanism from below" is an Afro-creole legacy of world-wide reach and an inspiring model for our twenty-first-century globalizing world (98).

Caryn Cossé Bell

University of Massachusetts Lowell

Seeking the Historical Cook: Exploring Eighteenth-Century Southern Foodways. By Kay K. Moss. (Columbia: South Carolina University Press, 2013. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 288. \$49.95 cloth.)

In this era of eating local, the foodie, and a resurgence of farmers markets and specialty food stores, many authors are inviting readers to rediscover the foods and receipts (recipes) of an earlier time. Even to the experienced cook, preparing historical receipts can be challenging as terminology, ingredients, techniques, and tastes have changed over time. In *Seeking the Historical Cook: Exploring Eighteenth-Century Southern Foodways*, Kay K. Moss searches for the eighteenth-century cook through an examination of receipts and other period sources, while also explicating historic cooking methods and equipment. Firmly grounded in the realm of folkways, Moss is not only trying to discover the historical cook but wants to actively engage the reader in exploration and participation by preparing the provided recipes.

Written for foodies and adventurous cooks, *Seeking the Historical Cook* can be useful to historians or others endeavoring to understand the lives of eighteenth-century southerners. Each receipt is analyzed and critiqued, with the author offering an explanation of preparation methods, terminology, ingredients, cooking techniques, and necessary equipment to successfully prepare it. Each examination offers a glimpse into the daily lives of eighteenth-century cooks and the demands placed upon them by food procurement and collection, preparation, and storage. Several different versions of the same receipt from different sources are grouped together to illustrate variations. Moss also includes examples of the same receipt at different points in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, enabling the reader to discern receipt genealogy, adaptation of receipts to local conditions and financial constraints, as well as highlighting the historic roots of some modern dishes. The author offers some composite interpretations;

adapting historic receipts to modern portions, available ingredients, and equipment. While Moss encourages the modern cook to prepare and adapt these receipts to their own tastes, she cautions the reader to remain in an eighteenth-century frame of mind when preparing them; a receipt too altered or prepared solely on modern equipment loses its connection to the past and its historical integrity.

While the receipts are the overall focus of the book, Moss devotes a significant amount of time to their overall context. Food, its procurement and cooking, encompassed a substantial amount of time, money, and effort in the eighteenth-century south. Many of the dishes were designed to be cooked in one pot, thereby reducing the time necessary in the kitchen, reducing dirty pots, and producing amounts which could feed a household for more than one meal. Moss points out that the larger portion sizes one sees in an eighteenth-century receipts were necessary for providing enough for family and visitors. Using journal entries and letters, Moss illustrates how in colonial and early America inns were few and far between; travelers were often dependent on the hospitality of households on their route for food, drink, and shelter. Moss argues that the dinner meal was a way for a family to display their wealth, social standing, or level of fashion. Expensive, exotic, or time consuming dishes were confined to the tables of the elite who could afford to devote the time and money to preparing them, with the less affluent families emulating these tastes and dishes.

Moss examines a large number of primary sources including journals, receipt books, letters, and scraps of writing in margins. While smaller in amount, the secondary sources utilized in *Seeking the Historical Cook* anchor the author's analysis in the historiography of foodways and provide context on specific foods and culinary practices. Additionally, Moss's experience as an open-hearth cooking instructor adds a deeper level of reader comprehension to the book. Many authors of early receipt books assumed a certain level of knowledge from their readers, often not providing detailed preparation or cooking instructions. Moss's open-hearth experience enables her to fill in these gaps and instructs the reader on how to make modern adaptations. This same experience also allows the author to deliver her narrative largely in the first person and in a manner which anticipates the reader's questions. While Moss generally uses her sources effectively, she begins *Seeking the Historical Cook* with a series of fictional journal entries. These

fictional entries, written from the perspective of a young girl, describe her daily activities and the collection of different receipts for her personal cookery book. While these fictional entries do illustrate some of the tasks facing a burgeoning eighteenth-century cook, it would have perhaps been more effective to include actual journal entries rather than fictional ones.

There are a number of additional resources included in *Seeking the Historical Cook*. Detailed black-and-white illustrations and photographs depict different types of historic cookware, appropriate placement of cooking vessels on an open-hearth, and cooking techniques. Moss includes images from seventeenth and eighteenth-century receipt and general cookery books. Three appendices provide additional important information regarding eighteenth-century cooking. The first appendix details how to make and maintain an appropriate cooking fire. The second explains historic measurement amounts, ingredients, and modern equivalents. The sugar of today is vastly different from the sugar of the eighteenth century; Moss argues that period-appropriate ingredients are essential to successfully preparing the receipts provided in *Seeking the Historical Cook*. The final appendix addresses the foods prepared and eaten for breakfast and supper, as the receipts contained in the chapters are focused on the main meal of the day, dinner. While not a traditional monograph, *Seeking the Historical Cook* offers analysis and insight into the culinary life of the eighteenth-century southerner; inviting twenty-first-century readers to engage with the past by preparing some of the receipts provided by Moss.

Autumn L. Reisz

University of Central Florida

On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World. By Paul M. Pressly. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 376. \$24.95 paper.)

The newest corners of the British North American empire in the mid-eighteenth century, among them Georgia from 1733 and East and West Florida from 1763, have sometimes, understandably, ended up rather overlooked and understudied. Less settled (by Europeans), less patriotic during the American Revolution, and less well documented in the historical record, they have often

tended to fall into the gaps between categories. Textbooks still frequently Hoover negligible Georgia up into wider Charlestown-focused discussions of the Carolina lowcountry. And although in the past twenty-five years scholarship on colonial Georgia has blossomed, some of the most important pieces of the jigsaw – the outside frame – has long been missing. There have been some fine biographies of governors and merchants, some excellent studies on the region's Indian peoples and their interactions with whites, some valuable insights on slavery, race, and gender, and lots of attention usefully directed to the political and military upheavals of the revolutionary era. Books organized, in other words, around themes, individuals, or events. Paul Pressly's marvellous sweeping contextualisation of the economic history of early Georgia gives us the missing framework, and is sure to be a dominant fixture on the subject for many years to come.

Pressly's book addresses, with admirable energy and breadth, a fundamental question about Georgia's development: how did the bizarre mishmash of peoples that occupied a largely bankrupt colony towards the end of the Trusteeship actually plot a course into the complex world of the Atlantic economy? By exposing to view for the first time the commercial mechanics upon which Georgia's expansion depended, Pressly lays open a startlingly new world. Merchants, rather than planters, were the drivers of Georgia's lurches forward, hooking the province fitfully into Caribbean, Indian, and British trading circles when opportunities arose. Though rice of course became a central feature of this system, readers are treated to a close and refreshing analysis of a host of other trading patterns – notable among them lumber, slaves, deerskins, and rum. Like the merchants whose activities he pinpoints, Pressly's eye for detail and opportunity is assured, and his triangulation of primary sources across a range of archives and collections is exemplary – making particularly original use of the detailed records of the Loyalist Commissions.

This would be a mean feat in itself, even if it rested at the sometimes opaque level of economic history, but Pressly's most masterful stroke is to repackage those mechanics into a work of imagination and reach. In a strange way, *On the Rim of the Caribbean* mirrors Harold E. Davis's classic history of colonial Georgia, *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1766* (1976), which is pitched as a cultural history but is full of important insights into the workings of the economy. Pressly's work

achieves this the other way around. If scholars and teachers have much to learn from the liberation of Georgia's Atlantic economic identity from South Carolina's, general readers should also find a huge amount of interest in the lively evocations of life on the southern frontier, and particularly among the interracial maritime community and amongst the wharves, taverns, shops, and trading posts of Savannah, Augusta, and other districts. Insights on the West Florida Indian trade and the proliferation of rum across Muskogean-speaking peoples are particularly instructive in the penultimate chapter on "The Trade in Deerskins and Rum."

Pressly begins with a penetrating sketch of the geography of settlement and a description of the eclectic character of the differing districts that made up early Georgia. Attention to spatial and local idiosyncrasies remains a strong and original feature of the book throughout, with fresh analysis of the ramshackle buildings of Savannah and the makeup and contents of planters' houses and plantations elsewhere. Subsequent chapters treat in turn the peculiar features that arose with the creation of Georgia's mercantile and planter elite, a much more complex and Atlantic body than heretofore recognised, and Pressly gently rotates us away from the porous border of the Savannah River and enmeshes us into Caribbean, Scottish, and West African networks of trade and dependency. The central section of the book treats the evolution of the slave trade and capitalization of plantation agriculture, paying close attention to the origins and makeup of Georgia's slave population, which Pressly nuances chronologically to show how Georgians adapted and responded to opportunities that came their way. After a valuable discussion of the distinctive consumer culture that emerged in Georgia, based on customs records, merchant papers, newspapers, inventories, and wills, Pressly concludes the volume by addressing the ways in which Georgia's orientation was purged of many of its Atlantic-facing features by the upheavals of the American Revolution, paving the way for a "nationalization" of sorts.

There are too many new insights and historiographical correctives in *On the Rim of the Caribbean* to list here – to offer two examples: indigo was virtually ignored in Georgia until 1773, and the efforts to develop Mobile and Pensacola into major centres of the deerskin trade were actually successful after 1768 with both towns reaching parity with Savannah and Charlestown in 1772. There is no question that Pressly's book accomplishes his aim to offer "a better defined statistical portrait of colonial Georgia." In the process,

it will no doubt give rise to new questions. For instance, there is room to query how best to interpret the evidence on planter preferences for slave sex ratios, and how best to connect Georgia's direct Caribbean links of the eighteenth century with South Carolina's connections in the late seventeenth century. But given how beautifully *On the Rim of the Caribbean* deals with the tragedies and realities of economic life in eighteenth-century Georgia, let me close with a wider point on that issue. Pressly's magnificent work depended to a significant degree on his new reading of sources held at the Georgia State Archives, which came perilously close to closure and were reduced to a skeleton crew and a shoestring budget in late 2012. His work is the best evidence anyone could need as to why it is imperative to keep minds, and archives, open to future generations.

Ben Marsh

University of Stirling, UK

Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution.

By Kathleen DuVal. (New York: Random House, 2015. Acknowledgements, illustrations, maps, notes, index. Pp. xxvi, 464. \$28.00 cloth.)

Kathleen DuVal's latest work is a welcome addition to the historiography of the American Revolution on the Gulf Coast. While she "focuses on the Gulf Coast, from Florida to Louisiana" (xvi), the scope of this book is much broader, covering much of the western landscape of North America at the time of the Revolution. A recurring theme is that all of the participants who engaged in the various struggles were driven primarily by their own self-interests. While not a surprising revelation, DuVal excels at explaining this in the lives of the various actors on that eighteenth-century stage.

The book begins almost as a "collective biography" of eight individuals (men, women, slaves, free Blacks, and Native Americans), and the lives and experiences of these participants help to provide some of the framework for the book, especially in the early chapters. At times later in the book, however, the characters seem to disappear, undoubtedly due to the limitations of the original sources. But DuVal's creative use of these individuals helps to put flesh and blood on the institutional framework.

DuVal's work is very well-written and a pleasure to read. She brings together many different strands of the entire Gulf Coast experience before, during and after the American Revolution, and helps to draw that region into the broader history of the era. The Revolution in the Floridas, and the borderlands, was a very important part of the wider struggle for empire, a fact often overlooked in mainstream histories of the period. Much of the book is a skillful synthesis and integration of the past forty years of the historiography of the region, but DuVal has gone beyond that sophisticated task to bring new life to the entire span of the individuals engaged in the challenges facing them. She pulls together a carefully balanced and nuanced story of the various perspectives: British, Spanish, American, Native American, male, female, slave, and free blacks. DuVal traverses into the oft-troubled field of the impact, or lack thereof, of the West on the Treaty of Paris, and presents a convincing case for the significance of the entire West to the final determinations at the end of the war. The author superbly depicts the transition of empires from Spanish to British to Spanish to American. While one must look elsewhere for detailed accounts of many parts of the book, a reader would be hard-pressed to find a better book covering the entire Gulf Coast during this pivotal era.

But the question implied by the title "Independence Lost" does not begin to make sense until the final chapters. Along the way, almost every player or group of players on the scene appeared to win some and lose some. But, in the final analysis, DuVal essentially picks the "winners" and the "losers," and the answer is far more than simply who won the American Revolution and who got which land at the end of the eighteenth century. Beginning with individuals and expanding to nations and empires, the final answer really lies in whose self-interests were best fulfilled.

While this is an excellent book, one decision detracts from the book for the serious reader. The work is carefully documented and uses the relevant primary and secondary sources, but the lack of a bibliography is frustrating. After the initial citation of a work, subsequent citations are shortened, as is appropriate—if there is a bibliography. But looking for the full work from only a shortened citation is frustrating and, in many cases, almost impossible, as it requires looking back through every citation earlier in the book until the reader can locate the first appearance of a source. Assuming this was a decision by the publisher to save a few pages in printing cost, it was an unwise decision.

That caveat aside, readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will find *Independence Lost* to be a superb overview, a carefully detailed synthesis, and a scholarly and thoughtful extension of scholarship of the period which draws together many actors across the broad stage of the Floridas and beyond.

J. Barton Starr Pensacola, Florida *Palm Beach Atlantic University*
(retired)

Florida Founder William P. DuVal: Frontier Bon Vivant. By James M. Denham. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xvi, 472. \$49.95 cloth.)

The early territorial period was a crucial time for Florida as it marked the region's transition from a rather obscure Spanish colony to admittance into the southern fold of the United States, a cultural and political development of some magnitude. William P. DuVal, the territory's long-serving governor (1822-1834) who followed Andrew Jackson's provisional tenure as military governor, guided the fledgling territory during this tumultuous period. A figure of obvious import, scholars have nevertheless tended to relegate DuVal to the historical shadows and have lacked even basic understanding of his life. Historian James M. Denham has addressed this lacuna by the release of this impressively researched and well-organized biography. In doing so he joins others who have similarly sought to resurrect previously obscure Florida personalities from historical oblivion: Canter Brown, Jr.'s *Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* (1997) and my own *Moses Levy of Florida: Jewish Utopian and Antebellum Reformer* (2005) being two examples. As with Hart and Levy, DuVal now comes into much clearer focus. He was an affable character—a storyteller and “frontier bon vivant”—who nevertheless had the stamina and acumen to thrive in the rough-and-tumble world of the Florida Territory. Such details reinforce one of the basic premises of the historian: a belief in the importance of the individual as well as humanity writ large. It could be argued that the biographical genre represents the epitome of this tradition, as it draws upon both literary and historical skills in equal measure. All things considered, Denham's study is a good example of the practical benefits that can ensue.

Biographies set in this time period invariably impress the reader with the fact that the Early Republic, despite its considerable size, relied upon a rather small and insular cohort from which leaders rose to power. One of the strengths of Denham's work is how deftly he deals with this issue. DuVal was in fact a member of the southern (Kentucky) rural gentry and was on friendly terms with many of the nation's preeminent personalities, such as Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun and Samuel L. Southard. More pertinent to students of Florida history was DuVal's interactions with virtually all of the territory's luminaries, as well as the region's less privileged residents. Soon after his presidential appointment to governor, DuVal was confronted with the formidable task of removing the Seminoles from their rich ancestral land holdings to inferior reservation land in the central part of the peninsula—an undertaking that stemmed from the federally mandated and ethically dubious Treaty of Moultrie Creek (1823). As Denham makes clear, however, DuVal actually exhibited a marked degree of concern toward Native people, all of whom were in constant threat of starvation after their removal to the reservation. In order to properly assess this situation, DuVal took it upon himself to investigate reservation lands, travelling by horseback and enduring significant difficulties along the way and afterwards declaring it was "by far the poorest and most miserable region I ever beheld" (109). Among other contributions, DuVal lobbied for increased food assistance, tried to ameliorate the "left handed justice" (111) too often accorded to Native people, and made good on his promise to provide Seminoles with more fertile lands with which they could grow crops and raise cattle. Of all of DuVal's accomplishments in Florida (and there were many), his early dealings with the Seminoles perhaps speak the loudest on behalf of his character and separates him from the majority of white inhabitants who clamored for settler sovereignty at all costs.

Denham's well-written narrative is sometimes marred by an over-dependence on surprisingly lengthy excerpts from primary sources (some a page and a half long), a tendency that might deter even the most ardent reader. I would have preferred more time spent in crafting the character of the man as well as further examining the emotional intricacies of his family relationships. All things considered, however, *Florida Founder William P. DuVal* will appeal to historians who will find a plethora of material from which to draw upon. This is a fine addition to Florida biography and will

undoubtedly be considered a standard reference for anyone who wishes to delve deeply into the history of the territorial era.

C. S. Monaco

University of Florida

The South Carolina Roots of African American Thought: A Reader. Edited by Rhondda R. Thomas and Susanna Ashton. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014. Acknowledgements, illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 376. \$49.95 cloth.)

For those not familiar with the deep roots of African American history in South Carolina, this publication is an essential introduction, as well as a remarkable companion to the mainstream narrative of this southern Palmetto state. Stretching from the days of slavery to the present, it spans roughly four centuries and offers a superb and powerful glimpse into the life and work of individuals whose indelible mark on the state has been an unrelenting pattern of both activism and intellectual insurgency. The book features excerpts of the published stories of eighteen African Americans identified as sons and daughters of South Carolina. Divided into four parts: "Slavery and Abolition," "The Talented Tenth," "The Civil Rights Legacy," and "The Media Generation," editors Rhondda Robinson Thomas and Susanna Ashton have placed in each section accounts of men and women who lay bare major currents of African American thought. In scope and title, this book is clearly a daunting and risky undertaking. Happily, of course, the task is one that neither overwhelms nor mesmerizes Thomas and Ashton. Instead, here is a publication that displays prominently the expected convergence and hallmark of skill, scholarship, and passion, and, as is the pattern for anthologies in general, this one includes an introduction, supplementary sketches of the eighteen authors, and the actual samples of the documents themselves. Overall, this one-volume reader is a pioneer piece of scholarship. It affords the general public its first opportunity to read and ponder in a single text a trenchant and varied sample of the wit and wisdom culled from the writings and speeches of native Black South Carolinians.

The authors make clear that their publication, at least in title and conception, is not their own creation, but was inspired by William L. Andrew's edited anthology titled *The North Carolina Roots of*

African American Literature. While Andrew's concern was to document the role that African Americans in North Carolina played in establishing the foundation of African American literature, Thomas and Ashton instead set out to reveal, as the title of their book indicates, *The South Carolina Roots of African American Thought*. The scholarly import and value of each publication, however, is quite different and distinct. Hence, both anthologies may well warrant close examination and comparison for a full comprehension of the documents, assembly, conclusions, and special contributions that the respective authors offer in their two related publications.

Easily, the selections of the present reader, which include the voices of educators, politicians, civil rights activists, clergymen, and public intellectuals, cover the broad spectrum of African American thought. The national imprint of such individuals as Benjamin E. Mays, Mary McLeod Bethune, Marian Wright Edelman, and Jesse Jackson, is deep, established and indisputable. Not only have these African Americans been noteworthy pathfinders and strident figures in African American communities, but they have also been recognized and lauded as well for their notable contributions to mainstream American thought and policy. In the circles of women and African Americans during the 1930s, for example, no one save perhaps First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt wielded more political influence or spoke more forcefully to the shared ideals of reform and democratic citizenship than the Sumter County resident and founder of Bethune-Cookman College, Mary McLeod Bethune. Similarly, Benjamin E. Mays will forever be linked to his former pupil and mentee, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who articulated, as no one before or after, the centuries of wrong and discontent lodged deep in the annals of the African American experience. Also, prior to the election of Barack Obama as President of the United States, the effort of Jesse Jackson to win the democratic presidential nominations of 1984 and 1988 remains an unsurpassed political development in America. For Jackson, of course, it was his long record as a civil rights leader that made him the national and international African American and American icon that he would later become.

Though not exactly well-known national figures, Septima Clark, James Clyburn, Randall Kennedy, and Eugene Robinson have all compiled solid records of activism and work that highlight and underscore the creative and intellectual resolve always evident in the African American struggle for freedom and equality. Clark

fits comfortably in the cadre of "freedom school" teachers and regional civil rights pioneers of the 1950s and early 1960s; Clyburn was shaped by "movement" thought even though he did not earn singular status as a leader until his election to the U.S. Congress in the early 1990s; and both Randall and Robinson have excelled as bold, contemporary truth-tellers with their perceptive accounts of the changing character and contours of African American communities and, indeed, of African Americans themselves.

The chronological format will mitigate some of the obscurity of the records included and enable specialists and laymen alike to enjoy this book. For instance, whether examining Daniel Payne's "Recollections," the scolding and protests of Francis and Archibald Grimke, or simply reviewing the successful escape plans of John Jackson and Robert Smalls, readers can move back and forth across time, view threads of continuity, and also grasp textual intricacies and overlapping dualities. In this anthology, moreover, even authors whose identity and writings may be less recognizable than others stand on the same plane and platform with their fellows. And, as those who traverse the many rivers and tributaries of African American thought know, it is hardly strange or a stretch in mental credulity to find in juxtaposition the radical ideas of Kelly Miller in "The Disgrace of Democracy," and the personal musing of Republican and conservative journalist Armstrong Williams in "The Morality of Race: The Virtue of Tolerance and Patience." At bottom, the ideas and stories of African Americans assembled in this book echo and mirror the full range and depth of African American life and thought. Probably the most profound and pronounced theme that courses through all of the records in the collection is disclosed in the single sentence found at the end of the 2009 letter that student Ty'Sheoma Bethea of Dillon, South Carolina, sent to Congress, pleading for help to make critical repairs to her school, J.V. Martin. After presenting her case to the U.S. Congress, this new voice from South Carolina announced confidently and as firmly and resolutely as others before her had: "We are not quitters" (387).

By and large, despite a few nagging concerns, this anthology is a solid and penetrating volume of first-hand history and one that is absolutely well worth reading.

Nature's Civil War: Common Soldiers and the Environment in 1862 Virginia. By Kathryn S. Meier. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013. Acknowledgements, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 240. \$39.95. cloth.)

This book, an ethnographic study of how the environment affected the common soldier in the Union and Confederate armies in Virginia in 1862, provides a microcosm on how the Civil War soldier, working inside and outside the military chain of command, struggled to stay healthy enough to fight. In recounting this history, the author looks at orthodox and alternative health care before the war; the inclemencies of nature affecting the soldier in the field, military and non-military health care agencies and services, the complex process of soldier "seasoning" resulting in mental and physical toughness, self-care, and "straggling" (absent without leave). She notes, as many have before her, that the common soldier faced tremendous odds against remaining well, suggesting that the soldier population was far sicker and more demoralized than commonly depicted in the literature. Facing grim obstacles to their health, soldiers on both sides of the conflict learned it was better to pursue self-care, including unauthorized leave (as distinct from desertion), than to endure the lack of fruits and vegetables in their diets, uncooked meats, inferior shelters, inadequate clothing, overworked and poorly educated doctors, and the uncertain outcomes of taking heroic and dangerous medicines.

Meier takes note of the fact that the initial challenge to a soldier's mental and physical toughness occurred as the new recruit faced the onslaught of communicable diseases (measles, chickenpox, mumps, whooping cough, diphtheria, and smallpox) at his first encampment. The author correctly notes that armies are like large cities and that soldiers who were raised in urban environments stood a better chance of surviving the communicable diseases that ravaged recruits. Those that successfully endured this "seasoning" had a better chance of dealing with the challenges that came afterward as part of an army on the march. Once in the field, lack of nourishing food, the contaminated water, and the critical shortages of supplies and shelter, combined with inclement and punishing weather—both hot and cold—resulted in dramatic spikes of diarrhea, dysentery, malaria, typhoid, and ague (chills, fever, and sweating) that tested the soldier's mental and physical sustainability. If that was not enough, the swarms of mosquitoes, lice, ticks,

and flies—transmitters of malaria, typhus, and Lyme—followed the armies with unrelenting persistence. Though fever was identified as the most common sickness of soldiers, Meier notes that bowel complaints proved to be the war's number-one killer. Meier tracks not only the common physical illnesses of the soldier but cases of nostalgia, mania, insanity, melancholy, homesickness, malingering, and suicide that impaired military operations and overall military strength and effectiveness.

Antebellum Americans, particularly those from the lower socioeconomic classes, had a clear preference for self-care. The adage "Every Man His Own Physician" served as a reminder that most families, especially those in rural areas, had scant experience with academically-educated doctors. Instead, they relied on old family recipes; domestic medical texts such as William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (1769) and Gunn's *Domestic Medicine* (1835); patent medicines, and an assortment of "healers" who operated outside medical orthodoxy. Here the author recounts the role of homeopaths but fails to recognize that homeopathic physicians, many of whom migrated from orthodox medicine, typically served the urban middle and upper socio-medical classes, while the Thomsons, eclectics, hydropaths, and physio-medicals, more frequently catered to the lower socio-economic elements of American society. The author would have been wise to have looked at Christopher Hoolihan's *An Annotated Catalogue of the Edward C. Atwater Collection of American Popular Medicine and Health Reform* (2001) to better acquaint herself with the breadth and depth of the medical literature on self-care.

Of special interest is the author's contrast between official Union and Confederate military departments and regionally operated civilian agencies (i.e., U.S. Sanitary Commission) led by medical reformers and society elites. Within the delicate truce that separated their perceived roles and responsibilities festered issues of mistrust and incompetence; competing networks of formal and informal health care, disagreements over disease causation and treatment, class-based views on paternalism and self-care, biases against volunteer soldiers and doctors, prioritization differences between military preparedness and treatment of the sick and wounded, and competing chains of command.

The author's analysis of how soldiers in the Civil War addressed the day-to-day environmental challenges to their physical and mental health is done with skill and writing competence. Along

with Margaret Humphreys' *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War* (2013), Meier broadens our understanding of the ongoing crises in doctoring, nursing, supplies, shelter, and health that faced the common soldier and, in particular, the overlooked area of self-care. On the whole, the book is a good read and offers a much needed understanding of how soldiers in the Civil War lived their day-to-day lives.

John S. Haller, Jr.

Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Democracy Abroad, Lynching at Home: Racial Violence in Florida.

By Tameka Bradley Hobbs. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015. Acknowledgements, figures, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 273. \$74.95 cloth.)

Tameka Bradley Hobbs first learned the name Willie James Howard from a professor when she was sophomore at Florida A&M University. She grew up in Live Oak, where in 1944 white men forced the barely pubescent boy to jump into the Suwannee River in front of his father. The young Howard received a summary death penalty for offering some innocently intimate words to the daughter of one of his killers. After Willie's father watched him die, his killers drove the elder Howard back to work.

In the acknowledgements of her powerful new book, Hobbs describes the moment when her grandfather confirmed the truth of Howard's story for her. It was the first time she had ever discussed his life during Jim Crow. It led Hobbs to a deeper, sadder understanding of her grandfather: "His seemingly prideful determination to accumulate wealth. His sometimes explosive anger. His forceful command of the household, his church, his neighborhood, and everyone he encountered within them. He demanded respect from everyone, perhaps in order to compensate for the habitual disrespect of his humanity, his manhood that he had experienced during his life. Growing up as a black boy in the segregated South, my grandfather swallowed many a bitter pill, and that bitterness shaped the man he eventually became. He survived the same society that killed Willie James Howard and lived to tell the story. He was not, however, without scars." (xiv)

America uses so many euphemisms—lynching, Jim Crow, racism—for forcing a man to watch his son murdered as a traditional

method of governing. They are inadequate to the task of documenting the compounding generational desolation of living at the sharp end of that system. To strip away the euphemism, reveal what's beneath, and link what has happened to what is happening should be the purpose of history. It's where Hobbs' book succeeds brilliantly and heartbreakingly.

And that makes *Democracy Abroad, Lynching at Home* a bit of a misleading title. At its core, Hobbs' book revolves around powerful case studies of four World War II-era lynchings in rural northwest Florida. These are riveting historical journalism, based largely on oral histories and other existing sources. Discussion at the beginning and end of the book seeks to place the four stories in the context of two general historical forces: the transition of extra-legal racial violence from the open, macabre spectacle of the mass mob into secretive and more publicly palatable, "private mobs," which is best represented by the difference between Claude Neal's hideous open festival of mutilation in 1934 Marianna and Hobbs' account of Cellos Harrison's secretive murder in 1943 Marianna, and how the need to counter German and Japanese propaganda about American racial violence and hypocrisy helped pressure Florida and the United States to stamp out lynching.

Both forces are real; and Hobbs explains them elegantly with well-researched insight. But the World War II theme doesn't seem hugely applicable to the actual lynchings Hobbs describes. Other than perhaps forcing local law enforcement to pretend to care, war effort concerns intersect with lynching politics at more national level.

And the private mob transition, which is essentially a history of anti-lynching forces in Florida, suffers from the same hole that Florida's general historiography does. It doesn't reckon with the very real and at times violent confrontation between Florida state power and mob rule between 1923 and 1928. A handful of sheriffs and prosecutors, along with Florida governor John Martin, gradually beat back many of the public mobs terrorizing multi-racial victims throughout most of Florida. Lynchings retreated, as Hobbs points out, to rural and isolated areas, like Florida's "Black Belt" counties.

Abstract moral advocacy mattered in reducing lynching, but it is only part of the story. The sporadic, but forceful, application of police power in 1920s Florida upped the price for vigilantism as well. This stands out against the indifferent incompetence, if not active participation, of police and state officials in Hobbs' accounts.

In any event, the case studies themselves are the beating heart of Hobbs' book. Methodical and measured in tone, Hobbs takes the official accounts of the lynchers seriously and then carefully deconstructs them. The violence and state-sanctioned terrorism of lynching is bad enough; but it was always accompanied by an apparatus of falsehood explicitly designed to prevent justice or even comfort.

Thus, the suffering and terror of whole families and communities reverberates forward through time from the moment of violence. Hobbs' book explores this grim landscape of post-lynching lying and psychology with great care and emotional intelligence. The official story of the Howard killing became that the lynchers only meant to scare the boy. Instead, he committed suicide by jumping into Suwannee River in a burst of panic. Authorities forced Howard's father to participate in the lie. It wasn't until months later, with the help of Harry T. Moore, that James Howard could give his account of knowing his son would be murdered in front of him—and then saying goodbye. Hobbs points out that a Suwannee County constable, one year later, forced a black World War I veteran to jump to his death in the Suwannee River, just like Willie Howard. Hobbs also notes that "life went on as usual" for the Goff family, whose daughter Cynthia was the girl toward whom Willie directed his innocently flirtatious language. Specifically, "That June they held a swimming party at the Suwannee Springs—the very place six months earlier where Phil Goff forced Willie James Howard to jump to his death...Later in September, Cynthia Goff was elected junior class treasurer at Suwannee County High School" (146). Meanwhile, James and Lula Howard, Willie's parents, left Live Oak almost immediately. Hobbs writes, "The lynchers made the decision to intentionally emasculate [James Howard], forcing him to stand by and witness the murder of his only child. While James Howard was not physically harmed, he was socially castrated by being forced to witness the symbols of his manhood being destroyed: his ability to protect his child and the loss of his progeny—his male heir who would have borne the standard of his family's name and lineage" (144).

Mapping and comparing these two authentic, irreconcilable American stories is hard, painful, thankless work. In taking it up, Tameka Bradley Hobbs has done her hometown, her state, and her country a great service.

Fifty Years of Justice: A History of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Florida. By James Denham. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, illustrations, notes bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 505. \$20.00 cloth.)

Fifty Years of Justice is essentially a biography of an institution, a single United States District Court. It canvasses the history of the geographically large and diverse United States District Court for the Middle District of Florida (the "District") from its creation in 1962 to about 2012. Denham disclaims a desire to write a legal treatise and, instead, situates the work as one dealing with "political, social, economic, and legal history" (3). The text certainly succeeds using Denham's focus. It is worth noting as well that while it is not a legal treatise, *Fifty Years of Justice* adds much to the study of legal doctrine.

In large measure, Denham proceeds chronologically from the time immediately before the creation of the District until approximately 2012. He chronicles the growth of the District, its challenges with caseloads, and the myriad ways in which the District and its judges had impacts on major legal issues. But this is much more than a year-after-year description of events. Denham seamlessly weaves in his narrative sub-stories by which he accomplishes his goals. The reader learns about the major players, the political environment and the legal issues of the day confronting not only the District but the nation as a whole.

A prime example of Denham's technique is his presentation of "mini-biographies" of the judges of the District over time. The reader learns a great deal about the "giants" of the District's bench and how their various backgrounds affected the decisions they made. Legal historians and political scientists focusing on judicial behavior will find much fodder for discussion in *Fifty Years of Justice*.

In addition, Denham provides a fascinating discussion of the politics of judicial nominations as well as how the judiciary responds and adopts to such political factors. In the early years of the District (the 1960s), we see the appointment of judges being a rather routine matter, almost as if it were simply the hiring of employees in any government bureaucracy. But that approach changed dramatically over time as judicial appointments came to be seen as means to affect policy far more directly than before. While this observation is certainly not a new one, the opportunity

to see it play out in a focused way in a single district is remarkable. In other words, Denham is able to use the District's experience as a means to explore the broader movement to politicize judicial appointments that continues today.

As politics became more and more significant in judicial appointments leading to vacancies being left unfilled, Denham also provides valuable insights into the response of the judiciary. The reader is made privy to how the judges of the District worked behind the scenes to address mounting caseloads. And even more significantly, Denham explores how these caseload pressures eventually led to far more public lobbying about the appointment of additional judges. Once again, both legal historians and political scientists will find much to discuss about this matter.

One of the principal strengths of *Fifty Years of Justice* is Denham's use of interviews with participants in the events he discusses, most significantly judges. It is relatively rare to have judges discuss anything of substance on the record. Of course there are exceptions, but the extent to which Denham was able to obtain and use this type of source material is impressive. He is also able to augment these oral histories with contemporaneous court records making the story even more compelling.

Many of the strengths of *Fifty Years of Justice* can be illustrated by Denham's discussion of bankruptcy. Denham devotes substantial attention to how the District rather dramatically affected the development of the bankruptcy bench in the United States more generally. While he may not have intended to do so, Denham makes a persuasive case that the modern federal bankruptcy courts owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to judges in the District. This may sound like a relatively trivial matter, but it is actually a significant contribution of Denham's efforts.

Finally, it is not possible to discuss this work without mentioning the Civil Rights Movement. It is not surprising that any federal district court in the South would have a story to tell about civil rights. One often hears of states such as Alabama or Mississippi in this regard as well as the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. I confess, I was unaware of the role of Florida's federal judges in the struggle for racial equality, particularly those in the District. Denham's discussion of the various civil rights-related cases in the District was interesting. More than mere interest, however, that discussion adds to the large body of scholarship about how law interacts with politics and social movements in a dynamic time in American history.

In sum, *Fifty Years of Justice* is a successful example of an institutional biography. Denham does an admirable job of describing the birth and growth of the District. But the real worth of this work is the many ways in which Denham is able to use a “story within a story” approach to develop sub-themes that will be useful to scholars for years to come.

Michael P Allen

Stetson University College of Law

Jigsaw Puzzle Politics in the Sunshine State. Edited by Seth C. McKee. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015. Acknowledgements, figures, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 288. \$34.95 cloth.)

Although the right to vote is the lifeblood of the American republic, it's striking how much about it has been subject to the whims of politicians. The framers of the Constitution left it to the states. Despite subsequent earmarks for racial minorities, women, and eighteen-year olds, legislatures still succeed in thwarting representative democracy by means both subtle and overt.

The most common—the subject of this book—is by the design of the districts represented in the legislatures and the Congress. Other than in the twelve states that redistrict with independent commissions, the majority parties in the various capitols often redraw the lines after every decennial census to preserve or expand their control at the minority's expense. This is commonly known as *gerrymandering*. The Supreme Court has held since the 1960s that district populations must be essentially the same, but it has yet to extend to political minorities the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the law.

“Florida sticks out as a state with a notorious reputation for cut-throat redistricting battles,” observes editor Seth C. McKee in the introduction to *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics* (1). This book is a collection of ten separate but related chapters by nineteen authors and co-authors, most of them political scientists, that tells the modern history of Florida redistricting. It evaluates the effects of the two “Fair Districts” initiatives that voters approved in 2010 over the intense opposition of legislative leaders and some officeholders.

How Floridians register party preference and how they vote bear only occasional relationship to election outcomes. In

statewide contests for the presidency and the U.S. Senate—which are immune to gerrymandering—Florida is a tossup battleground state. Democrats still outnumber and frequently outvote Republicans, though no-party registrations are burgeoning. As to winning seats in Congress and the Legislature, however, the Republicans still hold outsized majorities—seventeen to ten in Congress, seventy-six to forty-four in the Florida House, and twenty-six to fourteen in the state Senate. The Fair Districts amendments had some effects, yet the subsequent election went as many predicted, with modest gains made by the Democrats.

The book abounds with statistics and tables that document how Florida districts, as devised in 2012, are still weighted to the benefit of a few minority officeholders and of Republicans in districts “bleached” of their black voters, to the disadvantage of voters deprived of competitive choices—50 of the legislators ran without primary or general election opposition last year—and the overall prosperity of the party that drew the lines, as the Democrats did years ago. Journalists looking for fodder, citizens searching for explanations, and teachers of civics and political science will find *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics* a useful reference.

It is easier to talk about fair districts than to create them. The Voting Rights Act forbids plans that would degrade the ability of minorities to elect candidates of their choice, potentially conflicting with the state constitution’s obligation to district compactly, respect political boundaries where possible, and do nothing with the intent of favoring or disfavoring an incumbent or political party. But to every book there is a deadline, and for this one it came before the conclusion of the latest decennial redistricting battle. At this writing, the Florida Supreme Court is weighing whether to impose a judge-designed congressional districting in the stead of one that it overturned, and the Legislature is in session to try to replace a State Senate redistricting that the Senate confessed under litigation to be unconstitutional.

The book makes a critical point about how to recognize gerrymandering. “For the congressional seats and both legislative chambers, the partisan election results stemming from the 2012 redistricting process is(sic) quite clear, but the evidence for intent to favor or disfavor a political party is more mixed and elusive.” Reformers, it is suggested, “might rethink the ‘intent’ standards when it comes to incumbency protection” (67, 73, 75). However, the proof of unconstitutional intent did not elude the Florida

litigation post-publication. The plaintiffs, aided by the Supreme Court, brought out evidence that the Legislature had relied on Republican consultants to prepare gerrymandered maps, disguise them as public proposals, and cover their tracks.

Since 1968, the constitution has provided for mandatory Supreme Court review of each legislative (but not congressional) redistricting. But before 2012, when the Fair Districts initiatives first applied, the court appeared "to be a rather compliant branch of government, unwilling or uninterested in using political capital to challenge the legislature on this issue"(93). One unstated but obvious purpose of the initiatives was, in fact, to force the court to act. This has created a disconcerting new dimension to the timeless struggle for fair representation; the new rules, "while having the potential to constrain crass partisan mapmaking by the legislature," have already sparked apparent partisanship within the court. Two of the three justices appointed by Republican governors dissented strongly to the several decisions in the congressional districting case and its initial rejection of the Senate map. As noted: "... (T)he constitutional requirement prohibiting partisan 'intent' in the drawing of lines, rather than a more objective standard of partisan effect, invites justices to arrive at the facts of how the legislature constructed a plan by relying on their own partisan prejudices"(105).

Redistricting in Florida is likely to remain a political soap opera for quite a while and one can envision a subsequent revision and updating of *Jigsaw Puzzle Politics*. If that is done, the authors should consider discussing other potential methods, such as proportional voting, ranked-choice voting, and multi-member districting for enhancing fairness and competition in these decennial rites of political renewal.

Martin A. Dyckman

Asheville, North Carolina

End Notes

Joe M. Richardson 1934-2015

Joe Martin Richardson, one the nation's leading historians of Reconstruction, passed away December 15, 2015 at the Big Bend Hospice Family House in Tallahassee. A Stella, Missouri, native, Richardson was born December 17, 1934.

Following a stint serving in the U.S. Army in Germany, he did his undergraduate work at Southwest Missouri State University, and continued his studies at Florida State University (FSU) where he earned an M.A. and Ph.D. He began his teaching career at the University of Mississippi, but soon returned to FSU where he spent the remainder of his career until his retirement in 2005 as emeritus professor.

Richardson was a pioneer in African American history in his 40-year career and was the first faculty member to teach African American History at FSU, and certainly was among the very first scholars to teach the subject in the South as a whole. He devoted his scholarly career to the study of Reconstruction, an especially challenging topic during the Civil Rights Era, and he eventually broadened his research to include African Americans in higher education history. He made a scholarly impact early on in his career by writing the revisionist work *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (1965), which defended radical Republican rule during the period. According to Joel Williamson, a distinguished professor at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, his work was "a rock which will not, I think, be broken in our time."¹ He was right, Joe's work set the standard for revisionist research on Reconstruction for decades and helped pave the way for budding historians to examine the period with more social, cultural, and racial-oriented

1 Review of *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877*, by Joel Williamson, *The North Carolina Historical Review* 43 (July 1966): 174-75.

perspectives, aiming to reclaim a past obscured by politically motivated works of the early twentieth century. He followed this success by writing more than 40 articles and essays and a series of books devoted to the study of African Americans and higher education including: *History of Fisk University* (1980), *Christian Reconstruction* (1986), and *Talladega College*, with Maxine Jones (1990).

I was among the many doctoral students who benefitted from Joe's guiding hand and deft pen. He made an indelible impression on us, and his scholarly approach and teaching style reflected an earnest, but gentle temperament that made a profound impact on my character as a historian. It was his intellectual rigor and challenging demands, however, that inspired students to become active participants in their own history and to appreciate how important it was to carry forward the responsibility of using the past to make a difference in the present.

Richardson is survived by his wife of 49 years, Patricia Lively Richardson; his two children, Leslie Richardson and Joseph Richardson; and his sisters Nancy Himes and Dorothy Brock, as well as a grandson, Cortland Phillips; a godson, David Bennett; and three god-grandchildren, Kaitlin Mitchell, and Kierston and Zak Hopkins.

Stephen D. Engle

Florida Atlantic University

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEWS

2016 Meeting & Symposium of the Florida Historical Society

May 19 to 21, 2016, Embassy Suites Downtown, Orlando, Fla.

Theme: *Citrus to Tourism to Tech: Visions of Paradise?*

FHS Acquires the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science

A new era begins for both the Florida Historical Society and the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science as the oldest cultural organization in the state takes ownership of an outstanding museum.

The facility is now also the home of the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute.

"I've been connected with the Florida Historical Society for almost twenty years now, and this is the most exciting event I've seen happen," says FHS President Leonard Lempel. "This museum is a tremendous new edition to the Florida Historical Society. I'm just real excited about all the opportunities it presents."

The Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science was established in 1969. The nearly 15,000 square foot facility sits on a 20-acre nature preserve with walking trails through three Florida ecosystems. The museum is adjacent to Eastern Florida State College and the University of Central Florida Cocoa campus.

The change in ownership from Brevard Museum, Inc. to the Florida Historical Society was amicable and even welcomed. With a passionate and emotionally invested Museum Guild already in place, the addition of Florida Historical Society personnel and resources will allow the museum to become even better than it already is.

"There certainly is a passion," says Lee Bailey, president of the outgoing Brevard Museum Board of Trustees. "Unfortunately it takes more than just passion. It has to have really good, solid understanding and knowing how to run a museum. I think with this in place, we're going to see it thrive."

The centerpiece of the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science is an exhibition on the amazing Windover Archaeological Dig. In 1982, an ancient pond cemetery was discovered near Titusville. Hundreds of ritualistically buried bodies were remarkably well preserved, wrapped in the oldest woven fabric found in North America. Ninety-one skulls even contained intact brain matter.

The Windover people were between 7,000 and 8,000 years old, making them 2,000 years older than the Great Pyramids and 3,200 years older than King Tutankhamen.

The museum also features exhibits on other native peoples, the Spanish Colonial period, pioneer culture, and has numerous archaeological artifacts.

Many improvements were made to the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science under the leadership of outgoing executive director Nancy Rader. She refreshed exhibits, improved the museum branding, and increased attendance. Her proudest achievement was adding a mastodon skeleton that joined the bones of a giant ground sloth and a saber tooth cat on display.

Rader is very supportive of the changes happening at the museum. "I feel like the Brevard Museum is a real treasure and I really want the community to jump on board and support it," Rader says.

The museum's mission to educate the public about local history compliments the Florida Historical Society's statewide focus. From the prehistoric era to pioneer settlement to the launching of America's space program, Brevard County serves as a microcosm of Florida history.

Established in 1856, the Florida Historical Society maintains an extensive archive at the Library of Florida History in Cocoa, publishes books and periodicals, produces radio and television programs, operates the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute, and manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum in Eau Gallie. Our Annual Meeting and Symposium is held in a different Florida city each May, and we participate in festivals, events, and educational outreach throughout the state.

Patty Meyers is the Director of the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute and the Brevard Museum of History and Natural Science.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE (FHSAI)

The Florida Historical Society (FHS) has established a new department focusing on the intersection of history and archaeology. FHS launched the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI) on March 4, 2014.

Established in 1856, the Florida Historical Society has been supporting archaeology in the state for more than a century.

FHS was the first state-wide organization dedicated to the preservation of Florida history and prehistory, as stated in our 1905 constitution. We were the first state-wide organization to preserve Native American artifacts such as stone pipes, arrowheads, and pottery, and the first to actively promote and publish archaeological research dating back to the early 1900s. Archaeology enthusiast Clarence B. Moore became a Member of the Florida Historical Society in 1907, and donated his written works to the Library of Florida History.

From the early twentieth century to the present, leading Florida archaeologists have had their work published in the FHS journal, *The Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Florida Historical Society was instrumental in the creation of the position of State Archaeologist and the establishment of the Florida Anthropological Society (FAS) in the 1940s, and served as host of the Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) East Central Region from 2010 through 2013. Under the direction of FHS, the East Central Region was one of FPAN's most successful.

Today, FHS is continuing our long tradition of supporting archaeology in the state with the Florida Historical Society

Archaeological Institute (FHSAI). The mission statement says that FHSAI "is dedicated to educating the public about Florida archaeology through research, publication, educational outreach, and the promotion of complimentary work by other organizations."

FLORIDA FRONTIERS: THE WEEKLY RADIO MAGAZINE OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society, airing on public radio stations throughout the state, continues to be one of our most successful educational outreach projects. The program is a combination of interview segments and produced features covering history-based events, exhibitions, activities, places, and people in Florida. The program explores the relevance of Florida history to contemporary society and promotes awareness of heritage and culture tourism options in the state.

The first section of the program each week is a long-form NPR-style piece from *Florida Frontiers* producer and host Ben Brotemarkle, Executive Director of the Florida Historical Society. He talks with authors of books about Florida history and culture; takes listeners to historic sites around the state; discusses important issues dealing with education and preservation; and demonstrates how learning about our history and culture can provide a sense of community to Floridians today.

The second section of the program is a conversation between Ben Brotemarkle and FHS Educational Resources Coordinator Ben DiBiase about various items in our archive at the Library of Florida History in Cocoa. Recent discussions have focused on slave documents from the El Destino Plantation; the 1821 decree from Spain informing residents of Florida that they were now living in a territory of the United States; 19th century Florida money; and the FHS collection of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings materials.

The third section of the program is produced by Robert Casanello, Associate Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and an award-winning podcaster. Cassanello's segment has recently featured a look at urban planning in 1920s Jacksonville; a discussion about wooden Gothic churches in Florida; a visit with Ernest Hemingway's cats in Key West; and a conversation with Gilbert King, Pulitzer Prize winning author of *Devil in the Grove: Thurgood Marshall, the Groveland Boys, and the Dawn of a New America*.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is currently broadcast on 90.7 WMFE Orlando, Thursdays at 6:30 pm and Sundays at 4:00 pm.; 88.1 WUWF Pensacola, Fridays at 5:30 p.m.; 89.9 WJCT Jacksonville, Mondays at 6:30 pm; 89.5 WFIT Melbourne, Sundays at 7:00 a.m.; 88.9 WQCS (HD2) Ft. Pierce, Wednesdays at 9:00 a.m.; 89.1 WUFT Gainesville, Saturdays at 6:00 am and Sundays at 7:30 a.m.; and 90.1 WJUF Inverness, Saturdays at 6:00 am and Sundays at 7:30 a.m. Check your local NPR listings for additional airings. The program is archived on the Florida Historical Society web site and accessible any time at www.myflorida-history.org/frontiers.

Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society is made possible in part by the Jessie Ball duPont Fund and by Florida's Space Coast Office of Tourism, representing destinations from Titusville to Cocoa Beach to Melbourne Beach.

Florida Historical Quarterly News

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* enters a new era with this issue of the *Quarterly*. In addition to being the fourth special issue in the six-issue series commemorating the 500th anniversary of Florida history after the landing of Ponce de Leon, this is the first issue that is being made available to subscribers in a digital format. For those reading this in digital format, you should be able to click on urls in the text and in footnotes and follow the links to the cited sources. If the link does not work, one of two problems may be responsible: the url is too long to fit on one line of text (the program used to present the digital *Quarterly* does not wrap) or the link is no longer active and/or has moved to a new url. In either case, you may have success if you copy and paste the link into your browser.

FHQ WEBSITE

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* now has its own website. Previously *Quarterly* patrons found information about the journal on the Florida Historical Society webpage or on the University of Central Florida Department of History webpage. You can still reach the *Quarterly* through those sites. Now, however, you can find the *FHQ* at its own, expanded site: <http://fhq.cah.ucf.edu>

- On the **Home** page, users can see the editorial staff, connect to JSTOR and PALMM, see the current Facebook posts, and Donate.

- A Current Issue page shows the cover and the Table of Contents of the most recent issue.
- The **Thompson Award** page lists award winners since 2000.
- The **Submissions** page provides guidelines for manuscript submissions, book reviewers, and advertising.
- The **Membership** tab takes you directly to the membership page of the FHS.
- **E-FHQ** connects you to the *FHQ* podcasts; *FHQ* Online informs readers about JSTOR, Florida Heritage, and PALMM. Within a few weeks, *FHQ* online will also offer its first fully online article: "Florida's Early West Point Cadets" by Erwin J. Wunderlich. We are also planning to highlight the *FHQ* digital research that our students have been conducting in this space. Keep looking for these additions.
- The **Copyright and Permissions** tab informs users about copyright and permission to use requirements.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY PODCASTS

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* has entered a new era of media. Dr. Robert Cassanello, Associate Professor of History at the University of Central Florida and a member of the *FHQ* editorial board, has accepted a new role as the coordinator for podcast productions. In conjunction with the Public History programs at UCF, Dr. Cassanello will produce a podcast for each issue of the *Quarterly*. Each podcast will consist of an interview with one of the authors from the most recent issue of the *Quarterly*. The podcasts are uploaded to iTunes University and are available to the public at <http://publichistorypodcast.blogspot.com/>.

Dr. Jack E. Davis on his article "Sharp Prose for Green: John D. MacDonald and the First Ecological Novel," which appeared in Volume 87, no. 4 (Spring 2009).

Dr. Michael D. Bowen on his article "The Strange Tale of Wesley and Florence Garrison: Racial Crosscurrents of the Postwar Florida Republican Party" appeared in Volume 88, no. 1 (Summer 2009).

Dr. Nancy J. Levine discussed the research project undertaken by her students on the Hastings Branch Library that appeared in Volume 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009).

Dr. Daniel Feller, 2009 Catherine Prescott Lecturer, on "The Seminole Controversy Revisited: A New Look at Andrew Jackson's 1819 Florida Campaign," Volume 88, no. 3 (Winter 2010).

Dr. Derrick E. White, on his article "From Desegregation to Integration: Race, Football, and 'Dixie' at the University of Florida," Volume 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010).

Dr. Gilbert Din was interviewed to discuss his article "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 1 (Summer 2010).

Deborah L. Bauer, Nicole C. Cox, and Peter Ferdinando on graduate education in Florida and their individual articles in Volume 89, no. 2 (Fall 2010).

Jessica Clawson, "Administrative Recalcitrance and Government Intervention: Desegregation at the University of Florida, 1962-1972," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 3 (Winter 2011).

Dr. Rebecca Sharpless, "The Servants and Mrs. Rawlings: Martha Mickens and African American Life at Cross Creek," which appeared in Volume 89, no. 4 (Spring 2011).

Dr. James M. Denham, "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Pensacola," which appeared in Volume 90, no. 1 (Summer 2011).

Dr. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., Dr. James G. Cusick, Dr. William S. Belko, and Cody Scallions in a roundtable discussion on the West Florida Rebellion of 1810, the subject of the special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 2 (Fall 2011).

Dr. Julian Chambliss and Dr. Denise K. Cummings, guest editors for "Florida: The Mediated State," special issue, *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 3 (Winter 2012).

Dr. David H. Jackson, Jr., on his article "'Industrious, Thrifty and Ambitious': Jacksonville's African American Businesspeople during the Jim Crow Era," in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 90, no. 4 (Spring 2012) and Dr. Tina Bucuvalas, 2012 Jillian Prescott Memorial Lecturer and winner of the Stetson Kennedy Award for *The Florida Folklife Reader*.

Dr. Claire Strom, Rapetti-Trunzo Professor of History at Rollins College, on her article, "Controlling Venereal Disease in Orlando during World War II," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 1 (Summer 2012).

Dr. Matthew G. Hyland, on his article, "The Florida Keys Hurricane House: Post-Disaster New Deal Housing," *Florida Historical Quarterly* Volume 91, no. 2 (Fall 2012).

Dr. Paul E. Hoffman, guest editor of Volume 91, no. 3 (Winter 2013) on sixteenth century Florida.

Dr. Christopher Meindl and Andrew Fairbanks were interviewed for the Spring 2013 (Volume 91, no. 4) podcast on their article (with Jennifer Wunderlich). They talked about environmental history and the problems of garbage for Florida's environment.

Dr. Samuel Watson was interviewed about his article, "Conquerors, Peacekeepers, or Both? The U.S. Army and West Florida, 1810-1811," Volume 92, no. 1 (Summer 2013). His article challenged some of the work published in the Fall 2010 special issue on the West Florida Rebellion. In his interview Dr. Watson spoke about the discipline of history and the way in which the field advances as historians debate larger interpretative issues.

Richard S. Dellinger, Esq., attorney with the Orlando firm of Lowndes, Drosdick, Doster, Kantor & Reed and Vice President for the 11th Circuit Court, was interviewed for the Fall 2013 Special Issue on the 50th Anniversary of the United States District Court, Middle District of Florida.

Dr. Jane Landers, guest editor for Volume 92, no. 3 (Winter 2014) on seventeenth century Florida, the second issue in the 500 Years of Florida History series of special issues.

Dr. Matt Clavin, an Associate Professor of History at the University of Houston was interviewed for Volume 92, no. 4 (Spring 2014) on his article "An 'underground railway' to Pensacola and the Impending Crisis over Slavery."

Dr. Lisa Lindquist Dorr's article "Bootlegging Aliens: Unsantioned Immigration and the Underground Economy of Smuggling from Cuba through Prohibition" was the topic for the podcast on Volume 93, no. 1 (Summer 2014).

Dr. C.S. Monaco was interviewed on his article "'Wishing that Right May Prevail': Ethan Allen Hitchcock and the Florida War" which appeared in Volume 93, no. 2 (Fall 2014).

Dr. Sherry Johnson, special issue editor for the 18th Century in Florida History, was interviewed for the Volume 93, no. 3 (Winter 2015) podcast.

Dr. Robert Cassanello was interviewed for the Volume 93, no. 4 (Winter 2015) podcast. He talked with Dr. Daniel Murphree about the career of urban historian Dr. Raymond A. Mohl, a long-time member and friend of the Florida Historical Society and contributor to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Mohl passed away in Birmingham, Alabama, on January 29, 2015.

Dr. Laura E. Brock was interviewed for the Volume 94, no. 1 (Summer 2015) podcast. She spoke with Dr. Daniel Murphree about her article "Religion and Women's Rights in Florida: An Examination of the Equal Rights Amendment Legislative Debates, 1972-1982."

Dr. John Paul Nuño was interviewed for the Volume 94, no. 2 (Fall 2015) podcast. He spoke with Dr. Daniel Murphree about his article, "'República de Bandidos': The Prospect Bluff Fort's Challenge to the Spanish Slave System" which appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY AVAILABLE ON JSTOR

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is available to scholars and researchers through JSTOR, a digital service for libraries, archives, and individual subscribers. JSTOR editors spent more than a year digitizing *FHQ* volumes 3-83; it became available to academic libraries and individual subscribers in August 2009. The *FHQ* has reduced the 5-year window to a 3-year window for greater access. More recent issues of the *Quarterly* are available only in print copy form. JSTOR has emerged as a leader in the field of journal digitization and the *FHQ* joins a number of prestigious journals in all disciplines. The *Florida Historical Quarterly* will continue to be available through PALMM, with a 5-year window.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY ON FACEBOOK

Join the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on Facebook. The *FHQ* Facebook page provides an image of each issue, the table of contents of each issue, and an abstract of each article. There is also a link to the *Quarterly* podcasts and the Florida Historical Society. Go to the *FHQ* to find information on recent "Calls for Papers" for conferences in Florida and the South.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSIONS TO THE *FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* is a peer-refereed journal and accepts for consideration manuscripts on the history of Florida, its people, and its historical relationships to the United States, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, or Latin America. All submissions are expected to reflect substantial research, a dedication to writing, and the scholarly rigor demanded of professionally produced historical work. Work submitted for consideration should not have been previously published, soon to be published, or under consideration by another journal or press. Authors who are engaged in open source peer review should watermark any manuscript available through an open source site as "Draft Under Consideration."

Authors should submit an electronic copy in MS Word to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, at Connie.Lester@ucf.edu.

Manuscripts should be typed and double-spaced (excluding footnotes, block quotes, or tabular matter).

The first page should be headed by the title without the author's name. Author identification should be avoided throughout the manuscript. On a separate sheet of paper, please provide the author's name, institutional title or connection, or place of residence, and acknowledgements. Citations should be single-spaced **footnotes**, numbered consecutively, and in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Use the reference feature to create footnotes rather than the superscript button.

Tables and illustrations should be created on separate pages, with positions in the manuscript indicated.

In a cover letter, the author should provide contact information that includes phone numbers, fax number, email address, and mailing address. The author should provide a statement of the substance and significance of the work and identify anyone who has already critiqued the manuscript.

Images or illustrations to be considered for publication with the article may be submitted in EPS or PDF electronic format at 300 dpi or higher. Xeroxed images cannot be accepted. All illustrations should include full citations and credit lines. Authors should retain letters of permission from institutions or individuals owning the originals.

Questions regarding submissions should be directed to Connie L. Lester, editor, addressed to Department of History, PO Box

161350, 12790 Aquarius Agora Dr., Suite 551, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350, by email to Connie.Lester@ucf.edu, or by phone at 407-823-0261.

Please note the addition of Guidelines for e-FHQ Publication.

GUIDELINES FOR e-FHQ PUBLICATION

Publication of material on the *Florida Historical Quarterly* website (e-FHQ) is viewed as supplemental to the print journal and not a separate publication. Publication falls into four categories.

1. e-Appendices. This is primary source material that informs an article published in the print journal. It may include audio or video files that were used in the research and informed the interpretation of the article. e-Appendices will be published on-line at the time of the print publication. The print publication will include a reference to the website. Determination of the inclusion of e-Appendices will be made by the editors in collaboration with the author and the referees who evaluated the original manuscript.
2. e-Documents and Notes. This is primary source material that includes a significant number of images and/or audio-video material that precludes print publication. As with the print journal version of documents, this publication will include a descriptive essay of the material that indicates its importance to Florida history. Decisions regarding the publication of e-Documents and Notes will be made by the editorial staff with advice from appropriate scholars.
3. e-Reviews. These are critical, scholarly analyses of born-digital projects (electronic archives, multimedia essays/exhibits, teaching resources, etc.) hosted by academic institutions, museums, and archives. Projects produced by commercial interests are not eligible for review. E-reviews will be published in the print edition and may also appear in the online-e-FHQ to facilitate access to interactive/multimedia content.
4. e-Articles. This category refers to the growing body of non-traditional, born-digital scholarship and multimedia essays/exhibits hosted by academic institutions, museums, and archives. Materials falling within this category may be

submitted for editorial review by the lead author, with permission of co-authors. Submissions must include a 750- to 1000-word introduction and a stable URL for publication in both the print edition and online e-FHQ. Submissions will undergo the same double-blind review process that other submissions to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* receive.

Process for e-FHQ submission:

All materials for consideration should be submitted electronically to the editor **and** digital editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*:

Connie L. Lester, editor: connie.lester@ucf.edu

Scot French, digital editor: scot.french@ucf.edu

Citation of material published electronically:

Materials published as e-FHQ primary source material, reviews, or articles should be cited as follows:

Author, Title, e-FHQ, date of publication, www.fhq.cah.ucf.edu/fhqonline/

Reviewer Guidelines

The *Quarterly* solicits reviews of scholarly books, museum exhibitions, history-oriented movies, and digital sources (websites) related to Florida history and culture. Accepted reviews may appear in both the *FHQ* and *e-FHQ*. See specific guidelines for evaluating works in each category below.

The *Quarterly* gives its reviewers complete freedom except as to length, grammar, the law of libel, and editorial usages of punctuation, capitalization, spelling, etc., required to conform to *FHQ* style.

All reviews should be double-spaced, between 800 and 1000 words in length, with parenthetical citations for all quotes. Please save reviews as a Microsoft Word document and submit them as email attachments.

For Book Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the volume and indicate

its place in the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history

- Include a discussion of how well the author succeeded in his or her purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and expressed the narrative
- Evaluate the book as history for the potential reader and purchaser. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change
- Refrain from listing typographical or minor errors unless these materially affect quality

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

The editor wishes to receive for review non-fiction books relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review books on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send books for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

For Museum Exhibition Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the museum exhibition and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the curator succeeded in his or her purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and depicted the historical topic being addressed
- Evaluate the museum exhibition as history for the reader and potential audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy

or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment

- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

The editor wishes to receive for consideration notices of museum exhibitions relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review museum exhibitions on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send notices of museum exhibitions eligible for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

For Movie Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the movie and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the movie succeeded in its purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, and depicted the historical topic being addressed
- Evaluate the movie as history for the potential reader and audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

The editor wishes to receive for consideration notices of movies relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review movies on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send notices of movies eligible for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

For Digital Source Reviewers

Reviewers should strive to:

- Provide the informed reader with a brief, clear idea of the nature, content, and purpose of the digital source and indicate its connection to the literature on the subject, especially if it pertains to Florida history
- Include a discussion of how well the source succeeded in its purpose, covered the subject, used available resources, organized material, and depicted the historical topic being addressed
- Evaluate the digital source as history for the reader and audience. Critical evaluation may be either favorable or unfavorable. Do not allow sympathy or difference of opinion to keep the review from being a strict and straightforward but courteous judgment
- Avoid digressive essays that might well appear in your own works
- Stay within the wordage assigned unless the editor agrees to a change
- Refrain from listing typographical or minor errors unless these materially affect quality

Unsolicited reviews are not accepted. However, a person wishing to be added to the reviewers' list should provide a letter of interest and a current c.v. to the editor, and that request will be considered.

The editor wishes to receive for consideration notices of digital sources relating to Florida and its people. The editor will also consider for review digital sources on the United States, Southern history, the Atlantic World, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Send notices of digital sources eligible for review to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* at Daniel.Murphree@ucf.edu

Process for becoming an *FHQ* or *eFHQ* Reviewer:

Individuals who desire to become a reviewer in any review category should email Dr. Daniel Murphree and include a letter of introduction and a cv outlining their areas of expertise. Daniel. Murphree@ucf.edu

NEWS FROM OTHER SOCIETIES

Gulf South History and Humanities Conference

The Admiral Hotel, Mobile Alabama

October 13-15, 2016

CALL FOR PAPERS

**THEME SESSIONS ON THE GULF SOUTH IN WAR AND
PEACE**

The Gulf South History and Humanities Conference is an annual event sponsored by the Gulf South Historical Association, a consortium of Gulf South colleges and universities from the states of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

Years ending in "6" have frequently marked times of transition between peace and war: 1816, 1866, 1916, and 1946 in particular. The **34th Annual Gulf South History and Humanities Conference**, hosted by the University of South Alabama, welcomes all researchers and scholars to propose papers on such liminal periods, but all topics, panels, roundtables, performances, and workshops, exploring all aspects of the history, ethnography, archaeology, development, and cultures of the Gulf South and Circum-Caribbean are encouraged.

The registration fee includes a Thursday evening reception at The Admiral Hotel, all conference sessions, and a free one-year membership in the Association. Tickets for the banquet, annual keynote address, and a courtesy cocktail reception are all included in the additional banquet fee.

Proposals must be postmarked by the July 15, 2016 submission deadline. To submit an individual paper, send a Word document attachment containing a title, a 150-word abstract, and a one-page vita. To submit for the theme panel, send a Word document attachment containing a title and 150-word description of the panel plus a 150-word abstract for each paper, a one-page vita for each presenter, and a suggested chair/discussant. To submit for roundtable forums or discussions, send a Word document attachment containing a title, a 150-word description of the topic, and a complete list

of the participants and moderator/discussant with a one-page vita for each.

All submissions should be sent via email to the program chair, Dr. Donald DeVore at ddevore@southalabama.edu. Please put "2016 Gulf South Paper" in the email subject line. Or, send a hard copy to Dr. Donald DeVore, Department of History, 5991 USA Drive North, Room 344, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688. Expect an email confirmation once your submission has been received.

For hotel reservations, contact The Admiral Hotel at <http://group.curiocollection.com/GulfSouthHistoryandHumanities-Conference> or 251-432-8000 (844-442-8746 toll-free). Conference room rates are \$99/night, single or double occupancy. Please book before 12 September 2016 to guarantee the conference rate.

The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856
The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905



OFFICERS

Leonard Lempel, *President*
Emily Lisska, *Vice-President*

Tracy Moore, *President-Elect*
Robert Cassanello, *Secretary*
James G. Cusick, *Immediate Past President*

DIRECTORS

Abel A. Bartley, Clemson, SC
Robert Cassanello, Eustis
Judy Duda, Oviedo
David Jackson, Tallahassee
Sherry Johnson, Miami
Tom McFarland, Merritt Island
Jesus Mendez, Coral Gables
Maurice O'Sullivan, Winter Park

Harvey Oyer III, West Palm Beach
Sandra Parks, St. Augustine
Richard S. Prescott, Fort Myers
Christopher J. Ranck, Heathrow
K.C. Smith, Tallahassee
Robert E. Snyder, Tampa
Irvin D.S. Winsboro, Fort Myers
Council "Butch" Wooten, Orlando

ex-officio:

Perry D. West, Chair, Rossetter House Foundation
Connie L. Lester, Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*

STAFF

Ben Brotemarkle, *Executive Director*
Ben DiBiase, *Ed. Resources Coordinator*
Patty Meyers, *Director of FHSAI & Brevard Museum*
Deanna Runyan, *CFO*
Delores Spearman, *Development Coordinator*

Created in St. Augustine in 1856, The Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in the state, and Florida's only state-wide historical society. The Society is dedicated to preserving Florida's past through the collection and archival maintenance of historical documents and photographs, the publication of scholarly research on Florida history, and educating the public about Florida history through a variety of public history and historic preservation projects. We publish scholarly research in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and through the Florida Historical Society Press. *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society* is broadcast on public radio stations throughout the state and is archived on our web site. The Florida Historical Society headquarters are located at the Library of Florida History in historic Cocoa Village. The Florida Historical Society manages the Historic Rossetter House Museum and the Florida Books & Gifts.

Florida Historical Society: www.myfloridahistory.org

Rossetter House Museum: www.rossetterhousemuseum.org

Florida Historical Quarterly Podcasts: <http://floridahistoricalquarterly.blogspot.com/>

