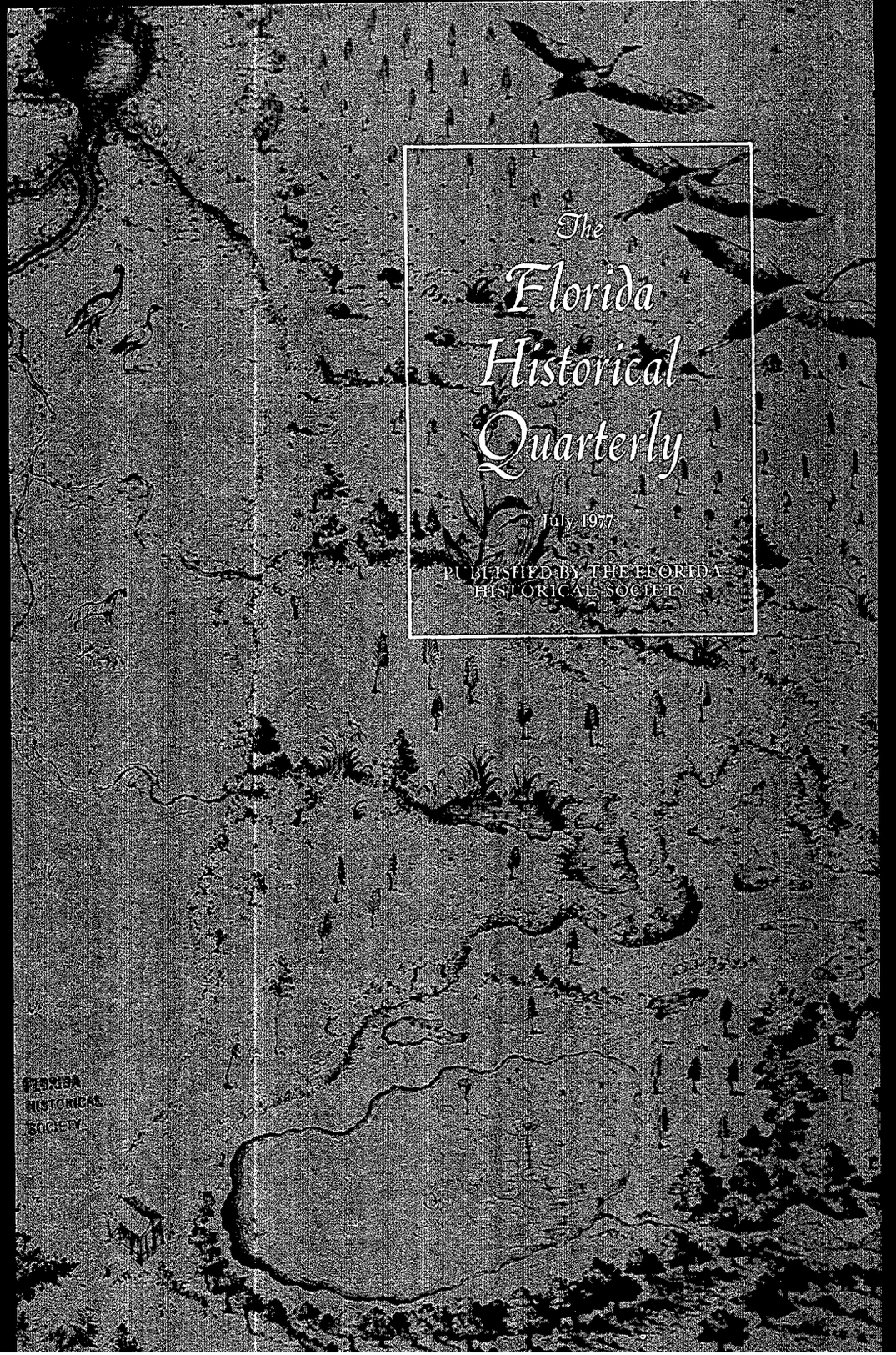
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COVER

"The Great Alachua Savana in East Florida," by William Bartram (1739-1823). A son of John Bartram, botanist of Philadelphia, William Bartram left home in March 1773 on an epic trip which took him to the coastlands of Carolina and Georgia, then south and west across the Florida peninsula, back through lower Georgia, and in 1776 into Cherokee Indian territory. The record of his writings and sketches is preserved in *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1791; London, 1792; numerous facsimiles).

The original of this sketch is in the Violetta W. Delafield Collection of the papers of Benjamin Smith Barton, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604.

The *Quarterly* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of Florida. Sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers are considered. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end of the article. Particular attention should be given to following the footnote style of the *Quarterly*. The author should submit an original and retain a carbon for security. The Florida Historical Society and the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made or opinions held by authors.

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FREDERIC REMINGTON IN FLORIDA

by JULIAN M. PLEASANTS *

OF THE MANY writers and artists who have glorified the western experience, few have been more singularly devoted, more prolific, or more enduring than Frederic Sackrider Remington. Through his painting, sculpture, illustrations, and literary works, Remington preserved for posterity the essence of a wild and colorful epoch in American history. To a rare and satisfying degree, he captured the Old West-reconstructing its vividness and the vitality of the men, animals, and the scenes that characterized its picturesque history. Other artists drew and painted cowboys, Indians, and the western scene, and many have done so since, but as one critic noted, "there is no other name which symbolizes our wild Old West as does Frederic Remington's." [1]

Remington's pictures had freshness, life, action, and individuality. He possessed a quick, accurate, and unsentimental eye and a hand that could swifty record what his eye saw. He was neither an embellisher nor a theorist; he saw particulars, he noted details, and he accurately recorded the thousand quick glimpses of the western life that fascinated him. Remington recorded the actual happenings he observed, and his illustrations were natural, honest, and three-dimensional-all of which made him a realistic reporter of the Old West in spite of his romanticism. Because historians accept the content and detail of his pictures as fact, his paintings have provided the public with a unique pictorial record of western history and have become invaluable documents in the interpretation of American history. As Francis Parkman, historian and author of *The Oregon Trail*, which was illustrated by Remington, noted: ". . . [Mr. Remington's] pictures are as full of truth as of spirit, for they are the work of one who knew the prairies and the mountains before irrestible commonplace had subdued them." [2]

* Mr. Pleasants is assistant professor of social sciences and history, University of Florida, Gainesville.

1. Harold McCracken, *Frederic Remington: Artist of the Old West* (Philadelphia, 1947), 23.
2. Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Boston, 1892), preface.

While Remington is mainly identified with the American West, he also worked in the South, particularly Florida. In 1895, he visited south-central Florida on assignment from *Harper's Weekly* to write and illustrate a story on the "cracker cowboys" of Florida and to seek a bit of the Old West in the South. By 1890 the Battle of Wounded Knee, the last great struggle between the soldier and the Indian, had been fought, and the federal census compiled that year indicated that there were only a few pockets of the frontier remaining. Remington realized that the West was no longer the "West of picturesque and stirring events. Romance and adventure have been beaten down in the rush of civilization; the country west of the Mississippi has become hopelessly commercialized, shackled in chains of business to its uttermost limits. The cowboy-the real thing, mark you, not the tame hired man who herds cattle for the mere wage of it"-was vanishing "with the advent of the wire fence." [3] After 1894 Remington made no major excursions to the West, and he turned his attention to recreating western scenes and testing his philosophy of the western cowboy in the study of the Florida cowboy.

If the United States Census concluded in 1890 that a frontier no longer existed in the United States, it was not correct in regard to Florida. In this state the frontier lasted on into the twentieth century. There were numerous areas of open range and a very sparse population-less than two persons per square mile in the area south of Orlando. As late as 1937 one man in southwest Florida claimed to have driven a herd of cattle 160 miles without crossing a fence. [4] The Florida cowboys and the unsettled frontier intrigued Remington, and in January 1895, he visited Punta Gorda and Arcadia-a land of scrub pines, palmettos, sawgrass, and Seminoles. [5] Remington promptly invited Owen Wister, his close friend and the author of the western classic, *The Virginian,* to come to Florida, promising Wister "bear, tarpon, red

3. Remington to Perriton Maxwell, in Perriton Maxwell, "Frederic Remington, Most Typical of American Artists," *Pearson's,* XVIII (October 1907), 396-97.
4. Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman, A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, 1976), 156-59.
5. Remington to Owen Wister, January 1895, in Ben Merchant Vorphal, *My Dear Wister: The Frederic Remington-Owen Wister Letters* (Palo Alto, 1972), 66.

snapper, ducks, birds of paradise" and even "curious cowboys who shoot up the railroad trains." [6]

While standing outside a store in Arcadia, Remington caught his first glimpse of these "curious cowboys" as they meandered into town: "Two very emaciated Texas ponies pattered down the street; bearing wild-looking individuals, whose hanging hair and drooping hats and generally bedraggled appearance would remind you at once of the Spanish-moss which hangs so . . . helplessly to the limbs of the oaks out in the swamps. There was none of the bilious fierceness and rearing plunge which I had associated with my friends out West . . . . The only things they did which were conventional were to tie their ponies up by the head in brutal disregard, and then get drunk in about fifteen minutes." [7]

Although the Florida cowboys appeared tame and ragged, there was a significant amount of cattle rustling and changing of brands in southwest Florida in the 1890s. Disputed ownership of stray cattle had been one of the causes of the DeSoto County cattle wars in the 1890s-a period which comprised one of the most violent chapters in that county's history. [8] The geographical configuration of the area was conducive to cattle stealing since the unknown reaches of the Everglades were fairly close to Arcadia, and a cattle thief with a knowledge of the country would be safe from pursuit with a half-hour's start. After all, as one man confided to Remington, "A boat don't leave no trail, stranger." [9]

The problem of cattle stealing was generally settled among the contesting parties, usually by gunfire, and with very little interference by law enforcement authorities. One such incident was typical of this type of conflict. Court records revealed the case of a cowboy who was found slumped over a dead steer, holding a branding iron different from the one used by the owner of the animal. A coroner's jury ignored the gaping bullet hole at the base of the dead man's skull and ruled that the steer was shot by persons unknown and concluded that the rustler died by falling on the steer's horns. [10] Even when these sordid affairs were

6. Remington to Wister, February 1895, *ibid.*
7. Frederic Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," *Harper's Magazine,* XXXIX (August 1895), 339.
8. Louise Frisbie, *Peace River Pioneers* (Miami, 1974), 59.
9. Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 342.
10. J. Pete Schmidt, "The Painted Life of A Violent Florida Frontier," *St. Petersburg Times,* May 14, 1972, *The Floridian,* magazine supplement, 30.

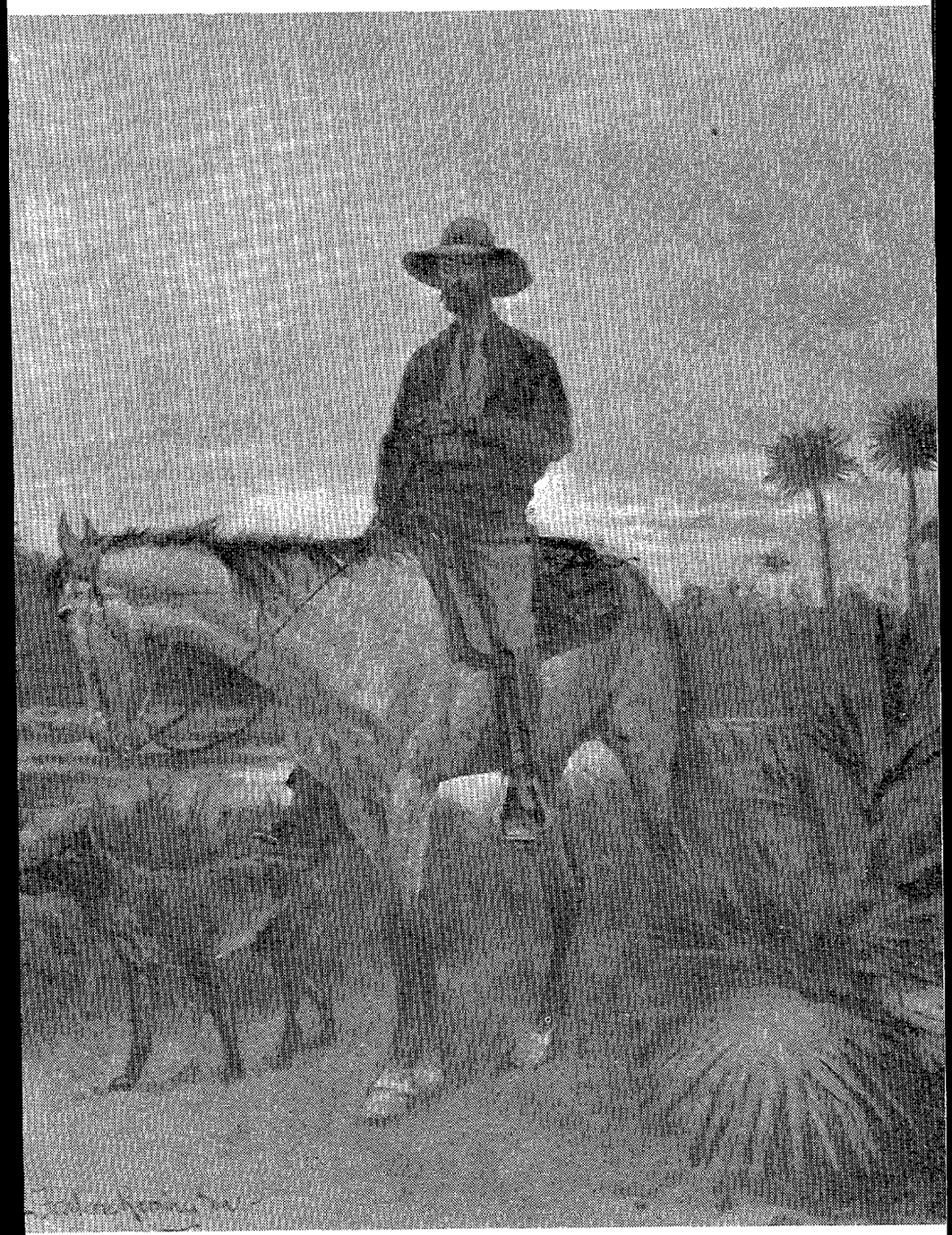
brought into court, the men came en masse into the room, heavily armed with rifles and knives, so that any judicial decision was likely to end up either in a compromise or in a free-for-all. Remington was amazed at the severe conflict perpetuated among cattle owners over such poor cattle. He noted that while the northern tourist ate Chicago-dressed beef in a fine restaurant, "out in the wilderness low-browed cow-folks shoot and stab each other for the possession of scrawny creatures not fit for a pointer-dog to mess on." [11]

The scrub cattle in the palmetto country were descendants of Spanish stock. The cattle owed their lack of size and poor qualities to undernourishment and premature breeding, but the breed was blessed with the stamina to cover range so sparse that heavier cattle died trying to find enough to eat. [12] The land the animals grazed was flat and sandy with only a few pines and gnarled water oaks and, as Remington remembered, gave "only a tough wiregrass, and the poor little cattle, no bigger than a donkey, wander half starved and horribly emaciated in search of it." [13] Many of the stray cattle were as wild as deer and raced off at the sight of man. When rounded up, the cattle that would not drive were promptly shot.

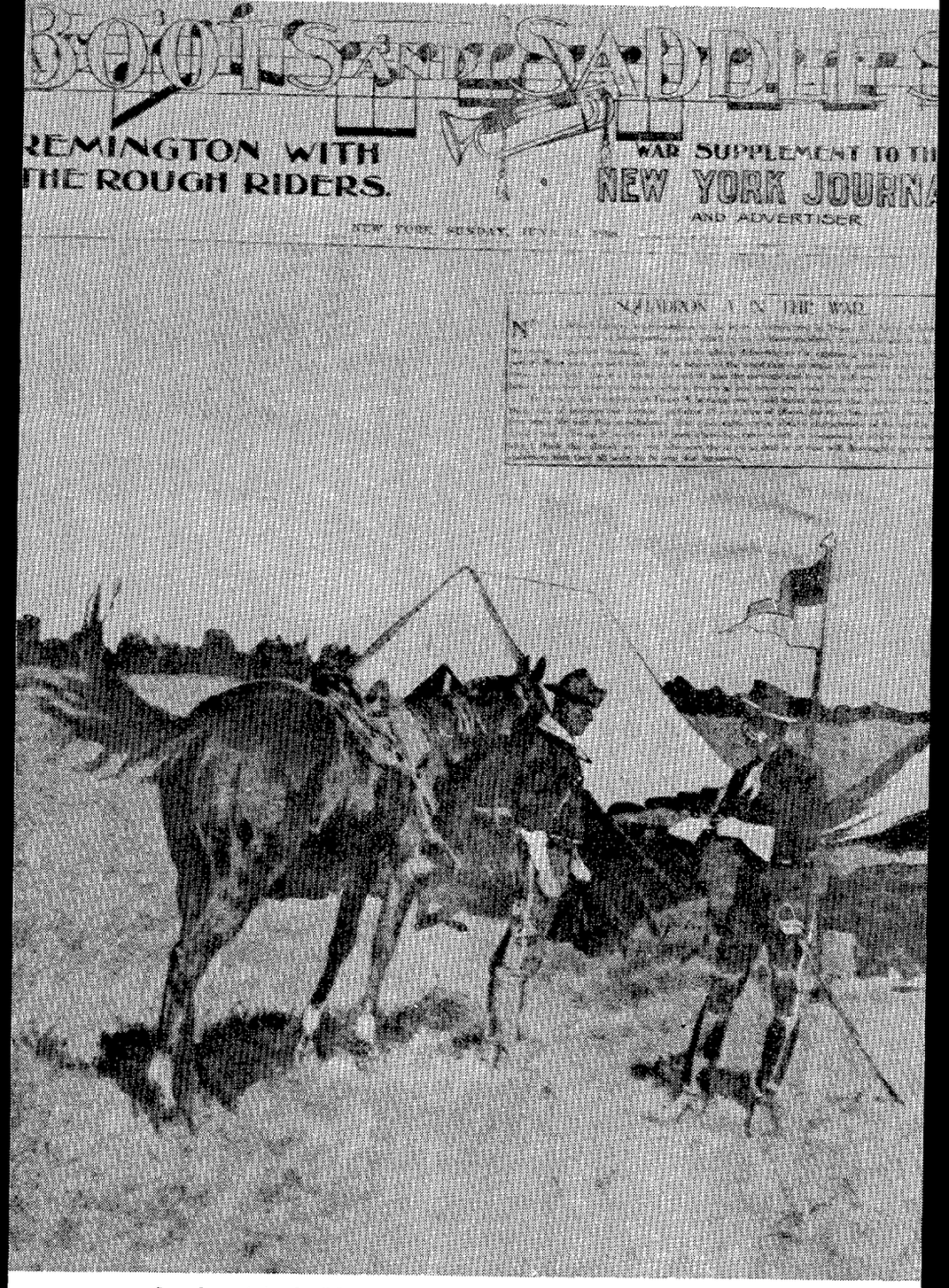
The cattle also created problems for the Florida railroads. Whenever a train ran over one of the scrawny cows owned by the local denizens, one could expect a long-haired cracker to rush into the nearest train station and demand, often at gunpoint, that the telegraph operator settle promptly his claim for damages to personal property. The demands were absurdly high considering the poor condition of the cattle, and the railroads at first refused to pay. The cowboy, determined to get full recompense, would hide in the brush on a dark night and pump a few bullets into the train-the lanterns were especially inviting targets-as a reminder to the company that all dues had not been paid. Eventually the railroad was forced to hire a company adjuster, or "cow-attorney" as he was called, who settled with the local cattle barons as best he could. [14]

The Florida cowboys worked desperately hard for a meager

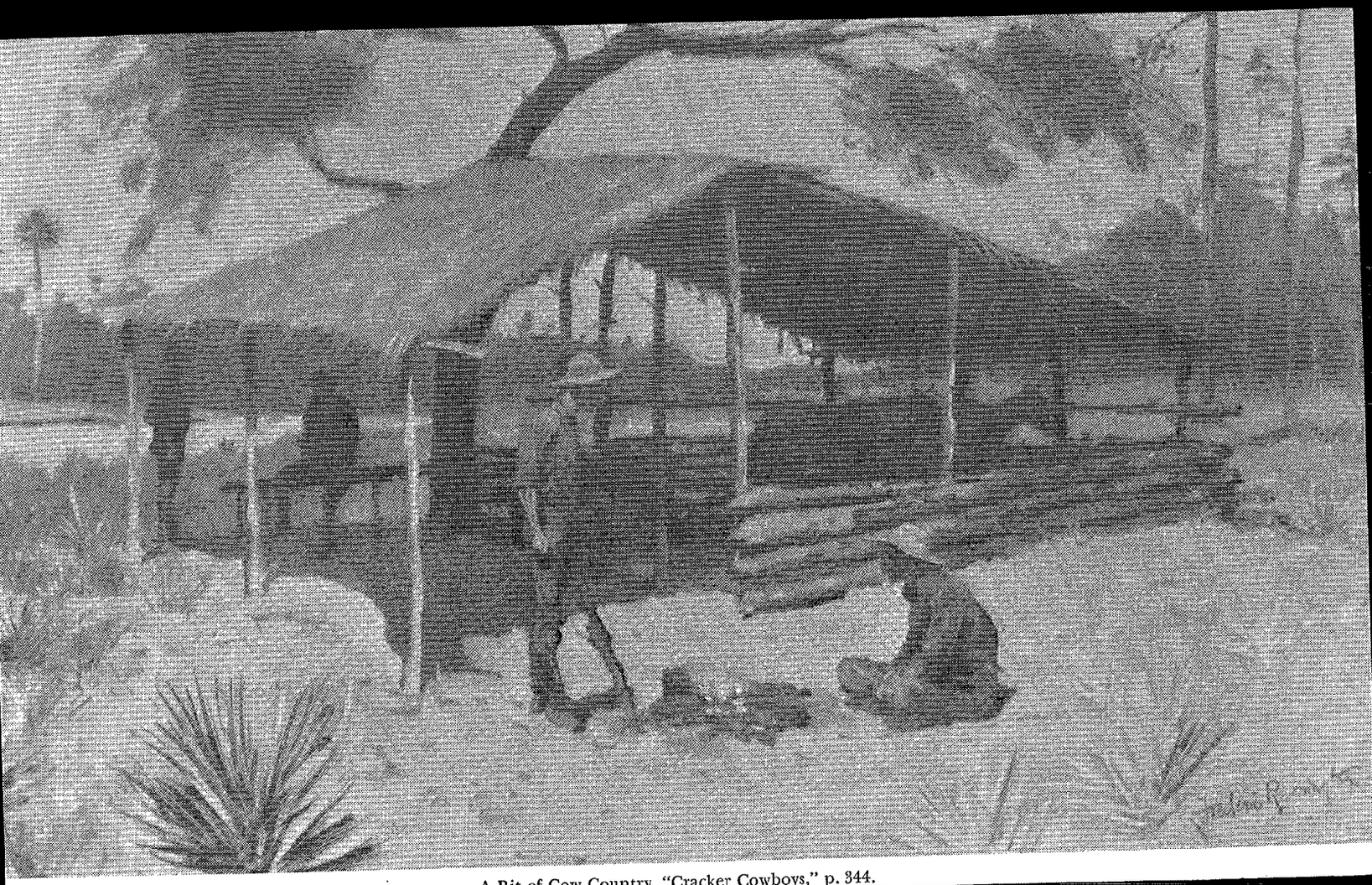
11. Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 342.
12. Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto Country* (New York, 1942), 216.
13. Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 342.
14, *Ibid.,* 344.



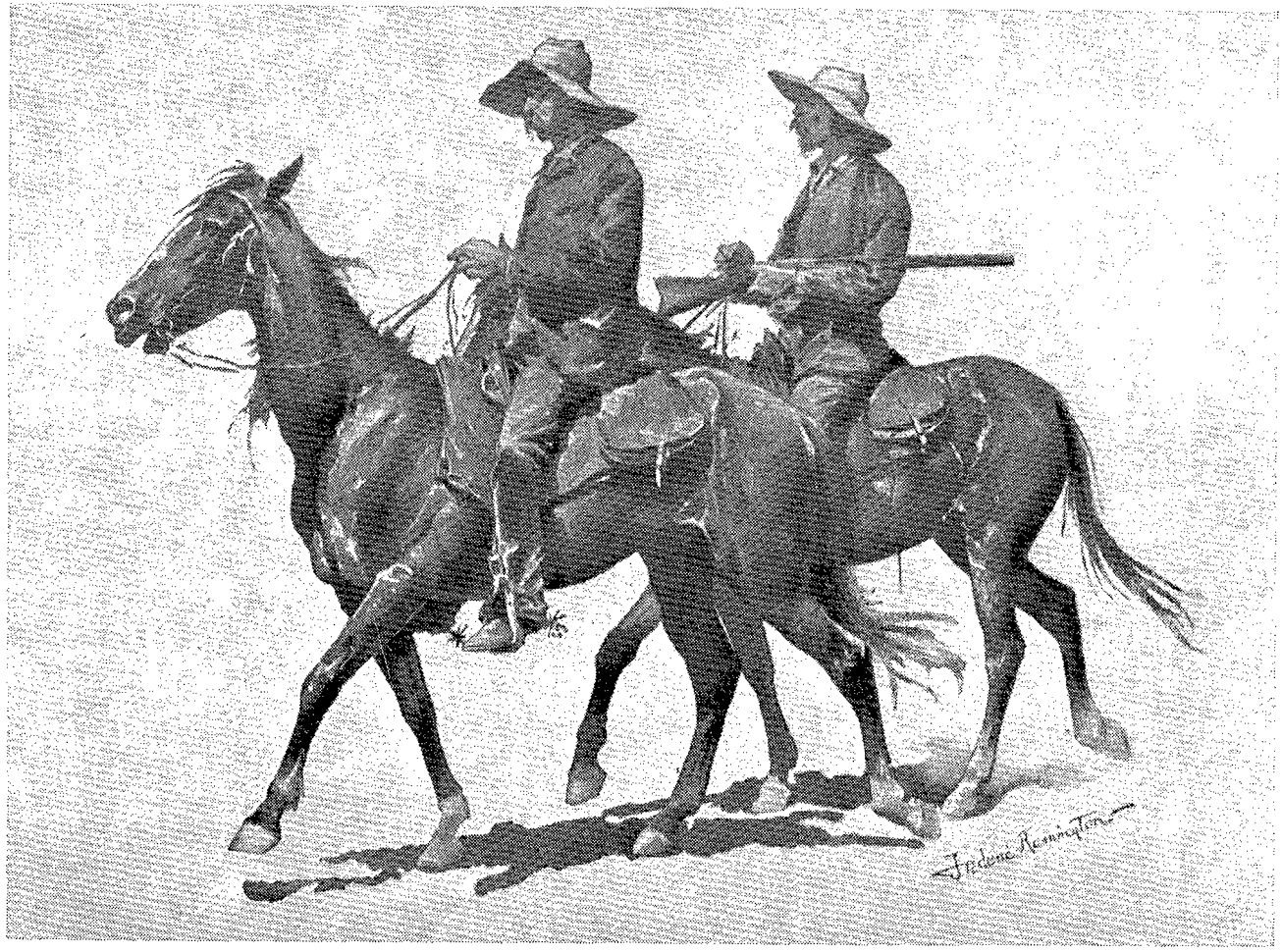
A Cracker Cowboy. "Cracker Cowboys," p. 340.



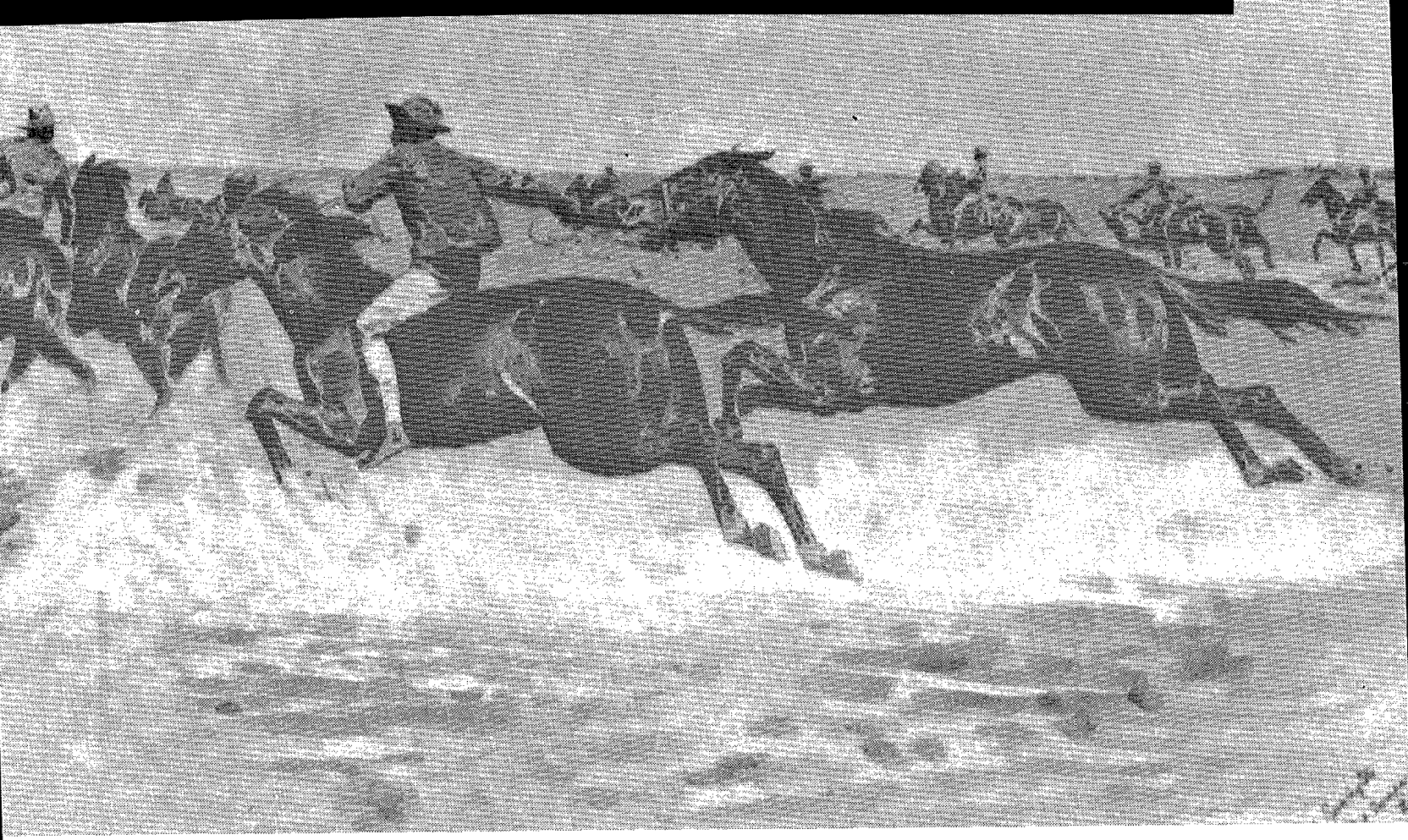
Squadron A in the War—Orders from Headquarters. From Douglas Allen, *Frederic Remington and the Spanish-American War* (New York, 1971), p. 71.



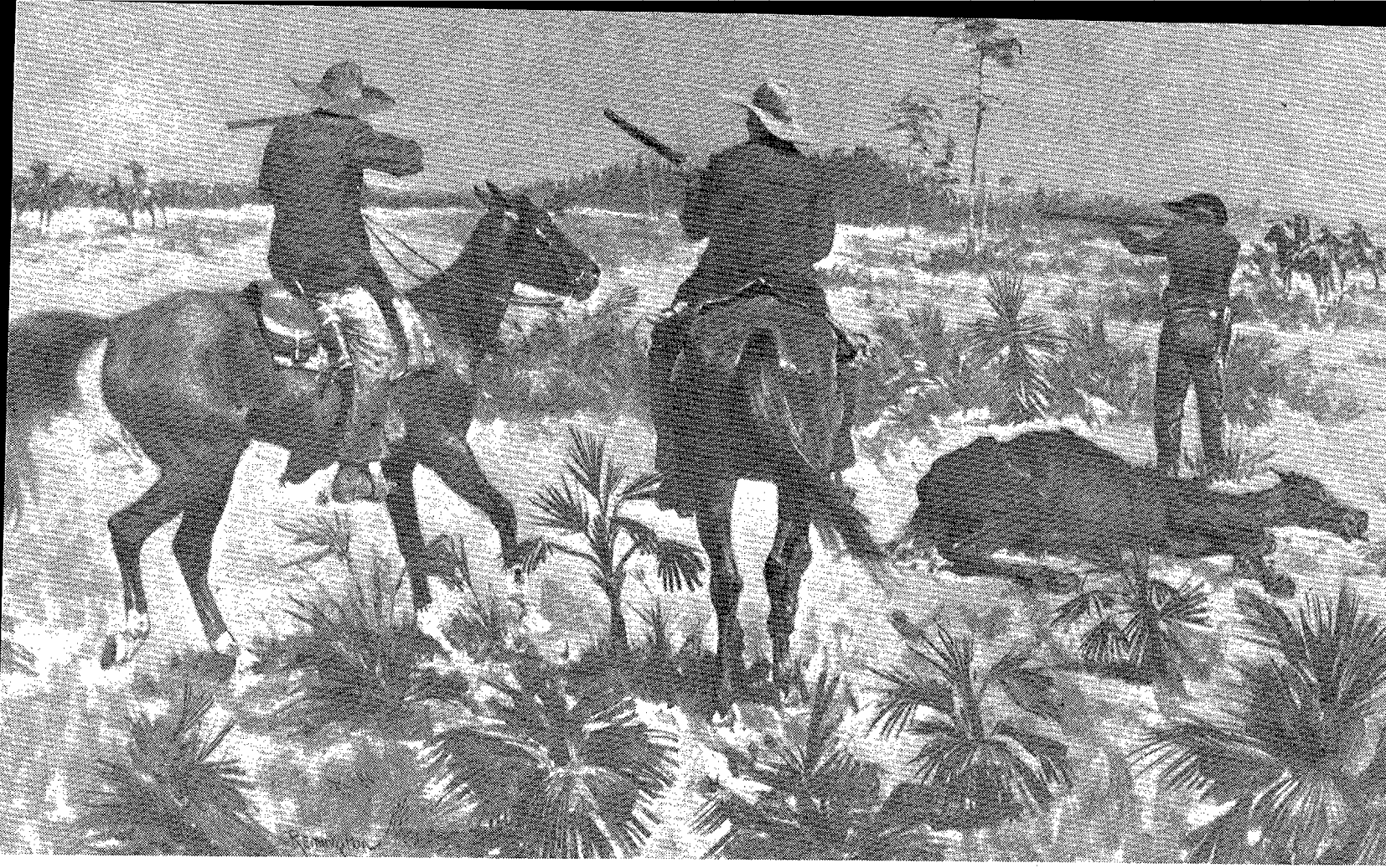
A Bit of Cow Country. "Cracker Cowboys," p. 344.

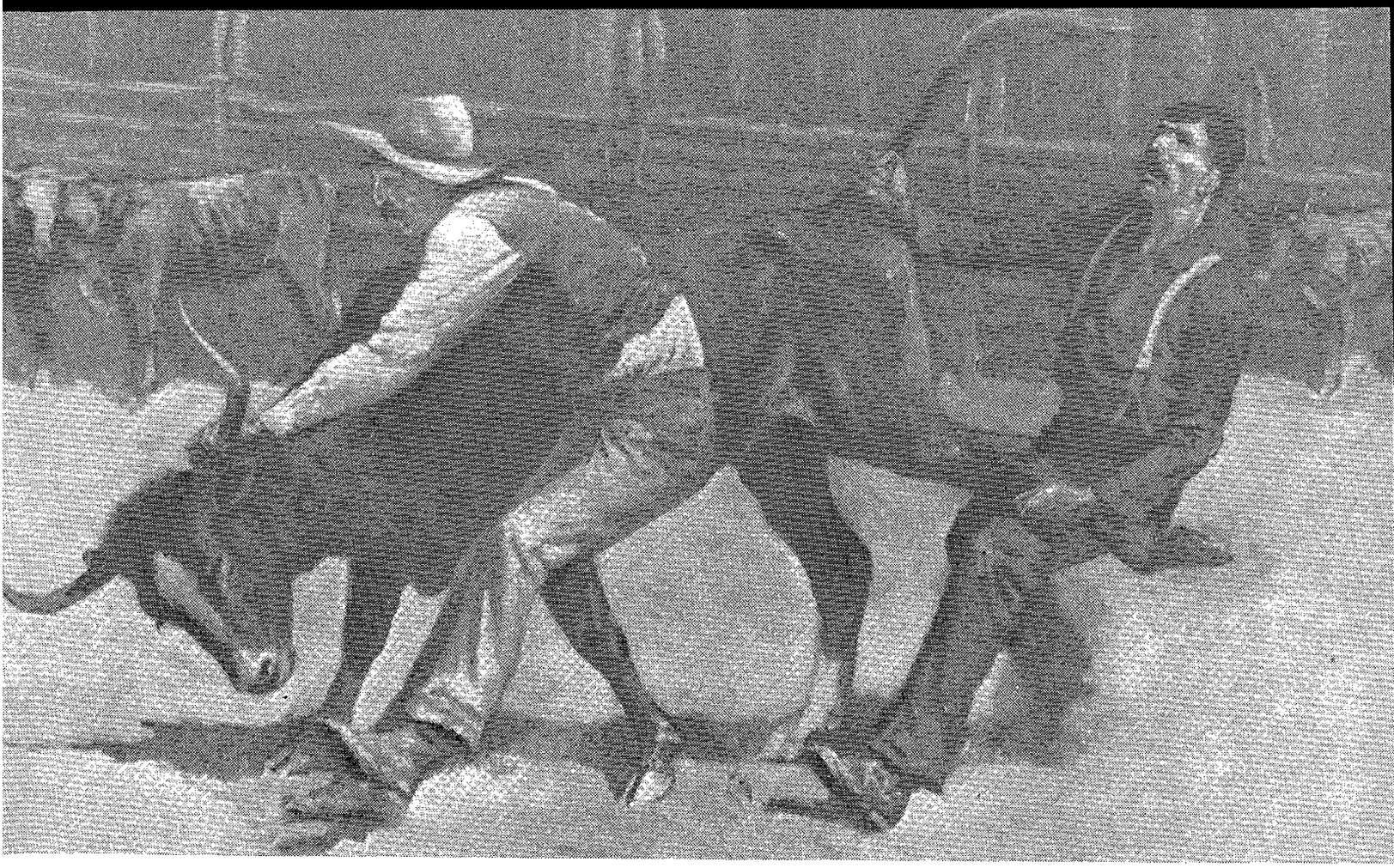


From "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (August 1895), 389.

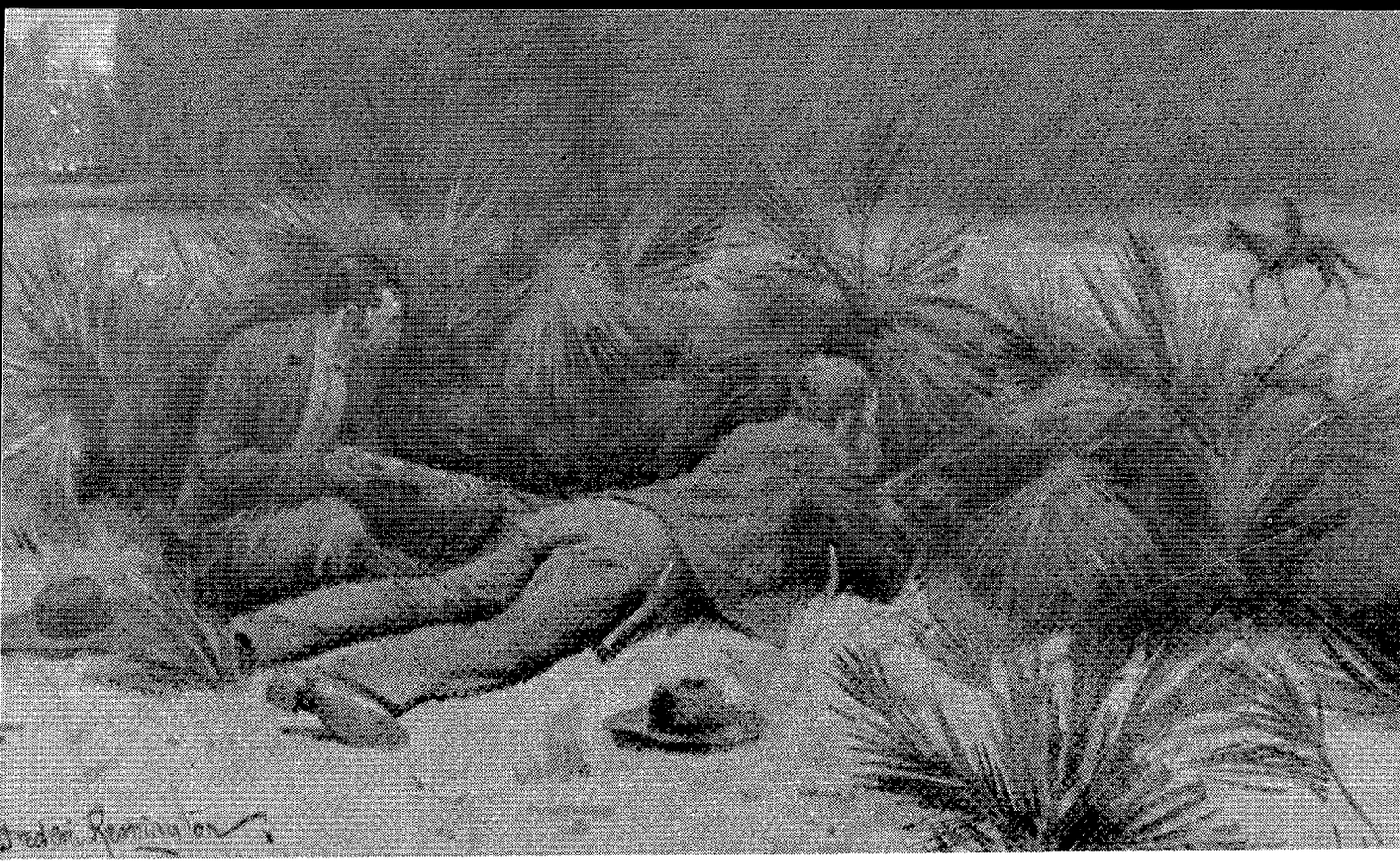


With the Regulars at Port Tampa, Florida—Troopers of the Ninth United States Cavalry Taking Their Horses for a Dash into the Gulf. Allen, *Frederic Remington,* 66.





Cowboys Wrestling a Bull. "Cracker Cowboys," p. 345.



In Wait for an Enemy. "Cracker Cowboys," p. 341.

living, and their task was made more difficult because they were faced with enervating heat, flies, poor grass, and generally adverse conditions. Nonetheless, the cattlemen were expert at the job of rounding up the stubborn cattle, and they favored the small, wiry, speedy cow ponies with their extraordinary stamina and toughness. These ponies had bloodlines going back to the Andalusian horses of the Spanish conquistadores, and they could race over ranges festooned with palmetto scrub and gopher holes with sure-footed certainty.[15] The cowboys worked their cattle in strong log corralls which were built at about a day's march from each other throughout the woods. The cowboys did not use the rope very often, as the cattle were so thin and scrawny that two men could easily wrestle a three-year old. They relied on a twelve to eighteen foot rawhide whip mounted on a hardwood handle. The whip's loud, musket-like crack drove the cattle in the desired direction although the whips seldom touched the cattle.

The whips were augmented by shrill cow-whoops from the herders and by large, fierce herd dogs.[16] These "drive and catch" dogs, "generally a cross [breed] with about thirty percent bulldog and the rest common cur," had the value of two or three cowboys because they could slip into thickets too dense for a rider and flush strays from the straw grass.[17] The "cur" dogs were trained to pursue the wayward cattle, seize them by the nose, and return them to the herd. Remington considered this tactic brutal but effective.[18]

Despite his acknowledged interest in the Florida cattle country, Frederic Remington had a very poor opinion of the cracker cowboy, especially in comparison with the glamorous figures he had known in the West. Although the cowboys were "picturesque in their unkempt, almost unearthly wildness," they lacked dash and were indifferent riders. Remington often found the "crackers" slovenly, drunken, dishonest, and unromantic. They preferred military saddles to the western types, used shotguns instead of rifles or six-guns, wore farmer's shoes instead of boots, and refused to carry lariats. Remington was surprised that the cowboys even managed to survive on the dismal pine barrens of Florida,

15. George H. Dacy, *Four Centuries of Florida Ranching* (St. Louis, 1940), 70.
16. Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 344.
17. Kennedy, *Palmetto Country,* 217.
18. Remington, "Cracker Cowboys of Florida," 344.

"truly not a country for a high-spirited race or moral giants." At best, Remington considered the Florida cowboy "revolting" and believed that he had no concept of the savage encounters and heroism of the Old West, "when every man tossed his life away to the crackle of his own revolver." In place of wild stampedes, Remington observed, "only the bellowing in the pens, and instead of the plains shaking under the dusty air as the bedizened vaqueros plough their fiery broncos through the milling herds, the cattle-hunter wends his lonely way through the ooze and rank grass, while the dreary pine trunks line up and shut the view." [19] Since the Florida cowboys were different from his romantic view of the western cowboy, Remington dismissed the crackers as "insignificant." [20]

Another important Florida attraction also disappointed Remington. Prior to leaving Florida in 1895, Remington wrote an article for *Harper's Weekly* on tarpon fishing. He thought two good reasons to come to Florida were the weather and to catch tarpon, but he warned his readers that in fishing for tarpon failure was inevitable. The fisherman would be terribly bored except for the blowing wind and the clouds rolling overhead. Remington advised sportsmen to sell their rod and tackle to a newly-arrived enthusiast and purchase a twelve-bore shotgun for the more rewarding sport of duck hunting. "Ducks down there [Florida] are confiding birds, and a boat loaded with girls, and grub and scotch whiskey and soda can be sailed right up to them while the sportsman empties his shot-gun and fills his game bag." [21]

Although Remington's initial impressions of Florida were not favorable, he returned in 1896, 1897, and 1898 to cover the beginnings of the Spanish-American War. His first trip, in December 1896, was at the behest of William Randolph Hearst, publisher of the New York *Journal.* Hearst commissioned Frederic Remington as illustrator and ace reporter Richard Harding Davis as journalist to go to Cuba and report on the Cuban rebellion against Spanish rule.

Davis and Remington arrived in the port city of Key West

19. *Ibid.,* 342-45.
20. Vorphal, *My Dear Wister,* 67.
21. Frederic Remington, "Winter Shooting on the Gulf Coast of Florida," *Harper's Weekly,* XXXIX (May 11, 1895), 451.

shortly after December 19, 1896. Unfortunately for the eager newsmen, the Spanish navy had blockaded the island of Cuba to prevent Cubans from fleeing and to prevent food and arms from reaching the insurgents. Davis and Remington were determined to get to Cuba, and they decided to try to run the Spanish blockade on the *Vamoose,* William Randolph Hearst's very fast but rather frail power boat. The intrepid reporters tried on two occasions to reach Cuba, but heavy seas and high winds forced the captain of the *Vamoose* to return to Key West. [22] On the third attempt, the storm was so severe that even the crew despaired of returning to Key West safely. Crouched on deck, Remington and Davis desperately hung on to keep from being washed overboard by the high seas that swept the boat. While a Chinese cook struggled to lash together a life raft out of some boxes and a door, Davis suggested to Remington that they should do the same for themselves. "Lie still," Remington ordered, "you and I don't know how to do that. Let him make his raft. If we capsize, I'll throttle him and take it from him." Fortunately, Remington's desire for self-preservation was not taxed to that degree; the storm quieted and the boat limped safely back to Key West. In a later discussion of the moral rectitude of such precipitous action against the Chinese cook, Remington remarked: "Why, Davis alone was worth a dozen sea-cooks. I don't have to talk of myself." [23]

At this juncture hope of reaching the rebel forces in Cuba via the *Vamoose* was abandoned, and Remington and Davis remained in Key West for three weeks, waiting for an opportunity to reach Havana. During this three-week period, or "three years" as Remington afterwards referred to his time in Key West, he and Davis became firm friends and were guests at numerous dinner parties, luncheons, and informal receptions. [24]

Remington disliked Key West intensely. For one seeking the hectic pace of revolution and war, it was a place of unrelieved

22. Charles Belmont Davis, ed., *Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis* (New York, 1917), 186; Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and The New* (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973), 144.
23. Augustus Thomas, "Recollections of Frederic Remington," *Century Magazine,* LXXXVI (July 1913), 357.
24. Browne, *Key West,* 145. See also Richard Harding Davis to his family, December 26, 1896, in Davis, *Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis,* 188-89.

dreariness, a "dusty smelly bit of sandy coral, and the houses are built like snaredrums; they are dismal thoroughly, and the sun makes men sweat and wish to God they were somewhere else." [25] Richard Harding Davis also complained of endlessly sitting on the hotel porch or the end of the wharf waiting for the trip to Cuba. "Nothing happens . . . except getting one's boots polished as the two industries of this place are blacking boots and driving cabs." [26]

Finally, on January 9, 1897, Remington and Davis sailed to Havana in a safe, inglorious manner on the regularly scheduled steamer *Olivette.* [27] Remington became bored and discouraged within a week as the two men encountered no military engagements. Remington allegedly wired William Randolph Hearst: "Everything is quiet. There is no trouble. There will be no war. I wish to return." Hearst's immortal reply was as follows: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." [28] Remington did not choose to remain and promptly left for New York with a portfolio of sketches. Davis was relieved that Remington had returned to New York. "He was a splendid fellow but a perfect kid and had to be humored and petted all the time." [29] Beginning in January 1897, the New York *Journal* carried a series of pictures by Remington on the Cuban situation, and the illustrations accompanied vivid accounts from the pen of Richard Harding Davis.

Remington remained in New York until the American battleship *Maine* blew up in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898. Anticipating war, he immediately journeyed to Key West. Remington was once again under contract to the New York *Journal* to do drawings and was also committed to *Harper's Weekly* for a series of journalistic pieces on the impending war with Spain. Remington desperately wanted to take part in the "splendid

25. Frederic Remington, "The War Dreams," *Harper's Weekly,* XLII (May 7, 1898), 454.
26. Richard Harding Davis to his family, January 2, 1897, in Davis, *Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis,* 191.
27. Davis, *Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis,* 186; Charles H. Brown, *The Correspondents' War: Journalists in the Spanish-American War* (New York, 1967), 78.
28. James Creelman, *On the Great Highway* (Boston, 1901), 177-78, quoted in Brown, *The Correspondents' War,* 78.
29. Richard Harding Davis to his mother, January 15, 1897, in Davis, *Adventures and Letters of Richard Harding Davis,* 193.

little war" with Spain as he had missed the Civil War and the American Indian wars. As he observed to Owen Wister, we "are getting old, and one cannot get old without having seen a war." [30] The experience of seeing a war firsthand would satisfy Remington's lifelong desire to see men do the greatest thing which men are called on to do-"He who has not seen war only half comprehends the possibilities of his race." [31] Remington regarded the war not only as an opportunity for personal fulfillment, but also a rare opportunity for an artist. The fact that the war had an exotic setting, colorful characters, and promised action on a large and violent scale made the conflict even more attractive to Remington. Finally, he linked the historical westward movement and the conquest of Cuba as part of America's grand concept of "manifest destiny." [32] He wrote his wife that he was about "to undertake quite the most eventful adventure of my life." [33]

Once again Remington and Davis had to spend several uneventful days in Key West. Davis described the scene as they marked time under the hot sun: ". . . on the porch of the hotel a row of officers in white duck and . . . correspondents in yachting-caps sat with tilted chairs . . ., in a state of depressed and sweltering silence"-awaiting the advent of warfare. [34] Remington eventually departed Key West on the battleship *Iowa* in order to witness the United States' naval blockade of Cuba. Unfortunately the ship saw no military action and never landed in Cuba. Remington was thoroughly bored with life on the *Iowa,* "the appalling sameness of this pacing works on the nerves of everyone," and he was frustrated at his repeated failure to see action. He expressed his disappointment and his desire for war in an article for *Harper's Weekly:* "I want to hear a shave-tail bawl, I want to get some dust in my throat; kick dewy grass, to see a sentry in the moonlight and to talk the language of my tribe. I resist it. I suppress myself, but my homely old first love comes to haunt me,

30. Vorphal, *My Dear Wister,* 214-15.
31. Frederic Remington, "With the Fifth Corps," *Harper's Monthly,* XCVII (November 1898), 962.
32. Vorphal, *My Dear Wister,* 215.
33. Douglas Allen, *Frederic Remington and the Spanish-American War* (New York, 1971), 8.
34. Richard Harding Davis, *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (New York, 1898). 1.

waking and sleeping. Yes, even when I look at this mountain of war material, this epitome of modern science." [35]

While on board the *Iowa,* Remington concluded that the technological aspects of modern war were distressing to him; the technology replaced the glory and spontaneity of an Indian fight. It also seemed to reduce the impact of the individual and to depersonalize his reactions.[36] To Remington, civilization had made the West "inhuman," and it had also made the sailors on the battleship *Iowa* lose their free will to the technology of the modern age. The same civilization that robbed the West of its wildness also robbed man of his free will. This development saddened Remington. [37]

Shortly thereafter Remington "deserted" his post and returned to New York for a short rest prior to the real invasion of Cuba. Remington wrote Wister that he still hoped "to see the landing in Cuba but if any yellow fever microbes come my way- I am going to duck. They are not in my contract." [38]

In May 1898, Remington arrived in Tampa, the city designated as the focal point for military operations against the Spanish. Tampa was then a community of approximately 12,000 people soon to be encircled by a huge military encampment. The troops were in Tampa for five months preparing for the war, and the camp took on the characteristics of a professional men's reunion, a county fair, and, as more troops arrived, an organizational disaster. Tampa was at the end of a railway line built by Henry B. Plant. According to Richard Harding Davis, it was nothing more than a place "chiefly composed of derelict houses drifting on an ocean of sand." From the midst of this desert arose, in magnificent splendor, the huge Tampa Bay Hotel, built by Plant. It was a "giant affair of ornamental brick and silver minarets," gingerbread decoration, giant statuary, and potted palms. This Victorian edifice was so enormous that, it was

35. Frederic Remington, "Wigwags from the Blockade," *Harper's Weekly,* XLII (May 14, 1898), 462; G. Edward White, *The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister* (New Haven, 1968), 115.
36. White, *Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience,* 115; Remington, "Wigwags from the Blockade," 462.
37. White, *Eastern Establishment* and *the Western Experience,* 120.
38. Remington to Wister, June 1898, in Vorphal, *My Dear Wister,* 232-33.

claimed, an appetite could be worked up simply by "walking from the rotunda to the dining room." [39]

The Tampa Bay Hotel quickly became the hub of the journalistic, military, and social life of the area. All the high-ranking military men, some of the best of the world's correspondents, and most of the distinguished visitors stayed in the hotel. [40] The guests included General Joseph Wheeler, General William R. Shafter, military representatives of various foreign governments, Cuban refugees, Clara Barton and her corps of nurses, and such distinguished journalists as Stephen Crane, Stephen Bonsal, and H. C. Christy, and, of course, Richard Harding Davis and Frederic Remington. [41] Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders were quartered just behind the Tampa Bay Hotel, and Roosevelt developed a close friendship with Remington and saw much of the artist throughout the campaign. [42]

For several weeks the army and the correspondents sat comfortably in the chairs on the gigantic porch of the hotel, waiting for the day when the boring routine might end and the war would begin. This segment of time was aptly named the "rocking-chair period" of the war by Richard Harding Davis. Remington was one of the best-known and most popular of all the individuals at the hotel, and he held impromptu receptions practically every day. [43] In the meantime, Remington began drawing illustrations with great rapidity. He sketched and painted the everyday existence of the army and his pictures covered every aspect of the military organization-from portraits of officers to accurate portrayals of horses. [44] These sketches were an invaluable record of army life prior to the outbreak of the war.

On June 20, 1898, Remington arrived in Cuba aboard General Shafter's headquarters ship, the *Sequranca.* He sat on the quarterdeck, sipping iced drinks with Davis and waiting for the

39. Davis, *Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns,* 46-47.
40. Allen, *Frederic Remington and the Spanish-American War,* 56.
41. Works Progress Administration, Writers Program, Florida, "Tampa" (type manuscript), 10, in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
42. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders: A History of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry* (New York, 1906), 52-53.
43. Davis, *Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns,* 56.
44. Allen, *Frederick Remington and the Spanish-American War,* 61; Vorphal, *My Dear Wister,* 233.

action to begin.[45] Remington finally got his long awaited chance to see war firsthand, and he accompanied the United States Fifth Corps into action, recording their campaign with his straightforward, spare prose. Remington witnessed the battle of San Juan Hill and wrote an account of his activities with the Fifth Corps for *Harper's Weekly*. He quickly discovered that the reality of war was far different from his romantic anticipation of it. The death and suffering unsettled Remington and made him realize that war was much more terrible than he had imagined. Remington suffered from the heat, fatigue, poor transportation, and Spanish bullets. Racked with yellow fever and haunted by the specter of dead bodies, Remington's taste for adventure palled. He gave in to his sickness and concluded that "I had finished."[46] He returned immediately to the United States having thoroughly satisfied his desire to experience war. "From now on I mean to paint fruits and flowers. Then if I'm ordered to the scene of action I can go fearlessly."[47]

Owen Wister wrote that, "Remington has taken the likeness of the modern American soldier and stamped it upon our minds with a blow as clean-cut as is the impression of the American eagle upon our coins in the mint . . . . Remington is drawing the most picturesque of the American people."[48] Fortunately, the Florida cowboys and the soldiers in the Spanish-American War were among his subjects. Because of Remington's perceptive drawings and analysis, this period of Florida's past has been recorded.

45. Vorphal, *My Dear Wister,* 233.
46. White, *Eastem Establishment and the Western Experience,* 115-16.
47. Thomas, "Recollections of Frederic Remington," 357.
48. Owen Wister, in the Introduction to Frederic Remington, *Done in the Open: Drawings by Frederic Remington* (New York, 1902), 7.

THE TAMPA FLOGGING CASE, URBAN VIGILANTISM

by ROBERT P. INGALLS *

ON NOVEMBER 30, 1935, at about nine o'clock in the evening, a group of Tampa policemen, without a warrant, entered a home at 307 East Palm Avenue and seized six men who were holding a political meeting. Four of the six were members of the Socialist party. All belonged to the Modern Democrats, a new local party that had run candidates in the recent municipal election on a platform containing socialist ideas. Now, almost a month after their candidates had been defeated by incumbents, these leaders of the Modern Democrats were being taken to police headquarters for questioning about their alleged "Communist activities." After a brief interrogation, the men were released, but three of them-Eugene F. Poulnot, Sam Rogers, and Joseph Shoemaker-were abducted by a gang waiting in cars outside police headquarters. These three, all unemployed, and known for their opposition to the city administration, were taken to a wooded area some fourteen miles from Tampa. There they were undressed and flogged, after which hot tar and feathers were applied to the wounds. The three were then warned to "get out of town in twenty-four hours or we'll kill you." Poulnot and Rogers were able to make their painful way back to Tampa, but Shoemaker, who had suffered the worst beating, collapsed and spent the night in a ditch alongside a deserted country road. The following morning, Shoemaker's friends found him and rushed him to a hospital.[1] According to one of the doctors, "He is

* Mr. Ingalls is assistant professor of history, University of South Florida, Tampa.

1. *Tampa Daily Times*, December 2, 14, 1935; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 2, 3, 13, 1935; D. M. Benson to David Lasser, December 2, 1935, vol. 835, American Civil Liberties Union Papers, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey (hereinafter cited as ACLU Papers); J. Edgar Hoover Memorandum, December 14, 1935, File No. 109-18-6, Classified General File, Records of the Department of Justice, Record Group 60, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Interview of Eugene F. Poulnot by Ian Van Buskirk, September 1973, recording in possession of author; Daniel Ruth, "Night of the Floggings," *Florida Accent*, January 19, 1975, pp. 8-11.

horribly mutilated. I wouldn't beat a hog the way that man was whipped. . . . He was beaten until he is paralyzed on one side, probably from blows on the head. . . . I doubt if three square feet would cover the total area of bloodshot bruises on his body, not counting the parts injured only by tar." [2] In a desperate attempt to save Shoemaker's life, doctors amputated his left leg, but to no avail. The victim died on December 9, nine days after the flogging. [3]

As soon as the papers carried the news of the attack on the three Modern Democrats, several national groups demanded that the floggers be punished. In the first report of the attack by the Associated Press there was no hint of police complicity, but Tampa's two newspapers quickly learned from Eugene Poulnot that he had recognized a policeman among the mob. [4] Fearing that Tampa authorities would not vigorously pursue the case, friends of the victims appealed for help from national organizations. [5] Norman Thomas and the Socialist party took the lead since Poulnot and Rogers were members, and Shoemaker had been a former member. Upon learning of the beating, Thomas, in telegrams to Tampa's mayor, R. E. L. Chancey, and to the Hillsborough County sheriff, J. R. McLeod, demanded immediate action against the assailants. To focus attention on the case, Socialists in New York organized the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, a coalition headed by Norman Thomas and supported by Socialist groups and unions. [6] They

2. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 4, 1935.
3. *Ibid.*, December 10, 1935.
4. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 2, 1935; *Tampa Daily Times*, December 3, 1935.
5. The Socialist party had virtually disappeared in Florida during the 1920s, but it claimed 188 members in the state by 1935. This exceeded the party membership in any other southern state. Tampa's local chapter, organized in 1931, was one of the more active, providing much of the leadership for the Socialist party in Florida during the 1930s. Report of M. E. Edson, May 1931, Box 537, Socialist Party Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina (hereinafter cited as SPP); Membership Report by State, 1928-1935, Box 145, *ibid.*
6. Frank McCallister to Norman Thomas, December 1, 1935, Labor and Socialist Press, Service, December 6, 1935, vol. 835, ACLU Papers; Thomas to R. E. L. Chancey, December 2, 1935, Thomas to J. R. McLeod, December 2, 1935, Thomas to McCallister, December 4, 1935, Norman Thomas Papers, New York Public Library; National Executive Committee, Memorandum Number 3, January 4, 1936, p. 5, Box 145, SPP; Minutes of Board Meeting, December 18, 1935, Box 1, League for Industrial Democracy Papers, Tamiment Library, New York University;

began a fund-raising and letter-writing campaign designed to "bring down upon the heads of government in the city of Tampa the full force of public indignation everywhere." [7] The American Civil Liberties Union offered a $1,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the guilty persons. Additional support came from the American Federation of Labor (AFL) which had scheduled its 1936 convention for Tampa. Following Shoemaker's death, William Green, the president of the union, issued a statement saying it was "altogether probable" that the group would transfer its convention to another city unless those involved were tried and, if found guilty, were punished. [8]

As pressure mounted, many Floridians condemned the floggings. In communities across the state, newspaper editors deplored the crime. The Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* found the crime "so revolting that no civilized community or state can permit it to go unpunished." [9] The *Miami Herald* declared the mob responsible "as venomous as a mad dog, and its leaders should be dealt with just as dispassionately as we would a rabid animal." [10] The *Tampa Tribune* reported: "No crime in the history of Hillsborough County has brought so great a clamor for punishment of the guilty." The city's papers joined in the rising tide of protest by giving front page coverage to the case. Numerous editorials argued that the city "must ferret out and punish the perpetrators of this outrage." [11] Resolutions deploring the crime and calling for action came from many local groups including labor unions, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the

New Leader, December 7, 1935; *Socialist Call*, December 7, 14, 1935. The Communist party publicly endorsed the Socialist party campaign to secure punishment of the floggers. *Daily Worker*, December 6, 11, 1935.

7. During the following year, the committee raised over $7,600, which was used to finance extensive publicity and to pay salaries for staff members and investigators. Leading contributors to the committee included the American Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, Financial Statement, November 1, 1936, vol. 931, ACLU Papers.
8. ACLU Press Release, December 2, 1935, vol. 835, *ibid.; American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service*, December 14, 1935; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 4, 9, 12, 13, 1935.
9. Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, December 16, 1935.
10. *Miami Herald*, December 13, 1935.
11. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 11, 1935; *Tampa Daily Times*, December 4, 1935. For similar editorials, see *Tampa Daily Times*, December 9-11, 13-14, 16, 1935; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 6, 8, 13, 1935.

American Legion, and the Hillsborough County Bar Association. [12] On the Sunday afternoon following Shoemaker's death, Tampa's leading ministers held a public memorial service in the municipal auditorium which was attended by about 1,000 people and was broadcast over a local radio station. Walter Metcalf, pastor of the prestigious First Congregational Church and the head of the local Ministerial Association, became chairman of a group calling itself the Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties in Tampa, which pledged cooperation with other organizations in the campaign to ferret out and punish the floggers. [13]

A number of reasons help explain this public outcry. Although similar in some ways to other acts of mob violence that went largely unnoticed at the time, the Tampa case had several unusual features. As the *New Republic* observed, "When Southern white men lynch a Negro, that's not news. When Southern white men, under the eyes of local police and apparently with tacit approval, kidnap a white man and beat him so badly he dies, that is perhaps something else again." [14] The nature of the crime, resulting in Shoemaker's death, undoubtedly stirred many people. As one newspaper pointed out, "Even calloused minds might flinch from a thing so horrible-tar and feathers, a gangrenous leg, amputation and death that closed mumbling lips." [15] The citizens of Tampa also saw their city's reputation on trial; this incident was only the latest in a series of lawless acts. Since 1931, at least three labor organizers had been beaten in Tampa, and a variety of violence had plagued recent city elections. [16] Therefore, in the wake of the flogging of the three Modern Democrats, the *Tampa Tribune* warned: "Tampa cannot afford to 'pass up' this latest outbreak of local lawlessness." [17]

The political nature of the floggings also made them a cause celebre. Several newspapers labeled Shoemaker's death "a po-

12. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* December 6, 11, 1935.
13. *Ibid.,* December 15, 18, 1935; Walter Metcalf to Harold E. Fey, January 31, 1936, vol. 931, ACLU Papers; Walter Metcalf, "Tampa Repents," *Fellowship,* II (February 1936), clipping in vol. 931, ACLU Papers; "Tampa's Fatal Flogging," *Literary Digest,* 120 (December 28, 1935), 7.
14. "A Man Is Killed," *New Republic,* LXXXV (December 25, 1935), 187.
15. *Bradenton Herald,* December 18, 1935.
16. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 5, 1931; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* January 12, 1936; *Detroit News,* March 26, 1936.
17. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* December 6, 1935.

litical murder." [18] As such the Tampa case raised fears of fascism in some minds. According to one Socialist journal, "All Florida has awakened, temporarily, at least, to the realization that an Americanized Fascism has come to the land of orange groves." [19] While some observers linked the crime to the Nazi terror that was rising in Europe, others tied it directly to an old American tradition-vigilantism. The American Civil Liberties Union called it a "vigilante attack." [20]

Recent studies of American violence support the view that the Tampa flogging case was an example of vigilantism. Simply defined as "taking the law into one's own hands," vigilantism is usually associated with the frontier where it was often used to deal with horse thieves, cattle rustlers, and other outlaws. But with the disappearance of the frontier, violence began to be employed against new victims-not common criminals but "Catholics, Jews, Negroes, immigrants, laboring men and labor leaders, political radicals, advocates of civil liberties, and nonconformists in general." [21] As the victims changed, so too did the setting for vigilante activities shift from the countryside to the city. Yet, like its frontier counterpart, urban vigilantism remained a violent, illegal means of preserving the status quo against any perceived threat. Events surrounding the Tampa floggings show they were clearly an expression of vigilantism, meaning "establishment violence." [22]

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18. *St. Petersburg Times,* December 11, 1935; "What Is Americanism?" *Common Sense,* V (February 1936), 5.
19. *Socialist Call,* December 28, 1935.
20. ACLU Press Release, December 8, 1953, vol. 835, ACLU Papers. See also: "Vigilante Brutality," *Common Sense,* V (January 1936), 5; *Tampa-Tar and Terror* (New York, n.d.), 15, in vol. 931, ACLU Papers.
21. Richard Maxwell Brown, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism* (New York, 1975), 23.
22. Two political scientists, H. Jon Rosenbaum and Peter C. Sederberg, have generally defined vigilantism as "establishment violence." That is, illegitimate or illegal coercion by "certain groups that believe they possess a vested interest in the preservation of the current distribution of values." Vigilante violence aimed at maintaining the existing socio-political order is thus distinguished from "revolutionary" and "reactionary" violence, both of which are directed at change. In their commitment to the status quo, vigilantes, according to Rosenbaum and Sederberg, "compose an establishment though not necessarily an elite." That is, whether prominent or not, vigilantes are people who identify with the existing order and use violence to maintain it. H. Jon Rosenbaum and Peter C. Sederberg, "Vigilantism: An Analysis of Establishment Violence," in *Vigilante Politics,* ed. by Rosenbaum and Sederberg (Philadelphia, 1976), 3-6.

By 1935, Tampa was a growing urban community with a population of some 100,000 people. Its port was particularly active, exporting citrus and phosphates. Tampa's main business was cigar-making, which produced a net profit of $273,000 on almost $10,000,000 in sales during 1935. [23] However, Tampa's richest source of profits may well have been gambling. In a 1935 study of this well-organized but illegal business, the Junior Chamber of Commerce estimated that the numbers racket, known locally as "bolita," took in over $1,000,000 a month and employed approximately 1,000 people. Exposing what it branded "Our Biggest Business," the *Tampa Tribune* reported that the peak load on the local telephone service came around nine o'clock in the evening when the players called to find out the lucky number for the day. Syndicates which controlled Tampa's gambling allegedly insured a steady flow of illicit profits by paying local authorities for protection. As a result, public office could prove highly rewarding, and Tampa politics degenerated, into battles to determine which faction would win access to the graft. Although difficult to document, this view of Tampa was widely held. [24]

The 1935 municipal primary revealed Tampa politics at its worst. Since the so-called "White Municipal party" had long governed the city, victory in the primary was tantamount to election. In 1935, two political factions bitterly fought for control of Tampa's city government. One group was headed by Pat Whitaker, a leading criminal lawyer and former state legislator, whose brother-in-law, Robert E. Lee Chancey, had been elected mayor of Tampa in 1931. The challenging slate of candidates was led by D. B. McKay, formerly owner of the *Tampa Times* and Chancey's predecessor as mayor. During the 1935 primary, Chancey and McKay each accused the other of having engaged in election fraud and with cooperating with the underworld. The election campaign threatened to be especially explosive since the city machine controlled the Tampa police department while its

23. Federal Writers' Project, Florida, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* (New York, 1939), 90-92, 284-88; A. Stuart Campbell and W. Porter McLendon, *The Cigar Industry of Tampa, Florida* (Gainesville, 1939), 152.

24. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, September 19, December 4, 1935; *Tampa Daily Times*, February 27, 1936; Hubert Herring, "Tampa Warns America," *Christian Century*, LIII (March 4, 1936), 359-60; Federal Writers' Project, "Seeing Tampa," typescript (n.p., 1937), 16-17, Florida Collection, University of South Florida Library, Tampa.

political enemies dominated the county government, including the sheriff's office. Sharing official responsibility for overseeing elections, each side tried to put on a show of force. On election day, September 3, the city bolstered its police force with over 1,000 special policemen, while the sheriff deputized 600 extra men. To prevent violence between the well-armed factions, Governor David Sholtz ordered 300 national guardsmen in to patrol the city. The primary resulted in victory for the incumbent Chancey administration, but at a heavy price. Two men were shot, and over fifty people-including city employees-were arrested for stuffing ballot boxes. Tampa's reputation suffered still further from the unfavorable publicity. [25] On the morning after the primary, the *Tampa Tribune* warned: "Tampa must get away from this sort of thing-when, with no important issue or interest at stake, the selfish rivalry of competing factions of politicians and of grasping gambling syndicates, each fighting for control of the offices and the law-breaking privileges, can involve the city in a heated, disrupting and discreditable fight such as we experienced yesterday." [26]

One close observer of the primary was Joseph Shoemaker who served as poll watcher for the city administration. Disturbed by what he saw, Shoemaker organized a new party to challenge the city machine in the November general election. Although he had moved to Florida only a few months earlier, Shoemaker had been active in the Socialist party in Vermont until he was formally ejected in 1934 for endorsing the New Deal and Democratic party candidates.[27] In Tampa he created a party called the Modern Democrats, dedicated to "production for use instead of profit." Drawing on the ideas of moderate socialists such as

25. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* August 27-31, September 1-4, 1935; *New York Times,* September 3-4, 1935; *Tampa Daily Times,* February 29, 1936; Adiel J. Moncrief, Jr. to the Editor, *Christian Century,* LIII (March 25, 1936), 469; "Civil Liberties in Tampa," Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, *Information Service,* XV (May 9, 1936), 1-3; "Robert E. Lee Chancey," "D. B. McKay," and "Pat Whitaker," in William J. Placie, ed., *Prominent Personalities of Tampa* (Tampa, 1942); Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa And The Tampa Bay Region of Florida,* ed. D. B. McKay (St. Petersburg, 1950), 282-83, 332-33.
26. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* September 4, 1935.
27. *Ibid.,* December 10, 13, 1935; Norman Thomas to Mary Sanford, December 30, 1935, Alice C. Voorhis to Thomas, December 23, 1935, Henry B. Walbridge to Sanford, January 2, 1936, Thomas Papers.

Upton Sinclair, Shoemaker explained the platform of the Modern Democrats in a series of letters published by the *Tampa Tribune.* He called for a ten-point program including public ownership of utilities, free hospital care for the needy, monthly investigations of city departments, an effective referendum law, and a system whereby the unemployed could produce goods for their own use. In a weak attempt to avoid charges of communism, Shoemaker declared: "The biggest cooperative enterprise in the United States is our postoffice. Is this communism? If so, we want more of it." He also promised a "new deal" for Tampa if voters elected Miller A. Stephens, a mechanic who was the mayoral candidate of the Modern Democrats. In addition, the party offered a candidate for tax assessor and another for the board of aldermen. [28]

Shoemaker's Modern Democrats picked up the support of local Socialists, especially those in the Workers' Alliance, a national organization of relief workers which had strong ties to the Socialist party. It also had the support of the American Federation of Labor. Florida's branch of the Workers' Alliance was headed by Eugene Poulnot, an unemployed pressman who had been labelled a troublemaker by local authorities. After the flogging of Poulnot and his two political allies, Mayor Chancey remarked: "From the time Tampa's local Relief Work Council was organized in 1931 and until the present time, Eugene Poulnot has been an agitator, consistently trying to stir up strife among relief clients." [29] Poulnot's activities included organizing the Unemployed Brotherhood of Hillsborough County and leading demonstrations for higher relief payments. At one such rally in 1934, he was arrested by the police and charged with a breach of the peace after allegedly telling a crowd of fellow relief workers: "If they don't give us the relief we want, let's go open a warehouse and take what we need." [30] The charge was subsequently dropped, and

28. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* October 11, 13, 28, 31, November 1, 4, 1935. Quotes from *ibid.,* October 27, 29, 1935. Shoemaker was the Florida agent for a variety of socialist-oriented journals including the *American Guardian, Common Sense,* and *National Epic News.* Herman Wolf, "And Southern Death," *Common Sense,* V (February 1936), 12.
29. R. E. L. Chancey to Aubrey Williams, November 17, 1935, folder 641-P, Florida State File, Works Projects Administration Papers, Record Group 69, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
30. *Tampa Daily Times,* February 26, 1936. See also: *Tampa Morning Tribune,* May 11, 13, 1934; D. M. Benson to ACLU, May 11, 1934, vol. 741, ACLU Papers; David Lasser, "Socialists and the Unemployed," *American Socialist Monthly,* V (June 1936), 10-14.

Poulnot continued his work on behalf of the unemployed. As Socialist party members, both Poulnot and his close friend, Sam Rogers, campaigned for the Modern Democrats.

Although their candidates were defeated in November 1935, the Modern Democrats remained active. [31] They held rallies and formed a permanent organization in preparation for county and state elections the following year. Shoemaker also continued to have his letters published in the *Tampa Tribune.* He used them to explain a new cooperative system of production based on the ideas of the American Commonwealth Federation. His last letter, offering to debate this plan with anyone at any time, appeared four days before he and his friends were kidnapped and beaten. [32]

Protests against the vigilante attack emphasized its political roots. At the Tampa memorial service for Joseph Shoemaker, Reverend Metcalf explained why he thought the crime had occurred: "These victims did not like the looks of our infamous primary election with hundreds of armed men at the polls. They did not like to think of nearly half the population of Tampa on relief rolls. Such men were branded as 'reds.' " [33]

The national Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa agreed. Its first public statement declared: "The man who was murdered and his friends who were tortured and kidnapped were marked for only one reason: they had the courage to organize workers and to oppose a corrupt and tyrannical political machine. They took seriously their rights as workers and citizens and by their activity became undesirable to certain persons in the community of Tampa." [34]

Official investigations of the crime lent credence to these charges. Tampa authorities initially reacted to accusations of police complicity by attempting a cover up. After a two-day inquiry, Tampa's chief of police, R. G. Tittsworth, reported that "no member of the police department had any participation directly or indirectly with the flogging." [35] Although the city seemed

31. In the mayoral race, Mayor Chancey defeated Stephens of the Modern Democrats by a vote of 10,768 to 919. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* November 6, 1935.
32. *Ibid.,* November 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 26, 1935.
33. *Ibid.,* December 16, 1935.
34. Norman Thomas and Mary Fox, "Can It Happen Here?," December 13, 1935, vol. 835, ACLU Papers.
35. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* December 6, 1935.

reluctant to press the case, county and state officials, under orders from Governor David Sholtz, pushed ahead. The sheriff of Hillsborough County, J. R. McLeod, had no political ties to the city administration. Formerly a Tampa newspaperman and district director of the Works Progress Administration, McLeod had been recently appointed to office by Governor Sholtz, who had dismissed the previous sheriff for "drunkenness, incompetency, and neglect of duty in office." [36]

Since the flogging of the Modern Democrats had occurred in his jurisdiction, McLeod began collecting evidence as soon as he learned of the crime. He worked cooperatively with J. Rex Farrior, the state attorney for Hillsborough County, who had responsibility for prosecuting murder cases. As they proceeded with their investigation, McLeod and Farrior revealed pieces of incriminating evidence that indicated the attack was premeditated. Evidence showed that one of the six Modern Democrats originally picked up by police was John A. McCaskill, a city fireman and the son of a policeman. A recent convert to the *cause* of the Modern Democrats, McCaskill had briefly left the fateful meeting on November 30, in order to find Poulnot who had not yet appeared. Shortly after Poulnot arrived with McCaskill, the police carried all six Modern Democrats to headquarters where their names were entered in the detention book. However, McCaskill's name was later obliterated and a fictitious one substituted. [37]

As evidence of police involvement mounted and demands for arrests increased, local officials were forced to take action. On December 9, the day of Shoemaker's death, Mayor Chancey started his own inquiry, and he threatened to discharge any police officer who withheld information. A week later, Sheriff McLeod and State Attorney Farrior began presenting evidence to a grand jury. Mayor Chancey then suspended John McCaskill, the city fireman who had joined the Modern Democrats, apparently to spy for the police. The mayor also suspended the five city policemen and two special policemen who had allegedly raided the meeting of the Modern Democrats without a warrant. The following day, December 18, five of the seven policemen were arrested and

36. *Ibid.*, October 11, 1935; David Sholtz to Aletha Ellsworth, January 16, 1936, vol. 931, ACLU Papers.
37. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* December 5, 10-12, 1935.

charged with the premeditated murder of Joseph Shoemaker. The list of charges was later expanded to a total of six including the kidnapping and assault of Poulnot and Rogers. A sixth person indicted was another policeman who had been tried and found innocent of vote fraud in the September primary. [38] With the announcement of these indictments, Chief of Police Tittsworth announced that he was taking an indefinite leave of absence. A month later he was indicted as an accessory after the fact for attempting to block investigation of the crime. [39]

Meanwhile, additional evidence had been uncovered that pointed to the participation of the Ku Klux Klan in the crime. Joseph Shoemaker's brother revealed that shortly before the flogging he had received a telephone call with the warning: "This is the Ku Klux Klan. We object to your brother's activities. They are Communistic. Tell him to leave town. We will take care of the other radicals, too." [40]

The *Tampa Tribune* printed a copy of a Klan circular that was widely distributed in the wake of the brutal attack. Declaring "Communism Must Co," the leaflet proclaimed, "THE KU KLUX KLAN RIDES AGAIN." The Klan pledged "to fight to the last ditch and the last man against any and all attacks on our government and its American institutions." The circular concluded with an appeal for help and gave a Tampa post office box as a mailing address. [41] Three days after publication of this leaflet, Sheriff McLeod arrested two alleged Klan members from Orlando and charged them with assaulting Shoemaker. Another Orlando man was subsequently taken into custody and also charged with

38. *Ibid.*, December 17-19, 1935; *New York Times*, December 15-19, 1935. Those indicted were J. P. Bridges, C. A. Brown, C. W. Carlisle, R. L. Chappell, S. E. Crosby, and F. W. Switzer.
39. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 18, 24, 1935, January 24, 1936; *New York Times*, December 25, 1935, January 25, 1936.
40. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 12, 1936.
41. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 20, 1935. Both contemporary observers and historians have emphasized that the KKK wielded strong influence in Tampa during this period. Edward Miraglia to Roger N. Baldwin, December 17, 1935, Baldwin to George B. Parker, December 19, 1935, vol. 835, ACLU Papers; George Clifton Edwards to Norman Thomas, January 6, 1936, Thomas Papers; *Detroit News*, March 24, 26, 27, 1936; Frank Shay, *Judge Lynch: His First Hundred Years* (New York, 1938), 234-35; Arnold Rice, *The Ku Klux Klan In American Politics* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 96; David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965* (Garden City, New York, 1965), 312. For a Klan statement of its popularity in Tampa, see the *Kourier*, XI (March 1935), 43.

participating in the flogging. According to McLeod, all three Orlando men were Klan members who had served as special policemen in Tampa's September primary. [42] The indictment of a police stenographer, as an accessory after the fact, brought to eleven the number of persons charged in the flogging case. [43] At one time or another, all eleven had been employed by the Tampa police department. The eight who worked for the city at the time of the flogging were part of the local establishment although none, except perhaps for Police Chief Tittsworth, could be considered a member of the community's elite.

Prominent Tampans went to the aid of the accused. The chief defense attorney was Pat Whitaker, Mayor Chancey's brother-in-law, who was widely considered as a possible candidate for governor in 1936. Bail bonds for the accused, amounting to almost $100,000 in all, were provided by a group of local businessmen, including Eli Witt, owner of Hav-A-Tampa Cigar Company; D. Hoyt Woodbery, secretary-treasurer of Hav-A-Tampa; E. L. Rotureau, president of Tampa Stevedoring Company; and Edward W. Spencer, owner of Spencer Auto Electric, Inc. [44]

The indictment of the policemen brought praise from Norman Thomas, the perennial candidate for president on the Socialist party ticket. On Sunday, January 19, 1936, Thomas arrived in Tampa, where he spoke to a cheering crowd of 2,000 people at a rally sponsored by the local Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties in Tampa. Thomas attacked the "men higher up" who "protect and maybe order [floggings]; the politicians who profit by such things; the economic interests who are intent upon putting fear in their workers." Yet he praised Tampans also. "This is the first time in American history," he declared, "that any floggers ever have been brought to justice, and perhaps some of the higher-ups reached." He attributed the indictments to the courageous efforts of Reverend Metcalf, Sheriff McLeod, the *Tampa Tribune,* and the *Tampa Times.* [45]

42. The men from Orlando were Arlie F. Gillian, Edward Spivey, and James Dean. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* December 23, 24, 29, 1935.
43. The stenographer was Manuel A. Menendez. *Ibid.,* February 15, 1936.
44. *Ibid.,* December 20, 24, 29, 1935; *Tampa Daily Times,* February 28, 1936; *Polk's Tampa City Directory,* XXIV (1935); "Edward W. Spencer" and "Eli Witt" in Placie, *Prominent Personalities of Tampa;* Grismer, *Tampa,* 388-89, 398-99.
45. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* January 20, 1936; Norman Thomas to J. R. McLeod, January 28, 1936, Thomas Papers.

Seven of the accused policemen went on trial in March 1936.[46] Defense lawyers won a change of venue to Bartow, in neighboring Polk County, because they believed that the extensive publicity would make it difficult to find an impartial jury in Tampa. Six of the seven defendants were charged with four counts each relating to the kidnapping of Eugene Poulnot. Former Police Chief Tittsworth was charged with being an accessory after the fact. Prosecution witnesses, including Poulnot and several policemen, identified five of the defendants as participants in the kidnapping that had occurred in front of police headquarters, The police officers who testified for the prosecution testified that they had originally concealed the facts of the case because they feared they would lose their jobs if they told the truth. However, after Tittsworth stepped down as police chief, they had told prosecutors all they knew. In cross-examination, defense attorneys tried to paint prosecution witnesses as liars or Communists. Asserting that "communism stands for social equality of all races," a defense lawyer made the point that police raiding the meeting of the Modern Democrats had seized a picture showing a white man and a Negro shaking hands under the caption, "Equalization." In rebuttal, prosecutors exhibited records which showed that the Modern Democrats advocated change through legal political methods. Furthermore, minutes of their meetings disclosed that they regularly sang "America" and read excerpts from the United States Constitution.[47]

At the end of the long six-week trial the defense presented its case. It first moved for a directed verdict of acquittal which Judge Robert T. Dewell granted for two defendants, the former police chief and Robert Chappell, a policeman, whom no one had directly linked to the kidnapping. Judge Dewell also reduced the charges against the remaining five defendants by eliminating counts related to an alleged conspiracy to kidnap Poulnot. Left with a single charge of kidnapping, the defense provided only twenty-seven minutes of testimony, all designed to attack the credibility of Poulnot. In final arguments to the jury, the prosecu-

46. The defendants were J. P. Bridges, C. A. Brown, C. W. Carlisle, R. L. Chappell, S. E. Crosby, F. W. Switzer, and R. G. Tittsworth.
47. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* April 1, April 14-May 13, 1936. Quote from April 15, 1936. The *New York Times* and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* also covered the trial on a daily basis.

tion appealed for conviction in order to preserve the constitutional rights of free speech and freedom of assembly. Pat Whitaker claimed that the real issue was the Communist threat to Anglo-Saxon civilization. [48]

In a surprise decision, the six-man jury returned verdicts of guilty. The outcome astounded the defense and prosecution alike, because no one had expected any local jury to convict in such a case. But the jurors, who deliberated less than three hours, told reporters there was no question in their minds. One juror commented, "Communism and all that stuff had nothing to do with the case." Another, a former deputy sheriff, declared: "What got us was the way those policemen, supposed to be the law enforcement officers, went right out and participated in an unlawful act." Each of the five policemen was sentenced to a four-year prison term, but were released on bail pending appeal. [49]

Many observers believed that the guilty verdicts represented a turning point in Florida justice. The American Civil Liberties Union hailed the convictions as "a victory in the fight for civil rights in Florida and the beginning of a drive against the Ku Klux Klan." [50] A socialist newspaper called the jury decision "the most stunning blow against vigilantism ever struck in Florida." However, this journal warned its readers that the trial was only the first round in the fight for civil liberties because the "convicted kidnappers may still be cleared by legal maneuvers in the Florida Supreme Court." [51]

This suspicion proved correct. On July 1, 1937, over a year after the guilty verdicts were handed down, Florida's highest tribunal overturned the convictions because the trial judge had failed to inform the jury that it could not consider evidence related to the charges of conspiracy to kidnap which the judge had dismissed. Therefore, the Florida Supreme Court ordered a new trial for the five policemen who had been found guilty of kidnapping Poulnot. While awaiting retrial on the charge of kidnapping, the five defendants were prosecuted in October 1937, for the murder of Joseph Shoemaker. After severely limiting the admissible evidence, the same trial judge, Robert Dewell, directed

48. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* May 14-24, 1936.
49. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* May 23-24, 1936.
50. ACLU Press Release, June 5, 1936, vol. 931, ACLU Papers.
51. *Socialist Call,* May 30, 1936.

verdicts of acquittal. In June 1938, a retrial on the kidnapping charge resulted in a jury finding of not guilty. [52]

Although the Tampa floggings went unpunished, the evidence points to the attack as an example of vigilantism, defined as establishment violence intended to preserve vested interests. Shoemaker, Poulnot, and Rogers had challenged the status quo in Tampa by organizing the unemployed and running independent candidates opposed to municipal corruption. In contrast to the Modern Democrats who relied on peaceful, legal methods, their opponents resorted to violent, illegal means. Perceiving the Modern Democrats as a threat, city employees acting in both official and unofficial capacities used vigilante tactics. The campaign of law-breaking began when policemen raided the meeting of the Modern Democrats without a warrant. The well-organized gang of floggers then kidnapped the victims with the help of policemen, according to witnesses. City police initially responded to the crime by trying to cover up for fellow officers. When policemen and Klansmen were indicted as a result of public pressure, they won support from leading members of the community, including the mayor's brother-in-law. The policemen ultimately went free, but strong evidence remained of official complicity in the crime.

The apparent success of vigilantism encouraged its further use in Tampa. Although the Modern Democrats disappeared, vigilantes continued to violate the civil liberties of radicals and labor organizers. During the period of 1936-1938, the American Civil Liberties Union annually ranked Tampa as one of the worst "centers of repression" in the United States. [53]

The flogging case indicates that the violence in Tampa was not random or meaningless. On the contrary, it was a systematic, though illegal, method of protecting the existing order from any perceived threats, even legal ones. As such, the failure to punish the vigilante murderers of Joseph Shoemaker remained, in the words of the *Tampa Tribune,* "a grim and ineradicable indictment of Florida, its courts, its citizenship." [54]

52. *Brown et al. v. State,* 175 So. 515 (1937); *New York Times,* October 4-15, 1937, June 5, 11, 1938.
53. American Civil Liberties Union, *Let Freedom Ring! The Story of Civil Liberty, 1936-37* (New York, 1937), 12; American Civil Liberties Union, *Eternal Vigilance! The Story of Civil Liberty, 1937-1938* (New York, 1938), 13.
54. *Tampa Morning Tribune,* June 12, 1938.

TURMOIL AT BIG CYPRESS: SEMINOLE DEER AND THE FLORIDA CATTLE TICK CONTROVERSY

by KENNETH R. PHILP *

INDIAN COMMISSIONER John Collier and Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, who was accompanied by his wife and son, left Washington, D.C., during the early spring of 1935 to meet with representatives of approximately 600 Seminole Indians who lived on three reservations and on scattered plots of land in Florida. Their purpose was to honor the one-hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Second Seminole War and to conclude an informal peace treaty with these native Americans. [1] After their arrival at West Palm Beach on March 18, Commissioner Collier requested that officials from the Dania Seminole Agency take them to an Indian settlement that had not yet been touched by white influence rather than one along the tourist-traveled Tamiami Trail. The next day the party visited Johnny Buster's camp at Deep Lake. [2]

Collier demonstrated his highly idealistic and mystical approach to Indian affairs when he later wrote that this delegation entered the Everglades and eventually followed a "velvet-dark loam" path and crossed numerous logs leading into a tropical jungle before reaching, at twilight, the small encampment of thirty Seminoles. Collier was impressed with the Indians' colorful dress which glittered in "the gathering tropical dimness." He exchanged a few words with the Seminoles, who made no claim to represent the tribe officially, but the commissioner felt that the Indian hand clasps, "vibrant with a heatless fire," revealed gentle and sensitive men and women "possessed of the long-lost, unrecoverable wilderness heritage." [3]

* Mr. Philp is associate professor of history, University of Texas at Arlington.

1. *New York Times*, March 17, 1935.
2. J. L. Glenn, 1935 Annual Report of the Seminole Agency, Dania, Florida, Narrative Reports, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereinafter cited as Glenn Report.
3. John Collier, "With Secretary Ickes and the Seminoles," *Harlow's Weekly* (1935), 7-8, in Envelope 4, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives.

Collier and his party then returned to West Palm Beach. On March 20, Secretary Ickes told an audience of local whites and Indians that the Seminoles had successfully defied the authority of the United States for over 100 years. He praised the bravery and skill of these Indians who had fought and beaten a much larger army, but insisted that it was time to replace old animosities with friendship. Ickes and Collier used interpreters to tell the Seminoles about the newly-created Everglades National Park and the need to end the bootlegging and commercial camps along the Tamiami Trail. [4]

Local officials of the Indian Bureau had hoped that all of the important Seminole leaders would participate in this conference, but many stayed in their camps. They were suspicious of the government. Their oral tradition still recalled how Osceola had been captured under a flag of truce. With so many chiefs absent, it would be impossible to sign a formal agreement, but a "group" of Seminoles presented a petition formulated during the previous day which criticized whites for "coming into the last remnant of our homeland" and for killing their game and draining their waterways. This petition also asked for per capita payments of $15 per month for the loss of Seminole property, additional land grants, and nurses to improve health conditions. [5]

While Ickes and Collier declared that annuities were no longer possible, they did promise to bring the Seminoles under the various programs of the Indian New Deal. They discussed plans to increase the production of the Indians' arts and crafts, provide them with additional land and cattle for subsistence farming, and guaranteed that the government would protect their wilderness area and its game from outside disturbance. [6]

Collier made the latter promise because he doubted whether it would be wise to "civilize" the Seminoles. They had created "physical and social structures most delicate, yet ample, and life sustaining." He thought that "no other structure would uphold their spiritual life at all. And it is by the spirit that they live." Consequently, the commissioner wanted to minimize interference by Indian Service officials "and by the anthropologists and the missionaries." He also questioned the "wisdom of schooling the

4. *Ibid.*
5. Glenn Report.
6. Collier, "With Secretary Ickes and the Seminoles," 7-8.

Seminoles," but concluded that a few of their young people "might mediate between the tribe and the white world" by receiving an education that stressed English language skills, personal hygiene, and courses in biology and zoology so they could become "wild life conservationists." [7]

Despite these qualms, Collier kept his earlier pledges to improve the economic condition of the Seminoles and bring them the benefits of the Indian New Deal. Congress enacted legislation a few months later which enabled the Department of the Interior to block out the 35,000-acre Big Cypress reservation in Hendry County. [8] The commissioner also found $40 a month jobs for many individuals in the Works Progress Administration, opened a day school at Brighton with the help of volunteer Indian labor, and acquired surplus stock so the northern Cow Creek Seminoles could start raising cattle on the Glades County Brighton reservation near the upper end of Lake Okeechobee. [9]

The Seminoles responded cautiously to these overtures. On March 30, 1935, they voted 21-0 to accept the Indian Reorganization Act, but refused to draw up a constitution or charter of incorporation that would enable them to borrow money from a revolving credit fund and create self-government patterned after white majority rule. This small turnout from 295 eligible voters reaffirmed the Seminole belief in individual autonomy and made it clear they preferred to leave their traditional tribal organization intact. [10] Nevertheless, many Indians wanted to increase their contact with whites, and four years later sixty Seminoles attended the New York World's Fair. They reproduced a village similar to those found in Florida, displayed their arts and crafts, and demonstrated the technique of alligator fighting in a specially-constructed pool. [11]

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7. *Ibid.*
8. *Congressional Record,* 74th Cong., 1st sess., 1935, vol. 79, pt. 5, p. 4673.
9. *New York Times,* November 20, 1938; Senate, *Hearing on S. 1476, Eradicating Cattle Tick, Seminole Indian Reservation, Fla.,* 77th Cong., 1st sess., 1941, 39 (hereinafter cited as Senate Hearing-Tick); House, *Hearing on S. 1476, Eradicating Cattle Tick, Seminole Indian Reservation, Fla.,* 77th Cong., 1st sess., 1941-1942, 33 (hereinafter cited as *House Hearing-Tick).*
10. Theodore H. Hass, *Ten Years of Tribal Government Under IRA* (Washington, D.C., 1947), 16; Merwyn S. Garbarino, *Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community* (New York, 1972), 99-100, 127-28.
11. *New York Times,* April 19, 1939.

Unfortunately, these improved relations deteriorated when the United States Department of Agriculture announced that the Seminoles' deer would have to be destroyed. Supposedly infested with a tropical tick, *Boophilus annulatus,* variety *australis,* the deer threatened the rapid growth of the Florida cattle industry. [12] Collier and Ickes refused to cooperate with the tick eradication program. They had earlier promised to preserve the Indians' wilderness, and they were also concerned with broader ecological questions. Agriculture's decision not only increased Seminole mistrust, it also shattered previous interdepartmental cooperation and symbolized the decreasing effectiveness of New Deal reform.

The Department of Agriculture first became involved in tick eradication under the provisions of a 1906 act of Congress. It soon discovered that the cattle in Alabama, Arkansas, California, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia were infested with a tick which caused the animals to have a fever of the spleen or the milt. Many cattle died, and those that lived were of poor quality. The ticks pierced their hides which then had little commercial value. Consequently, officials in the United States Bureau of Animal Industry established quarantine areas in these fifteen states and spent over $50,000,000 to help cattlemen dip their stock. Eventually, all of the South and Southwest was rendered tick-free with the exception of Florida and small sections of Texas near the Mexican border.

Florida was the last state to participate in this joint tick eradication endeavor. In 1923 the state legislature authorized the Florida Livestock and Sanitary Board and other local authorities to cooperate with the federal government. Florida spent over $3,500,000 and worked closely with the Department of Agriculture to improve the quality of its cattle. But unforeseen difficulties occurred when ticks continued to appear on cattle that had been dipped near swampy areas and game preserves in the middle of the state. After consulting with the Bureau of Animal Industry and the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, members of the Florida Livestock and Sanitary Board concluded that tick-infested deer in the swamps were the villains, and they secured

12. J. H. Baker, "Deer and Seminoles Take to Cover: Cattle Fever Tick on Deer in the Seminole Reservation," *Audubon Magazine,* 43 (May 1941), 286-88.

legislation in 1937 that permitted the slaughter of these animals in Highlands, Glades, Orange, and Osceola counties. [13]

During the next two years the state paid some 150 hunters $80 a month to shoot 700 deer. This legalized poaching, which successfully ended the reoccurence of ticks, brought protests from local women's clubs, teachers, sportsmen who belonged to the Rod and Reel Club, and conservation organizations such as the Manatee County Fish and Game Association. [14] Objecting to the wanton killing of wildlife, they brought the matter before the Florida Supreme Court which granted an injunction halting the tick eradication campaign. The other nearby states responded to this injunction by placing all of Florida under a quarantine which crippled the state's cattle industry.

Later the Florida Supreme Court reconsidered its decision and found that the legislature had been within its constitutional power in enacting the 1937 law. This enabled the Florida Livestock and Sanitary Board to resume its tick eradication activities. In 1939 the board persuaded the state legislature to pass a second bill that led to the slaughter of 6,500 additional deer that frequented the Everglades and Big Cypress Swamp in south central Florida.

Located in Hendry County, the Big Cypress Seminole reservation was near the center of this infested area, and it blocked Florida's effort to conclude tick eradication successfully. To solve this dilemma, state officials met with F. J. Scott, superintendent of the agency headquarters in Dania, on December 19, 1939, and asked permission to destroy the Indians' ticky deer. Scott argued that the Indians needed the deer for food and wondered if their game was actually infested. He promised to consult with Commissioner Collier about the problem. Officials from the Bureau of Animal Industry also contacted L. D. Arnold, in charge of forestry and grazing in the Indian Service, who promised to cooperate. Nothing happened, however, and William M. MacKellar, from the tick eradication division of the Bureau of Animal Industry, met with Collier and explained the need for deer removal. Collier promised to investigate personally before making a decision. [15]

13. *Senate Hearing-Tick,* 3-7, 33-34, 39.
14. *Ibid.,* 28-29, 86-88, 107-11; *House Hearing-Tick,* 23.
15. *Senate Hearing-Tick,* 67; *House Hearing-Tick,* 13-14, 25-26, 80; A. W.

The commissioner traveled to Florida during the first week of January 1940 to gather firsthand information about the deer. After consulting with state officials and representatives from the Department of Agriculture at Miami, he concluded that "the deer had to be killed." But Collier needed Indian approval, so he traveled by car into the Big Cypress Swamp. Driving across wooden planks and through shallow lakes he arrived ten and one-half hours later at the nearly inaccessible Seminole encampment. Collier tried to explain to the Indians why the government wanted to shoot their deer, but they unanimously rejected his arguments which contradicted the earlier pledge to preserve their wildlife. [16]

On his way back to Washington, Collier worried about coercing the Seminoles into submission. He had tried this approach earlier with the Navajos to prevent the overgrazing of their land, but forced stock reduction only caused open resistance and violence. Collier feared a repeat of this experience, so he decided to make a "deeper study" of the subject. He conferred with Secretary Ickes, and they agreed that the position taken by the agriculture department was not convincing enough to order the destruction of the deer. [17]

Collier explained this decision in a press release dated January 22, 1940. In it he noted that both he and Ickes had promised in 1935 to leave the Big Cypress reservation undisturbed and that the Indians clearly opposed the shooting of their deer. If the interior department refused to respect the Indians' opinion, then they would view the self-government provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act with distrust. Collier doubted whether the total extermination of the deer was necessary to wipe out the cattle tick. In east Texas and Louisiana the Department of Agriculture had left most of the wild deer alone, and these states had successfully completed their tick eradication programs. To end this controversy, Collier recommended that the state of Florida and the Bureau of Animal Industry construct a high single fence

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Miller to E. C. Auchter, August 10, 1942, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York (hereinafter cited as FDRL).

16. *Senate Hearing-Tick,* 70; "Stalked Deer," *Newsweek,* 19 (March 16, 1942). 33.
17. *Senate Hearing-Tick,* 66-67.

or a six-foot double fence around the Big Cypress reservation and allow the deer to roam unmolested. [18]

This action angered Florida Senator Claude Pepper. At the request of the Florida Livestock and Sanitary Board and the Florida Cattlemen's Association he arranged a half-day conference on March 28, 1940, so these groups could meet with Under Secretary A. J. Wirtz, Collier, and other representatives from the Department of the Interior. [19] It proved impossible to reach an agreement, and the Indian Service added to this tension a few days later when Superintendent Dwight Gardin posted no trespassing signs on the reservation because unknown hunters had shot some of the deer. [20]

This inability to solve the cattle tick crisis destroyed what Collier had previously called "epoch-making" interdepartmental cooperation that had assisted the Indians. [21] During the early years of the New Deal, the Department of Agriculture had helped the Indians on numerous occasions. It provided them with submarginal land, established tribal foundation herds, and purchased surplus sheep and goats from the Navajos. [22] But this cordial relationship ended during the debate concerning the deer. Ickes, Collier, and Henry A. Wallace, secretary of agriculture, were all strong-willed and opinionated individuals. By refusing to reach a compromise solution they destroyed many of their past achievements with the Florida Indians.

The correspondence between these three men in the summer of 1940 revealed that administrative infighting had replaced the smooth relations that predominated during the earlier years of the New Deal. Writing to Wallace in June, Ickes recommended appointing a group of scientists to investigate the matter and to recommend the proper course of action. Wallace tentatively agreed, but he defended his department by suggesting that it was

18. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
19. Miller to Auchter, August 10, 1942, FDRL.
20. Dwight Gardin was eventually replaced by William B. Hill because of his poor relationship with Florida state officials and "other indiscretions." *Senate Hearing-Tick,* 16-17.
21. John Collier, "Editorial," in Indian Bureau and Indian Civilian Conservation Corps, *Indians at Work,* III (October 15, 1935), 1-6.
22. John Collier to C. E. Farris, May 14, 1934, Papers of John Collier, Western Americana Collection, Yale University Library; Collier to Henry A. Wallace, January 6, 1934, Records of the Secretary of Agriculture, Record Group 16, National Archives; *New York Times,* November 11, 1934.

unnecessary to consult agencies outside the government. This agreement fell apart when Collier, after consulting with Ickes, delivered a letter to Wallace which rejected mere consultation. Instead, Collier asked Wallace to support a new field investigation that would determine whether the deer on the Seminole reservation were actually tick-infested. Collier called for objective data that would reveal if other wild animals besides the deer carried ticks, whether cattle or deer were the preferred host, and why cattle fever ticks had been eradicated in east Texas and Louisiana without total deer extermination.

Secretary Wallace, then in the midst of a campaign for the vice-presidential nomination, referred Collier's letter to J. R. Mohler, head of the Bureau of Animal Industry. Mohler replied that the Seminole deer undoubtedly were infested, indicated that small game were not hosts for the fever tick on or near the reservation, and dismissed the question of preferred hosts because it had no practical bearing on the tick eradication program. Mohler noted that Louisiana and Texas did not have large wildlife preserves containing infested deer, and he suggested that a small group be appointed to iron out all differences of opinion.

Ickes paid little attention to Mohler's proposal, but in November 1940 he informed Claude Wickard, the new secretary of agriculture, that Wallace and Collier had informally agreed in a conversation to conduct an outside investigation to settle the controversy. Ickes indicated that the Audubon Society had consented to finance this research. Wickard responded with a terse letter, praising his department's successful campaign to improve the South's cattle industry and insisting that the deer be destroyed. Wickard had no objection to further research by the Audubon Society, but he warned that it would not alter the position of his department. Ickes then informed Wickard that this stance was "utterly alien to the scientific spirit." [23]

On February 6, 1941, representatives from the state of Florida and the agriculture department met in the office of Oscar L. Chapman, assistant secretary of the interior. Senator Pepper had arranged this conference to promote a compromise settlement, but the only agreement reached was that the interior department would urge the Audubon Society to conclude its investigation

23. *Senate Hearing-Tick,* 74-79.

quickly. [24] The continued impasse upset Pepper who introduced a bill on May 6, 1941, which made it "unlawful" for the secretary of interior or commissioner of Indian Affairs "to interfere with, or attempt to prevent the efforts of the State of Florida and the United States Government, or their agents, in the execution of the laws of the State of Florida with respect to the eradication of the cattle fever tick on the Seminole Indian Reservation . . . when provision is made by the State of Florida for the prompt replacement of any deer . . . when such deer are found to be carriers of the cattle fever tick." [25]

The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs convened to consider Pepper's bill on July 15, 1941. Representatives from the United States Department of Agriculture and the Florida State Livestock and Sanitary Board, and a group of cattlemen testified at this hearing. Frustrated by the interior department's lack of cooperation, they unanimously recommended that the committee support a legislative solution to the controversy.

William M. MacKellar, employed by the Bureau of Animal Industry, spoke first. He provided extensive background information and indicated that the federal government had spent over $2,000,000 to upgrade the Florida cattle industry. In 1933, after a three-year study, the Department of Agriculture had decided to kill the deer in Florida in order to eradicate the dreaded cattle tick. Florida authorities reluctantly concurred with this assessment, and they persuaded the state legislature to enact a law that provided funds to restock deer throughout Florida. At the instigation of the agriculture department, Congress had also appropriated $5,000 for the purpose of buying meat for the Indians until their game was replaced. But the interior department refused to cooperate, and it posted the Big Cypress Seminole reservation with no trespassing signs.

J. V. Knapp, state veterinarian and secretary of the Florida Livestock and Sanitary Board, supported MacKellar's testimony. Knapp explained that tick eradication had cost Florida over $3,500,000 and that local cattle owners had incurred an "'expense equal if not greater than the state" because they had to hire cowboys to corral cattle for dipping every fourteen days. This

24. *House Hearing-Tick,* 13-14.
25. *Senate Hearing-Tick,* 1-2.

program had been successful, but trouble occurred when ticks reappeared on cattle near a swampy area on the St. James River in Orange County. The state responded by slaughtering deer in swamps and wildlife preserves which successfully eliminated ticks in central Florida. But Secretary Ickes thwarted further progress by refusing to allow state authorities to kill 200 deer on the Big Cypress Seminole reservation. Knapp believed that the Indians were "apathetic" about their deer until they talked with representatives from the interior department. [26]

After a short recess, Collier appeared before the Senate Indian Affairs Committee. Both he and Ickes opposed S. 1476 because it took away "rights and authorities vested in them by law . . . in the supervision and protection of Indian lands and other property." Collier insisted that the key issue was whether the senators would allow enough time "to make a new and conclusive investigation" to reassure the Indians who refused "to consent to having their deer exterminated." It would also enable the interior department to find out if the Seminoles' deer had become infested, explore the possibility of building a high fence around the reservation, and determine why the deer must be destroyed when Texas and Louisiana had been able to control the cattle tick without adopting this harsh alternative. [27]

Senator Langer interrupted Collier's statement to ask the commissioner if Ickes did not have "any confidence in the Department of Agriculture." Collier replied that Ickes respected his colleagues but wanted to obtain advice from individuals who did not "have a face-saving position to uphold." Collier told Langer that both he and Ickes found it unpleasant "to be placed in a position of obstructing the welfare of the State of Florida," but they owed "it to the Indians and to the spirit of science to have this investigation." Collier emphasized that if the Audubon Society advocated the extermination of the Seminoles' deer, the interior department would cooperate with the agriculture department. [28]

But the Audubon Society was not a disinterested third party, and only a remote possibility existed that it would make such a recommendation. John Baker, executive director of the society,

26. *Ibid.,* 3-23, 32-45.
27. *Ibid.,* 2, 65-69.
28. *Ibid.*

told committee members that his organization encouraged "a better appreciation of wildlife" and wanted "to take steps to preserve and protect" this natural resource. Baker insisted that "every avenue should be exhausted to find a method of controlling cattle ticks" without killing the deer. He explained that Herbert L. Stoddard, a research agent for the Audubon Society, had made a preliminary investigation in April 1941. Baker believed that existing "scientific studies" of the tropical variety of tick, on which the Department of Agriculture based its deer-killing campaign in Florida, were "entirely inadequate." He urged that the senators not act favorably on S. 1476 until his society completed its research. [29]

Erl Roman, a columnist and spokesman for people in Florida who wanted to preserve the state's wildlife, took a more militant position. In his "Deerslayer Series," written for the *Miami Herald* between March and June 1940, he severely criticized the Florida Livestock and Sanitary Board, especially "butcher" J. V. Knapp, who had overridden the objections of the Game and Fresh Water Commission and started the senseless slaughter of deer.

Roman indicated that he had consulted with several scientists and "there was never one instance" where they had failed to repudiate the Department of Agriculture. He cited letters from W. J. Gertsch and Robert Cushman Murphy from the American Museum of Natural History. Gertsch stated that the tropical tick often appeared on other game animals besides deer. Murphy described the slaughter of Florida's deer as "brutal, pernicious, and unjustified." He warned that restocked deer would immediately become reinfested because ticks could live on vegetation as long as fourteen years before attaching themselves to a mammalian host. [30]

Roman's arguments had little impact on Elmer Thomas, Democrat from Oklahoma and chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Committee. He admitted that the Seminoles were here first and most of the tribe had been "sent out to an Indian Siberia," and he said that he respected their desire to keep their fish, birds, and deer. But he spoke for a majority of the commit-

29. *Ibid.*, 81-85; Baker, "Deer and Seminoles Take to Cover," 286-88.
30. *Senate Hearing-Tick*, 91, 107.

tee when he doubted "whether the original rights of the aborigines" outweighed and superseded "the rights or best interests of the great mass of people who likewise have to depend on the country for their very existence." Thomas concluded that "the greater good of the greater number should prevail." The government would have to destroy the deer if they retarded "human progress." [31]

This attitude caused Thomas and the other senators to recommend passage of S. 1476 with two amendments. The revised version did not make it unlawful for either Ickes or Collier to interfere with the eradication of cattle ticks. Instead, it was merely their duty to cooperate with this program. The Florida Livestock and Sanitary Board also had to replace all deer that it removed rather than just those animals that had become infested with ticks. The Senate Indian Affairs Committee report suggested that this amended bill would serve the "best interest" of the Indians and recommended that tick eradication continue "without further hindrance." The Senate concurred in this assessment, passed the bill, and referred it to the House. [32]

The House Committee on Indian Affairs met on November 5, 1941, in order to hold hearings on S. 1476. Florida Congressmen J. Hardin Peterson and Lex Green began the testimony, and they favored a quick completion of tick eradication. Officials from the Department of Agriculture and the Florida Livestock and Sanitary Board also reiterated arguments previously made before the Senate Indian Affairs Committee. But they failed to impress Will Rodgers, a Democrat from Oklahoma and chairman of the committee. He warned that no evidence existed to prove that the Indians' 200 deer had become infested with ticks. [33]

The last person to urge passage of the bill was Nathan Mayo, Florida's commissioner of agriculture. He wanted to eliminate the "little red spot" under quarantine. He pointed out that the state had appropriated $50,000 to restock deer throughout Florida. When he told Will Rodgers that these imported animals would cost $35 apiece, Rodgers replied that this meant the state planned to restock only 1,400 of the over 7,000 deer that had been

31. *Ibid.,* 90, 95-96.
32. *Ibid.,* 114-15; *Congressional Record,* 77th Cong., 1st sess., 1941, vol. 87, pt. 6, p. 6254.
33. *House Hearing-Tick,* 3-13, 27, 31-33.

killed. He wondered if the Florida legislature in the future would appropriate enough money to insure that the state replace all the Indians' deer. Rodgers claimed that state legislatures were unreliable, and he "would not depend on them too much." [34]

Rodgers then recessed the committee until February 25, 1942, when Collier began the testimony of people opposed to Pepper's bill. Collier objected to this revised measure because it took "the whole subject out of the hands of the Interior Department." The commissioner wanted to finish the study of the Audubon Society before he made up his mind. He explained that four months ago the Indian Service had cooperated with this organization and placed 150 cattle on the Big Cypress reservation. The purpose of their experiment was to let the cattle act "as a magnet" and gather the ticks from the deer. If Indian Service employees discovered any ticks, they would be destroyed by dipping the Indians' cattle. Collier emphasized that after three months of dipping not one tick had been discovered on the reservation. The Audubon Society and the Seminoles had also killed fifteen deer and found them tick-free. [35]

The commissioner recalled his past experience in reservation-wide pest control to provide another justification for waiting for the recommendations of the Audubon Society. The Indian Civilian Conservation Corps had killed rodents and jack rabbits only to discover that the predators who ate these animals started to attack sheep and cattle. The Indian Service had become involved in a "vicious circle." Its option consisted of restocking these areas with jack rabbits and rodents or beginning a new costly effort against the predators. Collier warned that destroying a "given species in order to accomplish a certain object" was complicated because "the species had complex interconnecting ties." [36]

These arguments persuaded the committee that it should not approve S. 1476. Senator Rodgers indicated that they had received approximately 800 letters in opposition to the bill. He wanted ironclad proof that ticks inhabited the reservation and that killing the deer would get rid of them. Congressman John J. McIntyre from Wyoming raised another misgiving shared by

34. *Ibid.,* 66-69.
35. *Ibid.,* 86-89, 92, 137.
36. *Ibid.,* 125.

some of his colleagues. He objected to any legislation that made it improper for a public official to carry out "certain things which really, under the law they are supposed to do." [37] Members of the committee who favored S. 1476 did not argue their case forcefully because in January 1942 the House Appropriations Subcommittee, at the instigation of Florida Congressman Joseph Hendricks, inserted an amendment to the 1943 agriculture department appropriations bill giving the secretary of agriculture authority to conduct tick eradication on the Big Cypress Seminole reservation. A $5,000 fund was also created to provide meat for the Indians until state officials restocked their deer. [38]

Ickes immediately told President Roosevelt that this new legislation must be defeated, while Secretary Wickard lobbied in favor of the proposal. The president complained that "you two fellows" should solve this matter "without bothering me about it." He suggested that they "put the whole thing off until we find out whether we are going to win the World War or not, If we don't win it, ticks on animals and humans will doubtless take over the nation. If we do win the war, we can start a great national tick campaign for the unemployed." [39]

But after more thoughtful reflection, Roosevelt sided with Ickes. On March 20, 1942, he wrote Wickard a letter warning that he did not "want any deer killed" on the Seminole reservation until after World War II. The president threatened to impound the $5,000 if this measure passed the Senate. He told Wickard that "no one knows whether these unfortunate animals are host to the cattle tick or not." Roosevelt then informed his secretary of agriculture that he could tell the Bureau of Animal Industry that "they have never proved that human beings are not host to cattle ticks. I think some human beings I know are. But I do not shoot them on suspicion-though I would sorely like to." [40]

One month later, at hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations, the Department of Agriculture recommended the elimination of Hendrick's amendment because it usurped

37. *Ibid.,* 9, 118-19.
38. Joe Hendricks to Roosevelt, August 19, 1942; Miller to Auchter, August 10, 1942, FDRL.
39. Roosevelt, Memo for the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Interior, March 13, 1942, FDRL.
40. Roosevelt to Claude Wickard, March 20, 1942, FDRL.

the authority vested in the interior department. In the meantime, Senator Claude Pepper appeared before the subcommittee to support the rider that gave the secretary of agriculture the power to conduct tick eradication. Collier testified against Hendrick's amendment, but the subcommittee rejected his arguments and passed the revised bill. President Roosevelt responded to the maverick actions of the House and Senate by impounding the funds needed to complete tick eradication. [41]

Despite this setback, the Bureau of Animal Industry refused to lift the quarantine against Hendry and Collier counties, and the bureau intimidated the Audubon Society which decided not to publish any of its recommendations. Instead, members of the society informed Ickes "by word of mouth" that their research supported the position of the interior department. [42] Secretary Ickes tried to end this stalemate by suggesting that the Bureau of Animal Industry trap seventy-five of the Indians' deer. If they were not infested, the bureau would remove its quarantine. [43]

Wickard believed the trapping of wild deer impracticable, and he brought the problem to the attention of President Roosevelt. The president gave a sarcastic reply. He wondered if Wickard really insisted that he take this "up with Prime Minister Churchill and with Mr. Stalin and with the Generalissimo." Roosevelt wanted to win the war "without having the problem of the tick proof status of the Seminole deer appear in the articles of peace when Nazism is defeated." He told Wickard that if he refused to cooperate with Ickes, he would have to "take it up eventually with Emperor Hirohito." [44]

Wickard replied that it would not be necessary to bother the allied leaders, but he sympathized with "any grand strategy which would transfer this problem-ticks and all-to Hirohito." Wickard continued that since this suggestion "may not be possible" he and Ickes were doing their very best to settle this matter. [45] The two men finally reached a compromise agreement that permitted the slaughter of sixty-seven Seminole deer. In return, the Bureau of Animal Industry and the Florida Livestock

41. Miller to Auchter, August 10, 1942, FDRL.
42. John Collier, *From Every Zenith* (Denver, 1963), 291.
43. Ickes to Roosevelt, August 6, 1942, FDRL.
44. Roosevelt to Wickard, February 18, 1943, FDRL.
45. Wickard to the President, March 2, 1943, FDRL.

and Sanitary Board promised to remove their quarantine if these animals were tick free. But a bitter dispute soon arose because Collier, who wanted to protect the Indians and their wildlife, only allowed the extermination of forty-two deer.

Tired of this controversy, Wickard sent Ickes a letter of capitulation on March 2, 1943. He criticized the Indian Service for "arbitrarily" terminating the hunting of the Indians' deer but admitted that the Bureau of Animal Industry had discovered no fever ticks on these animals or others removed from areas adjacent to the reservation. Wickard told Ickes that his department would probably not request the removal of any more deer and released "the Seminole Indian reservation from Federal quarantine restrictions." [46]

The cattle tick controversy revealed that New Deal reformers, known for their devotion to conservation, never agreed on common goals. The Department of Agriculture was run by an elite of scientific experts who belived in the efficient and rational use of natural resources in order to promote prosperity and an abundant future. They sided with the Florida cattle industry and insisted that its economic well being was more significant than assets such as the Seminoles and their deer. [47]

The Department of Interior also favored conservation but did not limit its conception to that of scientific management. Collier made this clear by noting that the fight to preserve wilderness areas symbolized "all in the human aspiration and caring which holds itself out from the profit-pursuing imperative." [48] Both Collier and Ickes correctly assumed that overzealous members of the Bureau of Animal Industry had little interest in safeguarding the rights of the Indians and their unique wilderness that was essential for the preservation of tribal culture. Instead, the bureau seemed obsessed with the expansion of the cattle industry onto land poorly suited to grazing no matter how problematical the outcome.

In the end Collier and Ickes's position was vindicated, and they preserved the last seedstock for wild deer in Florida. But in

46. Wickard to Ickes, March 2, 1943, FDRL.
47. Consult Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation And The Gospel Of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959).
48. Collier, *From Every Zenith,* 280.

many ways they won a pyrrhic victory. Their introduction of cattle on the Big Cypress reservation and the killing of many of the Indians' deer in order to block successfully the plans of the Bureau of Animal Industry was a violation of earlier promises to keep the Indians' land free from outside disturbance.

Adversely affected by the feud between the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, the Seminoles continued to distrust the government that had involved them in constant turmoil. This became apparent in 1940 when they disregarded the advice of elders and refused to register for the selective service under the terms of the National Conscription Act. [49] Another seventeen years would pass before the Seminoles significantly increased their contact with federal officials and organized under the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act to manage and develop their tribal resources.

49. *New York Times,* October 17, 1940.

CHILDREN OF HONOR: LETTERS OF WINSTON AND OCTAVIA STEPHENS, 1861-1862

edited by ELLEN E. HODGES AND STEPHEN KERBER*

WHEN THE Florida secession convention voted in January 1861 to withdraw the state from the Union, it made a fateful decision, the consequences of which its members scarcely understood. The lives of Floridians, white and black, would be fundamentally altered-at first almost imperceptably, then with increasing speed and force-by the action of the delegates. Typical in many ways of those citizens whose lives would be completely altered by secession and civil strife was a young couple from Welaka in Putnam County-Octavia and Winston Stephens.

Winston J. T. Stephens, a Georgia native, the son of Dr. P. G. Stephens, had moved into Florida with his mother in 1846. He served with distinction in Florida's Third Seminole War (1855-1858) as a militia colonel. Thirty-two years old in 1861, Winston, and wife Octavia, lived on a small plantation, Rose Cottage, near Welaka. [1] Located eighteen miles south of Palatka on the east side of the St. Johns River, Welaka is opposite the mouth of the Ocklawaha River. The St. Johns River was a focus of commerce for East Florida at the time, serving as the main artery of transportation in the Florida wilderness.

Octavia had married Winston Stephens against her father's advice in November 1859. Colonel James W. Bryant, a successful northern businessman, had wanted his daughter to make a more

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* Ms. Hodges is a graduate student in United States history at the University of Florida, Gainesville. She is currently writing a history of the Stephens family. Mr. Kerber is a doctoral candidate in United States history at the University of Florida, and is editorial assistant on the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

1. Plantations in Florida, as elsewhere in the South, varied in land size and in slave holdings. In 1860 Florida's population included 61,750 slaves out of a total population of 140,500. Out of the over 1,000 plantations in the state, only 400 employed thirty or more slaves. Julia Flord Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 27.

suitable match. Octavia had been educated in Boston, and she had grown up as a pampered, genteel young lady. However, she also possessed a strong, stubborn, independent spirit. In spite of her father's misgivings, Octavia persevered in her desire, overcame her father's objections, married her young planter, and moved to his small Florida plantation, Rose Cottage.

Although politically a Whig, and temperamentally averse to war, Winston Stephens found it impossible to remain aloof from the conflict that erupted in the spring of 1861. Later that year he became a member of Benjamin Hopkins's company of militia. The men immediately elected him first lieutenant of the company.

The letters of Winston and Octavia Stephens which follow give an unusual, even rare view of conditions in Florida, both civil and military, during the early months of the Civil War. The couple wrote each other frequent and lively letters which reveal much about life on the farm and in camp. Their correspondence also reveals a good deal about the two authors, their personalities, their hopes and fears, and their feelings for each other. Winston, an active, practical, ambitious, but level-headed man with a sense of humor, grew in character and capability as his responsibilities mounted. Octavia, only twenty in 1861, also had to grow in response to the challenge of maintaining her child, home, and property-including slaves-during her husband's absence. That the pair shared a deep, reassuring, and passionate love is manifestly evident.

The editors end this selection of the Stephens letters just prior to the death of Winston's commanding officer, Benjamin Hopkins, in February 1862, and on the eve of the Federal invasion of East Florida. Winston subsequently became company commander of the St. Johns Rangers. The letters are published as written. No changes have been made in spelling or punctuation, but portions of some letters have been deleted because of space limitations. [2] These are personal references which seem to have limited historic value.

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2. The Winston and Octavia Stephens letters were a gift to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, by Winston B. Stephens, Jr., of Riviera Beach, Florida. The editors wish to thank Mr. Stephens and the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library for permission to reproduce the letters and photographs.

Jacksonville Sept 7th 1861

My Dear Winston

. . . Well I began this this morning directly after breakfast so that I would not have to hurry, or have interruptions this afternoon & when I had written a few lines Tina came and has spent the day with us, after she left I dressed Rosa to go visiting, & myself and now it is getting quite dark and this must be in the office before nine o'clock to night. [3] so you must excuse all deficiences.

. . . I am very sorry for your sake that you are lonely, but I must say I am glad that I am missed by you, but then the worse people are sometimes the more they are missed. I hope you will not look for me next Monday. it has rained every day but one since I came down. I have been out to church twice, to Mrs Reed's once, & across the street once. [4] Rosa has made more visits than I. she is much admired, she is the prettiest baby I have seen, nearly everyone asks whose baby she is, dont you feel proud? She received a present of a ring this afternoon from Henry Houston, he gave me a small bottle of cologne for *you & I.* [5]

Georgie is playing the flute, & Henry is playing with the machine. [6]

There is a great deal of sickness every where, I hope you all will keep well. we have both been well, Rosa had the colic the night before last from eating potatoe just before night.

There was a report here the other day that there was a fleet in

3. Tina is Augustina Alexandrina Fleming Stephens (1831-1900), wife of Clark Stephens and sister-in-law of Winston Stephens. Tina was the youngest child and only daughter of Louis Michael Fleming and his first wife, Augustina Cortes. She married Clark Stephens, a Marion County planter, at the age of fifteen and in later years lived in Welaka. Gertrude N. L'Engle, *A Collection of Letters, Information and Data on Our Family,* 2 vols. (Jacksonville, 1949), II, 71. Rosa Stephens (1860-1883), infant daughter of Octavia and Winston, born October 17, 1860.
4. Mrs. Reed is probably the wife of a Jacksonville merchant who had lived across the street from Octavia when she was a child.
5. A black barber named Henry Houston lived in Jacksonville in 1860. U. S. Census Office, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, original population schedules on microfilm, Duval County, Florida, copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
6. George P. Bryant, youngest brother of Octavia, was born in 1849. Henry is Octavia's second-youngest brother. The Bryant children were William A. (1837-1881), Davis H. (1839-?), Octavia (1841-1908), Henry H. (1847-1930), and George P. (1849-1876). Henry Bryant lived with his sister throughout most of the Civil War. In 1875 Henry married Mary Jane, the daughter of Clark and Tina Stephens.

sight of Fernandina, & every body, or a great many are beginning to think of leaving, if times get "scary" Mother may go home with me, but I believe most of the reports are false, storekeepers are even packing up goods.[7] The men have been drilling right here at the Court House. this afternoon, I declare it made me feel dreadfully to think what they were drilling for, you do not know how glad I feel when I think you are not in any company and I hope & pray you may never be in any.

I suppose you know all communication is broken off between the North & South, but Mother was fortunate enough to get a letter from Aunts Kate & Mary last week, & they had heard from Father since Mother had, he was better. [8]

. . . I suppose Mr Gardner did not come last week, as Davis could not find him on the boat. [9] so you can have the pleasure of Miss Gs company another week if you wish it. [10] dont run off with her or Mrs Sams before I get back. [11]

There is a Sunday boat, but Tina seems to think it will cost more to go on her, then too you have arranged for my passage on the Darlington, so I guess we will leave here on her next Saturday, & I think Capt Brock will let us stay on board. [12] Since writing the last sentence I have been thinking if I have to go off the boat

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7. Octavia's mother is Rebecca Hathorne Hall Bryant (1813-1864). She married James W. Bryant in Boston in 1836.
8. Aunt Kate is Octavia's aunt, Mrs. Richard Parker. As a young girl Octavia attended the Parker's seminary for young ladies in Boston, 1856-1857. Aunt Mary is Mary Francis Bryant (1822-?), wife of Dr. Samuel S. Adams. Father is James William Bryant (1812-1867), an attorney and merchant in Massachusetts, New York, Cuba, and Jacksonville, and the father of Octavia. During the war years Bryant (evidently a Union man) moved to the North, visiting his family in Florida at intervals under flags of truce. An importer-exporter, Bryant also speculated in land. He founded the town of Welaka in 1853. While in Havana he established and edited a bilingual newspaper called the *Cuban Messenger*. In 1864 he purchased the *American Gas-Light Journal* in Bloomfield, New Jersey, and edited that publication until a short time before his death.
9. Gardner is Winston's tenant, and a man not highly regarded by the Stephens family, possibly because of his inability to control his slaves and his political activities in Welaka. Davis is Davis H. Bryant, Octavia's brother.
10. Miss G. is unknown.
11. Mrs. Sams is unknown.
12. Jacob Brock, one of the colorful captains on the St. Johns River, built the Brock House at Enterprise in the early 1850s. He owned several St. Johns steamers, including the *Darlington*, which saw service both in the Confederate and later the Union causes. Patricia P. Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall: A New England Emigrant Aid Company Agent in Post-War Florida, 1867, "*Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIV (July 1975), 57-58n.

seems to me it would be cheaper to go up on Sunday. I wish you would ask Capt Brock all about it and write me word next week, I suppose he would charge some more, as he would have to have cooking done for us. I dont know what to do so please dont forget to see Capt B- & write me what to do.

Well my dear I must close for fear this may be too late for the mail. Give my love to Ben, and accept lots for yourself from [13]

Your ever affectionate
Wife

P.S. Tell Sarah & all howdye, that Rachael is well, Janes "daddy" came to see Rachael today. Big Jane's sister is well again. [14]

"Rose Cottage" Sept 10th 1861

My Dear Wife

. . . I have been in the Swamp all the morning getting out some Cypress blocks for the mill & this PM I have got out a lightwood shaft & after that I have taken up the pen to write you as I have to go out to Mr. Tyners in the morning to see if I cant get a beef, Clark is to go with me. [15] We want to get one between us and drive it up & kill it. I shall pickle my half if we get it. Our fish give out last week and we have been on pickle pork ever since I shall leave room for a P.S. when I return tomorrow.

We are all well to day & the most of us have been well since you left, but on last Thursday morning Sarah was announced on the sick list & was sick until Monday. Jane had to cook & on Friday she washed & all the back sets together has put me behind some the cotton opens fast. to day before dinner Jane got 60 Tom 60 Mose 45 Joe 40 & Jane 24 which will show you how the cotton stands, but if we have no more sickness we can get over this week. I had nothing done in the ditch last week & think the cotton

13. Ben is Benjamin Gaines, Winston's half-brother through his widowed mother's remarriage to Lewis C. Gaines of Middleburg, Clay County, Florida.
14. Sarah, Rachael (1840-1882), Jane, and Big Jane were Stephens slaves. Other slaves owned by Stephens included Tom (1846-?), Mose (1848-?), Joe (1848-?), Jess (1855-?), Polly (1862-?), Toady, Burrel (?-1884), and Joe's wife (?-1881).
15. Mr. Tyners might be John G. Tiner, a farmer; L. B. Tiner, a farmer; Simeon Tiner, an overseer; or lessee Tiner, a farm laborer. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida.

pickers will not do any more in it but Burrel will have to finish it. [16]

Mr. Simmons has not come yet but I saw him on Saturday & he told me he should come Thursday & stay until saturday evening. [17] You have surely forgotton My Dear when say you feel so glad that I do not belong to a Company. dont you remember I signed Genl Hopkins list some time ago? [18] Well, that same company was organized on Saturday & 45 men were present & elected their Officers. Genl Hopkins Capt, Myself 1st Lieutenant, Capt Gray of Palatka 2nd Lt, and Mr. Peter Peterman of Palatka 3rd Lt, I could have been elected Capt If I had allowed by name in opposition to Genl Hopkins but I thought the Genl entitled to it & would not suffer the men to use my name. [19] I had an opponet for 1st Lt - a Mr. Braddock he got 12 votes & I got 33 which is a nice majority. [20] You remember this Company is for home service & is not to be sent to any part of the State but on the coast near our homes, say from Indian River to St. Augustine, unless some point near by is invaded when we offer to go & help drive back the invader & then return to our usual range. Now My Dear I dont intend to Join any other kind of a company but I do think it is the duty of every man to help drive back the invader when they come so near as is contemplated in the organization of this company. Clark was sick & did not participate at all & Mr. Smith had three chills that day but voted before he went to the house poor fellow he has a hard time of it. [21]

It is after 5 oclock & Sarah has just come in from the cotton field & is going to get some grub. thats propper is it not? as we have *ticle* tea or *sas-fac.* I hope you will get Mother to show you how

16. Burrel is the slave foreman on the Winston Stephens plantation.
17. Mr. Simmons is unknown.
18. Benjamin Hopkins, an attorney and Welaka neighbor of the Stephens, was mustered into the Confederate service in November 1861, and died of a fever in February 1862. Upon his death, Winston became commanding officer of the St. Johns Rangers, Company B, Second Florida Cavalry. Florida Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-Civil, and Spanish-American Wars* (Tallahassee, 1903), 263.
19. H. A. Gray belonged to the St. Johns Rangers. Mustered into the Confederate army in April 1862, he served until May 20, 1865. *Ibid.* Peterman was a merchant from Palatka, and a native of Germany. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida.
20. John, Joseph, or William Braddock. *Soldiers of Florida,* 263.
21. Mr. Smith is probably F. B. Smith. *Ibid.,* 264. The 1860 census lists S. B. Smith as a clerk for H. R. Teasdale in Palatka. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida.

she makes good coffee out of corn as I *never* saw any. [22] I am glad you like it hope youl not complain when you get home. The first chicks are doing well, the last hen only hatched 2 & they are growing fast. I get about an average of one egg a day. Ben & Louis had a letter from Banah & she sayed Ma had improved & the baby had no more fever Jess & Mary were well. [23] My Dear you wanted me to say about stopping on the Darlington. I do want you to stop on it as Mr. Gabriel Priest left Palatka on Saturday & he told me he was confident Myzells oldest son had measels & I dont want you to run any risk. [24]

Your aff husband always Winston

. . . P.S. Wednesday 11th I am well & have returned from Mr. Tyners & he came in with us I suppose we will get the beef. You will see by this that I have not run off with Mrs Sams & Mrs G has her Mother here & I have no showing. I want you to pay Willie for that paper & caps.[25] You know Mother had something on the 3 dollars for that purpose but I dont know if it was enough lots of love to all, be sure to come or Il go to *firgivea.*

P.S. No. 2.

Clark told me he had written to Tina that he would perhaps meet her in Palatka and come up from there in a small boat but

22. Octavia in later years recorded a recipe for making coffee out of corn: "Coffee from parched 'riddlings' of corn or hominy. (After grinding corn for hominy put it in a flat wide kind of basket & shake & remove the husks-or bran-& parch that-) Also from slices of sweet potato parched (corn the best)." Genealogy and reminiscences folder, Winston J. T. and Octavia L. Stephens Papers.

23. Lewis Gaines is the third child of Lewis Gaines and Mary Stephens Gaines. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Clay County, Florida. Banah is Rebannah Gaines. The 1860 census lists "Rebannah" as a twelve-year-old male white. Winston is obviously referring to a female here, however. *Ibid.* Ma is Winston's mother, Mary Stephens Gaines. The baby possibly refers to Alabama Gaines, daughter and youngest child of Lewis and Mary Stephens Gaines, six years old at the time of the 1860 census. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Clay County, Florida. Jess is possibly Winston's slave of that name. Mary is Winston's half-sister, the oldest child of Lewis and Mary Stephens Gaines. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Clay County, Florida.

24. Priest may be either Gabriel W. Priest, a bugler in Winston's company; or Gabriel Priest, aged seventy-seven, of Welaka; or Gabriel C. Priest, a farmer, also of Welaka. *Soldiers of Florida,* 264; Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida. Myzell is probably John Mizell, a "farrier" (blacksmith) in Company B. *Soldiers of Florida,* 264.

25. William A. Bryant (1837-1881), the oldest Bryant child, four years Octavia's senior.

my Dear it is so hot & the load would be so heavy I think I will not come & I guess you will amuse yourselves in some way to pass off the day. [26] I cant do without you any longer & do come & bring Rosa & Mother if she will come. Gardner carried off a negroe to sell & Davis has as well make him pay for 6 months as it will be due the last of this month Winston

Tuesday night Nov 5th 1861

My dear Husband

I wonder if you have received my little scrawl and are two feet deep in your papers tonight. I took great pleasure in sending them, knowing you are so fond of them, although I make such a fuss about your reading them at home. but would you not like to look in upon us to night and see how we do without you! & what we are doing! Well I can tell you what we are doing now. We have a nice cheerful fire with the horse in front of it drying Rosa's socks &c, and a table out in the middle of the room & Mother sitting opposite me writing. Henry & George sitting a little one side studying. poor Ben in bed where he has had fever this afternoon. Rosa asleep, now if you were only here our picture would be complete, though we would rather have Ben with us too. As for getting along, we do that pretty well but I assure you I miss you sadly, but I can not help thinking that you will be home soon to *stay*. I can not realize that this is only the beginning of worse. Rosa has not yet forgotten how to say Pa Pa, though she is too often reminded to forget how to say it, if she does not forget to whom it applies. The first night you were away when I took her into bed Mother had not yet got in and she looked all around and kept calling for Pa Pa and made me feel right sad, she has been very cross for two or three days and nights. I am quite certain that there is another tooth coming, she has been better to day, and slept quite well last night. just as I finished that sentence she awoke, I took her up & she went right to sleep again I guess you think yes those folks sit up late & sleep late & every thing goes on wrong. All have been behind hand in the morning but are getting better, it was not our fault, & this morning I called the

26. Clark is William Clark Stephens (1827-1904), Winston's brother. Clark married Augustina Alexandrina Fleming.

negroes a little before six, and told them they must get smarter.

Burrel began digging potatoes after dinner yesterday. I do not know how near done he is, he said he wanted to get the hogs in & get those from town before he went on the coast, which will be Friday morning, but I think he will not for Clark wants him to come over Wednesday night to help him kill his beef early Thursday morning. Tina spent to day with us. I had beef enough for half ration, & we are entirely out of meat, have had chicken for dinner twice, no fish to be caught by *any body*. The boys started before breakfast the other morning for the Ocklawaha & did not return until afternoon, & got a mud fish & cat. [27] I one little squirrel & a brim, I assure you they came back disheartened and hungry, for they carried only four "chokers" for their breakfast which they roasted Sunday night, the tide is so high that no one catches any fish.

Last Saturday night Gardners negroes took the rounds, one came here (early in the eve) one at Clarks & two at one of the Priests, for potatoes Burrel had been to Clark's & saw the fresh track in the road & got over in the patch *(by the lot)* & sure enough they had grabbled the best hills of three rows. I sent the measure to Mr. Allen & I hear he had found out who it was, but I do not know yet of the punishment, the one that went into Tina's chicken house has been laid up a week, one of them came here Sunday morning but Burrel made him leave. [28] and Sarah says he took a good look around before he left.

Joe had a chill to day the same time that Ben had his. & Sarah says Rachael had one yesterday. I have some stew already for the next. the cotton is very thin a *buggy*. I hear that the wild sow is becoming tame. the mules have not yet given trouble, but this afternoon they and Charley jumped the fence & went to Clark's but Mose was soon behind them. [29] Well my darling I must say good night, it is nine o'clock half an hour past our putting up time & Mother says I must not write any more, for I have been saying yes'm only one more sentence. Good night. God bless you.

. . . Tina says tell Mr. Parker that his wife & grandchild have been *very* sick, the latter is still & that they are in a state of starva-

27. Ocklawaha River, a branch of the St. Johns.
28. Allen's identity is unknown; he may have been a law officer or a member of a patrol.
29. Obviously an animal, Charley may have been a horse.

tion, he had better come home, she Mrs P- went begging to Tina for a few potatoes & was going to Mrs. Hopkins the next day. [30] Mr. Smith did not send me the oil. [31] Henry is going to carry the letters & will ask him about it.

Will you please try and get me four knitting needles a size smaller than the piece I send? . . . Mother sends her love. I wont send mine, for you have it already, provided you are a "good boy."

Very affectionately
Your Wife.

I think you were nice to take all the envelopes off with you.

Camp Porter Nov 10th 1861

My Dear Wife

. . . I hope this may find you as well as when your letter was written, but let me caution you about Rosa, dont let her have fever in cutting her gums for any length of time before you cut her gums with a sharp knife. It looks cruel but my dear sometime life itself depends upon it. I would come home some day & be with you but I must put up with my camp for this reason. if I should come home it would give the men an excuse to do likewise, & in that case we would not have our company together when the Officer came to muster us in. We are not mustered yet, but Capt Hopkins started this morning down on the Darlington to Jacksonville after the Officer to muster us. I have 38 men in camp with me & there is about 20 in the neighborhood ready when the Officer comes &we are receiving recruits every day. Capt Nauton failed to organize his company yesterday & we have some of his men & expect to get more.[32] Mr M[c]Leod of Palatka will

30. Mr. Parker is probably John Parker, aged seventy-three, a laborer with a seventy-year-old wife named Mary. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida. Mrs. Hopkins is Susan D. Hopkins, wife of Benjamin Hopkins. *Ibid.*

31. The 1860 census contained the names of M. Smith, merchant, aged twenty-six, of Welaka; and S. B. Smith, a clerk for H. R. Teasdale in Palatka. S. B. Smith may have been the F. B. Smith in the St. Johns Rangers. *Ibid.; Soldiers of Florida,* 264.

32. Either Captain N. Norton, Company I, Seventh Florida Infantry, or possibly First Lieutenant Nathan Norton, Company G, Tenth Florida Infantry. *Soldiers of Florida,* 184, 230.

take the place offered to Davis. [33]

The Darlington brought some exciting news yesterday, it reports the Yankee fleet of 32 sail had commenced an attack on Port Royal & that the Fort had sunk their best ship & the others had been obliged to retire for repairs, but there is no doubt - but it will be a long siege. But I trust the Fort can hold out. It was also reported that a fleat had fired on Brunswick [Georgia] but I could not ascertain what was the force or what the result. We have a force (so reported) of 20 thousand at the first & 30 thousand at the last named place & the forts were considered impregnable. The St. Johns & St Marys did not come as they conveying troops &sc to the relief of those two places. [34] I presume the next place to be tried will be Fernandina, but I sincerely hope they will get enough in the fights above mentioned to require them to return to some Northern Port for repairs, so as to give more time for preperation on our coast. I had a regular soldiers dream on Friday night. I thought I had returned & after saluting you Rosa called Pa Pa & smacked her lips for a kiss, but alas I awoke & had a soldiers bed & bed fellow. You may think I love this life better than my quiet home with those dearer than life itself, but you are sadly mistaken it is only two things that induces me to make the sacrifics I am making. One is a duty I owe to you & the other is a duty I owe my country. but if God permits me to return safe to my home after this term I will remain there only when I am compelled to assist to drive back the enemy from my State & then it shall be done as an independent Volunteer. I wrote a short & hurried letter by Capt Hopkins to Davis in answer to his which I rec'd the same time I got yours. I am glad Davis is not going to join us because I think some one of us should be free & as he can make it pay him better than any of us. I am glad he does so.

33. R. H. McLeod, a clerk who worked for merchant M. D. Cleveland in Palatka, and a lieutenant in Company B. *Ibid.,* 263; Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida.

34. The *St. Johns* (or *St. John),* a small steamer, slightly larger than the *Darlington,* was captured by the USS *Stettin* on April 18, 1863. All but four of the rebel crew escaped. Captain P. Drayton to Rear-Admiral S. F. Du Pont, February 24, 1863; Du Pont to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, April 22, 1863, in U. S. Naval War Records Office, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion,* 30 vols. (Washington, 1894-1922), XIII, 684; XIV, 144. The *St. Marys,* another St. Johns steamer pressed into military service, was sunk by her Confederate crew to prevent capture in 1862. Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, *The St. Johns; A Parade of Diversities* (New York, 1943), 212, 239.

I send up by Darlington in the morning some bagging & in the roll there is a bottle of Castor oil, be careful when it is unrolled that the bottle is not broken. I want Burrel as soon as he returns to cut off 5 yards & make a bag & weigh 440 lbs of seed cotton & pack it in the bag & put it on the Wharf & write to Mr. Smith to mark it to Parson & Livingston, Orange Springs & send it by the first barge that goes up the river. [35] & I want you to have the potatoes by the lot dug as soon as possible & when the hogs roots out the first have them turned into the other, but the fence must be made strong first. I hope they will have good luck on the coast & bring you fish enough to last until the hogs are fat. I forgot to say while speaking of Davis to tell you to write to him for anything you want provided he can make arrangements to make a bill for 3 or 4 months when I shal be able to take it up, as there is no chance to get any thing here.

The papers you sent afforded me considerable satisfaction & I am much obliged to you for your thoughtfulness of me. I should indeed like to look in upon you & make one of the circle so as to fill up the picture. As soon as we are mustered I shall come home for a few days but dont expect to come before for the reason already given. Tell Ben to shoot Gardners negroes if they come about the place & I will be responsable for damages. By the three notes I meant three that was sent for some of the boys Parents, but all is right.

I saw a young man in Palatka from Middleburg & he sayed Ma, Jessup & all were well & Ma was stil at Jessups. [36] If Genl Hopkins succeeds we will be mustered the first of the week & then I will cross the River & be home in short order. Give love to Clarks family Mother & boys Ben &sc Kiss Rosa & accept for yourself, the rest of kisses & love from your aff husband,

Winston Stephens

PS I forgot to name we are now on the eve of moving our camp

35. Mr. Smith is most likely M. Smith, the Welaka merchant. The Livingston here may be J. L. Livingston, who, with a man named McBride, operated a large cotton gin at Orange Springs. Parson may be John W. Pearson, a developer-together with Yulee-of Orange Springs. Eloise Robinson Ott and Louis Hickman Chazal, *Ocali Country, Kingdom of the Sun, A History of Marion County, Florida* (Ocala, 1966), 51, 65. Orange Springs is about twenty miles west of Welaka, up the Ocklawaha River, in Marion County.

36. Jessup is unknown.

out to the five mile pond where we will have good pasture &sc give howdie to the negroes & tell them to keep up with the cotton & get it clean. I am a good boy.

Winston

"Palatka" Dec 1st 1861

My Dear Wife

After starting from home & getting nearly down to the clear water pond I had to return to give up the corn house keg. I delivered it to Jane as I saw no one moving about in the yard. The boys waited for me while returning. When we got to the river we found that all the boys had crossed but those with me, & we had to wait some time for the flat but eventually got over & arrived in this place about 5 P.M. all OK. I did not stay in camp that night but slept at Lt Grays, but on next morning we call'd the Roll & found we have recruits enough to make 74 rank & file. We have the men divided into messes of eight men in each mess fixed off with camp equipage &sc & they are all very well satisfied. We *hosifers* have formed a mess & Felix does the cooking & pays attention to our horses & we pay two dollars pr month for said services. [37] I think we will agree as well as could be expected somethings are not as I am accustomed to have them but I suppose I will soon be used to it.

While I think of it, I forgot the Muster Roll or they were left out of my trunk by some accident & I wish you would look them up & if Capt Hopkins comes up send the Rolls to him & if not be sure to send it down by Darlington. The last time I saw it was when you asked to see it. look all the likely places and if you dont find it then hunt the unlikely as it is of great importance.

It is now about 4 P.M. & I will tell you how I have spent the day thus far. At my usual time I got up and washed & dressed for breakfast which we have about 8 oclock, then Mr Connell came in & shaved me, after that I put on my sunday clothes & at $^1/_2$ past 10 oclock we formed the Company in lines & marched them to the Episcopal Church where half of the seats had been left for us, & there I listened to one of the best sermons preachd by Mr. Crane,

37. Felix is a servant, perhaps a black. He is not listed as a company member. *Soldiers of Florida,* 263-65.

that I have herd for a long time. [38] then we returned to Camp dismissed the Company & sat sometime with Mr. Gower & Capt Solee from Jacksonville, then walked up to Lt Petermans where we have an excellant dinner.[39] & now I have returned & am helping you to a dish of gossip or any thing you will have.

We have not received any orders yet, & now Gen[l] or Capt Hopkins speaks of coming up home for a few days as he has had fever since his return to this place. "Now see" he curses *Welaka* & says this is a healthy place but he runs from this to Welaka because he has fever here, how convenient. We have glorious news from Pensacola! On the 22[nd] of Nov Lincolns fleet of seven vessels commenced their fire on a steamer of the C.S. & Fort Pickens assisted them & the fire became general on our fortifications & Genl Bragg returned the fire slowly but with good effect & they fought through the 22[nd] & 23[rd] & the Federal fleet became so much disabled that they had to put out to sea & one of the vessels the Magara had to be towed out by a steamer & a breach was made in one of the bastions of Fort Pickens. [40] The report of Genl Bragg says they seem to have enough of it as two days have elapsed & no more appearance of an assault & Bragg says he can stand all they can send against him. Our killed & wounded in the engagement is put down at 16 men mostly Georgians Now this a glorious victory but I look for another tryal with a larger force before long.

The Yankees have taken possession of Tybee Island near Savannah & are fortifying it with the view of commanding the channel & the consequence thus far has been the stopping of the Savannah boats, but I think the Georgians will not allow them to fortify & I expect we will hear of lively times from there soon.

Genl Lee commands in Fla & he has been to Fernandina & after a careful inspection of the premises he has instructed the commander to hold it at all hazards & ordered considerable more work in the shape of fortifications erected. [41] I would not be

38. James R. Connell, a private soldier, served throughout the war. *Ibid.*, 263. Mr. Crane is E. P. Crane, age twenty-eight, a native New Yorker and a Presbyterian minister in Palatka. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida.
39. Gower is unknown. B. F. Solee, quartermaster, Tenth Florida Infantry, served from 1862 to 1865. *Soldiers of Florida*, 219.
40. Bragg is Confederate Brigadier General Braxton Bragg. The *Magara* is unknown.
41. Robert Edward Lee at this time commanded the coastal defenses in

surprised if this company is ordered some where near that we can assist if necessary, but this is only my supposition. I will however keep you posted if possible & I dont want you to make yourself unnecessaryly uneasy about me if you fail to hear when you should I will write by evry opportunity I see but it may be as before & then you know it is not any fault.

I am in good health & the prospect is that we will remain so as the season is so far advanced. The Company improves finely in drilling We drill twice a day at 10 AM & 3 PM and it occupies with other duties nearly all the time. Be careful with your meat this warm weather!

I send you a letter from Sister & I want you to see that Ben answers it or please do it if he does not & tell them about the box. Tell Mother I have the papers & I hope she will not be disappointed. has Symmons arrived?[42] If not & he wants the cart sent for his tools send it. has the Sows pigs?

. . . PS Dr Mays told me that one sour orange juice & a teaspoon of salt eaten three times a day before meals was a certain remedy for chill & fever. [43] try it if you have any more in your family. The Darlington goes up tonight - at 10 oclock & Genl Hopkins will go up on her & he will let you know if he returns before Wednesday.

Good night & God bless you all
Winston

Camps near Fernandina.
Dec 22nd 1861.

My Dear Wife

I take pleasure this morning to inform you that I am well & no one sick in camps. We arrived at this place all safely on Thursday night about 11 oclock & found Capt Hickman to receive us & deliver us 16 Tents & poles, which is enough for our Com-

South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 61.

42. Symmons, who had been hired to run the sawmill on Winston's land, never showed up.

43. Dr. R. G. Mays, prominent Democrat in St. Johns County, was a cotton planter from South Carolina. E. A. Hammond, University of Florida, Gainesville, to editors, February 21, 1977; Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, St. Johns County, Florida.

pany. [44] The day I left I got down to the flat before any one else & had it bailed out before any one arrived, & then had to wait until about ten oclock before we started over & it was twelve before I landed, I then got on Pet & rode in Town as soon as possible, When I arrived I found Cpt H [Benjamin Hopkins] quite sick & the Company was to be gotton ready by ten that night, so I had to fly around as a rapid rate, soon after I arrived Ben & Lewis arrived & Jessups boy was waiting for them & I was called off & they got ready & left before I knowed it, Ma wrote to me & I did not have time to do what she asked. [45] I am so sorry but it cant be helped now & could't be then. They were all tolerable well but Dick had not arrived, & I fear will disappoint her. To resume my travels, We left Palatka at 10 oclock that night & arrived in Jacksonville at 4 am & at about 7 I walked up to Mrs. Maxeys & found Davis in the land of Nod *(where you know he was to meet Mrs. M)* [46] I had him up in a short time & they (him & Mrs. M) were supprised to see me but appeared glad & *I think were.* I took a cup of Coffee butter & bread with pleasure & considerable comfort. After which Davis walked down Town with me & We left on the Cars at 9 a m & left Capt H [Benjamin Hopkins] with Mrs. Smith.[47] I arrived at Baldwin at 11 am & had to wait until eight PM before the cars left for this place & we arrived here 11 oclock. We had our Tents all up & baggage & supplies stowed by 12 or one oclock & then I went to the land of *Nod* - We are on the main land half-mile from the draw-bridge and I think six miles from Fernandina. I like the place better than on the Island & in fact I like it better than in Palatka, only I would like to be that near you. We have the sand flies here when it is warm & no wind blowing, but that is seldom now - The object in our being placed here is to protect the Rail Road & the bridge, as it is supposed the Yankees may attempt to land on the main & take possession of the Road which would cut off all communication with the Island & by so doing they could starve the forces into a submission, as they could at the same time

44. Hickman functioned as quartermaster with the Third Florida Infantry. *Soldiers of Florida,* 102.
45. Jessup's boy is unknown.
46. Possibly Lida Maxey, who in 1887 ran a boarding house in Jacksonville at 183 E. Bay Street. *Richard's Jacksonville Duplex City Directory* (Jacksonville, 1887), 379.
47. Mrs. Smith is unknown.

Winston Stephens.

Octavia Stephens.

blockade the water communication with their War vessels - two rifle eight pounders are being mounted at the draw bridge to prevent the approach of Gun boats up from Nassau bar. [48] If we have any fighting to do, the rail road will afford us considerable protection as it will make a good breast work. If any of the Yankees attempt to take the bridge by land I think they will have something to do - Yesterday I walked in Town to make my report to Genl Trappier, but could not find him but left a written report at his office.[49] I was surprised at the size of the place & its general appearance - I saw a number of my old friends from Marion & while at Capt Fletchers camps we herd heavy firing toward Brunswick & it lasted from about 8 am to 12 m-.[50] Mr. Eulee telegraphed to Savannah & they had not hird any thing of it there & sayed all was quiet in Brunswick when last hird from, some suppose one thing & others other thins. [51] I suppose we will hear in a few days. Davis will give you all the news about the bar & the capture of that vessel, as I supposed at first Capt S was not to blame as they could not see the Vessel from the Fort. [52] We heard firing down that way this morning but supposed they were practising - We have 68 men here & left 15 in Camps at Palatka to take care of our horses till our return. I wish I had known it & left Pet at home. I hope you may all have a fine time Christmas, and that Davis may not be allowed to have the blues while there. I ordered my shot gun home & I want you to ask Henry to keep them all clean & loaded so they will shoot & tell Clark & you can tell your Mother but I want it carefully kept, but carefully watched. I heard just before

48. The Florida Railroad had been incorporated in 1853. Construction on the road began westward from Fernandina in 1855, and in March 1861 the first train reached Cedar Key. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 191; George W. Pettengill, Jr., *The Story of the Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, 1952), 21. The dock of the Florida Railroad was located at the western terminus of Fernandina's Centre Street on the Amelia River's eastern bank. From this point the tracks ran south down the island for approximately six or seven miles and then crossed a bridge or trestle to the western bank of the Amelia River. *Map of the State of Florida Showing the Progress of the Surveys, 1857* (1857 PKY 318); and *Map of Fernandina, Amelia Island, Florida, 1857* (1857 PKY 319), in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
49. Confederate Brigadier-General James H. Trappier.
50. Captain William L. Fletcher, Company G, Fourth Florida Infantry. *Soldiers of Florida*, 129.
51. David Levy Yulee, former United States Senator from Florida.
52. Captain S is unknown.

I left Palatka that six of Gov Moseleys negroes had been heard to say if Lincoln did not free them by the 20th of January they would free themselves. [53] Now My Dear dont let this give you unnecessary uneasiness but I want you to be safe, & to be so, the guns must be loaded and Henry & George can do all the shooting - Tell Clark that the men may establish a patrole & be on their guard, dont let the negroes hear of it dont say anything before Jane. I am not afraid of my negroes, but Mr. Gardners negroes may take a notion if they are consulled, to Join in the fray. If I forgot to tell you how long to give the negroes give them from - Wednesday to Monday morning - I owe your Mother 5^{c} as I handed Davis the letter & spent the money - Give her & the boy love also Clark & family & I would be glad to hear often from some of you. Kiss my Dear Rosa & accept much love from your aff husband - Goodbye & God bless My Dear Wife

Winston Stephens

PS The United States has consented to give up Mesrs Mason & Slidell - *The Cowards* [54]

Fernandina Dec 26th 1861

My dear Wife

I have not seen a line from you since I left & I begin to feel quite anxious to see your *fist* on paper - I have just finished a letter to Davis, though short & uninteresting, I sent the letter to him by Henry Hopkins & he returns in a few days & I presume I shal have a letter from Davis giving some details of his Christmas at "Rose Cottage" & hope to have a favorable report. [55] I did want so much to be with you on that occasion but it was decreed other-

53. William Dunn Moseley, first governor of the state of Florida, 1845-1849. In 1851, he moved to Palatka, where he became a planter and fruit grower.

54. On November 8, 1861, the *USS San Jacinto* stopped the British mail steamer *Trent* at sea. The Federals seized two Confederate commissioners -James Murray Mason and John Slidell-who had been sent on a diplomatic mission to France. In the face of British outrage and the threat of foreign war, Secretary of State Seward freed the pair on January 1, 1862. Mark Mayo Boatner, III, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York, 1959), 516, 765, 857.

55. Henry T. Hopkins, Company B, Second Florida Cavalry. He was mustered into service April 1862, and was captured by the Union forces at the Battle of Olustee. *Soldiers of Florida,* 264.

wise & I submit as cheerfully as possible. We were ordered to this post on the morning of the 25th & the Cars were sent out for us & it took us all day. to fix up camps - so you see my Christmas was not an idle one if not a pleasant one, If I live I will see the next is differently spent - We are now quartered with the fourth Regiment, Col Hopkins commanding [56] - We are only temporarily attached to this Regiment, Capt Hopkins [Benjamin Hopkins] thinks we will not be here more than one month & if longer I can get a furlough of one week each month - This is a dry & apparently a healthy place & I feel contented at present but the insects will be desperate here in warm weather. Some of the Companys have mumps & measels, but we have given orders for our men to keep themselves seperated & I hope by precaution to avoid these diseases -

Capt Hopkins will start to Tallahassee in the morning to get our State pay which is for 26 days. The pay in this service is not so much as it was in the old by about 25 or 30 dollars & I will not make so much by a good deal as I expected. My pay is $100 pr month but out of that I have to pay for my rations, servant hire, washing &sc which will reduce it to about $85 pr month. I shall be as equinomical as possible & try to clear all I can & if Burrel makes a good crop we will come out all right. I hope you are not alarmed about what I wrote in my last but you know it is best to be on the look-out, keep those boys at home or about home on Sundays.

We have about three thousand men on the Island including the Mississippi Regiment who are incamped near the Draw Bridge about six miles from Town. [57] Maj Hopkins took tea with us to night & told me there was eighteen cannon mounted ready for action & they are erecting more on their batteries, he thinks he can keep the Yankees back or sink their vesels, [58] If they land they will have a hard road to travel as the ground is favorable to our ambuscade & movements both of Infantry & Cavalry, but I really dont think we are to have the fun of whipping the Yankees

56. Edward A. Hopkins, colonel in the Fourth Florida Infantry.
57. Colonel William F. Dowd's Mississippi Infantry Regiment, later transferred by General Lee to the Tennessee line in 1863. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War,* 74.
58. Most probably Colonel Charles F. Hopkins of the Tenth Florida Infantry. *Soldiers of Florida,* 219. Hopkins commanded the Confederate battery at St. Johns Bluff. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War,* 74.

at this place for these reasons - 1st when Connant left here & went on to Washington we have no defences & he made a report to that effect & then was the time for them to strike. [59] but they have waited until we are ready to receave them & they know it & is hardly worth the lives they would spend in taking it - The Blockader came up near the fort a few days ago and they sent some small shot at them & drew them on until in range of the heavy guns, they then turned one of the by guns on them & they were off in Bull Run time -

I went out to the light house late yesterday & took a look at the Blockader & she looked as large as life but did not come in reach of our guns.

If anything happen worth writing you can write by the Sumpter - .[60] I hope you all had a merry time this week with Davis - We dont see any of the fiminnie here only once in a while & then it is good for soar eyes - You can see the men stand & look at them as far as they can be seen - *poor fellows I feel sorry for them.* You may rest easy on that score. I hope when this reaches you that Mr. Simmons will be at the mill hard at work & hope Clark will hurry up fast as I want Burrel with those chaps or they will not hurt themselves at work.

Sergt McLeon who is one of our mess received a box to day full of fixings for Christmas, such as pies pound cakes sweet cakes sausages & all the good things too tedious to name & had like to have foundered myself to night - [61]

I give in the War Tax before before I left Palatka. - I hope you have heard from Mrs. Bradley before this - Write to Mr. Smith & ask him to send my letters here. [62] See Clark & ask him to see Mr. Tyner & get a barrel of syrup & I will pay him the money when I come if at 50ct pr gallon. Give my love to Clark & family, Mother & family - & say to them we are fat & saucy - . . .
- Your aff husband

Winston Stephens

59. Possibly either Sherman Conant or Simon Conant, both federal agents after the war. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 382n, 624, 627, 640.
60. Probably a river boat on the St. Johns.
61. Sergeant McLeon is unknown.
62. Mrs. Bradley is unknown; perhaps a Welaka neighbor. Mr. Smith is probably either M. Smith of Welaka or S. B. Smith of Palatka. See footnote thirty-one.

Tuesday night Dec 31st 1861

My own dear Husband

I was mighty glad to receive a letter from you this week for it seemed a "coon's age" since I had seen or heard from you. I miss you more every time you go away, the weeks get longer I dont get used to it one bit. Why did'nt Old Lincoln keep Mason & Slidell a little longer & let England challenge him, & let us have peace. Oh my hopes were so much raised when I heard that they were demanded & were not going to be given up, & that they would probably have a war, but as usual my hopes were blasted. . . . I am sorry you had such a dull Christmas seems to me I have missed you more than ever since the boys have been here. I am afraid you will be kept at Fernandina a long time & can not afford to come home often. I suppose it will cost 12 or 15 dollars. Willie says you might take two weeks in two months and then you would be able to stay a decent time with us, but that seems a long time between visits, but I suppose I would then be much better off than some folks, and may thank my stars if I see you that often. Oh well I will hope again that something will turn up to change the order of things. I am sorry you are disappointed in the sum of your pay. I feared it would be so, &Willie told me of it after he came. every-one must go for patriotism. With so little I dont see how we can come out straight as you say, and I have been thinking lately of your horse business, and think worse & worse of it. the boys went to see the horses when in Pilatka & said "Pet" was a little sick I suppose you left the horse doctor with them. as I heard that eleven men were left with them.

I suppose from your telling me to keep the darkie boys home, that you wrote me about some insurrection or some such thing. Please tell me again, I dont like this way of our letters crossing each other, and having to wait two weeks for an answer to any question.

We have not had a very merry time but very quiet, Willie is much more quiet than he used to be, I think him much changed.

So you think the women worth looking at, perhaps by being in the service a good many will learn to appreciate their wives, *you too of course.* do you think you appreciate your good (for nothing) little wife! never mind you cant get one who would appreciate you more. . . .

I will not say anything of Mr. Simmons as Clark (alias Tina) has written. I am sorry that the mill is to be a "bust" up, but Burrel says he dont care so much, for he will be put back so much with the crop. he seems very industrious & trying hard to do his duty, but is greatly troubled about Jane. We have not heard from Mrs. Bradley yet. Willie will go to the office in Pilatka again. We heard the other day that Mrs. Bradley's Amos was drowned off of a pole boat going to Jacksonville for things for a wedding for Francis. [63]

I am glad you had *some* good things for Christmas. I often thought of you & wished to send you something, Tina had a fine dinner on Christmas. Willie & I rode over to Clark's this afternoon Tina had the toothache. she sent over your note this morning. I asked Clark before I got your letter to get me a barrel of syrup as he was going to get one & I thought you would take it, but Mr. Tyner has risen again to 65 cts. Davis says it is a dollar a gallon in Jacksonville.

When did you tell me to bed the potatoes? the Hayties are decaying too. Our baby seems very restless to night I hope it will prove to be only a tooth coming. she is not *very* fretful and has no signs of fever. I have not had any return of the chill & fever since the night before you left.

I guess I must close, every one else is either in bed or going there. this is a little better than the scrawl I sent last week. I have been writing to Julie too. [64] Oh I hear that Mr. Tydings & Lou are to be in Jacksonville this year. [65] Mother sends love and wishes you a "Happy New Year" & hopes the next New Years night you will be seated at your fireside, & your storehouses &barns full.

Good night my darling May the Lord grant Mother's wish

Ever affectionately
Your wife.

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63. Amos is a slave. Francis *[sic]* is seemingly the daughter of the woman mentioned in footnote sixty-two above.
64. Julie is probably Octavia's cousin Julia A. Bryant (1844-?).
65. R. M. Tydings is a Jacksonville minister. Lou Reed lived across the street from Octavia in Jacksonville when Octavia was a child. In 1860 she married Tydings.

Fernandina January, 2nd 1862

You can boil the beef
brine over and keep it
for hard times

My Dear Wife

I received your short but interesting letter by Cars in due time with a long PS by Davis, which made the letter all together a long one. I was glad to hear that you all had been so agreeably surprised by Davis & Willie's visit & glad to hear you had such a good time generally. I am in fine health with the exception of a cold, which is very common in camps. My cold is much better than it was yesterday, some few of the men have fever with their colds & some of the Regiment have pneumonia, mumps, measels & a variety of other contagious diseases too tedious to mention - one death occured in Capt Martins company last night. [66] A man by the name of Morrison from near Ocala [67] - We try to keep our men seperated as much as possible from other Companies to avoid the various diseases - We have itch in camps but I shal hold myself aloof from the men as much as possible to avoid catching it if possible. [68] The general health has improved in the last few days - Dr. Mathews told me just before dinner that he had less than half as many on his sick list than he had three days ago, & no serious cases. [69] We have only two men on our sick list. Perdum, & Glisson & they walk about Camps. [70] This has the appearance of a healthy place. We have to drill about four hours every day which gives us exercise enough to keep us from getting lazy - & the company has very much improved since our arrival here. The Cars did not arrive last night & the supposition is that some accident has befallen it & if so I fear our Capt has had his share as he was expected, A train went out this morning & we will not know the particulars until the return of that Train -

A small sail craft came in by the blockade on Sunday from Nassau loaded with salt & ask twelve dollars pr sack, but I think they will have to curtail the price before they sell.

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66. Captain John M. Martin of the Marion Light Artillery. *Soldiers of Florida,* 300.
67. Daniel, John B., or William J. Morrison. *Ibid.,* 302.
68. Itch is a contagious skin eruption caused by a mite.
69. Dr. Mathews is unknown.
70. James Purdam, and D. W. Glisson or W. Riley Glisson. *Soldiers of Florida,* 264.

On Sunday I went down to the Fort & sand bateries below the Fort & I feel more convinced than ever the Yankees will have their hands full if our guns are used well - I saw Judge Brain & he looks worse than I ever saw him, I also found Mr. Holliday there & they went around & showed me all the guns & the position of the channel &sc all of which I found interesting & satisfactory, as I think they (I mean the Yankees) will have to land on the Island somewhere else & not at Fernandina, & if they should effect a landing on some other point we could whip them as we have several advantages from the position of the country, but I am at ease on that subject as I feel sure that they will not come here. [71]

If this letter is disconnected you must not blame me as it is impossible to write a letter in camp without having interuptions every few minutes - I think I told you not to transplant the peach trees unless you had good seasons, but I want you to have it done at once & have them *well watered* about sunset every evening until you are sure they will live. Also the Plum the three large trees by the old place you can let stay, but transplant all the rest, & if this dry weather continues until you receive this tell Burrel to examine the new ground & if the bushes are dead he had better set fire in it & burn it off & let Tom haul the sails before the woods are burnt, tell him to try & get a windy day as it will burn better & be careful & not let the fire burn him out when there woods gets afire. I enclose a ration table & if you will overlook my letters you will find this is the third time since I left & I give it to you this time so you can keep it in your Journal. It seem a long time to wait for a letter, from one Saturday to the next but I suppose I should feel thankful to have one that often. Does my Darling Rosa stil lisp her Pa name or can she talk plainer. I would give any thing to see you both & have the pleasure of your society - if only for a short time. but I cant tell you when that will be as Lt Peterman has the promise of the next furlough. I think we will be removed before very long & perhaps to Smyrna, if so I will come home, I will perhaps be able to tell you more about the change in my next - Kill the black hog as soon as he will do to kill as Gardners negroes will kill him if he gets out. . . .

71. Judge Brain is unknown. Mr. Holliday is Solomon Halliday, the husband of Mary Fleming, who was the sister of Tina's father. L'Engle, *Collection of Letters,* 117.

Your loving husband
Winston Stephens

PS Capt H [Benjamin Hopkins] has arrived & no money but we will get in a few days by one of us going after it

Your ever
Winston

Fernandina Jan 4th 1862

My Dear Wife

. . . I have an opportunity of sending this by Steamer St. Marys & you can get it with the one sent by the Cars yesterday. We have news by Telegraph that a fight commenced near Charleston on yesterday & the Yankees were driven back, but had gotton reinforcements & have commenced the fight - over. We are looking constantly for news but as yet nothing has arrived - also we have news of the fight at Pensacola & hear we losed one many by the busting of one of our own shell - but dont know the damage done on their side.

When I wrote you my first lesson which it appears you have not received I mentioned that Capt Moselys negroes had threated to set themselves free on the 20th of this month if Lincoln did not do it for them. I asked you to name it to Clark that he might have patrole & prepare against such an event. Tell Henry to keep the guns in order & keep them out of the way of the negroes & ready to use in the event they should try to do such a thing - dont talk of it where they can possibly get hold of it - I do not think my negroes would Join in such a thing but Gardners might.

I rec'd a letter from Willie with yours giving a description of some part of his visit &sc. I wish I could have been there as his time perhaps would have been spent more to his satisfaction, partly in the woods and ducking. I cant tell how long we will be here but Capt H [Benjamin Hopkins] thinks we will return to our horses in the first of February - if so I will see you then if not before - If it was not for the boys that came in on my account & the horses I am responsible for I would resign my Commission & come home - but my Dear I was the cause of several men coming in the service & it would not be treating them right

to leave them, by remaining I am not afraid of losing any thing in the horse business. I have purchased a barrel of syrup & it will be landed at the wharf by the first barge down the river. My wife I have & do appreciate your worth & have ever done so & you may rest assured this will leave me the same as ever & hope we may ever be to each other as we have been. You say you cant see how I am to come out of debt this year. This I can say, If I am spared my life & my family I shal fell thankful & be satisfied. If I am left any poorer than now I hope my Wife will not love me the les & with health & your love I can support you & my dear Rosa any where - This difficulty if it lasts will be the means of the sacrifice of much property - & I may be one of the sufferers, if so, we must learn to bear it. I can bear anything, but it will be hard to see you any worse off than you are - We must hope & trust for better times. You cant say more of Rosa than I like to hear & you must give me in each of your letters the particulars of our home & those so dear to me. You can bed the potatoes now but put them deep & the first of next month have some of the dirt taken off. We have Dr. Verdier to dine with us yesterday & a young Dr. Andrews who was in the battle of Manassas [72] Dr. V was in the Port Royal engagement & they gave us many interesting incidents of the two engagements - Mr. Burges is here also [73] - The Mr. Haliday I spoke of in my last is the man that raised Tina. Keep the shirts - love to all & many kisses to you & Rosa. I wish so much I could give them.

Your ever affectionate husband over

P.S. I wish old simmons had to dig in that branch for the next year then he would know what work is worth I cant tell yet what to do about the cotton but keep it locked up till you have other instructions from me. I will not gin it this spring unless I can sell it - Mr. Greely returned from Palatka this morning or last night & sayed the horses were doing well and he brought a box full of good *frigs.* [74]

Your Cross old Man

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72. Dr. George Verdier of Fernandina and Dr. John W. Andrews. E. A. Hammond to editors, February 21, 1977.
73. Mr. Burges is unknown.
74. J. C. Greely of the Rangers, or B. B. Greely of Palatka. *Soldiers of Florida,* 264; Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida.

PS [2nd] Make burrel moove the cypress sticks that were got out for the mill & left in the swamp & put them out of the weather. get Clarks advise about anything you may not understand.

Tues a.m. Jan 7th 1862

This is Father's 50th
birthday
What are you going to do for
cotton seed?

My dear Husband

I was doubly glad to receive two such nice long letters from you this week. I suppose Gen Hopkins brought one as I heard last night that he had come and brought me a letter. I also heard that Mrs H- & Bella are going to Pilatka on Thursday in Mr Gardner's boat on their way to Jacksonville [75]

I hope your cold is well by this time, and that you may not have any of the various unpleasant deseases you speak of especially the itch. You had better wear a *big piece* of asafoetida around your neck as you used to in old times, or something. [76] You will surely fall a victim to some of them. I have never heard you say that you had had the mumps so think you have not.

. . . Henry & George transplanted two rows and a half of peach trees last week, and we had a nice rain on them Saturday night and Sunday. I will not put out the plum trees until next week as we have so many peach trees to attend to some of those in the back year were dying but perhaps we can save them. Burrel burned off the new ground a week ago after rolling *my* logs, he is now hauling rails himself & put Tom to cutting logs with the others until he gets some rails hauled then they are to "follow behind him with the fence." they have not finished the cotton stalks the new ground is so green that I told them to cut logs awhile and see if they would not die & Burrel had thought of the same thing, he says he thinks he will be ready to start ploughs in three weeks.

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75. Mrs. Benjamin Hopkins and daughter Isabella. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Putnam County, Florida.
76. Asafetida is a gum resin, used as a repellant against insect bites.

You are mistaken about the rations, you wrote me once about corn and potatoes, and left me the rations of beef & fish but never told me of pork.

. . . The black hog got out Christmas week and was gone some days but Burrel at last found him & he is improving in flesh. last week two of the sows went off & left seven pigs were with the white sow & shw would not nurse them so we fed them. Henry hunted one or two days every where around & could not find the sows, but they at last came home & have been about ever since. My pig went & came with them, he looks better too.

I hope the negroes will not try what you wrote about, perhaps they know that their intention is known & they will not try it at least for some time. Last Sunday Mother had them all up here our negroes Sandy & Jacob too came & read a chapter in the Bible &c and intends continuing it. They have not given the least trouble so far. and Burrel seems bent upon his duty. Please write to Mrs Bradley or Dr Heard again for I dont want to & we ought to know what is to be done. [77] tell her to direct to Welaka.

It seems a long time to wait until Feburary to see you, but I will wait patiently counting each day. It seems as though you had been away twice as long as it really is.

I wonder what made my "Old Man" cross. I hope he will not be cross with me if I close now. I received a letter from Loulie in Jacksonville, & I want to write to her & ask her to come up before sandfly time, & she is going to house keeping in five or six weeks. [78] The boys are going to town this afternoon and our letters have to go before night. so they will take them.

Sarah is up here again after fevers since Thursday. Joe & jess had a fever but castor oil put a stop to that. all are well now.

Mother sends lots of love & says we are looking anxiously for your next furlough. Oh Taylor's howling reminds me a tree fell on him on a hunt the other night & nearly finished him but he is recovering. two weeks ago Clara ran into a light wood stick or something, & made a *terrific* gash under her fore leg but she is getting well, as I told Burrel of it & he put tar & grease on it immediately. [79]

Your loving Wife.

77. Dr. Heard is unknown.
78. Lou Reed Tydings.
79. A horse, or perhaps a cow.

Fernandina January 10th 1862.

My Dear Wife

Once more I am seated to write to you. Though I have but a short time to write as the St Marys will go up to Palatka now in a very short time & this is my only chance untill the Cars go out & I fear they will not connect wth the River Boat & so I write now.

I am very well neigh 158 lbs which is more than when I left home by several pounds - The men are not so well as we have about 6 or 8 sick with cold.

I presume you get all the war news in the papers, but I will give you what is the latest news here. At $1^1/_2$ OClock Wednesday the Telegraph was that a fleet of 6 vessels was off Green Island & near there arranged in order of battle & a short time after one was rec'd from Brunswick which Stated heavy firing was heard in the direction of Green Island & was supposed to be at that places [80] - Also that we have had an engagement in Virginia (I have forgotten where) & that our forces had captured 500 & killed a great many. Our latest inteligence from England is that they look upon the sinking of the Stone fleet as a declaration of hostilities to the whole world & I have no doubt it will bring on a collision with the U.S. [81] I see from the Northern papers that the fleet destined for this place has been recalled to watch the Northern interest in *commerce.* Capt Hopkins and Peterman have not returned but we look for them to night & then Lt Gray will come & when he returns then perhaps I may get a chance next. but I dont want you to look for me until you see me. We are to be paid for one & half months next week by Maj Teasdale for our Confederate service. which will help some. [82] let me know when you get the

80. Green Island is south of Savannah.

81. On December 20, 1861, the Union navy attempted to sink a number of old ships in Charleston harbor, as they had done in the channel to Savannah three days earlier, in order to close those ports. However, the ships, loaded with granite, broke up under the action of the sea, and undercurrents cut new channels. A second attempt on January 26, 1862, also proved unsuccessful. Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, U. S. Naval History Division, *Civil War Naval Chronology,* 6 pts. (Washington, 1961-?), I, 39; II, 12; Virgil Carrington Jones, *The Civil War at Sea,* 3 vols. (New York, 1962), I, 322-25.

82. H. R. Teasdale, quartermaster for the Third Florida Infantry. *Soldiers of Florida,* 102.

syrup & be careful when you have it opened. Tell Burrel not to get behind in his cleaning up but to make those boys moove about with life. has Mr. Gardner gone out on the lake?

Give love to Mother & boys also Clark & family, & kiss my Dear Rosa & accept many & much love from your *Old Man*

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

This selected bibliography includes scholarly articles in the fields of Florida history, archeology, geography, and anthropology published in state, regional, and national periodicals in 1976. Articles, notes, and documents which have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are not included in this listing since they appear in the annual index of each volume.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hopes, Dreams, and Promises: A History of Volusia County, Florida. By Michael G. Schene. (Daytona Beach: News-Journal Corporation, 1976. 192 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, illustrations, conclusion, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index: $8.95.)

This is a good local history, a part of the large outpouring of Bicentennial books published during the past year or so. The Junior Service League of Daytona Beach sponsored the work and judiciously selected a competent professional historian, Michael G. Schene, to research and compose the book. Schene has turned a double profit from this labor, using his history of Volusia County as a doctoral dissertation at The Florida State University. The finished product meets the scholarly standards of academicians and can also be profitably read by the layman interested in his community's history. It compares well with most other local histories published recently. Yet it is an unsatisfactory book in several ways.

Part of the problem is that the author has not defined his audience. The lay reader and the academic reader may both find fault with this book, although for different reasons. The layman will probably wish the writing style was more lively, the content more anecdotal, and the characterization of individuals more vivid. Alice Strickland's *Valiant Pioneers,* a more modest history of Volusia, better captures the reality of life as it was experienced by men and women living in times now passed. Some local histories compensate for stylistic deficiencies of this sort by minute and voluminous attention to detail, becoming virtual encyclopedias of an area's past. This history pays attention to details, but does not approach comprehensiveness.

Academic historians will find that too many pages are devoted to summaries of events in Florida which are already familiar, and not enough new information (except for some discoveries from the National Archives) is presented relating to Volusia County. A partial explanation for this shortcoming is that the author has chosen to concentrate his attention on the time span for which

there is the least information on the Volusia area-namely the time before 1900. Clearly the twentieth century is the most promising period in the area's history for the researcher, yet it is relegated to a few brief pages at the conclusion of the book.

There is not enough analysis of society and economics. No clear interpretive theme or themes are carried through the study which might unite the diverse assortment of facts which have been compiled. Tourism has been the most important single industry in Florida for almost a century; Daytona Beach is one of our state's great resort centers, yet this author and other Florida historians continue to neglect studies of tourism and its role in shaping the state. In his conclusion the author briefly presents some intriguing ideas about a society whose economy is based on oranges, tourists, and retirees-but what has gone before is only a superficial examination of these and other forces at work in the history of Volusia County.

This is a good book, as good as most city or county histories. But we Florida historians ought to be able to write more penetrating, more meaningful local history.

Flagler College THOMAS GRAHAM

The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola, 1900-1945. By James R. McGovern. (DeLeon Springs, Florida: E. O. Painter Printing Company, 1976. vi, 250 pp. Introduction, illustrations, conclusion, notes, index. $7.95; $4.95 paper.)

Local history provides rich variegation to the broad landscape of American history. McGovern's study of Pensacola is rich in local color. Such information as the price of clothes and commodities, the titles of movies playing in the 1920s, description of the thriving prostitution district along the waterfront, all contribute to our understanding of the mosaic of America.

McGovern attempts to place Pensacola in a broader setting by applying national trends to local events. He performs a service by demonstrating that the Florida port, along with most southern cities, participated actively in the Progressive era between 1900 and 1916. Reforms in government and education, concern for efficiency, urban improvements, and moral uplift characterized

the city. He also presents the contrasts between Pensacola and other cities, emphasizing the predominance of emigrants from rural Georgia and Alabama, as well as a substantial minority from abroad.

If a major theme emerges, it seems to be Pensacola's half-century search for economic stability. Early in the century, city leaders placed primary faith in its harbor and port facilities. Bad railroad connections, isolation because of poor roads and rivers on both sides of the city, and the rapid growth of Mobile and New Orleans blocked port development. Later, business leaders unsuccessfully tried to attract industry. Clearly, the most important event in the city's life was the location of the Naval Air Station which contributed more than $100,000,000 to the local economy during World War II. Some of McGovern's best insights involve the social impact of the sailors and airmen. Their presence contributed to prostitution in the city, provided a source of prosperous, eligible marriage prospects for the daughters of prominent families, and created resentment among local young men.

Most of the problems in this volume grow from its localistic focus. McGovern tells us in the introduction that Pensacola was not a "typical" southern city; but reading southern urban history makes it obvious that there is no "typical" southern city. Furthermore, if McGovern had used Blaine Brownell's excellent dissertation (since published) on the southern urban ethos, he would have discovered that many of Pensacola's problems and reactions were not at all unique. For instance, he maintains in chapter four that progressives in Pensacola lacked a commitment to the goals of social equality which were part of the national movement. Yet, what he describes in the chapter sounds very much like southern progressivism for which the preeminent "reform" was the elimination of the Negro from any significant role in society. Many progressives in the North and South were racists, and Pensacola's lack of commitment to social equality certainly does not make it atypical. In fact, the only exception to regional progressivism that this reviewer found in the chapter was the absence of settlement houses in Pensacola; such facilities, usually under church sponsorship, flourished in Mobile, New Orleans, Birmingham, and in other southern cities during the same years.

Also, local color can degenerate quickly into meaningless

minutia. Few readers will care to know how many books were in the Pensacola library in 1938. The sources-mainly local newspapers, research papers written at the University of West Florida, and interviews-often determine the writing, rather than the writing controlling the sources. Hence, chapter three of fifteen pages contains 119 footnotes. One ponderous paragraph in chapter six contained nine footnotes.

Both local citizen and historian will find much of value in this study. He will have to wade through minutia and some very heavy writing to find it.

Samford University WAYNE FLYNT

The University of Miami: A Golden Anniversary History, 1926-1976. By Charlton W. Tebeau. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1976. xiii, 418 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, appendixes, index. $12.50.)

In the nation's Bicentennial year the University of Miami celebrated its golden anniversary by publishing a history of the university from 1926 to 1976. The author, Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, was eminently qualified for this task. He has been associated with the university for thirty-seven years and has added distinction to it by his own achievements as historian, writer, lecturer, and outstanding teacher. He has given us a book which is definitive and scholarly, and is, at the same time, readable and embellished with about 125 photographs, some of them previously unpublished. Thousands of alumni will cherish this volume, and there is an added bonus: it is also good local history.

Tebeau divides the fifty years into two phases, the first of twenty years of bare survival, personal sacrifice, and private generosity; and phase two, thirty years of galloping expansion, a splintering into schools and centers, with some new problems replacing old ones.

The very opening of the university in October 1926, was audacious. The university had no buildings, little money, and the hurricane of 1926 had not only caused much physical damage in the Miami area but had brought to a complete halt the already faltering land boom. The 300 new students were un-

daunted, however, and five days after enrollment held a rousing pep rally under the green, orange, and white school flag which Ruth Bryan Owen had made by hand.

The dream had begun back in 1916 when Mrs. Owen's father, William Jennings Bryan, who had moved to Miami, began to advocate a bi-lingual school that would attract students from Latin America for courses in the liberal arts, commerce, agriculture, and health. A site was actually donated for this Pan American School of Commerce on downtown Flagler Street, but America's entrance into World War I sidetracked the dream before a building could be constructed.

The dream surfaced again in 1923 and now included a Pan American Exposition as well as a Pan American College. The idea of the exposition lived on for a half century in a concept known as Interama. In 1924 Judge William E. Walsh came up with a new angle, the healthy outdoor life. He and his family had moved to Florida for the health of a son who was enrolled in a local private school where all the classrooms were open-air. Judge Walsh thought a university could start off with 150 open-air classrooms.

A group of regents received a charter for the University of Miami the same month, April 1925, that George Merrick incorporated his new city of Coral Gables. Merrick had always envisioned a university for his city. The regents and Merrick joined forces. Merrick gave the land for the university which accounts for its location, not in Miami, but in Coral Gables. On February 4, 1926, the cornerstone for a large building was laid in the hastily-cleared pine woods. Many notables occupied a makeshift stage while thousands of others who had parked their cars in the rough terrain stood about listening to enthusiastic speeches and the spirited Arthur Pryor's band. No one was pessimistic enough to think the band music might be a requiem, but Tebeau assures us it is something of a miracle that the university survived at all.

A steel skeleton rose in the clearing to become a forlorn monument for twenty years. The university opened in a nearly-finished Coral Gables hotel, the Anastasia, hastily converted to classrooms by means of beaver board partitions which had little soundproof qualities so that students often heard two lectures at once. But the Cardboard College, as it was called, had a loyal student body and dedicated administrators and teachers. Much

credit that the university survived must be given to its first and long-time president, Dr. Bowman F. Ashe, who worked tirelessly to raise money and to recruit faculty. His starting salary of $10,000 a year dropped to a low of $3,200 during the Depression, and once he borrowed on his personal insurance policy to pay an outstanding professor rather than let him get away. World War II helped turn around the lagging fortunes of the university when 10,000 trainees came to campus for training, some of them RAF cadets from Great Britain. The Duke of Windsor, then governor of the Bahamas, came to the university to review the cadets.

Following the war the university began to boom. The twenty-year skeleton was finished and became the nucleus for many other new buildings on Main Campus. In 1952 the university started the first medical school in Florida, and today this school operates the vast health complex know as Jackson Memorial Hospital, the largest hospital in the southeast. The university also is outstanding in marine science. The largest single donation ever given to the university was $12,000,000 from the Rosenstiel Foundation which was put into the Rosenstiel School of Marine and Atmospheric Science. By 1975 the university had 17,829 students and assets of a quarter of a billion dollars. Among those notables who have received honorary degrees from the university are Sir Winston Churchill and Captain Eddie Rickenbacker.

Miami, Florida THELMA PETERS

The Sound of Bells: The Episcopal Church in South Florida, 1892-1969. By Joseph D. Cushman, Jr. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1976. xiv, 378 pp. Preface, foreword, introduction, notes, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

A detailed history of a liturgical Protestant denomination in a southern frontier area would not appear to be one of the more captivating-or notable-studies which have recently appeared. But this examination of the career of the Episcopal Church in the region of Florida stretching from Ocala and Daytona Beach down to Key West between 1892 and 1969 makes a richer and livelier story than most might expect.

This outcome is due to the historiography of Professor Cushman, to the literate and structured character of the church under study, and to the significance inherent in the development of Florida during the period in question. Taking the last first, one has only to recall that the population of South Florida-whether Indian, white, or Negro-before the turn of the century was very small indeed. When William Crane Gray was named first bishop of the Missionary Diocese of South Florida in 1892, there were five parishes-two in Key West (one for whites and one for blacks), one each in Ocala, Orlando, and Sanford-forty organized missions, and six mission stations. Thus, to observe the expansion and development of the Episcopal Church in this area affords a glimpse at the area as a whole.

What makes this fact noteworthy is the statistical overrepresentation of Episcopalians in the population, particularly when one takes into consideration the nearest American regions. For one thing, Negro Episcopalians were numerous, owing principally to their immigration from the British West Indian islands, especially the Bahamas and Jamaica. St. Peter's in Key West, St. Agnes's in Miami, and St. James's in Tampa were only the best known among a score or more of Negro parishes and missions. A second little known fact was the British immigration of the 1880s, leading to the formation of virtual English colonies, particularly in the territory around Orlando, Leesburg, and Tampa Bay. It was natural that these settlers should plant Anglicanism, and in the process they built churches and provided leadership for the church, both clerical and lay. The subsequent return to England of many of the first generation immigrants following the freezes and economic disasters of 1894-1895, and the rapid assimilation of the others did not overturn the religious foundations built by this earlier small but significant company.

In reading about the Episcopalians of South Florida, one learns not only something about demographic data, but much more: what economic booms and busts did to life in the area, society's patterns of white-black relations, architectural styles, and the social impact of new transportation facilities. It is also shown that most of the bishops, and perhaps other clergy, who have served in this area were not native to Florida; they were from the North. This remained true at least until 1969.

One also learns a great deal about the Episcopal Church. Cushman writes like a knowledgeable insider, and as one who seems to espouse higher than Low Church ecclesiology. For those reasons, he sets out to do something other than use the history of a denomination to illuminate general history. This book is about "the Church." I suspect that, given that orientation for the goals of this study, he regards his discovery that "the Church" in South Florida was, in 1892, no more Anglo-Catholic or less Evangelical than its sister (earlier, mother) diocese in the northern part of the state, an opinion widely held, to be of central importance. So, in a limited and mild-mannered way, his work is revisionist.

But mostly *The Sound of Bells* fills a vacuum and dispels ignorance. Now we have available a detailed, beautifully organized description of the Episcopal Church in the southern two-thirds of the Florida peninsula. Professor Cushman's work is one step toward unearthing and making public a shamefully understudied dimension of the history of the peculiar state which is Florida, namely the religious life of its people.

University of Florida SAMUEL S. HILL, JR.

Confusion to the Enemy: A Biography of Edward Ball. By Raymond K. Mason and Virginia Harrison. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1976. xvi, 203 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, appendix, index. $8.95.)

The title of this biography of Edward Ball is taken, we are told by the authors, from a toast Mr. Ball proposes "each night," and we are further assured that although it is directed to an un-named enemy, it means anyone who opposes Ed Ball. Since the title is almost identical to one which was copyrighted a year earlier *(Ed Ball: Confusion to the Enemy*. By Leon Odell Griffith. Tampa: Trend House, 1975) and previously reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (October 1975), we should be fairly sure of one thing, at least, about the subject of both books: Ed Ball drinks bourbon whiskey and does not wish well to those who oppose him. Though the contents of the glass might vary, Mr. Ball's expressed wishes for his opponents would not differ sub-

stantially from those of any other person in his attitude towards his enemies. But there the similarity between Ed Ball and the ordinary person abruptly ends. Ed Ball is clever, shrewd, and extremely rich.

Raymond K. Mason, chairman of the board of The Charter Company, and a financial giant in his own right, has known Edward Ball for about twenty years as a business associate and friend, and he draws upon that intimate relationship to detail a rather partisan account of a remarkable business career. In the telling of the story he is no doubt substantially assisted by his co-author, Virginia Harrison, a free-lance writer. What emerges from this combination is a warm and interesting story of a man and not a myth, a personality and not just a money-machine and financial manipulator. Rather surprisingly, the book includes the complete marriage contract entered into between Ball and "Margaret Ann Ames" (a pseudonym) prior to his only marriage. The contract became important in the prolonged divorce proceedings which followed the marriage in about ten years.

Mr. Ball's nightly toast seems to have application beyond his enemies, appearing to extend also to his biographers. This reviewer, also confused, wrote to Mr. Ball in order to ascertain his opinion about the Mason-Harrison and the Griffith accounts. In spite of the generally-held opinion that Mr. Ball is inaccessible-particularly to interviewers-he answered promptly and precisely. Ed Ball wrote that he had read both biographies; that he liked this book and found "all portions . . . reasonably accurate." He did mention the absence of information in the Mason-Harrison book about the portion of his life from ages thirteen to forty. Perhaps the most revealing part of Mr. Ball's letter was the statement that his life ". . . all of it, right down to today, has been interesting to me as I lived it."

A man who has played such a large part in the history and development of Florida deserves a more complete and professional treatment than he has received at the hands of his biographers to date. Mason and Harrison-and also Griffith-have provided us with anecdotal accounts and skeletal information, but until a definitive biography of Edward Ball is written, which traces the economic and political impact of his actions, his

nightly toast to his enemies will be broad enough to impart confusion to posterity.

Madison, Florida WILLIAM M. GOZA

The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1776. By Harold E. Davis. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1976. xi, 306 pp. Maps, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, bibliographical essay, index. $16.95.)

Harold E. Davis of Georgia State University has written a lively, personal, entertaining, and inviting description of daily life in colonial Georgia. Georgia was, writes the author, "a forty-three year old province, the first half of whose history had been spent in poverty and the second half in the modest acquisition of wealth." Founded in 1733 by benevolent but remote trustees in London, the colony languished; in 1752, at the point of collapse, the trustees returned their concession to the crown. Under the administration of three royal governors, a stable government was at last established, agriculture and trade flourished, and the colony began to prosper.

After outlining Georgia's early settlement, the author describes various aspects of social and cultural life in the colony: housing, transportation, trade, furniture, clothes, food, justice, medicine, occupations, class structure, amusements, religion, and education. Based on the latest secondary works and *a* wide assortment of literary sources, including unusual documents like estate inventories and German-language publications, this account is at once more inclusive and more intimate than other portraits of colonial Georgia. Written with a lively but responsible style, *a* work of affection *as* well as scholarship, the book is a pleasure to read, an attractive invitation to learn more about colonial Georgia and an extremely useful accompaniment to more pedantic narrative histories of the colony.

But this book *is* not an introduction to the subject for someone who does not already know the fundamentals of Georgia's colonial history. Many of the essential events and characters-like the colony's founder James Oglethorpe, the ship *Anne* which

brought the first colonists to Georgia, the colonial secretary William Stephens, the unhappy colonists called Malcontents, the events of the war with Spain in the 1730s and 1740s - are not explained or identified. This information is essential background for an understanding of Georgia's social development. Who sailed on the *Anne* and why did they want to make the trip? Why did Oglethorpe and his friends start the colony and then abandon it? Why was William Stephens sent to the colony by the trustees, and why were the Malcontents unhappy with colonial policy? Somewhere in all the endlessly fascinating details of Davis's book, the historical essentials have been lost.

Because the book is arranged by subject, the narrative of events has become disjointed. An account of medical services in royal Georgia is followed by an account of sickness among the colonists in the 1730s; an account of John Bartram's cow-hunting in 1765 is followed by a description of cow pens at Ebenezer in 1744; an account of the occasional use of wine in the 1770s is followed by a description of the prohibition of rum in the 1730s; the further settlement of Georgia under the royal administration is discussed before the evolution of Georgia during its formative years; the subject of Indian relations in 1755, before Georgia's founding, follows immediately a description of events in 1773, at the brink of the Revolution. Throughout the book, material from the period of royal rule after 1752 is mixed with material from the trusteeship period before 1752, thus blurring the fundamental pivot point for understanding the evolution of life in colonial Georgia. The portrait of Georgia drawn in *The Fledgling Province* is a confusing one.

The book does not discuss at any length the relationship between Georgia and her sister colonies and her mother England. There is no comment on Georgia attitudes toward the unhappy New England and South Carolina colonists and toward the protective royal administration in the 1770s. No comparisons are made between life in Georgia and life in the places from which colonists and settlers came to populate Georgia. No extensive discussion is given to the forces which shaped life of colonial Georgia into a special mold. The book does not comment on the important intellectual and economic forces at work on the eighteenth-century world stage, information which would set all this Georgia detail into place. Admittedly, Georgia was a mere pimple

at the southernmost extremity of the British empire in America, but it was an expression of personal aspirations and discontents, economic expansion and dislocation, religious revival and persecution, and military rivalries on several continents. This is a book of charming, delicious description, which students of this era should read with pleasure and profit, but it could have been deepended by broader reference and insight. This is ultimately a book of anecodote and recitation, not analysis and interpretation.

Savannah, Georgia MILLS LANE, IV

The Journals of Thomas Hubbard Hobbs: A Contemporary Record of an Aristocrat from Athens, Alabama, Written Between 1840, When the Diarist was Fourteen Years *Old, and 1862, When He Died Serving the Confederate States of America.* Edited, with notes and index, by Faye Acton Axford. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1976. x, 272 pp. Foreward, preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, list of sources, acknowledgments, index. $10.00.)

Thomas Hubbard Hobbs recorded his activities from boyhood at Athens, Alabama, to the battlefield at Gaines' Mill, Virginia. His diary is that of a decent young man, one who enjoyed life, the ladies, sports, and entertainments. On the serious side he was excited by the challenge of railroad building, and he brought an idealistic public-spirited viewpoint to the legislature in Montgomery. He was quite religious, very much a puritan, and possessed a strong sense of noblesse oblige. Work and play he balanced with enthusiasm.

Limestone County in North Alabama in the 1850s was a land of successful sturdy yeoman stock. It was partially settled by Virginians, who left depleted eastern fields to start anew in the lush Tennessee Valley. If the more prosperous were aristocrats it was by dint of hard work, not lineage. The journals of Hobbs are those of a son of persons who converted Alabama from wild frontier to plantation. Whether Thomas Hobbs was to the manner born is debatable, but whether he was a gentleman is not.

Although deeply interested in education, particularly in obtaining public funds for it, he was not inclined to question the

mores and customs of the antebellum South. Even when he attended the legalistically oriented Hoffman's Law Institution in Philadelphia, little change occurred in his thinking. He did mention attending a lecture by Mrs. Lucretia Mott in which she tied together the temperance and antislavery movements.

Readers will be disappointed that the journals contain little concerning the cleavage in North Alabama over secession. Hobbs accepted the viewpoint that the South was the victim of northern aggression. Yet he was not a supporter of the status quo, either economically or educationwise. His strong sense of fairness was limited to treatment of slaves, not whether slavery was justified. The brief account of his activities in the Civil War is a highlight of the book. His is the diary of a natural leader of men, one who looked after their well being, one that they could follow into combat with confidence. Obviously, he would have been promoted had he not been fatally wounded.

The value of the Hobbs journals is greatly enhanced by the painstaking careful editing of Faye Actor Axford. The frame of reference of Axford's editing is primarily social history. A large part of her editing consists of thumbnail sketches of the various people mentioned in the journals. An index adds to the value of the book, since many will utilize it as a reference work. A weakness of the journals is in their sparseness and omissions. Also generally, Hobbs kept his innermost thoughts to himself not committing them to paper. Thus the journals center on activities. Based on her editing of the Hobbs journals, Axford should be encouraged to complete her history of Limestone County.

Auburn University EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

Yankee Blitzkreig: Wilson's Raid through Alabama and Georgia. By James Pickett Jones. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1976. xiv, 256 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, critical essay on sources, bibliography, index. $12.00.)

Two matters are immediately clear when one reads Professor Jones's work. It is one of the best studies on Civil War cavalry to appear in many years. It is also one of the best studies ever on that often-neglected central region of the Confederacy, the Alabama Department.

So much attention has been accorded to Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, that Confederate surrender has become synonymous with Appomattox Courthouse. The Army of Tennessee was still in the field, destined in late April to surrender another 26,000 men in North Carolina. And there were huge bodies of Confederate resistance elsewhere when Lee met Grant in the McLean parlor. Obviously General Edmund Kirby-Smith possessed a large army west of the Mississippi, perhaps 60,000 troops, at least on paper. It was the intriguing "hidden army" of the Confederacy which is most interesting, and in part is the topic of Professor Jones's fine study.

The rigid departmental system of command instituted by Jefferson Davis created tremendous problems in reinforcement. The department which existed in Alabama, often joined with that responsible for Mississippi, maintained a totally separate army in the field, an army often ill-used. Thus when General William Sherman invaded Georgia in 1864, the Confederate Second Department (Army of Tennessee) needed badly the large forces available in the Alabama command. Yet thousands, particularly cavalry, remained idle.

Because of spotty and conflicting returns, it is unclear how many troops the Confederates actually possessed in the Alabama theater during the last months of the war. A conservative estimate would be that 30,000 men were available on the Mississippi-Alabama front, men eventually surrendered by department head General Richard Taylor.

And the man who broke Confederate resistance in this theater was General James Wilson. In March of 1865, Wilson and his 13,480 Union troops rode south from the Tennessee River to overwhelm the Alabama theater. It was not merely that Wilson put down local resistance. After the fall of Kentucky and Tennessee in 1862, the Confederates had relocated their industrial area, and by 1864 a vast complex extended from Augusta, Georgia, to Selma, Alabama. It was the industrial heart of the South, embracing vast government, state, and local factories in Augusta, Macon, Columbus, Rome, Atlanta, Montgomery, Selma, and elsewhere. Artillery, small arms, sheet iron for warships, medicine, tents, ammunition, and other necessities were all manufactured here.

Much attention has been given to Sherman's march from Atlanta to Savannah and the subsequent overwhelming of rebel resistance in the Carolinas. Yet there was little in the region for Sherman to destroy. It was Wilson, not Sherman, who broke the proverbial back of the Confederate industrial complex, and who once and for all, severed the industrial bond between Lee's army in Virginia and the West.

Professor Jones provides an excellent account of this vital campaign, and of the complex young officer, General James Wilson, who subjugated the feared General Nathan Bedford Forrest. In an era which has seen the publication of innumerable Civil War books, many of them mediocre, it is refreshing to peruse a good one, particularly when it makes such solid contributions to Civil War writing.

University of South Carolina THOMAS L. CONNELLY

Sherman and the Burning of Columbia. By Marion Brunson Lucas. (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1976. 188 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, prologue, notes, maps, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. $10.95.)

No single event of the Civil War has produced a greater legacy of hatred than the burning of Columbia, South Carolina. Within days after the Union Army's departure a battle began that, in some quarters, rages to the present. Did Sherman, the insensate butcher, fire the city, or was it wasted by the Confederates themselves, who set a fire and then lost control? How much of the city was destroyed? Did riot, murder, and rape accompany the flames? These questions and many more are answered by Marion Brunson Lucas in a well-written, balanced, and convincing appraisal of that awful week in February 1865.

It is Lucas's contention that "both sides lost control of the situation for a time." That sentence, on p. 166, perhaps best summarizes his answer to the basic question of blame. The author explains Confederate incompetence and confusion in the face of Sherman's invading bluecoats. Hampton's men started fires that had destroyed some facilities well before the Union XV Corps marched into the city. The rebels had also unwisely fired piles of

cotton bales and these, Lucas feels, when fanned by a high wind, leveled much of the South Carolina capital.

On the other hand, Lucas describes a riot involving Yankee troops, fueled by alcohol provided by local citizens, black and white. He adds that much destruction was attributable to these bluecoats who ranged around the city out of control for much of the night of February 17. Lucas finds particular fault with Army of the Tennessee commander O. O. Howard for his delay in suppressing the riot. The author comes to the conclusion that about one-third of Columbia was destroyed, not the entire city as claimed by many post-war southern writers. He also finds many examples of kindness on the part of the occupying troops and indicates that virtually no violence against the persons of local citizens occurred.

One of the author's most controversial conclusions is that many South Carolina citizens, guilty and ashamed over their failure to resist Sherman, and aware that they were "at least partly to blame for the catastrophe," indulged themselves in hatred to cleanse their memories. After years of patriotic rhetoric and talk of honor, these defeated men and women, who in the end did not have the will to fight on, were humiliated by the war. "They would not forget; indeed, they could not forget," concludes Lucas.

The only flaw in this work lies in the bibliography. While ample research in southern archives is evident, many collections in midwestern libraries might have added important information. In the Library of Congress only the Sherman Papers were used; several other collections should have been consulted. There are also a number of recent secondary works, including biographies of several Union generals, that Lucas should have used.

This criticism only slightly flaws a book which is a real contribution to Civil War historiography. Lucas's account is clearly written and well organized. He has threaded his way through a conflicting barrage of charge and counter-charge and given us a fair and honest appraisal of a highly volatile Civil War event.

Florida State University JAMES P. JONES

The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925. By Herbert G. Gutman. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976. xxviii, 664 pp. Introduction and acknowledgments, tables, charts, afterword, appendixes, notes, subject index, index of names and titles. $15.95.)

One of several generalizations which may logically be offered in connection with this book is that its contents will be read, reread, pondered, and discussed by numerous scholars and other people for a long time. The reviewer will go rather far beyond that statement in venturing a prediction (almost always dangerous for a historian) that Mr. Gutman's major thesis will become part of the main current of thinking about the black family in the United States. It may even prove so influential as to direct the current's flow.

What is his major thesis? In brief, it is that throughout the 1750-1925 span the familial ties of blacks in the aggregate were not severed by slavery or by post-slavery problems. Quickly one should add that Gutman is thoroughly aware of such historical facts as separations of families on the auction block and elsewhere. He takes those truths into full account. Still, in a multiplicity of cases, he documents not only what did occur-regarding marital and parent-child relationships-but also the feeling and thinking and yearning of blacks about what was so important to them.

Anyone acquainted with the 1965 Moynihan report will rightly conclude that the Gutman study, eleven years later, expressly disagrees with findings therein. Gutman also traces a trail of error back many years prior to 1965. It should surprise few persons that he demonstrates the erroneousness of John W. Burgess. But he likewise points to shortcomings in the works of of an E. Franklin Frazier and a Gilbert Osofsky, as well as in books by Howard W. Odum (1910), Arthur W. Calhoun (1917), and others. "No evidence whatsoever," Gutman declares, "sustains the assertion in . . . Osofsky's *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* [1963] that 'the slave heritage, bulwarked by economic conditions, continued into the twentieth century to make family instability a common factor in Negro life.' And that is so because such large numbers of lower-class southern black migrants had adapted familial and kin ties-rooted in their prior historical experience

first as slaves and afterward as free rural southern workers and farmers-to life in the emerging ghetto."

Let it not be thought that Gutman bases his conclusions on flimsy assumptions. This big volume contains a great body of primary material, and Pantheon Books should be complimented because inclusion of those data was not forbidden on the mistaken notion that detail might interfere with readability. For, with commendable deftness, the author integrates the factual and the interpretative. Gutman's findings could not have been so convincing without the powerful proofs he has summoned and set forth.

One may be inclined to criticize a few of the testifiers. For instance, I question the reliability of some Richard J. Hinton statements quoted on pp. 614-16; Gutman himself acknowledges that "Hinton was not a detached observer." Yet, as to what most of the witnesses say, I have no important doubts. Speaking or writing independently, they present virtually identical views strongly supporting one another.

Aside from the main substantive contribution, what I admire most is Gutman's directness in reaching his reader from start to finish. The book exemplifies the virtues of what may appropriately be termed an open authorial approach. Possibly the same degree of effectiveness could have been achieved via less forthright, more subtle methodology-but I seriously question that. Thus *The Black Family* may be rewardingly studied in terms of stylistic and procedural success as well as respecting the theme which is its principal *raison d'etre.*

University of Kentucky HOLMAN HAMILTON

Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America. By Lawrence Goodwyn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. xxvii, 718 pp. Introduction, illustrations, maps, afterword, appendixes, a critical essay on authorities, notes, acknowledgments, index. $19.95.)

At last, after forty-five years, John D. Hicks's *Populist Revolt* has been superseded by a more comprehensive and penetrating study of the Farmers Alliance and People's party movements of

the late nineteenth century. The result is a lengthly book which probably will not resolve the ongoing debate among historians about the nature of Populism, but deserves to be universally recognized as the best single source of information about the emergence-and disappearance-of the most significant third party movement in American history.

Lawrence Goodwyn's *Democratic Promise* greatly differs, both in emphasis and in interpretations, from the account of Populism to be found in Hicks's pioneering work. True, both Goodwyn and Hicks are basically sympathetic to the movement, and Goodwyn, like Hicks, takes an old-style humanistic approach to research and writing. But Goodwyn corrects two fundamental errors in the older standard account. Goodwyn insists that the Alliance cooperative movement of the late 1880s, out of which Populism sprang, was "the core experience of the agrarian revolt" -not the "shadow movement of free silver" which Hicks focuses upon. Democratic *Promise*'s author also rightly maintains that the deepest roots of Populism were to be found in the South (most particularly, eastern Texas) rather than in the western states. Goodwyn is not the first to suggest either of these reinterpretations, but he is the first since Hicks in 1931 who was willing to assume the formidable task of attempting a comprehensive history of Populism in America.

The virtues of this book are many, its deficiencies comparatively insignificant. The complex monetary system of Gilded Age America is ably treated in the first chapter; the origins of the Alliance are brilliantly explained in subsequent pages. Goodwyn describes, better than any other historian ever has, how most northern and southern voters were held in thralldom during the 1880s and 1890s to issues of the past by the dominant parties in their respective sections; northern Republicans waved the "bloody shirt," while southern Democrats wept over the Lost Cause-both parties thereby obfuscated current socio-economic problems and blunted the genuine reform efforts of third party activists of that time-in particular, the Populists.

Goodwyn is equally effective in explaining the relationship of southern blacks to the Populist movement. His chapter on "The Populist Approach to Black America" sharply illuminates the difficulties of biracial politics in that era, and helps explain subsequent politico-racial developments in the South. The author,

although obviously pro-Populist in his approach, forthrightly examines the division among white Populists on racial matters.

A second printing of this book should eliminate some minor mistakes. Any first edition of a 700-plus page book will inevitably contain some errors, mostly typographical, and *Democratic Promise* is no exception. (To note one instance, General James B. Weaver is reported on p. 22 as running for president on the Greenback-Labor party ticket in 1884, although the correct date would be 1880.) But why point out every pockmark in a mountain? Goodwyn should be congratulated for one of the great achievements by a modern historian; he has placed an important, misunderstood people's movement in the perspective it deserves, and in so doing he has given it meaning for our own time.

Georgia College WILLIAM I. HAIR.

The Ethnic Southerners. By George Brown Tindall. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xvii, 251 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, index. $11.95.)

If members of the Southern Historical Association were asked to rank the top ten living historians of the American South, the person leading the list would undoubtedly be C. Vann Woodward of Yale University. But such unanimity would not be true for second place, and certainly George B. Tindall of the University of North Carolina would be a serious contender for that runner-up position. Tindall has written profusely and brilliantly about the South. His books include: *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900; The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945; The Disruption of the Solid South; The Pursuit of Southern History* (editor); *The Persistent Tradition of New South Politics;* and *A Populist Reader* (editor). His scholarly articles run into the dozens. This volume under review is a collection of eleven of Tindall's essays published between 1958 and 1975, including three of which were somewhat altered and later included in his award-winning *Emergence* and one of which summarized his later more detailed *Disruption.*

Like other major southern historians, on numerous occasions Tindall has addressed himself to that perennial question: what is

the South? Having engaged in his research and contemplation on that question in the post-World War II era, when powerful economic and social forces were altering the region, Tindall argues that change has always strongly affected the South. He has refused to become embroiled in the fruitless debate as to whether the South is losing its identity (i.e., disappearing, vanishing, or ready for its epitaph) because of changes. Rather he takes the position that the more the South changes the more it remains the same in many crucial ways. He writes, "to change is not necessarily to disappear . . . to change is not necessarily to lose one's identity; to change, sometimes, is to find it." (p. 21) Most of Tindall's essays addressed to race relations were written before the racial upheavals of the 1960s and are already somewhat dated. Tindall's generation remembers that blacks' major demands have revolved around discrimination, while racial identity and pride appear to be blacks' first priority for the past decade.

While regional expatriate C. Vann Woodward has brooded over his native land *(The Burden of Southern History),* Tindall has shown less emotion, less subjectivity, and perhaps in some ways less sensitivity. Indeed, at times his tongue is clearly in his cheek as he writes of time worn subjects such as the central theme of southern history, the South as a colonial appendage to the North, and the rising (i.e., changing) South. He may be viewed as the leader of a vanguard of historians younger than he who approach the South with evenhanded objectivity. Because of Tindall and those following him, no longer can non-Southerners automatically assume that students of southern history are dedicated defenders of the South simply because that region is their major research interest.

The title of this volume is taken from the opening essay, a reprint of Tindall's presidential address to the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta in 1973. In this Age of the Minority, the title is misleading for the essay, since in it Tindall is concerned as much with the white Southerner as he is with blacks, and it is misleading as the title for this book, since this collection of essays is far broader that that phrase implies.

New Mexico State University MONROE BILLINGTON

Racial Equality in America. By John Hope Franklin. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976. xi, 113 pp. Preface, for further reading. $7.95.)

For the reader who is concerned with America's racial dilemma, and this should include us all, I believe this book will prove an enlightening experience. Mr. Franklin, now a distinguished professor of history at the University of Chicago, and formerly president of the Southern Historical Association, has authored many earlier books dealing with the South and the enslavement, handicaps, and upward struggles of the nation's black citizens. Obviously, too, he has followed the instinct of every good historian carefully to search for facts gleaned from reports, public records, and the writings of others, to form and support his findings and conclusions. And in this book of only 108 pages, Franklin gives his readers a brilliant, balanced distillation of the nation's struggles-its failures and its successes-to match the promise of the American dream with performance.

Presented first as the 1976 Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities, the book is in three parts, the first being entitled, *The Dream Deferred.* In this part, the author traces the pursuit of equality in America from the seventeenth century through the colonial period and the post-Revolutionary struggles for social and government stability. He establishes well the irony of those times when our citizens generally, while rebelling against what they considered their own enslavement by the British, at the same time were planning and nourishing the more cruel enslavement of black people. He calls to mind that Thomas Jefferson and other leaders of that period wrote eloquently about all men being "created equal," and yet neither he nor others would accept the concept of extending such promises to people of African origin or descent. Thus this period ended with continued black enslavement, and with those blacks who had been voluntarily "freed" still denied the ordinary rights of citizenship afforded to whites without which there could be no equality in either a civilized or constitutional sense.

The second part, entitled *The Old Order Changeth Not,* deals with the nineteenth century in which Lincoln's Proclamation and the Civil War purported to emancipate the slaves. The author shows that this emancipation did not in fact result in a

commitment to equality of rights and opportunity for black citizens, nor was this really intended even by the abolitionists or by the white people generally in any section of the land. In fact, it was in this period that rigid, long standing forms for the segregation and continued degradation of blacks were fashioned.

The third part, entitled, *Equality Indivisible,* describes the emerging progress toward equality in the twentieth century. For the first time in our history, the promise of equal rights for all citizens became more than a shibboleth. Though grudgingly in some areas, the nation moved to accept political equality, equality in public accommodations, education, employment, and housing for all black and other minority citizens.

Professor Franklin by no means sees the end of the struggle. I think he feels, with the late President Lyndon Johnson, that racial equality must still be fought for "in the Courts, in the Congress and in the hearts of men." Paradoxically, the monolithic slowness of our political system will require this vigilance and commitment. But Franklin gives deserved credit for political actions of our time that have moved the country in directions promised since the American Revolution. Specifically he commends the Truman Committee on Civil Rights; the United States Commission on Civil Rights; decisions of the courts; the 1964 Civil Rights Act; and subsequent congressional acts dealing with voting rights, educational reform, open housing, and employment opportunity.

Two other features of this book deserve special praise. In a final section entitled *For Further reading,* there is a bibliography that is very comprehensive and precise. For any student or reader who wishes further information about the struggle for equality, here is an excellent compilation of source material Also following each of the three parts, the author adds a brief excerpt from contemporary poetry by Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Witter Bynner. Well-chosen, the lines are like burning beacons along the path to freedom.

Tallahassee, Florida LEROY COLLINS

Carnival of Fury: Robert Charles and the New Orleans Race Riot of 1900. By William Ivy Hair. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xvi, 216 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. $8.95.)

A Night of Violence: The Houston Riot of 1917. By Robert V. Haynes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xii, 338 pp. Preface, notes, maps, *essay* on sources, index. $12.95.)

The Angelo Herndon Case and Southern Justice. By Charles H. Martin. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xv, 234 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, epilogue, selected bibliography, index, $10.95.)

In his comparative analysis of the race riots of 1919 and the 1960s, Arthur Waskow suggested that "in almost all of the riots, the behavior of the local police was closely connected with the beginnings of the riot." *(From Race Riot to Sit-In, 1919 and the 1960s,* p. 209) The absence of "firm neutrality" was the single most important "final spark" in provoking racial confrontation. The books reviewed here which describe race riots in New Orleans and Houston certainly sustain Waskow's contention. And while the third book-the account of the Angelo Herndon case-does not deal directly with a race riot, it provides ample evidence of the abuse of the state's police powers and its ultimately destructive effects.

Of the individuals and incidents described in these books, Herndon is perhaps the best known. As a teenager in Birmingham, Herndon underwent a conversion similar in intensity to that of millions of other black and white Southerners. But he had embraced Marxism rather than Christianity as his salvation, and his life was never to be the same again. He had several minor brushes with hostile law enforcement officers as he organized for the Communist party and worked among the unemployed of Birmingham. In early 1932 he moved to Atlanta and began organizing unemployed and poverty-stricken blacks. On July 11, 1932, ten days after leading a peaceful hunger march on city hall, Atlanta police arrested him, searched his apartment, and found a number of Communist pamphlets and books. On the basis of this

evidence, the courts found Herndon guilty of "initiating a riot, attempting to overthrow the lawful authority of the state of Georgia"-a capital crime. The statute which made possible Herndon's conviction was a chilling link with the long tradition of white supremacy in the South. Georgia's legislature adopted its first anti-insurrection statute in the wake of Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion in Virginia and, with modifications in 1866 and 1871, it was the basis for the case against Herndon.

This is not a traditional "biography." Herndon left no private papers, and he has resolutely refused to cooperate with all investigators, Charles Martin, therefore, has concentrated upon the case as an example of the interaction of race and radicalism in the depression South. As he traces the arrest, trial, conviction, and twenty year sentence of Herndon, he describes a dreary pattern that has been repeated in dozens of other similar cases. White Southerners, terrified of any change in the racial status quo, inevitably responded to radical criticism as evidence of subversive schemes and insurrectionary plots. Atlanta's city prosecutor was particularly repressive as he used a combination of police raids and threatened prosecution to silence dissident whites and blacks. And, while some state officials like Governor Eugene Talmadge reacted with public moderation, the governor probably reflected the sentiment of most white Georgians when he privately declared that the streets of Georgia would be "piled with corpses like haystacks" if blacks like Herndon were allowed to "run loose."

If white Southerners seldom veered from their traditional response neither did the Communist party as it sought to bring the revolution home to the white South. Martin is sympathetic to the problems of the party and its legal affiliate which defended Martin, the International Labor Defense. But he concludes sadly that party members and leaders were simply unable to restrain their "narrow sectarianism." While the Supreme Court did overturn the insurrectionary statute in 1936 and grant Herndon his freedom, the party's vicious attacks on potential sympathizers torpedoed any hope for a left of center coalition in the South.

Robert Haynes's account of the Houston riot helps to explain the atmosphere of fear which led officials to press for the death sentence against a black youth whose only apparent "crime" was to distribute a few innocuous leaflets and handbills. Shortly after

dusk on August 23, 1917, a little more than 100 soldiers of the United States 3rd Battalion, 24th Infanty (all black) marched into the city of Houston from their training camp nearby. Within a few hours they had killed sixteen whites (including five policemen) and panicked the entire city. The armed foray soon faltered, however; the leader, Sergeant Vida Henry committed suicide, and the black soldiers straggled back to their camp without ever having staged a pitched battle with the forces hastily assembled to stop their attack.

The violent affair had been triggered by a white policemen's assault on a black soldier, but Haynes's carefully documented account reveals that the bloody incident was the culmination of weeks of growing tension. White policemen insisted on demanding complete subservience by all blacks, whether civilians or soldiers. With tactics ranging from petty harassment to brutal pistol-whippings, Houston police made themselves the terror of the black community. As one black minister put it: "Law-abiding [Negro] citizens feared the police in getting over the city at night more than they feared the highwaymen."

Although Haynes briefly sketches the history of race relations in Houston during the pre-war and war years, his study concentrates upon the period from late July 1917-when the 24th Infantry arrived at Camp Logan-through the dramatic raid on August 23, the capture and trial of more than 100 black soldiers, and finally the execution of thirteen of them. As a narrative account of the twenty-four hours surrounding the raid itself, *A Night of Violence* is first-rate. Haynes frankly acknowledges that there are crucial gaps in the evidence. Since Sergeant Henry, apparent leader of the raid, committed suicide, and most of the other participants remained silent as to their motivation, he can only deduce the factors which led the black soldiers to launch their ill-planned and ultimately abortive assault. But the narrative of the attack itself is at once gripping and suspenseful even though the utlimate outcome is never in doubt.

A Night of Violence is not without some serious flaws. Although Haynes had a massive amount of documentary information available on the riot itself (mostly from army investigations), tantalizing questions remain. What was, for example, the collective cultural and regional background of the rebellious black soldiers? Were they black Southerners whose willingness to accept

the racial status quo had been altered by their military training? Or were they primarily northern-born blacks unaccustomed to the rigidity of Jim Crow, southern style? And even though Haynes gives a brief and provocative analysis of local politics in the period before the riot itself, there is no concerted attempt to relate the uprising to other similar military and non-military racial disturbances.

In many respects, William Ivy Hair was at a much greater disadvantage than Martin or Haynes in his attempt to describe Robert Charles and the New Orleans riot. Charles, an obscure black man from Mississippi had achieved instant notoriety and infamy in the summer of 1900 when he fatally shot two New Orleans policemen and then died two days later after a pitched gun battle with hundreds of whites. By the time his body was mutilated in the streets of New Orleans the keen-eyed Charles had killed twenty-five additional whites and triggered a race "riot" in which whites rampaged through the streets of Black New Orleans.

In the absence of substantial material on the early life of Charles, Hair has sensitively described the violent background of Copiah County, Mississippi, where the "arch-fiend," as whites dubbed him, spent his early years. There, where assassinations and political executions were commonplace in the 1880s and 1890s, Charles grew to adulthood. At the same time, Hair summarizes the deterioration of political conditions which was taking place in Louisiana during these years. He surmises with persuasive circumstantial and direct evidence that Charles, a sensitive and politically intelligent young man, was dismayed by the rising tide of white repression.

When Charles arrived in New Orleans in 1894 at the age of twenty-nine, his growing despair over racial conditions was reflected in a decision to support the International Migration Society's back to Africa movement. By the end of the 1890s Charles had begun to distribute Bishop Henry Turner's emigrationalist magazine, *Voice of Missions.* At the same time his anger deepened with each new report of political and racial repression. When police searched his battered body they found a newspaper account of a particularly brutal lynching in Georgia.

But here, as in the case of the Houston riot, it was the police who ignited the bloody confrontation. When a policeman abused

and harassed Charles on a New Orleans street, he drew a gun and then was wounded as he fled through nearby alleys. Shortly thereafter, Charles killed two of the three policemen that surrounded his apartment and then fled to a friend's house where he remained hidden for several days.

In the meantime, gangs of working-class whites, forced to compete with blacks in the depressed New Orleans economy, went on a rampage in the black portions of the city. Although police finally ended the riot itself, after several blacks were killed, the stage was set for a climactic battle as 10,000 whites surrounded Charles's hideout and engaged in one of the most spectacular "shoot-outs" in the history of America. Twenty-five more whites were killed before a fire drove Charles into the streets where he was shot and his body horribly mutilated.

Here too there is clear evidence that police incompetency and brutality triggered the riot. Still it would be erroneous to argue that the New Orleans and Houston riots and the Herndon case were "caused" by the lack of "professional" police forces in the three cities. The failure of the police power was simply a reflection of the failure of the larger society.

Robert Charles, Vida Henry, and Angelo Herndon are blacks known only to a few specialists in Afro-American or southern history. But these three historical studies reveal how these men-in different ways-exposed the deepest fears and forebodings of white Southerners after the turn of the century. Each served notice that the racial "settlement" of the 1890s was not an agreement between black and white, but a solution forcibly imposed by the white majority and maintained through potential and actual violence. Their lives, and in the case of Charles and Henry, their deaths, are a grim commentary on the gloomy history of black white relations in American history.

Emory University DAN T. CARTER

Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place. By Angie Debo. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. xx, 480 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $14.95.)

Angie Debo's many books on the history of the American Indian have always been models of scholarship and sensitivity. So too is this new biography of Geronimo, the renowned Chiricahua Apache leader. Drawing heavily upon the works of other scholars and the personal reminiscences of her subject and his Apache contemporaries, she reconstructs the circumstances of Geronimo's early manhood in what is now New Mexico and Arizona, emphasizing the indelible mark left upon him when his wife and three children were killed by Mexican troops in 1850. Thereafter the annual raids into Mexico, an important part of the tribal economy, assumed the character of a personal vendetta. The acquisition of the southwest by the United States after the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo, however, profoundly threatened traditional Apache lifeways. The American government committed itself to halting the raids south of the border and to facilitating white settlement of the Mexican cession by restricting the Indians to well-defined reservations. The Civil War prevented implementation of the policy, but not a series of incidents that left the Chiricahuas, then led by Cochise, wholly suspicious if not fully hostile. Particularly important was the slaying of Mangas Coloradas, chief of the related Mimbreno Apaches.

Following the Civil War, the government revived its reservation policy, and in 1872 persuaded Cochise and his people to accept a domain that encompassed their traditional homeland. But three years later federal officials determined to concentrate all Apache groups on the San Carlos reservation in Arizona, a decision that had tragic consequences. Forcibly settled upon the new reserve, Geronimo, Chief Naiche (Cochise's son and successor), and other Chiricahuas fled the agency in 1878, 1881, and again in 1883, taking refuge in the Sierra Madre of northern Mexico. Although pursued by American and Mexican troops, they raided and killed almost at will both above and below the international border. In 1886, following promises by General Nelson Miles that they would be reunited with others of their tribe recently sent to Florida, Geronimo and his band of seventeen warriors and twenty women and children surrendered for the fourth and final time. Some 5,000 American troops were at the time futilely searching for them.

Despite General Miles's assurances, Geronimo and the other leaders did not join the Apaches then at St. Augustine. Instead

they were imprisoned at Fort Pickens near Pensacola, a facet of the Apache story of particular interst to Florida readers. In the spring of 1887 the St. Augustine "captives" were relocated at Mount Vernon Barracks just north of Mobile, Alabama; the next year they were joined by Geronimo and his colleagues from Fort Pickens. The Apaches remained in Alabama until 1894, when they were removed to Fort Sill near Lawton, Oklahoma. Although technically prisoners, members of the band were free to move about on the military reservation. Under these conditions and until his death in February 1909, Geronimo demonstrated his skills as a farmer, rancher, and businessman. In 1913 those of his fellow prisoners still imprisoned were given the opportunity to return to New Mexico.

Dr. Debo hopes that her biography will be the definitive study of Geronimo, and there is no doubt but that it is the most comprehensive one to appear. Her analysis of his individual experiences, his motives, his personal life and character adds a new dimension to our knowledge of the man. Geronimo emerges as a complex individual, capable both of murder and compassion, hatred and love. Her account of his years in captivity in Florida, Alabama, and Oklahoma represents original contributions. And her correction of the popular misconception that Geronimo was captured in 1886 rather than having actually surrendered to General Miles is especially welcome. In sum, this book is a significant contribution to the literature of the American Indian and deserves as wide a reading audience as possible.

University of Arkansas at Fayetteville W. DAVID BAIRD

BOOK NOTES

The Democrats who returned to power in Florida after 1876 promised economic reforms and a balanced budget. To cut the cost of securing and caring for prisoners, the convict lease system was instituted on the state and county level. If it saved money-$4,600 the first year-it was a harsh, cruel system with little regard for the prisoners who worked from daylight to dark and who were brutally punished for the slightest provocation. *The*

American-Siberia is by John C. Powell, who describes his fourteen years experience as a captain of a Florida convict camp. It is one of the volumes in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series published by the University Presses of Florida for the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida. This volume was edited by Professor William Warren Rogers of Florida State University, who has written an introduction to the 1891 edition and has indexed both the book and his own introduction. *American Siberia* sells for $12.00.

The *Florida Handbook, 1977-1978* by Allen Morris is now available. Published by the Peninsular Publishing Company, Box 5078, Tallahassee, Florida 32301, it sells for $8.95. The *Florida Handbook* is the most useful and informative resource guide to Florida government. It includes a potpourri of useful data and statistics, including the Florida Constitution, and all executive department agencies. Information on the people associated with the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government is available. Besides historical articles on the discovery and exploration of Florida, Florida in the American Revolution and the Confederacy, the Boom of the 1920s, Indians, and the Everglades, the history of all the counties is covered. There is also information on forests, wildlife, fishing, agriculture, minerals, political parties, literature, women in government, education, and a vast accumulation of statistical data showing everything from the county-by-county vote in the presidential election of November 1976 to population trends and changes from 1830 to 1970. There are also many pictures and a very useful index.

Gadsden, a Florida County in Word and Picture, by Miles Kenan Womack, Jr., is another of the many excellent county and community histories of Florida being published to commemorate the Bicentennial. Gadsden is the fifth oldest county in Florida, created in 1823, and named in honor of James Gadsden, one of General Jackson's aides during the First Seminole War. Gadsden was part of Florida's important plantation belt before the Civil War, and played a major role in the political and economic history of the area. Mr. Womack's book chronicles the history of the county's settlements, and its many social, economic and cultural institutions-churches, schools, academies, civic and fra-

ternal organizations, and clubs. Transportation, agriculture, banking, and business are also included. Over 400 illustrations and an index add value to this attractive history which sells for $15.00. It may be ordered from the Gadsden County Chamber of Commerce, North Madison Street, or the Gable House, 9 North Madison Street, Quincy, Florida 33251.

The History of Flagler County by John A. Clegg is a history of still another county that has played an important role in the twentieth-century development of Florida. Mr. Clegg, president of the Citizens Bank of Bunnell, used historical data which had been collected for the fiftieth anniversary of Flagler County in 1967. Additional information came from local and county records and contemporary newspapers. *The History of Flagler County* is available for sale through local stores in Bunnell.

History of Welaka, 1853-1935 was written by Mati Belle Reeder, who received much of the information for her booklet from pioneer residents in the community. James W. Bryant first settled Welaka on the east bank of the St. Johns. *The History of Welaka* sells for $3.00 and it may be ordered from Mrs. R. D. Goolsby, Jr., Women's Club, Box 1, Welaka 32093.

A Brief History of Hamilton County, Florida was compiled by Cora Hinton and was published as a Bicentennial project by the county's Action '76 Committee. Although there are few written records, the county's history dates to the early eighteenth century when Creek Indians began moving south from Georgia and Alabama. Perhaps Bartram passed through this area during his Florida travels in the 1770s. Biographical data, and the history of buildings, schools, railroads, lumber mills, post offices, and transportation routes are included. Many pictures are included. This *History of Hamilton County* may be ordered from P.O. Box 54, Jasper, Florida 32052.

Lora Sinks Britt, managing editor of the *Palatka Daily News,* is the author of *A Century for Christ,* the centennial history of the First Baptist Church of Palatka, Florida. The church was organized in 1870, and it has played a vital role in community life ever since. Mrs. Britt's book not only tells the story of the

church, but recounts the history of the community as well. She was assisted in the compiling of data and writing the book by J. Emmett Brown and the other members of the History Committee. The book sells for $5.00, and proceeds go to the church. Order from Brittany House, Box 923, Palatka, 32077.

Building Florida's Capitol is a brief history of the State Capitol by Lee H. Warner. It was published for the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board. Florida's Capitol is one of the five oldest in the United States, and the oldest in the southeast. This pamphlet includes a number of pictures which have heretofore never been published.

Big Joe Earman is a history of the Earman family and a biography of Joe S. Earman who played an important role in Florida politics, journalism, and education. Under his leadership, the *Palm Beach Post* became one of the most influential newspapers in Florida. Governor Sidney J. Catts appointed him chairman of the Board of Control for the state university system. He supervised the activities of the Florida Plant Board, served as president of the Florida State Board of Health, and held the office of municipal judge in West Palm Beach. Joe S. Earman and Betty Earman are the authors of this book, which was privately printed. It includes some of Earman's colorful editorials, letters, and family pictures.

Yesterday's Lakeland was written by Hampton Dunn, the author of several other pictorial histories of Florida cities-St. Petersburg, Clearwater, Tampa, and Tallahassee. The earliest pictures of Lakeland reveal a collection of wooden buildings, unpaved streets, wooden sidewalks, and the Lakeland Jitney Line bus which cost a nickle to ride. Photographs of pioneers, government officials, public and commercial buildings, residences, and the celebrities and ordinary folk who have lived in Lakeland are included. Of special interest are the photographs of the community before 1900, including a picture of Spanish-American War soldiers who were stationed there in 1898. The book was published by the City of Lakeland, and it sells for $15.00.

Orlando Mayor Carl Langford is the author of *Hizzoner the*

Mayor, an anecdotal account of his private and public life. It was during his administration that Disney World was established, which has turned Orlando into one of the fastest growing cities in the country. Langford, a native of Orlando, has served as mayor since 1967. He describes local and county politics, the problems that have beset his city, his relations with other Florida public officials, celebrities who have visited Orlando, and his own special interests and activities. *Hizzoner the Mayor* sells for $8.95. Order from Chateau Publishing Company, Inc., Herndon Station, Box 20432, Orlando, 32814.

Compare With Your Life and Laugh, Lead, Live, and Look is the autobiography of R. (Dick) Whittington whose boyhood was spent on a farm in Washington County, Florida. He operated a ferry on the Choctawahatchee River, between Caryville and Westville, and later became a farmer and county agricultural agent. He was also a district forester, an oil company jobber, and he helped start a farmers cooperative in West Florida. His book was published by Vantage Press, New York, and it sells for $6.95.

Profiles: An Appreciation of Martin County Women was published by the Stuart area branch of the American Association of University Women as a Bicentennial project. It salutes some forty women in the community whose contributions and leadership have aided in the development of Martin County. AAUW members wrote the stories which were published in the *Stuart News.* The drawings are by Helen Shea Wells and a number of old photographs illustrate the book. It sells for $5.50, and may be ordered from Mrs. Jeanne R. Lord, 165 Southwest Cabana Point Circle, Stuart, 33494.

Our Sub-Tropical Paradise, A Profile of East Florida's Threatened Environment is by Donald Lindley of Daytona Beach. The beaches, wetlands, rivers, and woodlands, along with the birds, animals, insects, and marine life, are Mr. Lindley's concern. He shows why they should be important to all Floridians. The threat of salt water intrusion, water shortages, and other problems are discussed. There are many colored photographs which are the work of Bob Eikum and Walter J. Kenner. The book sells for

$3.95, and may be ordered from the News-Journal Corporation, Box 431, Daytona Beach, Florida 32015.

Florida Sand is a new enlarged edition of the Florida poems, songs, folktales and stories written by Will McLean. The whipping boss in the prison camps, Indians, pioneers, explorers, swamps, the Florida Keys, wild animals, and the springs are some of the things that Mr. McLean writes about. There is even a "Ballad of Will McLean." Some of Mr. McLean's ballads and songs have been set to music, and he has recorded an album under the title "Florida Sands." Both the book and the album are being distributed by Sunny Mountain Records, Box 14592, Gainesville, 32604.

Many novelists have argued literary license as they have altered and/or mixed up Florida history in their books. Not so Eugenia Price, a resident of St. Simons Island, Georgia. Her latest novel, *Maria*, is the story of a young British nurse who travels with her husband and his regiment, the Royal First Regiment of Foot, from Charleston to Havana and then back to St. Augustine. These troops were the first British contingent helping to establish English sovereignty over the Floridas, the territory acquired at the close of the French and Indian War. Ms. Price did considerable research in the St. Augustine, Savannah and Charleston archives to develop her historical data. Maria Evans, first the wife of Sergeant David Fenwick, and later Mrs. Joseph Peavett, was a real person. She lived for a time in the home on St. Francis Street known as The Oldest House. Later she occupied the property now identified as the Lucuano de Herrera house on Charlotte Street. Maria died in 1792, and it is believed that her unmarked grave is somewhere in the area now identified as South Ponte Vedra. Ms. Price's earlier Florida novel was also the story of a real Florida person, Don Juan McQueen, who lived in St. Augustine and on Fort George Island. *Maria* was published by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, and it sells for $10.00.

John D. MacDonald is one of Florida's most prolific and best known writers. Not only does he call Florida home-he lives at Sarasota-but the state provides a setting for many of his books.

His latest novel, a best seller and a Book of the Month Club selection, is *Condominium*. He describes a fictional Golden Sands, which can be duplicated many times over in the real Florida of the 1960s and 1970s. And just as many residents wonder today, MacDonald's characters question the durability of their condominiums as the cost of their upkeep continues to spiral. The suspicions of the citizens of Golden Sands are tragically confirmed when Hurricane Ella sweeps in out of the Gulf of Mexico spewing death and destruction in her path. Mr. MacDonald has written an exciting book. It also was published by J. B. Lippincott, and the price is $10.00.

Louisiana in 1776: A Memoria of Francisco Bouligny was translated by Gilbert C. Din of Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado. It is one of the volumes in the Louisiana Collection Series which Jack D. L. Holmes edits and publishes. Bouligny's *Memoria* provides detailed and valuable information on Louisiana and West Florida trade, economics, shipping, Indians, and political matters. Professor Din's introduction details the strategic position that Spanish Louisiana held in 1776. There is also a biography of Bouligny, and an index. The book sells for $9.69, and it may be ordered from 520 South 22nd Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama 35205.

Florida was little involved in the military and political events of the American Revolution. Therefore only one historic site, the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine, is listed in Harlan D. Unrau's *Here Was the Revolution: Historic Sites of the War for American Independence*, published by the National Park Service. The Castillo, now a national monument, was known as Fort St. Marks during the British period. Other St. Augustine sites, and several in the Pensacola area associated with the Revolution, might have been included in this book. The College Hill (Georgia) home of George Walton, whose family later lived in Pensacola, is described among the homes of South Carolinians who played roles in Florida history, as is that of John Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern district, who was forced because of his loyalist sympathies to flee first to St. Augustine and then to Pensacola. William Henry Drayton, of Drayton Hall (described as the "finest unrestored, unaltered ex-

ample of early Georgian architecture in the United States") had large investments and land interests in East Florida. The home of Edward Rutledge, signer of the Declaration of Independence, is included also. Captured by the British at the fall of Charleston, he was held prisoner in St. Augustine. This book is available for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington; the price is $6.20.

Three Capitals was published by the University of Alabama Press, Drawer 2877, University, Alabama 35486. It was written by William H. Brantley, Jr., with a foreword by Malcolm C. McMillan. First published in 1947, it describes the three historic communities, St. Stephens, Huntsville, and Cahawba, which served as capitals for Alabama during the eight-year period, 1818-1826. The book sells for $9.75.

Books that Changed the South, by Robert B. Downs, examines twenty-five works which, in the author's opinion, made a major impact on the social and intellectual history of the South. Literary merit was not a criteria in Mr. Downs's selections, although some of the South's greatest writers, including Thomas Jefferson, are included. The first on his list is John Smith's *The General Historee of Virginia. . . .;* the last is *Reconstruction to the New Freedom* from C. Van Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913.* Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery* and William E. B. DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk* are included, along with Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan. Books That Changed the South* was published by the University of North Carolina Press, and it sells for $10.95.

Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, volume twenty-eight, part one, was published by the University of Georgia Press for the Georgia Commission for the National Bicentennial Celebration. The history of Georgia's colonial records has been precarious. Many disappeared at the time of the American Revolution, others were lost during and after the Civil War, and some were destroyed as late as the twentieth century. Documents copied in the Public Records Office in London in the 1830s and 1840s were accidentally burned in the late nineteenth century. Later they were copied a second time, and between 1904 and 1916 twenty-

five volumes of these transcripts were published as the *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (volumes 1-19, 21-26). The unpublished transcripts, arranged in fourteen volumes, were microfilmed. It is these records which are now being edited by Kenneth Coleman and Milton Ready for publication. Volume twenty-eight includes the original papers of Governors Reynolds, Ellis, Wright, and others, and covers the years 1757-1763. The volume sells for $15.00, and may be ordered from the University of Georgia Press, Athens.

HISTORY NEWS

1978 Annual Meeting

Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Department of History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, and Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, Faculty of History, University of West Florida, Pensacola, are program chairmen for the seventy-sixth meeting of the Florida Historical Society to be held in Pensacola, May 4-6, 1978. They invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them immediately. Papers dealing with any aspect of the political, economic, social, intellectual, and military history of Florida will be considered.

The Pensacola Sheraton has been selected as the convention hotel. Ms. Linda Ellsworth of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board is in charge of local arrangements. The Pensacola Historical Society, the University of West Florida, the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, and other local and area historical and preservation organizations will be hosts for the meeting. The Florida Confederation of Historical Societies will be holding *a* workshop on Thursday, May 4, at the time of the annual meeting.

Awards

The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1976-1977 was given to Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, professor of history and chairman of the Department of History, Florida Technological University, for his article, "Custom, Law, and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Code'." It appeared in the January 1977 number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Thompson Prize is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly*. Dr. Shofner, who is president-elect of the Florida Historical Society, also received the Thompson Prize in 1967 and again in 1969. The judges for this year's award were Dr. Paul W. Wehr, Department of History, Florida Technological University; Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., Chancellor, Florida Southern College; and Dr. George Pozzetta, departments of Social Sciences and History, University of Florida. The award honors the late Dr. Arthur W. Thompson who for many years was professor of history at the

University of Florida and was a recognized scholar in Florida, Southern, and American history. The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was also received by Dr. Jerrell Shofner for his *History of Jefferson County, Florida,* which was published under the auspices of the Jefferson County Historical Association. An earlier book by Dr. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction* (University of Florida Press, 1974) won the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award in 1975. Dr. Shofner is an authority on Florida and Southern history, and his writings have appeared in many scholarly publications, including the *Journal of Southern History* and the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

The judges for the Patrick Award were Dr. James W. Covington, Dana Professor of History, University of Tampa; Dr. Thomas Graham, Department of History, Flagler College; and Dr. Thelma Peters, former Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences of Miami-Dade Community College, and president of the Florida Historical Society. The Patrick Award memorializes Professor Patrick who served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and secretary of the Florida Historical Society. He was also professor of history and chairman of the Department of History at the University of Florida.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

The trustees of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented a check for $1,000 to the Florida Historical Society at its annual meeting in St. Augustine, May 7, 1977. This is the fifth successive year that the Foundation has made a gift to the Society and directed that it be used for the *Florida Historical Quarterly.* The gifts from the Wentworth Foundation have enabled the *Quarterly* to use additional graphic material. The late Fillmore Wentworth of Clearwater established the foundation to help educate worthy young people and to support philanthropic and educational activities. There are a number of Wentworth Scholars studying at the University of Florida, The Florida State University, and other

Florida universities and community colleges. The Foundation has made grants to the Florida Anthropological Society, the Florida State Museum, and it has established a revolving publication fund for the Florida Historical Society.

Florida Historical Quarterly Index

The Index to Volumes XXXVI-LIII of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has been published and is available for sale from the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. The price is $12.50. Positive and negative microfilm of the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* Volumes I-LIII are also available from the Florida Historical Society. The price for Volumes I-XXIII is $38.60, and Volumes XIV-LIII, is $55.00.

Announcements and Activities

The University of Florida Social Science Publication Award winners for 1977 were Arch Fredric Blakey and Dr. David Colburn. Dr. Blakey was recognized for his book, *Parade of Memories: A History of Clay County, Florida.* Professor Blakey is also author of *The Florida Phosphate Industry: A History of the Development and Use of a Vital Mineral.* Dr. David Colburn's award was for his article, "Governor Alfred E. Smith and Penal Reform," which was published in the *Political Science Quarterly.* Dr. Colburn's articles on twentieth century Florida political history have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

The Peace River Valley Historical Society honored Dr. Frank G. Slaughter of Jacksonville at its thirteenth annual Florida History Award banquet, in Bartow, on April 29, 1977. The Society recognized Dr. Slaughter for his many contributions to the writing and interpretation of Florida history. Many of his most popular novels describe important aspects of Florida's past. One of these is *The Golden Isle,* which has sold some 2,000,000 hard and paperback copies. It concerns events in Fernandina and on Amelia Island in 1817. At the banquet Dr. Slaughter read a paper entitled "Cow Cavalry: Florida's Role in the Civil War," taken from his book *Storm Haven.* Dr. Slaughter presented a paper, "Fernandina and the Buccaneers," to the Jacksonville Historical Society at its May 14 meeting.

The Florida Anthropological Society held its twenty-ninth annual meeting in Tampa, March 19, 1977. Several of the papers described archeological surveys and excavations at the Maximo Park Beach site (St. Petersburg); Fort Chokonikla; Warm Mineral Springs; Utina Mission Station in North Florida; Mound Three: Lake Jackson (Leon County); the Zabski Site in Sarasota County; and the Shell Mound on the Upper St. Johns River. The "Effects of the Agreement of 1842 upon the Florida Seminoles," "A Temple Style Shelter for a Temple Mound," and "The Use of Stone, Bone, Shell, and Clay in Aboriginal Florida" were the titles of other papers delivered at the conference. J. T. Milanich, Burt Mowers, Irving Eyster, George Percy, and Charles H. Fairbanks participated in a symposium on sand tempered pottery in south Florida. The banquet speaker was Carl Clausen who discussed "The Cultural and Ecological Significance of Little Salt Spring."

The Newberry Library of Chicago will hold its second national Conference on College Teaching of State and Community History, January 12-15, 1978. Panels and workshops will deal with historiography, teaching problems, oral history, family and demography, ethno-cultural politics, multi-media, urban geographical development, and museums and archives. Applications are invited from teachers of state and community history. There is an $80.00 registration fee for the conference, which a participant's institution would be expected to pay to signify its support for innovative curriculum development. Participants will be provided with lodging. Those who cannot obtain funds for air fare will also be reimbursed for this expense. Deadline for completed applications is October 15, 1977, and participants will be notified in mid-November. For information, write to Richard Jensen, director, Family and Community History Center, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

The United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, is sponsoring an advanced research program in military history as a means of stimulating research and study at the army's major depository for materials in the history of military activities. Awards will be made to cover expenses while conducting research and writing at the Institute. Applica-

tions are due by December 1, 1977, and must include a written proposal describing the subject, scope, and character of the project; time estimated for residence at MHI; how MHI facilities, personnel, and materials will aid in the project; and an estimate of expenses. Inter-disciplinary projects are encouraged, and both civilian and military scholars in the field of military history are invited to apply to the Director of the History Institute.

OBITUARY

Baynard H. Kendrick

Baynard H. Kendrick, a long-time member and a former director of the Florida Historical Society and a former member of the editorial board of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, died on March 22, 1977. He was living in Leesburg at the time of his death. Mr. Kendrick was considered the dean of American mystery writers, and had received the Edgar Allen Poe Award for his writing. He was the creator of the blind detective Duncan MacLain, who became the hero of his mystery stories. MacLain became Mike Longstreet in the ABC television series which starred James Franciscus. Mr. Kendrick had received national recognition for his work in behalf of blinded war veterans. One of his stories became the celebrated motion picture *Bright Victory*. He was founder and first president of Mystery Writers of America.

He was the author of some twenty-nine books, including *Flames of Time*, a historical novel about East Florida during the British and Second Spanish periods. His first published work was a tale of Florida fishing, "The Captain's Lost Lake," in 1926. Many of his later novelettes and books had a Florida background. For more than three years he wrote a weekly historical column, "Florida's Fabulous Past," for the Sunday *Tampa Tribune*. He was also the author of *Florida Trails to Turnpikes, 1914-1964*, and *Orlando, a Century Plus* which was published as a community Bicentennial project.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1977

Sept. 27-30	American Association for State and Local History	Charleston, South Carolina
Oct. 4-7	Society of American Archivists	Salt Lake City, Utah
Oct. 20-23	Oral History Association	San Diego, California
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, Louisiana
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association Meeting	Dallas

1978

May 4	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies-Workshop	Pensacola
May 5-6	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY - 76th ANNUAL MEETING	Pensacola

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $10; family membership is $15; a fellow membership is $20. Special memberships of $50, $75, and $150 are also available. In addition, a life membership is $350, and a special memorial membership is available for $350. The latter guarantees delivery of the *quarterly* for twenty-five years to a library or other institution.

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