

COVER

Indian children playing in a stream near their village in Royal Palm Hammock in south Florida, ca. 1930-1940. Reproduced from a postcard.

The Florida Historical Quarterly



THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LVI, Number 3

January 1978

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Table of Contents

"A FREE FACETIOUS GENTLEMAN," JEAN SAVY, DOUBLE AGENT?	
Aileen Moore Topping	261
THE AMBUSH OF CAPTAIN JOHN WILLIAMS, U.S.M.C.: FAILURE OF THE EAST FLORIDA INVASION, 1812-1813 J. H. Alexander	280
PRIVATE SOCIETIES AND THE MAINTENANCE OF SEMINOLE TRIBAL INTEGRITY, 1899-1957	
Harry A. Kersey, Jr.	297
CAREER OF A "CARPETBAGGER": MALACHI MARTIN IN FLORIDA	
Mildred L. Fryman	317
THE WHITE SPRINGS POST OFFICE CAPER Jerell H. Shofner	339
Notes and Documents:	
FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS	348
BOOK REVIEWS	360
BOOK NOTES	390
HISTORY NEWS	398

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ENTERPRISE OF FLORIDA: PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES AND THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF 1565-1568, by Eugene Lyon reviewed by Michael V. Gannon

FLORIDA POLITICS IN THE GILDED AGE, 1877-1893, by Edward C. Williamson reviewed by Charlton W. Tebeau

OGLETHORPE IN AMERICA, by Phinizy Spalding reviewed by Jack P. Greene

COLONIAL GEORGIA, A HISTORY, by Kenneth Coleman reviewed by David R. Chesnutt

THE PAPERS OF GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE, VOLUME I, DECEMBER 1766-DECEMBER 1776, edited by Richard K. Showman, Margaret Cobb, and Robert E. McCarthy reviewed by Kenneth Coleman

THIS AFFAIR OF LOUISIANA, by Alexander DeConde Gilbert C. Din

THE DIARY OF EDMUND RUFFIN, VOLUME II, THE YEARS OF HOPE, APRIL, 1861-JUNE, 1863, edited by William Kauffman Scarborough reviewed by John Hebron Moore

A New Birth of Freedom: The Republican Party and Freedmen's Rights, 1861 to 1866, by Herman Belz reviewed by Elizabeth Studley Nathans

JOSEPH E. BROWN OF GEORGIA, by Joseph H. Parks reviewed by Bell I. Wiley

VENDETTA: A TRUE STORY OF THE WORST LYNCHING IN AMERICA, THE MASS MURDER OF ITALIAN-AMERICANS IN NEW ORLEANS IN 1891, THE VICIOUS MOTIVATIONS BEHIND IT, AND THE TRAGIC REPERCUSSIONS THAT LINGER TO THIS DAY, by Richard Gambino

reviewed by George E. Pozzetta

AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY IN CRISIS: CHRISTIAN REFORMERS AND THE INDIAN, 1865-1900, by Francis Paul Prucha reviewed by Harry A. Kersey, Jr.

INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS: A PERSISTANT PARADOX, edited by Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka reviewed by Floyd A. O'Neil

THE NATURAL SUPERIORITY OF SOUTHERN POLITICIANS: A REVISIONIST HISTORY, by David Leon Chandler reviewed by Joe B. Frantz

THE FUTURE OF HISTORY: ESSAYS IN THE VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY CENTENNIAL SYMPOSIUM, edited by Charles F. Delzell reviewed by Walter Rundell, Jr.

BIOCULTURAL ADAPTATION IN PREHISTORIC AMERICA, edited by Robert L. Blakely reviewed by Barbara A. Purdy

"A FREE FACETIOUS GENTLEMAN," JEAN SAVY. DOUBLE AGENT?

by Aileen Moore Topping *

THE SPANISH MINISTER, Don Joseph Patino, had read other accounts of the alarming growth of the new English colony called Georgia. He recalled the Franciscan friar's report of a conversation with an Indian chief who had been brought to England from Georgia by Mr. James Oglethorpe. The chief had stated that the English would use his people to capture San Augustin de la Florida. 1 A French engineer who had come to Madrid to solicit payment for past service in the Indies had presented a description of present conditions in Cuba, Florida, and Carolina. He had learned in South Carolina that "they will not feel secure until they have thrown us out of Florida." 2 A Roman Catholic resident of Charles Towne had told of the manner in which parcels of His Catholic Majesty's land were distributed to new settlers in Georgia. ³

Don Joseph Patino also recalled recent intelligence from America and England. Governor Francisco del Moral of Florida reported that San Agustin and San Marcos de Apalache were dangerously weak, but Governor Francisco de Guemes of Havana claimed he had no engineer who could be sent to Florida to ascertain what must be done to strengthen the two presidios. 4 The Conde de Montijo, His Majesty's ambassador in London, reported that the House of Commons had appropriated funds to be used that year to build a line of forts

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Conde de Montijo to Joseph Patino, remitting statement of the Reverend Father Joseph Ramos Escudero, November 8, 1734, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2591. Archivo General de Indias is hereinafter cited as AGI; Audiencia de Santo Domingo as SD, followed by a legajo number.

2. Gaspar de Courseille to the King, 1735, AGI, Indiferente General, legajo

^{1905.}

Francisco del Moral Sanchez to Patino, September 8, 1735, remitting Pedro Neri to the governor of Florida, August 4, 1735, AGI:SD, 2591.
 Patino to Moral, October 19, 1735, AGI:SD, 2591.

in Georgia. 5 Mr. Oglethorpe's sister had told Montijo that recently her brother had seen in Georgia an Irishman who had no known reason for being there. Suspecting the man to be an emissary sent by a Spanish official, Oglethorpe had arrested him and expelled him from the colony.

These recollections were disturbing. But the year 1735 would soon come to an end. It was time to think of a new year, time to plan for action. Patino, the king's counsellor of state, secretary for the Indies, and secretary for the navy, turned to the mail received that morning from the Spanish embassy at Paris, and began to reread Trevino's letter and Jean Savy's memorial.

The series of events which were set in motion by those papers will be narrated here by the use of selected documents found in Spanish and British archives. Most of the documents are translated from Spanish or French; those which were written in English are copied verbatim. Some were written by or about a man who signed his name Jean Savy when he wrote in French and John Savy when he wrote in English. In the Spanish papers he is called Don Juan Savi.

Don Fernando Trevino had written on October 17: "A few

days before I left Paris to come to this royal residence of Fontainebleau the commander of the Halbardier Guards of the Spanish Queen dowager came to see me accompanied by an Englishman who says he is a Catholic named Jean Savy. Savy was for many years in America where he practiced navigation and trade and served with the rank of a lieutenant of infantry in the colony of South Carolina. He says that having had serious grievances and vexations because of a difference of religion with Mr. Oglethorpe, the director of the new colony of Georgia which borders on Carolina, where Mr. Oglethorpe is beginning to settle Protestant families who were expelled from the Archbishopric of Salzburg in the Circle of Bavaria, he decided to come to France in July of this year with the intent of revealing to the King our Sire the encroachments made every day by the English of the two colonies mentioned above

Montijo to Patino, April 15, 1735, AGI:SD, 2591.
 Ibid., December 6, 1734, AGI:SD, 2591.

and their serious purpose of advancing until they attain their goal of taking possession of San Agustin

Savy offers to destroy all the settlements and forts which have been built by the English in His Majesty's dominions and to drive the intruders back to the former boundaries to which the Peace Treaty of Utrecht limits them. Savy would serve under the orders of a Spanish commanding officer, and would require few soldiers. I asked him to explain the matter in a clear and formal memorial, and he has done so in the paper which I now send to Your Excellency. I must tell you also that Savy is prepared to travel to Madrid at his own expense if Your Excellency thinks it wise for him to go to carry out his plan. He requests rigorous and inviolate secrecy in the affair, as he declares that merely hearing his name and the fact that he is going to Madrid is enough to arouse suspicion and anxiety in all England."

Savy had written: "Jean Savy, Roman Catholic, a native of the city of London, whose father was a Frenchman and a Catholic, has the honour of representing to Your Excellency that at thirteen years of age he was sent aboard a merchant ship to learn navigation and trade on the coast of South Carolina in the Indies, and that in the course of time and because of his diligent study of navigation and pilotage and his knowledge of that country and its coasts he earned the confidence of merchants engaged in that trade so well that they chose him to be a pilot and a first mate, and later to command ships.

He also devoted some time to learning something about service on land as a lieutenant in the company of Colonel Palmer of Carolina, as is verified by the commission he carries. Because of his experience on sea and on land he has the advantage of a perfect knowledge of all the roads, forts, settlements, and creeks from San Agustin to Georgia, as well as knowledge of the different languages of the Indians or savages of that country, having been their slave for a considerable time during the war which the Yamasees waged against the Carolinians about the year 1716.

Moreover he is very well informed about all that has happened since the beginning of Mr. Oglethorpe's enterprise. On lands which belong to His Catholic Majesty Mr. Oglethorpe

has founded a colony of refugees from Salzburg and vagabonds from different countries who are imperceptibly approaching so near to San Agustin that now they are disembarking shiploads of people and all necessary supplies to settle Altamaha, only seventy-five miles or twenty-five leagues from San Agustin, and they openly declare that they will make of that place a good and effective barrier against the Spaniards.

It is said that another shipload of people and supplies will soon be ready to set sail from England to increase and reinforce the settlements on the Ogeechee River in an area between San Agustin and Georgia where they have already built a small fort. At a place called Thunderbolt, twelve miles from Georgia by sea and four by land, there is a settlement of four families with a little fort. On the Savannah River at a place named Captain's Bluff they have built a small fort with six pieces of ordnance. When I was there that settlement consisted of twenty families; judging from its appearance I think it probably has been increased by forty or fifty more. Farther up the Savannah River in a town called Ebenezer are those poor refugees brought from Salzburg by Mr. Van Veck [Baron Philipp Von Reck]. It looks as if that town cannot endure because all provisions for it must be hauled in from Georgia.

With a secret understanding with the English Court the enterpreneurs of these companies and colonies settle these people in a country and on lands which belong not to them but to the King of Spain. They do this with great effort and care not to mention expense, but as they do it with the pretense of charity it is easy for them to justify being there without the King's knowledge or permission. Doubtless they have other more selfish motives which spur them on to work with so much vigilance and perseverance without taking the trouble to consider the justice or injustice of their actions. . . .

I have the honour of offering my services to His Majesty, and with my knowledge of that country, which I left only last July, and with few men and little expense, I undertake to evict the usurpers and to destroy all their towns, houses, and forts in such a way that they surely will never wish to return there. I shall require only about four or five hundred well armed men with some experienced officers to command them and to maintain military discipline, as well as ten large boats or pirogues

which are used in that country, each armed with two guns, to transport our troops. I myself shall guide the men where that is necessary, and I shall not undertake anything without the approval of the commanding officer. . . . At this time I ask for no other employment, authority, or recompense, for I am already convinced of His Majesty's great justice and generosity, and I trust that as the success of the expedition gives him evidence of my zeal, ability, and loyalty he will reward me proportionately.

I have many things to say about the relations of the inhabitants of San Agustin with those of Carolina, but I shall keep them until another time."

On November 7, Patino dispatched to Paris a royal order to send Savy to the Court. 8 Trevino replied, November 28, that Savy was ill and could not depart at that time. 9 On January 30, 1736, Patino was informed that although Savy had recovered from his illness, he was unable to travel to Madrid at his own expense, but that he would come if he were given the sum of 600 pounds, the cost of the journey. 10

On April 23 Trevino informed Patino that on the king's order he had given Savy "two hundred livres which he desired in currency and a letter of credit for four hundred livres which he is to cash in Bayonne. Tomorow morning he will depart in the mail coach for Bayonne, because being a seaman he is not accustomed to riding, and he will set out for the Court without delay. He is carrying my passport with the assumed name of Michael Wall a native of the realm of Ireland, because of the great importance of concealing his name and the object of his journey from the ministers and from English sympathizers. . . . " 11

On June 24, 1736, Patino sent a royal order to Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, governor of Havana and captain general of Cuba, reminding him of previous commands that he assist the governor of Florida by sending provisions, mili-

^{7.} Fernando Trevino to Patino, October 17, 1735, remitting a copy in

Fernando Trevino to Patino, October 17, 1735, remitting a copy in French of Jean Savy to Patino, AGI:SD, 2591.
 Patino to Trevino, November 7, 1735, AGI:SD, 2591.
 Trevino to Patino, January 30, 1736, AGI:SD, 2591.
 Ibid., January 30, 1736, AGI:SD, 2591.
 Ibid., April 23, 1736, AGI:SD, 2591. The alias used by Savy is spelled in various ways. Savy spelled the given name Michel; in Spanish it is written Miguel. The last name is spelled Wall in most of the documents.

tary stores, and troops to St. Augustine. He was also told of Savy's impending arrival in Havana. Patino authorized Savy's plan: "You will send to the presidio of San Agustin three hundred men from the garrison of Havana with a corresponding number of good experienced officers and an equally competent commanding officer. Jean Savy will lead those men and others who will be added to the corps by the governor of Florida up to the towns and forts which the English now occupy in His Majesty's dominions. Savy will suggest the methods to be used in attacking and dispersing the intruders, making use of his practical experience of their methods of warfare, their weapons, and the stratagems they may attempt.

If you are not already well informed about the activities of the English in Florida, you are to send Jean Savy to confer with the governor of Florida about the measures which must be taken. . . . His Majesty trusts that before you proceed to the execution of this important task you will verify the proposals, designs, and actions of Jean Savy, so as not to endanger the success of the enterprise. His Majesty does not doubt that you will proceed with great care and will employ the required precautions. During the time that Jean Savy is in Havana or is engaged in any commissions you may entrust to him the Royal Officials of Havana will pay him one thousand pesos per year, as you will see in the letter he carries." ¹²

Savy's sojourn in Madrid was reported to the Duke of Newcastle, British secretary of state, in a letter written July 5, 1736, by Benjamin Keene, the British ambassador. A French officer who was soliciting a commission in the English service had told Keene that "Wall was a blustering talkative fellow who had been in our Plantations in America, and had, as far as he could get it out of him, given a Project for a descent on some part of Jamaica."

Savy arrived in Havana on December 16, 1736. Four days later, in a letter to Patino, he described in detail his voyage from Cadiz to Santiago de Cuba and his overland journey from

^{12.} Patino to Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, June 24, 1736, AGI:SD, 2591.

Benjamin Keene to the Duke of Newcastle, July 5, 1736, in Great Britain, Public Record Office, State Papers Foreign, 94 (Spain), 126. Public Record Office is hereinafter cited as PRO; State Papers Foreign as SPF

that port to Havana. His ship had put in at Santiago October 28, "where the governor after having read Your Excellency's letters came himself in his launch . . . he received me very graciously in his home." In Havana Savy had learned "of the bad conduct of the governor of San Agustin de la Florida, who openly permits trade with the men of Charlestown in Carolina and allows their trading ships to enter and leave the port without payment of the King's duties, a thing he does not permit to Spaniards. I have this information from persons who came here from San Agustin less than a month ago and from reliable men who were sent there by the governor of Havana." 14

In the summer of 1736 Governor Guemes sent the engineer Antonio de Arredondo to Florida to ascertain what fortifications and reinforcements were needed there. Arredondo was also commissioned to convey to James Oglethorpe the Spanish governor's demand that he demolish the forts and towns he had built south of Santa Elena (Port Royal) and remove his people from Spanish territory. In their communications to Oglethorpe, Guemes and Arredondo cited Article VII of the Treaty of Madrid of 1670, which had been affirmed by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. By those agreements Spain recognized England's title to lands which she held and occupied in America in 1670, at a time when the English settlement at Charles Towne had just been established. Arredondo used this mission to examine English fortifications as he sailed in his own schooner up the inland waterways from St. Augustine to St. Simons Island where he met Oglethorpe. The engineer also examined San Marcos de Apalache, and on his return to Havana in November he made recommendations for reinforcing Florida and for expelling the English from Spanish territory. With this information Guemes was well prepared to consider Jean Savy's plan. 15

^{14.} Savy to Patino, December 20, 1736, AGI:SD, 2591, in French, autograph. In Santiago de Cuba Savy became acquainted with Leonard Cocke, a factor of the South Sea Company. In a letter to Commodore Digby Dent, commandant of a British squadron at Jamaica, Cocke reported "finding him [Wall] a free facetious Gentleman & that loved his Glass. . . . I think I pretty well sifted him & it seems he is to make a Descent on the new Settlements of Georgia." Leonard Cocke to Digby Dent, November 3, 1736, British Museum Manuscript Department, Additional Manuscripts, 32794, Newcastle Papers CIX folio 250.

15. Guemes to Patino, December 12, 1736, AGI:SD, 2591, remitting copies of the correspondence of Antonio de Arredondo and James Oglethorpe and Arredondo's report to Guemes. Oglethorpe's justification for having

On January 22, 1737, Guemes informed Patino that he had examined Savy's plan. "Not only do I find it ill conceived," he wrote, "but I think that it is impracticable at this time and that it would inevitably risk a failure from which worse consequences would result. In brief the plan is that he is to be given five hundred men to go overland from San Agustin to Savannah in Georgia, a distance of fifty leagues, through uninhabited forests and thickets where many deep streams must be crossed, with each man carrying on his back the supplies and ammunition needed for so long a march. I do not think anyone could do that except Indians and certain Negroes and mulattoes who are equally accustomed to hardships and exposure and to life in the forests. Such men might be able to do it provided that they were strong experienced swimmers. . . . I made Savy see the weakness of his plan by pointing out these difficulties and others, including the fact that he is not acquainted with the new settlements, fortifications, and forces the English now have, nor with the ports they have occupied since he left that country.

The more Englishmen there are in Florida now, the more difficult it will be to attempt this expedition, for their presence makes the requisite secrecy impossible and also makes it too dangerous for Wall to go to San Agustin. Because this fellow while travelling overland from Santiago de Cuba spread mysterious rumours which have caused suspicious comment about his arrival here, I am forced to believe that the English already know about it. I have been obliged to warn Wall to behave with discretion and caution so as to conceal the reasons which brought him here, and I have told him to spread the word that he will return to Spain with the fleet because he has nothing to do here.

It is my opinion that a successful expedition to scourge and banish the English must be undertaken in three parts. . . . One party would go overland. It would be made up of our Florida Indians and some Negroes and mulattoes, with forty or fifty

built Fort St. George at the mouth of the St. Johns River was two-fold. First, he cited the grant made by Charles II of England to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina in 1665 which included territory to 29 degrees of latitude. Second, he had not found between St. Simon's Island and the St. Johns anyone who was not a British subject. Guemes stated that Oglethorpe's only justification was "the power to do it and the fact that there was no one to stop him."

troopers who can endure hardships and one officer especially chosen to command this corps, and Michael Wall would go with them. Simultaneously five hundred soldiers would go in pirogues built for the purpose; they would attack the fortifications which the English have at the mouths of the rivers and on the islands. Those men and the party which goes overland would operate together to divide the English forces and to create confusion. A third body of two hundred men would cruise in ships along the seacoast to guard the shore and to prevent English vessels from cutting off our expeditionary forces at any point. Those men would then go ashore at a place chosen as most suitable, with orders to join the commanding officer of the five hundred men who went up the rivers and to serve with him for the duration of the operation." In Guemes's opinion it would be impossible to launch such an expedition before the following spring because of a lack of men and of money, and also because of the imminent change of government in Florida. 16

Before Guemes's letter reached Madrid, Patino had died. He was succeeded by Don Sebastian de la Quadra as counsellor of state and by the Marques de Torrenueva as secretary for the Indies. It was the latter who answered Guemes. "I have received your letters . . . in which you report what you have done with the motive of securing the presidio of Florida. . . . I have given an account of all this to the King. The vigilance, prudence, and care with which you have acted up to the present in this important matter have merited his Royal approbation. . . . Since the year 1721 official papers have been conveyed by the ministers whom the King has had and now has in London to the end that the British Ministry should restrain the outrages which the inhabitants of Carolina and their Indian allies are wont to commit against the residents and dependents of Florida, and that the boundaries to which the intruders should be returned be declared and marked. . . . The cited papers . . . have produced no effect . . . and the latest, which was conveyed on October 2, 1736 has been answered with the same indifference.

^{16.} Guemes to Patino, January 22, 1737, AGI:SD, 2592. Francisco del Moral Sanchez was removed from office by the same royal cedula which named Manuel de Montiano to succeed him as governor of Florida. El Pardo, April 12, 1737, AGI:SD, 851. For a few months before Montiano's arrival from Spain Manuel Joseph de Justis served as interim governor of Florida.

coolness, and generalities. . . . The excesses and irregular procedures of the English of the newly created company called Georgia have made it necessary for the King to repel them by force. . . .

His Majesty has resolved and determined that all Englishmen and subjects of any other foreign nation who have occupied his provinces which belong to and are dependencies of Florida are to be removed, expelled, and evicted from them. Their forts, towns, posts, and plantations, both inland and on coasts, bars, and islands, must be demolished, and they are to be cast out of the sites which are found to be in His Majesty's dominion and jurisdiction until they are placed and confined within the limits of the territory which they possessed at the time of the death of King Carlos II, in conformity with Article VIII of the peace Treaty of Utrecht, a copy of which is being sent to you. . . . It is left to your discretion to take the action best suited to the purpose, with the understanding that this involves recovery of what has been usurped, and not the conquest of country which the English hold legitimately.

His Majesty orders that before you actually move to evict the English, when your troops are already in Florida or in a designated place, the English commanding officer is to be notified on behalf of the officer who will command the expedition that within a certain period of time the English must retire to their own lands and boundaries or be ousted by force from the posts they occupy illegally. The interval of time should be adequate, but must be planned in such a way that the English do not make use of the delay to fortify and equip themselves for better defense. In case they refuse, an attack will be begun. If it were possible to obtain the desired result by the use of threats alone without resorting to warfare it would certainly be more fitting and seemly, and the risk of untoward consequences would be removed. " ¹⁷

In a second dispatch written on the same day Torrenueva answered the letter in which Guemes had reported that he had been obliged to admonish Michael Wall for the imprudence with which he had spread mysterious rumours: "These cir-

^{17.} Marques de Torrenueva to Guemes, April 10, 1737, AGI:SD, 2593. Enclosures: lists of men, weapons, ammunition, and tools to be sent from Spain; orders to be sent on to the Viceroy of New Spain.

cumstances have been brought to the attention of the King. His Majesty commands me to tell you that you must be guided by your impression of Wall's character and your judgment as to the utility or harm which can result from using him, being very prudent in what you confide to him so as not to imperil the measures you must take. Use his proposals and reports with caution, both because of the carelessness you have noted in his conversation and because of his fear that if he falls into the hands of the English they will kill him. His fear is enough to cause the failure of any commission entrusted to him if the commission exposed him to the danger of capture. Proceed warily, doing what you believe to be in the Royal service, and reporting Wall's actions."

Six days later Torrenueva wrote again to Guemes: "The King has commanded me to send you a copy of a letter from Don Thomas Geraldino, to inform you about the fears felt by the English Cabinet because of the preparations they say you are making to evict the English from Georgia. . . . Geraldino will be told to say that the expedition and whatever actions may be incidental to it proceed from your own office in performance of the duty incumbent upon you because of general orders not to permit any foreign nation to occupy or possess lands which belong to the King. . . . You will see that Geraldino says that the naval commandant at Jamaica has had intelligence that vessels are being fitted out in Havana to transport troops to Florida under the escort of a warship . . . and that although there is in London no basis for judgment as to the origin of this rumour, it was conjectured that Jean Savy alias Michael Wall could have divulged this secret. . . . I reiterate the care and caution with which this fellow must be treated. You are not bound by any previous orders concerning him." 19

The following month Guemes wrote: "as time has given me more opportunity to become acquainted with Michael Wall, I have found him to be incapable of any service except that of a guide in case the operation against the lands and towns occupied by the English is executed in the manner I recommended. In addition to his imprudence I have perceived in Wall

Torrenueva to Guemes, April 10, 1737, AGI:SD, 2593.
 Ibid., April 16, 1737, AGI:SD, 2593.

a great weakness and inclination towards drinking so excessively as to render himself unfit . . . which makes it impossible to entrust anything of importance to him. I have learned that the motive for his plan is revenge for some personal grievance which he suffered in Carolina where his wife now lives in which he was offended by certain individuals who are now in Georgia. ²⁰

In June Guemes acknowledged receipt of orders issued two months earlier: he enumerated the difficulties he faced in planning the expedition against Georgia. His letter evoked a preemptory dispatch from Torrenueva: "You say that you are confronted by serious obstacles, the distances, the hazards of the sea and the inopportune weather; that westerly winds and hurricanes settle in on those coasts from July until October when equally dangerous northerly winds begin; and that the most propitious season is after the March equinox. You add that the money which the Archbishop Viceroy of New Spain must send cannot possibly be in Havana until the arrival of the troops which will be transported on the frigate El Retiro and the pink La Concepcion . . . and you calculate that they will arrive in October or November. . . . You doubt that you can find an officer to command the expedition who is well acquainted with those lands, since not even men who live in Florida know them well. . . . The King has seen your letter, and despite the fact that the many obstacles you mention have caused him to have some misgivings, he confidently expects that the desired result will be obtained, that the new colony of Georgia will be obliterated, and that the English will be driven out of the territories they have usurped.

For your guidance I must tell you that the English Cabinet has not sent ships or any troops to support Georgia or to reinforce Carolina. On the contrary the Cabinet tacitly disapproves of that new colony although it takes no action in opposition to it because of the Government's need to please the members of Parliament. His Majesty has commanded that official papers be conveyed to the British Monarch, vigorously protesting the settlement of Georgia, declaring that he could not disapprove any measures which his governors in America might take to stop this damage, and stating that he confidently

^{20.} Guemes to Torrenueva, May 20, 1737, AGI:SD, 2592.

expects that His Brittanic Majesty will apply the most efficacious measures to make his subjects abandon the lands they have occupied in violation of the peace treaties. It is reported that this paper caused so much anxiety in that Court that it delayed the decision for Mr. Oglethorpe's return to Georgia with the command which had been conferred on him. " 21

In August Guemes replied to an order dated May 9: "I am commanded to send Jean Savy alias Michael Wall to Spain on the first vessel which sails from here, paying for his passage from the Royal Treasury because his pay is to be cancelled immediately. And I am ordered to deal with him with the distrust and caution made necessary by the repeated acts with which either foolishly or maliciously he has made known the reason for his having been sent here." 22

The first warship to leave Havana for Spain was the San Luis. When the Court learned that the vessel had arrived at Cadiz a dispatch was sent to the naval intendant Don Francisco de Varas y Valdes, informing him that Savy had probably disembarked there and that it was "very important to the Royal service . . . that he not leave that city, His Majesty commands that you have him sought immediately and that without displaying anxiety you manage to keep him there." ²³ It was learned that Savy had stayed for a few days in the inn San Andres, and that he had departed without paying what he owed there. Varas was not able to learn "whether he set out for Madrid or embarked on one of the foreign ships which were in the bay." ²⁴

Benjamin Keene had sent to the Duke of Newcastle early in November a letter transmitted to him by the British consul at Cadiz: Savy had written to the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia as follows: "It is with the greatest Submission I am master of and a sincere repenting for what I have done against the Colony of Georgia that I dare direct you these lines. . . . I must begin my unfortunate story with my departure from Georgia. I am married in Charles Town, South Carolina, to Capt. Daniel Green's Daughter, a man of worth and honour,

^{21.} Torrenueva to Guemes, October 12, 1737, AGI:SD 2593. Oglethorpe had been given command of all British military forces in South Carolina and Georgia; he would take a regiment with him to Georgia.
22. Guemes to Torrenueva, August 25, 1737, AGI:SD, 2592.
23. Dispatch to Francisco de Varas y Valdes, October 30, 1737, AGI:SD,

^{24.} Vara's to Torrenueva. November 25, 1737, AGI:SD, 2592.

and having run in debt more than I was able to pay was obliged to go to Georgia, and some time in June 1735 sett away from there in the Brigantine Two Brothers commanded by Capt. Wm Thompson . . . the first Vessell ever come loaded from Georgia. . . .

When we came in the British Channel according to agreement Capt. Thompson put me in a French fishing boat who carried me to Diepe the 19th day of August 1735 from where I proceeded to Paris, and being there destitute of everything to support human Life I applied to the Spanish Secretary Don Fernando Trevino Figuero who sent my letter which was an Acct. of all the Colony of Georgia to the Deceased Don Joseph Patino, who directly sent me money to come to Madrid and then to the Havannah to go against said place. In last August the Spaniards sent 400 men for St. Augustine and there is an order for the Vice King of Mexico to send a Thousand more, they have sent Artillery, provisions, and everything necessary to attack the said place in May next. . . .

I have surrendered myself to the Captain of the Grampus who will carry me to the Commander of Gibraltar from where I shall proceed to London, & then I shall acquaint your Lordships more at large . . . and what I offer now is out of pure inclination to my King and Country . . . now if your Lordships pardon me which I cant pardon myself I shall see my Family fight with Courage for Georgia and lett you into all their Affairs. . . . " $^{\rm 25}$

Savy wrote again to the Trustees of Georgia, this time from Falmouth on November 17. He said that the English consul at Cadiz had been unwilling to risk sending away an officer in the Spanish service. "But . . . I got information of a Ship bound for Lisbon, so leaving all my Cloaths behind on the 11th of this month N.S. I ship'd myself on board in a Disguise, and it was my good fortune to Sail that very Evening and arrived in eight Days at Lisbon. . . . In case myself in Person can oblige You in those Colonys I shall fly to Venture my life or if on the other Hand You do not think me worthy of being pardoned for my many past offences I shall submit to the will of God and dye with

^{25.} Savy to the Trustees of Georgia, October 22, 1737, in Great Britain, Colonial Office, 5, 654, Part 1, folio 61, a copy. Colonial Office is hereinafter cited as CO.

the Satisfaction of a Man sorry and truly repenting. . . . For all I did with the Spaniards was only to know their Secrets and to make the Use I now do of them. . . . Should you of Your Charity and Mercy save my Life, I shall acquaint You how to take St. Augustine or the Havannah in Case of War with them, knowing their Forts and their Foibles having studyed nothing else." $^{\rm 26}$

Savy also wrote to Newcastle from Falmouth, describing the preparations made in Havana for an attack against Georgia. He offered to tell "all I know for the advantage of great Britain. So I hope your Grace will order me up to London as soon as possible and at the same time humbly beg for god sake I may come in some ship as far as Portsmouth or Dover it being Impossible for me to ride, . . . [and] an order here to count me some small matter of money to subsist on having left all I had in the world at Cades to come and serve my Country. . . . It will not be amiss to aquaint your grace of the fault I have committed which was done by me with no other intent but to discover the Spaniards secrets and to make use of them for the benefitt of my King and Country . . . being at Paris December 1735 lately arrived from Georgia and at Diner with Dn Fernando Trivinio. . . . I hapened to say something of those new Collenys which he took so well he desired me to send a memorial to Mr Patino that he woold back with his Interest and promised me great matters accordingly I did being at that time in great poverty and want . . . by the next post Mr Patino sent orders for me to come to Madrid with an order to count me one hundred spanish pistoles and the promise of a Capt Comission and to be paid one Thousand peaces of eight pr Annum so I sett out for madrid were I arived May the 24 NS 1736 and was well received under the name of Michel Wale for fear of Discovery so much have they this affair at heart. It took up some time after several consultations between Mr Patino and myself of what was to be done. . . .

Being at the Havanah saw so much Villany against the Interest of my god my King and Country that my Conscience woold never lett me rest till I coold gitt to England so that in

^{26.} Savy to the Trustees of Georgia, November 17, 1737, CO 5, Pt. 1, f 62, a copy.

276

August last I gave the governor to understand that it was proper I shoold come to spain to aquaint the new ministry of what was wanting to efect this enterprise and to return in the four ships that was to come from spain he consented for my departure " 27

Don Thomas Geraldino, the Spanish minister, soon learned of Savy's arrival in England. Some of his letters to Torrenueva were intercepted by the British, and contemporary English translations of them contain the following sentences: "as for Mr. Oglethorpe's voyage to those parts, it continues in the same disposition as I have hitherto reported, notwithstanding it's being often published here that the King has sent 900 men into Florida." ²⁸ And one week later, on December 19, "I have heard that the Directors of Georgia make use of the information promised by the said Wall, in order to strengthen their pretentions and to claim the support of the Government here, who will find it difficult to avoid it, the circumstances [being as] they are at present." 29

Meanwhile a dispatch dated November 28, 1737, from Torrenueva was en route to Havana. Guemes was advised that His Catholic Majesty had demanded that the English king order his subjects to evacuate all usurped land and to discontinue any further development of the colony of Georgia. The London ministry's reply had been a proposal that the two monarchs name commissioners to fix the territorial boundaries and to settle other differences in conferences. King Philip V had accepted that proposal with the stipulation that the conferences must be limited to no more than six months. Geraldino had been instructed to ask that orders be given to demolish the new forts and to evacuate the territories which the English had taken since the beginning of the century, with neither side occupying them until after the disputed differences were completely resolved. Moreover Geraldino had been "ordered to take especial care to conceal that any order had been given to proceed by force of arms." The governor of Havana was told to proceed "with the same caution as heretofore," and that if any statement became necessary he was to make it understood

^{27.} Savy to Newcastle, November 17, 1737, CO 5, Pt. 1, ff 57-59, autograph. Thomas Geraldino to Torrenueva, December 12, 1737, PRO, SPF, 94, 246. Ibid., December 19, 1737, PRO SPF 94, 246.

that he was acting on his own authority. "Inasmuch as it is consistent that the projected expedition be suspended while the conferences continue until the treaty is concluded. His Majesty commands me to tell you to postpone launching the operation until you have new orders. Nevertheless His Majesty is determined that the expedition be prepared, and he orders you to proceed with the greatest efficiency and discretion in making provisions and plans for it. . . . The termination and results of the conferences will be communicated to you with new orders as to what you are to do in the existent circumstances. His Majesty desires that all plans and preparations be made in consultation and agreement with the new governor of Florida Don Manuel de Montiano. Being now in possession of that government, on the ground, and responsible for San Agustin and Apalache, Montiano will acquire information which can contribute greatly to the accuracy of your plans." 30

Governor Guemes read this dispatch "with notable confusion." He answered it on April 18, 1738: "From the papers which I enclose Your Excellency will perceive the condition in which the Florida expedition was found when His Majesty's orders came to my hands at ten o'clock on the evening of 21 March, after the troops and militia of the expeditionary force which I had prepared with the eight pickets from Spain had already been ordered to embark on the following morning and set sail for Florida, after the supply of provisions and military stores apportioned for the duration of the expedition had already been shipped, and after the fleet of small vessels was already in Florida or near it, because it had left this port on 10 March and I had had a report that it arrived safely at the keys of Matacumbe on the 16th. And if the frigate Santa Barbara had arrived from Veracruz in January as I had prearranged with the Archbishop Viceroy of Mexico, with the provisions and the

^{30.} Torrenueva to Guemes, November 28, 1737, AGI:SD, 2593. Geraldino was in London as a minister plenipotentiary. His handling of the negotiations which led up to his acceptance of the counter proposals made by Newcastle in reply to the official papers which Geraldino had conveyed was severely criticized by Montijo and a committee named to study the matter. Geraldino had not insisted that the Spanish protest be considered as a whole; he had not insisted that English forts in the disputed territory be demolished before the opening of conferences; and he had countenanced delay in the naming of English commissioners. Montijo to the King. March 3, 1738, AGI:SD, 2592.

convicts I had requested, I should not have received the orders of 28 November of last year in time to suspend the operation. It would already have been executed. . . . The delay of one hundred and thirteen days with which I received the cited orders has caused considerable harm in the inevitable expenditures which have been made as well as in the public knowledge of what we were planning to do. To my great regret neither has been avoidable, especially with meddlers as perspicacious and zealous as the factors who live here. . . . From another letter written today Your Excellency will see that with eye-witnesses so close at hand it will never be possible to execute affairs of this size unless they can be performed swiftly." ³¹

Guemes's rueful letters and the many documents he sent with them were acknowledged by Torrenueva on August 31: "I have brought to the attention of the King your letter of 18 April of this year in which you give a diffusive narration of the number of men, both regular soldiers and militia, who composed the detachment formed and destined for that operation. as well as the crews of the small vessels and the men aboard the three frigates, two sloops, and one armed schooner in addition to their regular complement of about seven hundred sailors. Being informed in great detail not only of the content of your letter but also of the military review sent with it, His Majesty is satisfied with your conduct in so important a matter. He commands me to tell you that the dispositions, men, and measures with which the enterprise was prepared as well as the plan for its execution have pleased him. According to them it appears that the expedition would have been successful." ³²

The expedition which had been postponed never took place. Commissioners named to fix the boundary of Florida and to settle other differences between England and Spain met at El Pardo, but suspended their deliberations at the outbreak in

^{31.} Guemes to Torrenueva, April 18, 1738, AGI:SD, 2593. Among the many documents sent with this letter and another of the same date were detailed reviews of all men and materiel destined for the expedition, copies of letters to the governor of Florida, a copy of a letter dated March 18, 1738 and directed to the governor of South Carolina in which Guemes announced his intention of launching the expedition, and several letters intercepted in Havana which confirmed the fact that factors of the South Sea Company had repeatedly reported plans for the expedition to British authorities.
32. Torrenueva to Guemes, August 31, 1738, AGI:SD, 2593.

October 1739 of the war between the two nations known as the War of Jenkin's Ear. That conflict was the result not of disputes over territorial boundaries but rather of the long standing struggle between English merchantmen, some of them engaged in contraband trade, and the Spanish guardacostas and privateers in American waters. In that war Lieutenant John Savy of South Carolina served in the British army in the West Indies. ³³

The story of Jean Savy's international adventures must be concluded by questions for which one has no answers. Was the information he gave to the Trustees of Georgia and the Duke of Newcastle so valuable that it saved him from trial by courts martial for desertion and for treason? Was Savy the Irishman whom Oglethorpe had forced to leave Georgia in 1734? Did that episode give Savy the idea of offering his services to the King of Spain? Was it completely by chance that Savy acted for more than two years as a double agent?

^{33.} J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America. (Athens, 1971), 95, 208.

THE AMBUSH OF CAPTAIN JOHN WILLIAMS, U.S.M.C.: FAILURE OF THE EAST FLORIDA INVASION, 1812-1813

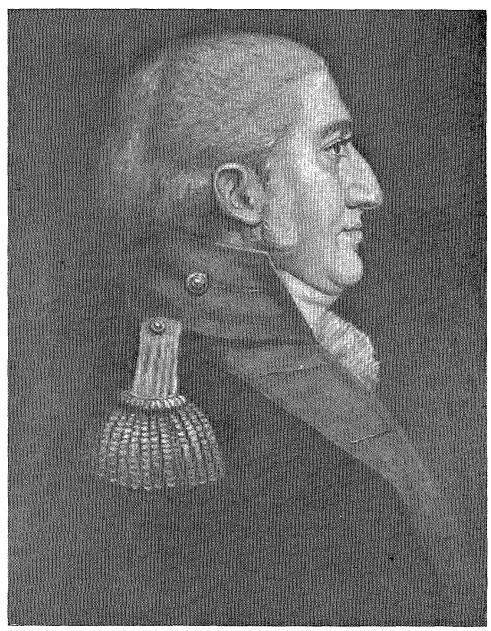
by J. H. Alexander*

TWELVE-MILE SWAMP lies northwest of St. Augustine between Interstate 95 and U.S. Highway 1, the old King's Road. The heavily wooded swamp, named for its approximate distance from St. Augustine, is a forbidding area of cypress bogs and palmetto thickets. The swamp has probably changed little since 1812 when, in one violent half-hour, it became the focal point of an extraordinary, undeclared military contest between the United States and Spain.

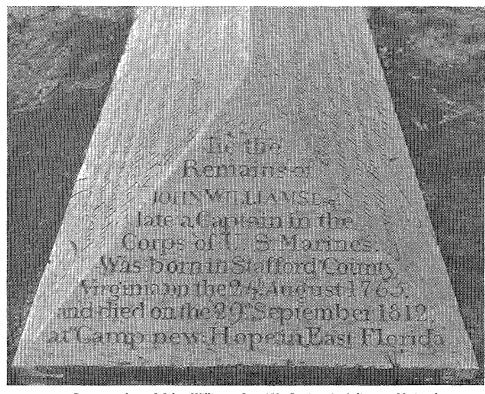
Into this wilderness area on the evening of September 12, 1812, came a ragged column of about twenty United States marines and Georgia militia. They had the mission of escorting a pair of wagons from the camp of the Patriot Army near St. Augustine to the supply depot at Davis Creek Blockhouse, about eight miles northwest of the swamp near the present town of Bayard. The troops were sickly, hungry, and more than a little fearful. They were very much aware that bands of well-armed Seminole Indians and escaped slaves were active in the area. The troops were doubtlessly anxious to reach the safety of the blockhouse where they might enjoy fresh provisions and medical supplies before returning to the American lines at Pass Navarro. The siege of St. Augustine by the Patriot Army was exactly five months old, and things were not going well for the Americans. As the twilight darkened in the gloomy swamp the troops shivered and eyed the surrounding thickets with growing uneasiness.

Marine Captain John Williams commanded this small column. A sensitive, frustrated, forty-seven-year old Virginian, he had been assigned the hazardous duty of keeping open the tenuous line of communications between Colonel Smith and Lieutenant

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Lieutenant Colonel Franklin Wharton, third commandant of the marine corps, 1804-1818.



Grave marker of John Williams, Lot 158, Section 1, Arlington National Cemetery, Washington, D.C. Defense department photograph (marine corps) 526664-A.

Elias Stallings at Davis Creek. As he entered Twelve-Mile Swamp that evening, it is interesting to conjecture what may well have been on his mind. He was probably very concerned about his marines. Three had been killed recently in an ambush by Indians and blacks. Another had deserted to the Spanish only the day before. Many of his other men were disabled by illness. They were half-starved and in rags. Morale was very low. Moreover, Williams was bitter about the entire deployment of his marines. Originally deployed for "service with the fleet," the men were now engaged in a protracted and thankless inland campaign with the army.

Viewing the wretched condition of his troops in the gathering gloom of the swamp, it is probable that Williams reflected with mirthless irony on the glorious day in the spring of 1811 in Washington when he had led his fully equipped force aboard the schooner Enterprise to sail for the Georgia station, amid the best wishes of his commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Franklin Wharton, and a certain Miss Dulany. It is probable that Williams also recalled the stirring events of the past March when he led his force across the St. Marys River into Spanish East Florida to join the bizarre filibuster expedition. Since then, however, the United States had gone to war with Great Britain, and the East Florida invasion had become a diplomatic embarrassment. Williams probably realized that he was now involved in a backwater operation and vearned for more dramatic action, such as command of a marine detachment aboard one of the great ships. As a professional fighting man, it is probable that Captain Williams also looked appraisingly at Captain Tomlinson Fort, his volunteer counterpart from Milledgeville, Georgia, and wondered to what extent he could count on this civilian soldier in the event of an engagement.

Whatever Captain Williams's thoughts may have been that evening, they came to an abrupt end when a large band of Negroes and Indians lying in ambush in the thick woods along the trail fired a point blank volley into the column. Williams went down with the first fire, and although he later managed to rally his troops to prevent a massacre, it was his defeat in the Twelve-Mile Swamp and subsequent death seventeen days later which signaled the swift collapse of the entire East Florida invasion.

The preceding narrative is a conjectural interpretation of events that took place on Saturday evening, September 12, 1812, in Twelve-Mile Swamp. The significance of Captain Williams's death to the outcome of the Patriots War is no conjecture. It is the purpose of this article to present evidence in support of the fact that Williams's ambush was the catalyst, the pivotal watershed, which caused the abrupt termination of the American attempt to obtain forcible possession of Spanish East Florida. Until Williams's disaster in Twelve-Mile Swamp, the Americans still maintained a siege of St. Augustine, occupied the key port of Fernandina on Amelia Island, and had access to a sizable body of reinforcements in the form of Colonel Neil Newnan's Georgia volunteers. The Williams ambush caused the immediate abandonment of the siege of St. Augustine, the attrition of Newnan's force in prolonged punitive expeditions against the Seminoles, and the subsequent withdrawal of all United States forces from the entire province. Admittedly, there were many factors bearing on this withdrawal-the ingenuity of the Spanish governor and the bankruptcy of the entire annexation scheme are two examples-vet the pivot point was undoubtedly the death of Captain John Williams.

According to one Florida historian, "There is probably no event in American History so romantic, so fantastic, yet concerning which so little has been written, as the 'Republic of Florida.' "The Republic, an interesting by-product of the Patriots War of 1812-1813, was organized to the extent of having a Director, an army, a flag, a constitution, and a capital in Fernandina. ² The Patriots War itself appears to have resulted from a combination of aggressive nationalism, strategic necessity, and an underlying fear of Negro insurrection.

According to the author of the basic general history of Florida, "Quite early in the second [Spanish] occupation it became clear that Spain could not people, develop, and govern Florida effectively. It was equally obvious that it would fall to the United States unless some great power, possibly England, should intervene to prevent it." Another authority on the history of the area asserted that the immediate excuse for invasion of the province of

Pleasant Daniel Gold, History of Duval County, Including Early History of East Florida (St. Augustine, 1929), 78.

^{3.} Charlton W. Tebeau, A History of Florida (Coral Gables, 1971), 103.

East Florida by the Patriots was the impending war with Great Britain. He pointed out that Spain and Great Britain had treaty relations, and that Britain might attempt to use Spanish Florida as an advanced staging base. 4

The matter was of sufficient importance for President James Madison to bring it to the attention of Congress. On January 25, 1811, Congress passed an extraordinary joint secret resolution which in effect authorized the temporary occupation of East Florida. The President appointed General George Matthews. former governor of Georgia, and Colonel John McKee, as commissioners to confer with the Spanish authorities for the temporary cession of that province, and authorized the support of United States armed forces should the need arise 5

In the meantime, a number of frontiersmen along the Georgia border learned of the secret resolution and began to assemble with anticipation in the port city of St. Marvs. To excite further the ambitions of the expansionists came recurring word of the arming of Negroes in East Florida, On June 29, 1811, General Matthews informed Secretary of State James Monroe of rumors that a regiment of Jamaican blacks was expected to attack Florida. ⁶ The following spring the Secretary of War received a letter from Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Adam Smith, commander of American forces on the border, which stated: "I have been informed by General Mathews [sic], that he has good reason to believe that a detachment of English troops (blacks) are on the eve of being sent to occupy the military posts within East Florida." 7

There was evidently some foundation to the fears of the frontiersmen of the "black peril" in Spanish Florida. One study shows that it had "long been a policy of the Spanish government . . . to encourage Negroes from the British settlements to take

^{4.} T. Frederick Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-

^{1813,&}quot; Part I, Florida Historical Quarterly, IX (Iuly 1930), 3-4.
5. George R. Fairbanks, History of Florida, From Its Discovery by Ponce de Leon, in 1512, to the Close of the Florida War, in 1842 (Philadelphia and Jacksonville, 1871), 253.

<sup>Jacksonville, 1871J, 253.
Edwin N. McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Material and Sources of Chapter XIX, Volume I, History of the United States Marine Corps," p. 4, unpublished manuscript, revised edition, June 30, 1931, copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
Smith to Secretary of War, March 18, 1812, in Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813," Part I, 5.</sup>

refuge in Florida." There was evidence of a regiment of runaway slaves being formed by the Spanish governor in St. Augustine as early as 1740. The Seminole Indians frequently welcomed the refugees as slaves of their own, although with a benevolent "democratic feudalism" under which the Negroes flourished. "There was . . . no group of people in Florida with a greater stake in resistance to invasion and annexation by the United States than the Seminole Negroes." 8

Shortly after the appointment of General Matthews as American commissioner, President Madison directed that a force of marines be established on Cumberland Island, off the coast of Georgia, to help secure the southern flank. ⁹ The Marine Corps at the time was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Franklin Wharton and had an authorized strength of forty-six officers and 1,823 enlisted men. 10 On April 22, 1811, Secretary of the Navy Paul Hamilton instructed Captain John Williams to establish the Cumberland Island position, to join the flotilla in order to protect the rights and neutrality of the United States, and to cooperate with the army detachment at St. Marys Station, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Smith. 11

Captain Williams had been born in Stafford County, Virginia, on August 24, 1765, a member of a large family that included five brothers and three sisters. He was a Freemason, living in Centreville in 1805 when the Secretary of the Navy offered him a commission as second lieutenant. Why he decided to become a marine at that relatively advanced age is unknown. Williams was promoted to captain in January, 1811. At the time of his assignment to Georgia he was stationed at the marine barracks in Washington, where he enjoyed a close relationship with Commandant Wharton and his family. 12

On April 24, 1811, Captain Williams boarded the schooner Enterprise with his detachment of one lieutenant, three sergeants, three corporals, a fifer, a drummer, and thirty-nine privates to sail for Cumberland Island. At that station for the better part of

Kenneth Wiggins Porter, "Negroes and the East Florida Annexation Plot,

^{1811-1813,&}quot; Journal of Negro History, XXX (January 1945), 11-16.

9. McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 1.

10. Edwin N. McClellan, "Marine Corps History, 1807-1812," Marine Corps Gazette (March 1923), 30.

McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 1.
R. B. Tiffany, History and Museum Division, United States Marine Corps Headquarters, Washington, D.C., to author.

a year he endured great boredom, broken only by a rash of sickness which took the lives of seven of his troops. ¹³ In the meantime, however, events were building to a climax along the Florida border which would end Williams's ennui for good.

General Matthews had continued his "armed diplomacy" at great lengths, and by March 1812, he had assembled a sizable force of frontiersmen, adventurers, and filibusterers-his Patriots Army-at Point Petre across the St. Marys River from the Spanish town of Fernandina on Amelia Island. Advised by General Matthews that "affairs were ripe for execution," Commodore Campbell of the United States Navy blockaded Fernandina with his gunboats on March 16, 1812. 14 On that same day, Colonel Lodok Ashley of the Patriots delivered the following message to the Spanish commandant, Don Justos Lopez: "We are informed sir, that you have armed the negroes on the Island, against us . . . if we find it to be so. . . we solemly [sic] declare to give no quarters in the Town of Fernandina." 15

On March 17, the garrison capitulated to the surrender demands of the Patriots, backed by Campbell's gunboats. In earlier elections. General John W. McIntosh had been elected Director. and Colonel Ashley, military chief, of the Republic. The Spanish commandant, Lopez, signed the articles of capitulation, as did McIntosh. 16 With the entry of United States troops into Fernandina the following day the Patriot flag was hauled down and the American stars and stripes raised.

These were heady times for the new Republic. The Patriots clamored for an immediate "on to St. Augustine" campaign. Lieutenant Colonel Smith, the senior regular officer present, wavered between his desire for action and his doubts over the legitimacy of the entire enterprise. At length he opted for action. Leaving Captain Williams and his marines at Fernandina with instructions to keep communications open to his headquarters. Smith departed for the interior of East Florida. Smith moved with alacrity in this early part of the campaign, seizing Picolata on the

^{13.} McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 1-3.
14. Ibid., 4-6.
15. Lodok Ashley to Commandant of Amelia Island, March 16, 1812, in Works Progress Administration, Historical Records Survey, Florida, Patriot War Papers, 1812-1813, located in vault of the clerk of the Circuit Court, St. Johns County, Florida, unpublished manuscript, Jacksonville, 1937, p. 20.

^{16.} Fairbanks, History of Florida, 254-55.

St. Johns River on April 7, and occupying Moosa Old Fort on the outskirts of St. Augustine five days later. The border country was excited by the news that the Spanish provincial capital was under siege by 200 United States troops and their "Patriot allies." 17

Unfortunately, however, the very brashness of the Patriots had caused considerable embarrassment to the Madison administration. Both the Spanish and the British governments protested the invasion. On the same date that Smith reached the outskirts of St. Augustine, the Federalists in Congress forced President Madison to disavow General Matthews's actions. 18 Madison was forced to repudiate and dismiss Matthews to save his own face. although he "was not ready to abandon his Florida project." He appointed Governor David B. Mitchell of Georgia as the new American commissioner, and American troops continued to occupy East Florida "to the walls of St. Augustine." 19

Both Madison and Monroe continued to press for legitimacy for the Florida invasion. A bill authorizing the occupation of East Florida was narrowly defeated by the Federalists and the President's enemies in the Senate on July 3, 1812. Three days later, Secretary Monroe informed Mitchell that the President thought it advisable to withdraw the troops. The object was not to be considered as abandoned, however, as it was likely that Congress might reverse its decision at the next session. 20

In view of this top level indecision, Governor Mitchell, who was as capable of inflamatory rhetoric as his predecessor, wrote Monroe: "I owe to the United States, and Georgia in particular, to assure you that the situation of the garrison of St. Augustine will not admit of the troops being withdrawn. They have armed every able-bodied negro within their power, and they have also received from the Havana a reinforcement of nearly two companies of black troops! [If these blacks] . . . are suffered to remain in the province, our southern country soon be in a state of insurrection." 21

McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 6.
 Mary L. Frech and William Swindler, eds., Chronology and Documentary Handbook of the State of Florida (Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1973), 8.
 Rembert W. Patrick, ed., "Letters of the Invaders of East Florida, 1812," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXVIII (July 1949), 55.
 Julius W. Pratt, Expansionists of 1812 (New York, 1949), 193-94.

^{21.} Mitchell to Monroe, July 17, 1812, quoted in ibid., 194-95.

In the meantime Captain Williams remained in command of occupied Fernandina. In subsequent testimony he was said to have been "very popular with the inhabitants; he was mild, kind and obliging." Even Don Justos Lopez remarked that during the three months that Williams had remained in command he showed politeness and benevolence to the people in Fernandina. ²³ Williams, however, was very much caught up in the high level indecision as to the legitimacy of the occupation. On April 21, 1812, Secretary of the Navy Hamilton ordered him to withdraw his forces to Cumberland Island. On the other hand, .Governor Mitchell directed him to remain in Fernandina and wrote Secretary Monroe that Williams's services were essential for his campaign. At this point Williams admitted to his friend Lieutenant Samuel Miller in Washington that he had never been placed in such a disagreeable situation, and if he evacuated his post all supplies would be cut off from Colonel Smith. 24 Mitchell prevailed, and Williams remained on station.

The situation with Colonel Smith at St. Augustine had begun to deteriorate. Perhaps he suddenly realized that his force was too light to breach the walls of the Castillo de San Marcos and too extended to conduct a prolonged siege and blockade. At any rate, from May through September 1812, Smith wrote an increasingly bitter series of letters to his superiors in which he complained about his need for reinforcements, lack of supplies, disgust with the undisciplined Patriots, and fear of Spanish reinforcements. On May 16, 1812, the first of several critical reversals occurred when Governor Estrada of St. Augustine deployed an armed schooner to shell Smith's position at Moosa Old Fort. The Americans fell back in disarray, the regulars establishing a new position at Pass Navarro along Four Mile Creek. The Patriots, however, retreated all the way to Hollingsworth's plantation on the St. Johns River above the Cowford, twenty-five miles away. 25 The siege of St. Augustine still prevailed to an extent, but the Americans were in a vulnerable situation.

George J. F. Clark, quoted in McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 25.
 Lopez to Magistrate of St. Mary's Georgia, in Patriot War Papers, 7.
 McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 7.
 Ibid., 9. Hollingsworth's Plantation was located near the present Cathe-

dral Oaks section of South Jacksonville.

Smith's complaints grew more strident. On June 4 he wrote the United States adjutant and inspector: "With a weak Detachment, but badly provided, laying before one of the strongest fortified places on the Continent, containing a garrison five times our numbers, what can be expected from me? [Lacking] . . . Cavalry we remain ignorant of their movements." 26

The fact that Smith was becoming increasingly alarmed over the prospects of Spanish reinforcements in the form of armed blacks is evident in his letter of June 20 to Governor Mitchell: "by a Deserter today we learn that from the vessels off the bar a hundred Black Troops have actually been landed, which are only a part of the force brought from the Havanna." ²⁷ While there is little evidence to substantiate the landing of such an organization, Smith nevertheless failed to note a most significant landing on June 17. On that day, a new provincial governor, Don Sebastian Kindelan, arrived from Spain to replace Governor Estrada.

Kindelan appears to have been a remarkable man. On the one hand, he had arrived to find his province occupied and his capital besieged. On the other, he probably realized he must avoid war with the United States if at all possible. The Spanish were currently aligned with Great Britain against Napoleon in Europe and could ill afford a simultaneous overseas war with the Americans. ²⁸ Kindelan's position called for a shrewd balance of force, diplomacy, and covert activity. He was equal to the task. In a letter addressed to Colonel Smith, "The Commander of the United States Troops in Florida," Kindelan stated: "I have just arrived in this City and taken charge of it, . . . and it appearing very strange to me, to find United States regular troops encamped in the vicinity of it, when my nation is at peace . . . with the said United States." 29

Smith, increasingly concerned about the legitimacy of his occupation, referred the letter to Governor Mitchell, who maintained a terse but formal correspondence with Kindelan concerning withdrawal plans the next several months. Kindelan, in the meantime, made secret arrangements with the indigenous forces-

^{26.} Smith to U. S. Adjutant & Inspector, in Davis, "United-States Troops in

Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813," Part I, 20.

27. Smith to Mitchell, June 20, 1812, in ibid., 101.

28. Patrick, "Letters of the Invaders of East Florida, 1812," 54.

29. Governor of E. Florida to Com. U. S. Troops in Florida, June 11, 1812, in Patriot War Papers, 69.

the Seminoles and their Negro allies-to initiate guerilla warfare against the Americans. This was a peculiar development. The Seminoles had no particular fondness for the Spanish. In fact, early in the invasion a Seminole chief named "Bowlegs" had offered his services to the Patriot commanders. General Matthews and General McIntosh, at Hollingsworth's plantation. The chief was advised not to take part in a quarrel between white men. This was a tactical error of considerable proportions. Chief Bowlegs, insulted, offered his services instead to the Spanish in St. Augustine where Kindelan was delighted to receive him. Within weeks, a full-scale Indian uprising was in progress along both sides of the St. Johns River, and many of the Patriots departed to protect their own homes and families in southern Georgia. 30

One military writer, analyzing these activities in later years, concluded that the Spanish decision to "let loose the Indians and some refugee negro slaves . . . upon the settlers" was based on starvation and despair. ^{3 1} However, it would rather appear that this move was based on Kindelan's ingenuity. By utilizing blacks and Indians to do his fighting for him, the Spanish governor could maintain his overt neutrality and still accomplish an essential military objective: the lifting of the siege and withdrawal of American forces. Kindelan offered \$1,000 for the scalp of Mc-Intosh and \$10 for any other Patriot scalp. ³² The Milledgeville (Georgia) Journal later reported that the Spanish governor had "augmented his premium" by also offering a bottle of rum for each scalp.33 It was evident that Kindelan was waging undeclared, psychological warfare against the Patriots.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith continued to voice his complaints in the mail. On June 17 he notified Mitchell that he could no longer prevail upon the Patriots to send out any patrols. 34 On July 6 he wrote Mitchell requesting Captain Williams and his marines from Fernandina, stating "You are acquainted with the difference between Regulars and Militia." 35

^{30.} Gold, History of Duval County, 81.

George Richards, "Captain John Williams, USMC, A Tradition," Marine 31. Corps Gazette (August 1932), 12.
32. Tebeau, History of Florida, 108.
33. Niles Weekly Register, November 7, 1812.

Smith to Mitchell, June 17, 1812, in T. Frederick Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813, Part II," Florida Historical Quarterly, IX (October 1930), 99-100.

^{35.} Smith to Mitchell, July 6, 1812, in ibid., 104.

Williams departed Fernandina on July 11 for the interior of East Florida. He found the Americans in four different locations: Colonel (promoted July 6) Smith and his regulars still besieging St. Augustine from their position at Pass Navarro: General Mc-Intosh and his Patriot forces at Hollingsworth's: Captain Tomlinson Fort and a fresh body of Georgia Volunteers at Picolata on the St. Johns River: and Lieutenant Elias Stallings at his new blockhouse on Davis Creek. ³⁶ Williams no doubt discovered the morale and appearance of the entire force a shocking contrast to the units that had departed Fernandina in such high spirits the previous April.

Colonel Smith's troops in particular were in bad shape. They were "almost destitute of clothing." "frequently more than half the force was on the sick list." and in the "gathering storm" of the war with Great Britain "this little detachment in Florida seems to have been practically ignored." ³⁷ It was also observed that: "the position of the American army detachment had grown increasingly precarious during the last weeks of August and the early days of September. The often reinforced Spanish garrison was now far stronger than Colonel Smith's detachment, and the Indians were threatening to cut his supply lines. . . . Fever, dysentery, and other diseases confined more than one-third of Smith's forces to their crude huts." 38

The American situation was clearly deteriorating. In addition to sickness and uncertainty, the element of fear created by the presence of Indian and Negro bands in the area began to have its effect. As more evidence appeared that Kindelan was either receiving black reinforcements or organizing escaped slaves, Governor Mitchell wrote him angrily, denouncing his "black troops," and arguing that his "certain knowledge" of the attitude of the "Southern Section of the Union in regard to that description of people" should have "induced you to abstain from introducing them into the Province." 39

Colonel Smith was convinced that the Spaniards were about to move. On August 10 he urged Lieutenant Stallings to "keep a

McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 33.
 Jacksonville Sunday Times-Union, March 16, 1930.
 Patrick, "Letters of the Invaders of East Florida, 1812," 53.

^{39.} Mitchell to Kindelan, July 6, 1812, in Patriot War Papers, 91.

bright lookout as the Dons have an inclination" to attack. 40 The next day he warned Captain Fort that "the Dons are preparing to attack me and they calculate on being aided by 2 or 300 Indians and negroes." 41

Some of Smith's worst fears were realized on August 12, when a courier en route from Davis Creek to Pass Navarro was ambushed, scalped, and mutilated by a party of Indians and Negroes. Reporting the incident to Governor Mitchell, Smith commented that "The blacks assisted by the Indians have become very daring," and that this boldness "has obliged me to send a strong guard with the wagons." Smith also observed that the incident had badly frightened the remnants of the Patriot force, and he doubted whether they "will ever revive again." 42

Captain Williams began to despair of the sickness, lack of supplies, shadowy guerrillas, Colonel Smith's fears, and the restrictive rules of engagement which prohibited the Americans from using their weapons first unless fired upon. A few weeks after arriving in the St. Augustine area he wrote his commandant requesting that the marines be withdrawn from the campaign and reassigned to sea duty. In a subsequent letter he listed his sick and wounded, complained about the shortage of clothing for his men, and again requested to be withdrawn from service with the army. Lieutenant Colonel Wharton's replies were sympathetic, but there was very little he could do. The Secretary of the Navy was on an extended absence from Washington, and, besides, Williams's chain of command now went through Colonel Smith to Governor Mitchell direct to Secretary of State Monroe, bypassing the navy department.

In disgust, Williams wrote his friend Lieutenant Miller: "I wish you, if you can, would find out the reason of the U. S. Troops being kept in this province without the liberty of firing a gun unless we are fired upon. Our situation is an unpleasant one as well as a very unhealthful one." Williams concluded with a forlorn request for Miller to make his best respects to "Miss

Smith to Stallings, August 10, 1812, in Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813, Part II," 108. Smith to Fort, August 11, 1812, in ibid., 109. 40.

^{41.}

Smith to Mitchell, August 11, 1812, in ibid., 110-12.

Wharton to Williams, September 24, October 1, 1812. Both letters are contained in "Wharton's Letter Book, June 29, 1810-Feb. 19, 1815," History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S.M.C., Washington, D.C.

Dulany" and to tell her "'I will return as soon as the Florida war is over" ⁴⁴

An examination of some of the letters written by "the East Florida Invaders," on the eve of Captain Williams's ambush will provide an indication of the deteriorating morale of these troops at that critical point. From Colonel Smith to George Ruddle, a contractor: "we have been without spirits [whiskev] for some time." ⁴⁵ From Lieutenant James Ryan to John Ash of Savannah: "On the morning of the 9th a Mr. Armstrong of the patriots . . . was shot and sculped [sic] about three miles from our camp. "46 From Captain Fielder Ridgeway to T. N. Ridgeway who lived in Maryland: ". . . we suffer much with the warm climate and bad water and from the want of Supplies of provisions. We have a Small force, the Indians west of this province has become hostile agt us, has sculped Several of our men. . . . we are now become sickly. Our aim is at Fort St. Augustine; five times the force we have will not be able to take by storme, its the best and most Secure Fortifved Fort I ever See if we take it we must hem them in and starve them out but even our present force will not do that, for the Spanish have the Indians to Sculp us. . . . " 47

From Surgeons Second Mate William Kinnear to members of his family in Virginia: "Colonel Smith is scarely sufficient to maintain its ground against a numerous enemy consisting chiefly of west india Blacks strangers to fear renders our situation extreemely critical we have already experienced the loss of ten brave men murdered by the Indians and Negroes one of them a Mr. Maxwell charged with dispatches for Colonel Smith from the Blockhouse . . . was way laid and dreadfully tortued and murdered having his nose ears and privities cut off scalped and otherwise barbarously used." 48

The arrival of Colonel Newnan and the rest of the Georgia Volunteers did little to reassure Colonel Smith. On September 7

^{44.} Williams to Miller, September 6, 1812, in McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 10, 30.
45. Smith to Ruddle, September 11, 1812, in Patrick, "Letters of the Invaders

of East Florida, 1812," 57.

46. Ryan to Ash, September 11, 1812, in ibid., 58-59.

47. Fielder Ridgeway to Thomas N. Ridgeway, September 11, 1812, in ibid.,

William Kinnear to John Kinnear, in ibid., 62.

he wrote Governor Mitchell of his concern over the vulnerability of the supply line to Davis Creek. 49

Such was the situation when Williams led his small column into Twelve-Mile Swamp on the evening of September 12, 1812, en route to the Davis Creek Blockhouse. Much less is known of the force which lay in ambush for him. Most sources agree that it was a mixed unit of Negroes and Indians, organized and led by a free black named "Prince," encouraged if not actually directed by Governor Kindelan. There is little evidence to indicate that this was the much-feared regiment of "Cuban Colonials" which had so concerned Colonel Smith and Governor Mitchell. More than likely the Negroes were a combination of free blacks like "Prince," escaped slaves, and Seminole slaves, all from East Florida. Colonel Smith himself had initially reported that the Spanish garrison at St. Augustine contained about "50 free Men of Colour," so perhaps "Prince" came from this source. 50 After the action, Smith claimed that ninety black reinforcements from Cuba, "sable Warriors," were sent to attack Williams. 51 Again, historians have found little to support this. According to John Lee Williams in his book published in 1837: "a company of negroes was collected in St. Augustine, headed by a free black, called Prince." 52

Accounts of the ambush and subsequent engagement are provided by a number of historians, by the subsequent letters of Colonel Smith, and by regional newspapers. The consensus does not vary significantly. It appears that the ambush was intelligently planned and well-executed. Williams, his only sergeant. and the wagon horses went down in the first volley. The sergeant was stripped and scalped. Notwithstanding the loss of their leaders, it also appears that the marines, finally given an opportunity to fight, gave a good account of themselves in the melee. They extricated their fallen captain, took up a defensive position,

Smith to Mitchell, September 7, 1812, in T. Frederick Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813, Part III," Florida Historical Quarterly, IX (January 1931), 136.
 Smith to U. S. Adjutant & Inspector, April 26, 1812, in Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813," 10.
 Smith to Thomas Bourke, October 25, 1812, in T. Frederick Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813, Part IV," Florida Historical Quarterly, IX (April 1931), 261.
 John Lee Williams, The Territory of Florida (New York, 1837; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1962), 197.

and returned fire at their attackers. Captain Fort, wounded in the knee, also fought bravely, although the marines disdained to follow his exhortations to charge. It was Williams, literally shot to pieces with eight gunshot wounds, who rallied his troops with a bayonet countercharge that scattered the enemy and ended the fighting. The blacks destroyed one wagon and took the other with them when they retreated. Captain Williams sent most of his men on to the blockhouse and hid himself in the palmettos for the remainder of what for him must have been a terrifying night. Lieutenant Stallings brought him to safety the next morning.

Williams provided the only known evewitness account of the action in a letter to his commandant dictated on September 15 from Davis Creek. Extracts of the letter, later published in the National Intelligencer, contained the following: ". . . as I was marching with a command of about twenty men with two waggons from the Camps to this place, I was . . . attacked by a party of Indians and negroes . . . it being dark, we commenced battle which continued nearly as long as a man of my command had a cartridge, during which time I received eight wounds. . . . My right leg is broke, my right hand shot through with three balls, my left arm broke, my left leg shot through, a ball in my left thigh near the groin: another through the lower part of my body, which renders me altogether helpless. They found one man on the ground that was dead and scalped, several more wounded that had escaped in the bushes. . . . The enemy, from all accounts, were about fifty in number. You may suppose that I am in a dreadful situation, tho' I yet hope I shall recover in a few months." 53

Captain Williams did not recover, in spite of being moved to the relative comfort of Hollingsworth's plantation and receiving the best wishes of his commandant and the Secretary of the Navy. ⁵⁴ A common military firearm of the period 1794-1812 was a smoothbore, muzzle-loading, flintlock musket which fired a .69 caliber ball. To survive the impact of eight such projectiles at close range as Williams did would have been miraculous under those primitive conditions. He died on September 29 at Hollings-

Williams to Wharton, September 15, 1812, National Intelligencer, October 20, 1812.

^{54.} Wharton to Williams, October 12, 1812, McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 33-34.

worth's, a good officer who had served well and who was soon forgotten.

The impact of his death, however, raged through East Florida and Georgia. The immediate consequence was Colonel Smith's cry for help to Newnan: "I intend to fall back as soon as you join me." 55 The loss of both Williams and the supply line, left Colonel Smith with nothing "to do but retreat." 56 He abandoned his positions outside St. Augustine and commenced a disorderly retreat to Davis Creek. The siege of St. Augustine had ended ingloriously. 57 Within days Smith retreated again, this time to Hollingsworth's plantation, which he euphemistically renamed Camp New Hope in anticipation of the arrival of reinforcements with which he might regain the initiative. 58

The reaction along the Georgia border to Williams's death was at first angry and then indignant. Governor Mitchell blustered to his government about "this savage and barbarous attack." 59 The Savannah Republican spoke of "American breasts swelling with indignation against that banditti at Augustine." 60 An Augusta editorial urged Georgians to "mount upon the whirlwind." The Georgia Journal of October 7 condemned Governor Kindelan for inciting "disaffection among our slaves," and urged the immediate reduction of St. Augustine at point of bayonet, although pausing to observe that such an enterprise might require more than 10,000 troops. 62

Eventually, public attention was diverted to other events, notably the war with Great Britain. Colonel Newnan engaged the Seminoles in a pair of bloody expeditions west of the St. Johns near present day Gainesville, killed their chief, and went home with his volunteers. Diplomatic pressure on President Madison to withdraw from East Florida increased markedly after the abandonment of the siege of St. Augustine. Colonel Smith was relieved of command. Camp New Hope was burned and evacuated on

^{55.} Smith to Newnan, September 12, 1812, in Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813, Part III," 137.

Jacksonville Sunday Times-Union, March 16, 1930.

^{57.} Pratt, Expansionists of 1812, 208.

^{58.} Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813, Part III," 146n.

^{59.} Niles Weekly Register, November 28, 1812.

^{60.} Savannah Republican, October 8, 1812.
61. National Intelligencer, October 24, 1812.
62. Ibid., October 20, 1812.

April 26, 1813. ⁶³ Two weeks later the port of Fernandina was returned to Spain, and the last American forces left East Florida. The activities did not end American ambitions in the province, of course - Andrew Jackson was to lead his famous expedition across the border four years later - but it clearly marked the end of the Patriots War.

Subsequent historians have emphasized the "catastrophe of Twelve Mile Swamp" as the key which unlocked the St. Augustine siege, which in turn marked the inevitable end of the East Florida invasion. ⁶⁴ It is interesting to note that in books published in 1885 and in 1906, both writers cite the bravery of Prince, who saved the population of St. Augustine from starvation by his action against the invaders. ⁶⁵ Another historian gives the credit to the Spanish governor: "Without firing a shot, without using a soldier who could be identified as Spanish, Kindelan forced Smith to lift the siege of St. Augustine and seek safety on the St. Johns. Indians and Negroes accomplished the feat for the Spanish governor. While he remained in St. Augustine, they had . . . struck Smith's life line, and . . . won by their boldness."

"Captain John Williams expired yesterday," observed the *Savannah Republican*. "He was a brave and honest man." ⁶⁷ Outmaneuvered, defeated, and mortally wounded in the pivotal action of an obscure and bizarre campaign, John Williams clearly deserved a better fate. ⁶⁸

^{63.} T. Frederick Davis, "United States Troops in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1813, Part V," Florida Historical Quarterly, X (July 1931), 34.

Porter, "Negroes and the East Florida Annexation Plot, 1811-1813," 21.
 William W. Dewhurst, The History of Saint Augustine, Florida (New York, 1885; facsimile edition, Rutland, Vermont, 1968), 138; Herbert Bruce Fuller, The Purchase of Florida, Its History and Diplomacy (Cleveland, 1906; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 195.

^{66.} Rembert W. Patrick, Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815 (Athens, Georgia, 1954), 194.

^{67.} Savannah Republican, October 8, 1812.

^{68.} Captain Williams was the second marine officer to lose his life in action after the Revolution. W. S. Bush, a lieutenant, died a month earlier in the engagement between U.S.S. Constitution and H.M.S. Guerriere. McClellan, "Indian Fights, 1807-1813, Chapter XIX, Volume I," 34. On December 19, 1812, Commandant Wharton ordered all officers in the corps to wear crepe on the left arm and sword hilt for one month in memory of Williams. Wharton order of December 19, 1812, contained in Wharton's Letter Book, June 29, 1810-Feb. 19, 1813, maintained by History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S.M.C., Washington, D.C. In 1904 Williams's remains were transferred to Arlington Cemetery.

PRIVATE SOCIETIES AND THE MAINTENANCE OF SEMINOLE TRIBAL INTEGRITY. 1899-1957

by Harry A. Kersey, Jr.*

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Seminole Indians of southern Florida were a relatively independent and prosperous people. The small remnant group which remained in Florida following the Third Seminole War (1855-58), numbering fewer than 200, evaded army efforts to capture them, and they faded away into the fastness of the Everglades and Big Cypress Swamp. 1 For several decades they lived in virtual isolation from the outside world, venturing forth only for occasional trading visits to frontier villages such as Miami, Fort Meade, and Fort Myers. During these years they completed the last stage of an ethnoecologic adaptation to their new environment. ² This was manifested by a number of notable features in their physical culture: the open-sided, thatched-roof "Chickee" was perfectly adapted to the terrain; loose fitting, light garments replaced the buckskins and heavier clothing which they had worn in North Florida: small plot subsistence farming was developed, emphasizing crops which thrived in a semi-tropical region; and the cypress dugout canoe provided a highly efficient means of transportation across the sawgrass sea of the Everglades, and could even be

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^{1.} Colonel Gustavus Loomis to Major Irvin McDowell, March 22, 1858; Loomis to Colonel S. Cooper, May 8, 1858; Superintendent of Indian Affairs Elias Rector to Loomis, May 6, 1858; Loomis to Rector, May 7, 1858, in *House Executive Documents*, 35th Cong., 2nd sess., no. 2, Report of the Secretary of War, December 6, 1858, p. 241, 241-42, 242-43, 243. For additional information on attempts to contact the remnant group remaining in Florida, see Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes (Norman, 1934), 275; Edwin C. McReynolds, The Seminoles (Norman, 1957), 287.

Alan K. Craig and Christopher S. Peebles, "Ethnoecologic Change Among The Seminoles, 1740-1840," in H. J. Walker and W. G. Haag, volume eds., "Man and Cultural Heritage, Papers in Honor of Fred B. Kniffen," Volume V, Geoscience and Man, ed. Bob F. Perkins (Baton Rouge, 1974), 83-96.

fitted with sails for use on large bodies of water such as Lake Okeechobee 3

Equally functional adaptations had been made in the political and social organization of the Seminoles, who were divided linguistically between Mikasuki and Muskogee (Creek)-speaking elements. 4 This dichotomy had existed since the middle of the eighteenth century, when the migrating bands, which one authority calls "Proto-Seminole," began their transformation from Creek to Seminole in Florida. ⁵ Although Muskogee was the dominant language used throughout the Creek domain, many of the Lower Creek towns internally spoke a tongue known as Hitchiti. It was from the same language group as Muskogee, but they were mutually unintelligible. One of the early Hitchitispeaking towns in Florida was called Mikasuki, and it is by that name that the language survives to this time. By 1900, most of the Muskogee speakers had settled near the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee, while the Mikasuki-speaking majority were found in the Everglades-Big Cypress Swamp region, or in camps along the lower east coast between the New River and Biscayne Bay. Although there was interaction among the groups, for all practical purposes they were distinct entities with their own socioeconomic arrangements, councils of elders, and medicine men.

The old Creek town organization, with its prescriptions for selecting political leaders (mikkos) and war leaders (tastanagis) from certain clans and moieties, had long since disappeared, a victim of the social dislocations following the Indian wars, and a new form of polity emerged. The Seminoles in these regions formed several busk groups, each affiliated with a "medicine bundle" or collection of magic objects retained by the medicine men. The medicine bundle was a non-Creek feature of the busk which apparently originated in Florida following the Second Seminole War. ⁷ Each Seminole belonged to one of these busk

Wilfred T. Neill, "Sailing Vessels of the Florida Seminole," Florida Anthropologist, IX (December 1956), 79-86.
 John R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors (Washington, D.C., 1922), 172-73.
 William C. Sturtevant, "Creek into Seminole," in Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie, eds., North American Indians in Historical Perspective (New York, 1971), 102-05.

^{6.} Ibid., 115.

William C. Sturtevant, "The Medicine Bundles and Busks of the Florida Seminole," *Florida Anthropologist*, VII (May 1954), 31-70.

groups and fell under the jurisdiction of its judicial and political council meeting. The medicine men gained greater political prominence during this period, and some became spokesmen for their group when dealing with outsiders.

Because of their isolation little was known about the Florida Seminoles until the late 1870s, when recurring complaints from settlers led the commissioner of Indian Affairs to seek information about the Indians in the state and the possibility of removing them to the Indian Territory. Accordingly, a young army officer. Lieutenant R. H. Pratt. was sent to survey the situation and make recommendations regarding the Seminoles. He visited some of the Indian camps in 1879, and made a general report on their condition. 8 Primarily Pratt assessed them to be an independent and resourceful people who had adapted well to their environment and were extremely unreceptive to overtures concerning removal from Florida. Furthermore, Pratt recommended that rather than cause renewed bloodshed by attempting removal. the federal government should send an agent to provide industrial training, education, and health facilities for the Seminoles with an eye to their future assimilation into the mainstream of American society. In 1880-1881 a second survey of the Seminoles was conducted for the Smithsonian Institution by the Reverend Clay MacCauley. 9 His was a more thorough study, extending over several months, and gave a comprehensive assessment of the skill with which the Indians had developed their abilities to survive in the wilds of the Everglades. He also accurately predicted that in the near future the Seminoles would face their greatest challenge, not from the federal government which had abandoned its removal efforts, but from the numerous settlers who would be turning to the Florida frontier in search of land.

Neither of these reports was printed and circulated until the 1880s, although they quickly came to the notice of the major Indian relief organizations of the period. It was a time when the American national conscience was beginning to demand redress for prior mistreatment of native peoples. Unfortunately, this often

William C. Sturtevant, ed., "R.H. Pratt's Report on the Seminole in 1879," Florida Anthropologist, IX (March 1956), 1-24.
 Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883-'84 (Washington, 1887), 469-531.

culminated in congressional action such as the Dawes Act of 1887. ¹⁰ The group which opted to work with the Seminoles in Florida was the Womens National Indian Association, a Philadeiphia-based society headed by the dynamic Amelia S. Quinton. 11 By 1891 the W.N.I.A. had bought 400 acres of land some forty miles southeast of Fort Myers where they established a mission station staffed by Dr. Jacob E. Brecht and his wife. The following year the United States government purchased eighty acres of the land and set up its own agency with a store, school, and sawmill as a basis for Indian industrial education. When Dr. and Mrs. Brecht moved into government service, and the W.N.I.A. could find no replacements, they turned their mission over to the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1893. 12 Under the direction of Bishop William C. Gray, the Episcopal Church sponsored a mission at Immokalee and subsequent locations until 1914. However, the government station ceased functioning in 1899 when the Brechts retired to private life in Fort Myers. 13

By and large these early attempts to reach the Seminoles were unsuccessful when judged in light of their primary intent, i.e., to Christianize and settle them permanently into agricultural and industrial pursuits. The Seminoles accepted individuals like Dr. Brecht, but they would have nothing to do with the white man's schools, religion, or vocational training. They maintained widely scattered hammock camps, continued subsistence farming, and moved throughout the region hunting and trapping. The Indians also developed a viable trade in pelts, plumes, and hides which they sold to traders such as William Brickell at Miami, Frank Stranahan in Fort Lauderdale, or at Bill Brown's "Boat Landing"

^{10.} This congressional action, which simultaneously attempted to convert the tribes into yeoman farmers, while divesting them of some 40,000,000 acres of land, is detailed in Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Assault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Law (Dawes Act) of 1887 (Philadelphia, 1975); and D. S. Otis, The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Norman, 1973).

^{11.} Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Re-

formers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (Norman, 1976), 134-38, 146-48.

12. Harry A. Kersey and Donald E. Pullease, "Bishop William Crane Gray's Mission to the Seminole Indians in Florida, 1893-1914," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XLII (September 1973),

^{13.} House Executive Documents, 56th Cong., 1st sess., no. 5, pp. 17-80. For an account of Brecht's activities after leaving the Indian service, see Fort Myers News-Press, May 30, 1970.

in the Big Cypress. 14 As long as the Seminoles had unrestricted access to the wetlands of South Florida, and the game remained both plentiful and profitable, they showed no inclination to change their traditional life style.

Within less than two decades the conditions which supported this cultural pattern had been radically altered, and the Seminole people found themselves confronting a social and economic crisis of major proportions. This was precipitated by the rapid settlement of South Florida and the collapse of their hunting-trapping economy. In 1880 the ethnographer Clay MacCauley had written, "soon a great and rapid change must take place. [The] . . . Seminole is about to enter a future unlike any past he has known." ¹⁵ He could not have forseen how quickly this prophesy would be fulfilled or the devastating impact that it would have on the Seminoles. Throughout the preceding quarter century there was occasional friction between the Indians and a few white settlers. mostly over the ownership of livestock on the open range, but these disputes were resolved peacefully, and the Seminoles generally lived in harmony with the widely scattered homesteaders. ¹⁶ However, with the beginning of large scale drainage and development schemes, such as that of Hamilton Disston, a flood of settlers poured into the state seeking cheap land. By 1896 the Florida East Coast Railway had moved its tracks into Miami, while the Plant System offered easy access to the west coast of the state. Each arriving train seemed to bring more people who swelled the new towns that grew up along the rights-of-way. Soon farms, groves, and ranches were extending inland from both coasts. ¹⁷ Moreover. the newcomers had little knowledge of, or concern for, the Indian population whose land they were usurping in the process.

The Seminoles were soon displaced from many traditional campsites and hunting grounds to which they, of course, held no

Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930 (Gainesville, 1975), passim.
 MacCauley, "Seminole Indians of Florida," 531.
 Kersey, Pelts, Plumes, and Hides, 18-20.
 Representative studies of the efforts to settle South Florida in the last quarter of the pineteenth continuous or found in L. F. Devell, "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell," "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell, "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell," "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell, "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell," "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell, "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell," "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell, "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell," "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell, "The continuous or found in L. F. Devell," "The contin

quarter of the nineteenth century are found in J. E. Dovell, "The Railroads and Public Lands of Florida, 1879-1905," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXIV (January 1956), 238-48; George E. Pozzetta, "Foreign Colonies in South Florida, 1865-1910," Tequesta, XXXIV (1974), 45-56; Pat Dodson, "Hamilton Disston's St. Cloud Sugar Plantation, 1887-1901," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLIX (April 1971), 356-69.

legal title. Throughout the 1890s the resident United States Indian Agent, Dr. J. E. Brecht, fought to stave off this dispossession and to acquire large tracts of land on which the Seminoles could utimately settle. The parcels which he obtained before the turn of the century would become the nucleus of a federal trust lands system for Seminoles during the 1920s and 1930s, but for the most part the Indians had no large expanse of territory to call their own. This process of forced relocation accelerated during the Florida land boom of the 1920s, and in desperation many Seminoles moved into "tourist villages" at Miami and adjacent coastal cities, while others turned to agricultural wage labor and lived on the land of farmers for whom they worked. ¹⁸ Traditional families continued to live unmolested in the remote and undesirable sections of the Everglades and Big Cypress, but were always haunted by the knowledge that they could never be safe from forced resettlement.

The second great blow to the Florida Seminoles early in the twentieth century was the rapid decline of their cash economy based on hunting and trapping. The federal Lacy Law of 1900, as well as a Florida statute of the following year, outlawed the taking of plume birds which had been a lucrative business for both white and Indian hunters. Even so, it was the New York act of 1910, passed under prodding by the National Audubon Society and allied organizations, which effectively denied plumes to the fashion industry in this country. 19 During the same period the drainage of the Everglades was begun by Governor Napoleon B. Broward, and this would have a tremendously adverse effect on the alligator and fur-bearing animal population of that region. Increasingly it became more difficult for hunters to take otters and alligators in profitable numbers for shipment to northern outlets. With the onset of World War I and the loss of European markets, the plume and hide trade virtually collapsed. ²⁰

Even when the market demand was reestablished in the 1920s,

Roy Nash, Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida (Washington, 1931), Senate Documents, 71st Cong., 3rd sess., no. 314, pp. 20-22. The social and economic impact of this relocation is discussed in Kersey, Pelts, Plumes, and Hides, 125-31.

Plumes, and Hides, 125-31.

19. Charles M. Brookfield and Oliver Griswold, They All Called It Tropical:
True Tales of the Romantic Everglades National Park, Cape Sable, and
the Florida Keys (Miami, 1949), 69-72.

^{20.} Kersey, Pelts, Plumes, and Hides, 128-29.

Seminoles could not compete effectively with the well-organized and better-equipped white hunters. The Nash Report of 1930 might be considered the official obituary of the Indian trade in Florida, for it noted: "The Indian is a minority factor in the Florida fur trade. Although hunting is the Seminole's chief industry, he is regularly beaten at his own game by white men. . . . It is the difference between a dugout canoe and a gasoline launch. . . . White men buy better traps and take more pains in handling their pelts." ²¹ With the demise of their cash income and loss of traditional lands the Seminoles entered a long period of transition from which they would emerge as reservation dwellers with a sound agricultural-herding economic base. However that was well in the future. At the beginning of this century the prospects of the Indians in Florida were anything but bright.

The story of this increasingly impoverished and landless minority was first brought to national attention by two popular books: Minnie Moore-Willson's The Seminoles of Florida (1896) and Charles Coe's Red Patriots (1898). These works left a great deal to be desired for ethnohistorical accuracy, yet in a sense they became a rallying point for those Floridians who believed that the time had come to initiate positive action in behalf of the Indian people.²² A coalition of political figures, churchmen, clubwomen, and influential civic leaders came together to form associations which would promote the legal rights of Seminoles, secure educational benefits, and advocate the establishment of permanent reservation lands. The geographical distribution of these associations corresponded roughly with the pattern of Seminole dispersal throughout the lower peninsula.

The earliest of these societies was the "Friends of the Florida Seminoles," founded at Kissimmee in 1899. 23 It numbered among its organizers Bishop Gray, who was already involved with mission work among the Seminoles: F. A. Hendry, a cattleman and

^{21.} Nash, Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida, 37-38.

Nasn, Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida, 37-38. It should be noted that Minnie Moore-Willson's The Seminoles of Florida (Philadelphia, 1896; various later editions), is held in low repute by some authorities on Seminole history and culture. See William C. Sturtevant, "Accomplishments and Opportunities in Florida Indian Ethology," in Charles H. Fairbanks, ed., Florida Anthropology, Florida Anthropological Society Publications No. 5 (Tallahassee, 1958), 20-21. The origins of this society are treated in Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "The 'Friends of the Florida Seminoles' Society: 1899-1926," Tequesta, XXXIV (1974) 3-20

^{(1974), 3-20.}

state legislator who was a longtime friend of the Indians; ²⁴ P. A. Vans Agnew, an attorney and editor of the Kissimmee News; Indian Agent Brecht; Senator C. A. Carson of Kissimmee; and George W. Wilson, editor of the Jacksonville Times-Union and Citizen. Thus the society had a broad base of support, as well as significant influence with the news media of the state. Both factors would play an important role in future activities of the group.

Although the "Friends" roster was laced with prominent names, the driving force behind the organization was James M. Willson, a Kissimmee real estate broker, and his wife. Minnie Moore-Willson, Jim Willson traveled extensively at his own expense to lend aid and support to his Indian friends, while his wife took up their cause in print. The Willson home was frequently visited by Seminoles of the Cow Creek band such as old Chief Tallahassee, Tom Tiger, and Billy Bowlegs III. Their activities were fully reported in the Kissimmee newspaper, and apparently the community formed a close attachment to the Seminoles. Therefore it was not difficult in the wake of Mrs. Willson's book to solicit support for the formation of a "Friends" society.

The event which actually triggered formal organization was the notable case of "Tom Tiger's Horse." ²⁵ In 1898 a man named Hull apparently borrowed a horse from the Seminole, promising to return it in a few weeks. However, the horse was never returned, and Hull subsequently claimed to have purchased it. Tom Tiger brought his complaint to Jim Willson who attempted to act as an intermediary, but to no avail. In an effort to secure justice, the newly organized "Friends of the Florida Seminoles" pressed charges against Hull and secured a lawyer to defend the Indian's interests. When Hull was tried in the circuit court at Titusville, Tom Tiger appeared as a witness for the prosecution, and the society's lawyer assisted the state's attorney. Nevertheless, the case was thrown out due to lack of evidence-it was only the Indian's word against that of a white man. A rude sort of justice

^{24.} Francis Asbury Hendry of Fort Myers, a leading cattleman and state legislator, was a long-time friend of the Seminole Indians. He was elected an officer of both the "Friends of the Florida Seminoles," and the later "Seminole Indian Association."
25. The details of this legal action in behalf of a Seminole are found in Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "The Case of Tom Tiger's Horse: An Early Foray Into Indian Rights," Florida Historical Quarterly, LIII (January 1975),

^{306-18.}

was achieved, though, as those present in the court room took up a collection to buy Tom Tiger another horse. Although the society was not technically successful in this case, it was significant as the first effort to defend the rights of Seminoles in the courts of Florida. Furthermore, it demonstrated that there were associations which would back their rhetoric with affirmative action in behalf of the Indian people.

The "Friends" had greater success in their efforts to secure land for the Seminoles through private purchase and by state donation. A nationwide fund solicitation during the spring and summer of 1899, which received crucial support from Harper's Weekly, enabled the society to purchase an eighty-acre tract in Brevard County known as "Polly Parker's Camp." 26 It was named for the Indian folk heroine who had escaped from federal troops removing the Seminoles to Oklahoma and had returned to her home near the Kissimmee River. This parcel of land was far too small to offer sanctuary for the Cow Creek band. No Indians settled there, and it was eventually lost for taxes in 1926. 27 Realizing that only a substantial grant of state land in their traditional hunting-trapping domain would be suitable for the Seminoles, the society threw its weight behind the lobbying efforts in Tallahassee for such legislation.

Minnie Moore-Willson became the leading figure in this struggle through her speeches and writing, as well as her membership in various women's organizations-although she often alienated other equally ardent supporters of the Indian cause with her ascerbic denunciations of legislative inaction and her abrasive personality. In 1915 she was reprimanded by Mrs. William S. Jennings, president of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, for charges she had made in the federation's publications of scandal in state government which prevented the granting of lands to the Seminole Indians. ²⁸ All future statements regarding Indian matters, she was informed, should be routed through the chair-

^{26.} Kersey, "'Friends of the Florida Seminoles' Society: 1899-1926," 9-11.

^{27.} Ibid.
28. May Mann Jennings to Minnie Moore-Willson, May 12, 1915, Willson Papers, Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. It is possible that one might consider the Indian Commission of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs as a fourth society working in the Commission of May Mann Jennings behalf of the Seminoles. A doctoral dissertation on May Mann Jennings is being written at the University of Florida by Linda Vance.

man of the Seminole Indian committee of which Mrs. Willson was a member. Furthermore, Mrs. Jennings made it clear that organization would in no way support unsubstantiated accusations which could only harm the Indian cause in the legislative halls of Tallahassee. There was also a fundamental difference in the approach which the two women advocated for securing land for Indians. The position expressed by Mrs. Jennings was that the legislature should be lobbied for as long as necessary to insure that only good land would be set aside, rather than an immediate appropriation of worthless acreage. Mrs. Willson, however, felt the great urgency was to have as large a tract as possible secured for Seminole use. Apparently Mrs. Jennings's rebuke did not deter Minnie Moore-Willson from pressing her pointed attacks, and in 1916 she was asked to disassociate herself from the Indian committee of the Federation. ²⁹ Although she did not relinquish her committee position, in the future Mrs. Willson continued her fight for Indian lands apart from the Federation and under the auspices of the "Friends" and the national Indian Rights Association.

For fifteen frustrating years the Willsons and their supporters saw bills introduced in the biennial legislative sessions, only to be lost in one house or the other or by executive veto. Then in 1915, the society's efforts were supported by the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, which added its funds and the services of the able M. K. Sniffen in the fray. 30 That involvement, along with a growing clamor for action on the "Indian question" by the press of Florida, apparently turned the tide. The 1917 legislature passed, and Governor Sidney J. Catts signed into law, a bill establishing a 100,000-acre state Seminole reservation in Monroe County. ³¹ The governor presented the gold pen used in signing the bill to Minnie Moore-Willson as a tribute to her persistent efforts in behalf of the Seminole people. ³² With the establishment

^{29.} Mrs. Frank Stranahan to Minnie Moore-Willson, December 27, 1916, Willson Papers.

Friends of the Florida Seminoles Society: 1899-1926," 14-15. For a concise exposition on the Indian Rights Association, see Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis, 138-43.

^{31.} Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 10, 1917.
32. Ibid. In a scathing editorial comment the newspaper noted that the land set aside for the Indians was outside the drainage district, thus the legislature had met its obligation by donating worthless, at least in an agricultural sense, swamp land to the Seminole. This, coupled with the

of a state reservation for the Seminoles, much of the society's raison d'etre seemed to disappear. Throughout the years the Willsons continued to perform services for their Indian friends, but as the original members died off there were no new recruits, and the "Friends of the Florida Seminoles" faded into history.

In the same year that the "Friends" were organizing at Kissimmee, some 200 miles to the south a young teacher named Ivy Cromartie arrived at the hamlet on New River which was to be called Fort Lauderdale. 33 Within a year she had married the prominent trader Frank Stranahan and moved into the large combination home-trading post on the river where she would live for the next seventy years. Mrs. Stranahan befriended the Seminole families who frequented her husband's store to trade their pelts and hides. She was particularly fond of the Indian youngsters who were perpetually curious, and soon began teaching those who were interested some rudimentary reading and writing. Over the years her frequent visits to nearby camps cemented acceptance among the Seminoles. Frank Stranahan had been the foremost spokesman for the Seminoles in that region, and after he died in 1929, his wife continued the work at both the state and national level.

As chairwoman of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs Indian committee, Ivy Stranahan played a major role in developing the policy of this influential group which lobbied prominently in the legislative halls of Tallahassee for Indian rights and other causes. Often she was at odds with Minnie Moore-Willson over the tactics which would be most effective; regretfully she attempted to persuade her to resign from the Indian committeebut to no avail. 34 Subsequently, the Willson group continued to steer a rather independent course in seeking state lands for the Seminoles. Mrs. Stranahan, on the other hand, while she saw some value to the establishment of a state reservation, felt that federal lands and support services would come closer to meeting

fact that the hunting-trapping capacity of the Everglades was rapidly diminishing, seemed to vindicate Mrs. Jennings's position in holding out for the best land possible upon which to reestablish the tribe. August Burghard, Watchie Estra/Hutrie (the Little White Mother) (Fort Lauderdale, 1968), 6; Philip J. Weidling and August Burghard, Checkered Sunshine, the Story of Fort Lauderdale, 1793-1955 (Gainesville, 1966), 21.

^{34.} Willson to Stranahan, January 7, 1917, Willson Papers.

the immediate health, education, and housing needs of the Seminole people. To that end she worked with United States Indian Agent L. A. Spencer in opening the Dania Reservation in 1926. 35

As a devout Seventh Day Adventist, Mrs. Stranahan was a temperance advocate who constantly sought to protect the Seminoles from bootleg whiskey dealers. So strong were her sentiments that Frank Stranahan refused to sell any product with an alcohol base in his store, such as vanilla extract, which the Indians might use. ³⁶ The ubiquitous Mrs. Stranahan was also an ardent Audubon Society member. Thus, there was no market for plumes at the Stranahan store, and she was always on the lookout for illegal caches of plumes after federal and state laws took effect early in this century. ³⁷ In all of these efforts Mrs. Stranahan often seemed to be waging a lonely struggle with only occasional support from close friends or Agent Spencer. Indeed, Mrs. Stranahan had carried on an extensive correspondence with the members of the Florida congressional delegation concerning Indian affairs. In 1930 she testified before the United States Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, where she recounted the plight of the tribe. 38 Her testimony touched on most of the major social and economic ills of the Indian people, especially the fact that bootlegging was still rampant and no action was being taken by local authorities to stem the flow of liquor to the Seminoles. She reported that many of the women and girls of the tribe were receptive to education, although the older people were not, and cited the fact that some attended the reservation school regularly. Nevertheless, she admitted that Indian children would have great difficulty entering public schools at that time due to their academic deficiencies and a low standard of personal hygiene. Clearly, if there was to be any promise of a better future for the Seminole youngsters there would have to be more direct assistance from the government and other sources.

Nash, Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida, 70.
 Alan Craig and David McJunkin, "Stranahan's: Last of the Seminole Trading Posts," Florida Anthropologist, XXIV (June 1971), 45.
 Burghard, Watchie Estra/Hutrie, 36-37.
 Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate. . ., pt. 16, March 26, 28, 31, 1930, November 6, 8, December 10, 1930, 71st Cong., 3rd sess. (Washington, 1931) 7603-14 1931). 7603-14.

By 1934 a group of Christian women in several Florida cities became seriously interested in underwriting Mrs. Stranahan's efforts among the Seminoles. This loosely knit group organized as the "Friends of the Seminoles." - a name which often promoted confusion with the Kissimmee organization. ³⁹ Mrs. Stranahan served alternately as its president and secretary-treasurer for many years. One of the society's first projects was to bring in a welleducated Indian woman from the West to work with the Seminole women and young girls in preventing alcoholism and immorality. The person selected was Minnie Deer, a Creek Indian who taught at Bacone College, Oklahoma, She initially staved with Mrs. Stranahan learning about the Seminole people, then spent many months working among their camps with some success. Heartened by this venture, the society turned its attention to the education of Indian children.

The federal day school serving Seminole children on the Dania Reservation was closed in 1936 as part of a general reduction of government services during the Depression era, and the students could not attend the local public schools with any reasonable expectation of success. Thus in 1937, the federal Indian service sent a number of Seminole youngsters to the Cherokee Indian School in North Carolina. The "Friends" supported this venture by providing clothing and incidental funds for the students, and maintained correspondence to encourage them in their schooling. This prolonged effort was rewarded when two of the girls graduated from Cherokee High School in 1945. 40 In the years following World War II the society focused its efforts on having Seminole children admitted to the public schools near the South Florida reservations. Through all these years while Mrs. Stranahan remained a central figure in the organization, her friend and coworker, Mrs. O. H. Abbey, became a driving force in the effort to educate Indian children. 41 She often accompanied them on the long bus trips to North Carolina, organized readiness programs on

^{39.} Harry A. Kersey, Jr., and Rochelle Kushin, "Ivy Stranahan and the Friends of the Seminoles,' 1899-1971," *Broward Legacy*, I (1976), 7-11. The "Friends of the Seminoles" was chartered as a Florida corporation on November 28, 1949. *Corporation Book 13*, Office of the Comptroller,

<sup>Broward County Courthouse, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.
Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Educating the Seminole Indians of Florida, 1879-1969," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLIX (July 1970), 28, 33.
Lucy Heidenreich, "Dreams Come True, Education of Seminole Indians," New River News, XI (January 1973), 1-6.</sup>

the reservations, cajoled local school officials, and secured economic support from the Daughters of the American Revolution and other groups to underwrite Indian educational programs. As Mrs. Stranahan grew older and her health declined, it was Mrs. Abbey who often represented the "Friends of the Seminoles" at the state and national level.

During the 1950s the "Friends of the Seminoles" also turned their attention to improving living conditions on the reservations. Their funds, solicitations, and arrangements for bank financing enabled most Seminole families at the Dania Reservation to move into new houses, and significant steps in this direction were also begun on the rural reservations such as Big Cypress where a community building was paid for by the society. It appeared that the combination of improved living conditions and educational progress offered a bright future for the tribe at mid-century. Then in 1953 the Bureau of Indian Affairs announced that it would be terminating all services for the Seminoles in three years as part of a new federal policy. 4 2 The movement for "termination" of certain tribes was a misguided attempt by the Congress to free Indian peoples from the paternalism of the federal bureaucracy. Unfortunately, for many tribes like the Seminole it would have meant economic and social disaster to remove the health, education, and technical support services from them at that time. Some tribal groups such as the Klamath and Menominee were terminated and were virtually destroyed as a people. The Seminoles were fortunate that they had the strong support of the "Friends of the Seminoles." as well as other individuals and some of Florida's political leaders, to defend their interests.

On March 1-2, 1954, subcommittees of Congress held a hearing in Washington to determine whether the Seminoles should be removed from the list of tribes to be terminated. The case for continued governmental assistance was supported by witnesses from the society, Florida congressional leaders, and by a delegation of Seminoles. ⁴³ Mrs. Stranahan was too ill to attend, but her

^{42.} Joint Hearings Before the Sub-Committee of the Committees on the Interior and Insular Affairs, Termination of Federal Supervision Over Certain Tribes of Indians, Part 8, Seminole Indians of Florida, S. 2747 and H.R. 7321, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, 1954), 1027-29. See also S. Lyman Tyler, A History of Indian Policy (Washington, 1973), 151-81

^{43.} Joint Hearings, Part 8, Seminole Indians of Florida, 1125-33. For insight into these hearings and the removal of the Seminoles from the termina-

eloquent letter was entered in the proceedings and perhaps had an impact on the final outcome. In essence, she felt that at least twenty-five more years of government assistance would be needed to allow the Seminoles time to prepare for self-governance. 44 As it turned out, her time frame was a bit exaggerated. The Seminoles were not terminated. They then exercised an option to organize themselves formally under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and they received a charter from the Department of the Interior. In 1957 the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Inc., elected officers and began to represent all the Seminole people of the state. ⁴⁵ Five years later a group of families living along Tamiami Trail formed their own Miccosukee Tribe of Indians. 46 Within two decades these tribes have become self-sufficient enough to handle many health, education, and welfare services formerly operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Tribal leaders predict they will be entirely free of most government direction by the end of the 1970s.

Ivy Stranahan received numerous accolades for her work with the Seminole people, as well as her many other civic contributions, and was a leading citizen of Fort Lauderdale until her death in 1971. ⁴⁷ The society which she inspired continues its work of sponsoring Indian youngsters who are trying to complete their schooling and assisting the Seminole Tribe whenever possible.

Probably the least known of the three major societies assisting the Seminoles early in this century was the Seminole Indian Association, which was chartered at Fort Myers in 1913. 48 It was

tion list, see Sturtevant, "Creek into Seminole," 117-20. Sturtevant participated in the hearings. His statement is found on page 1136.

Ibid., 1130-31.

The extent to which the Indian people control their own affairs is spelled out in their constitutions and corporate charters. In the case of the Seminole, see United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Constitution and Bylaws of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Ratified August 21, 1957 (Washington, 1958); and United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Corporate Charter of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Ratified August 21, 1957 (Washington, 1958).

The basic operating guidelines of the Miccosukees are found in Constitu-tion of the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, ratified December 17, 1961, with amendments adopted 1964 and 1965 (Washington, 1965). For a recent study on political leadership, see R. T. King, "Clan Affiliation and Leadership Among the Twentieth-Century Florida Indians," Florida Historical Quarterly, LV (October 1976), 138-52. Kersey, Pelts, Plumes, and Hides, 57.
W. Stanley Hanson to Dr. Hamilton Holt, September 3, 1933, postcard in

^{47.} 48. possession of author.

inspired by the work of Dr. W. J. Godden, the Episcopal medical missionary who ran a hospital and trading post at the old "Boat Landing" site in the Big Cypress. ⁴⁹ During regular visits to Fort Myers he reported on the growing distress of the Indians due to a paucity of game in the Everglades. As the situation worsened and the national market for their goods collapsed, many Seminole families suffered real hardship. Based upon these reports and the urgings of Dr. Godden, a number of influential citizens of the region formed the Association. The founding officers included Francis A. Hendry, president; C. W. Carlton, vice-president; W. Stanley Hanson, secretary: and R. A. Henderson, Sr., treasurer. ⁵ The first order of business was to memorialize Congress for direct economic assistance to the Mikasuki Seminoles of the Big Cypress. 51 That failing, contributions were solicited from the membership to help the most needy Indians. The following year Dr. Godden died, and the mission station was closed by the Episcopal Church. With his passing the Association lost its inspiration and focus as an organization, although individuals such as Stanley Hanson sustained a vigorous personal involvement with the Indians.

The son of a pioneer doctor in Fort Myers. Hanson had grown up hunting and trapping with the Seminoles who were frequent and welcome visitors to his father's home. He was able to speak their difficult Mikasuki language, and he regularly attended the Green Corn Dance and council meetings at the invitation of the medicine men. Whenever the Big Cypress band needed an intermediary with the outside world they often spoke through Stanley Hanson rather than government officials. ⁵² Although he dealt primarily with the Mikasuki-speaking group, Hanson was well received among the Cow Creek band which lived north of Lake

Indian File, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida Library, Tampa.

The Episcopal Church had acquired this property from the trader W. H. Brown in 1908 in order to bring their work closer to the Indian camps. For an account of the Episcopal mission efforts among the Seminole at 49. the turn of the century, see Kersey and Pullease, "Bishop William Crane Gray's Mission," 257-73.
"Hanson Talks on Seminoles," Fort Myers, September 9, 1933, Seminole

^{51.} Fort Myers Daily Press, September 22, 1914.
52. St. Petersburg Daily News, February 15, 1927. In this instance Hanson represented the complaint of traditional Seminole leaders that no one person could be considered "chief" of the tribe-as an individual in the Fort Lauderdale area had claimed.

Okeechobee, and he included their camps in his itinerary. He often referred to them as "Cabbage Woods Indians" ostensibly because they lived in the sabal or cabbage palm region.

For two decades Hanson traveled about the state and nation at his own expense attending to the needs of his Indian friends, and, always in the name of the Seminole Indian Association, promoting their welfare. However, as the nation entered the depths of the Depression years of the 1930s, Hanson felt that interest had to be rekindled if the work was to continue. A committee was established to revitalize the Seminole Indian Association, and a reorganizational meeting was held at Tampa in September, 1933. ⁵³ Only ten members of the original board of directors were still alive, and Hanson was one of but two surviving officers. A new slate of officers and directors was elected by the society, which wisely retained Hanson as its secretary.

Throughout the 1930s the Seminole Indian Association operated with great enthusiasm and a minimal budget. 54 Hanson covered thousands of miles each year at his own expense, speaking to educational and civic groups and drumming up economic support for the Indians. He was often accompanied to these gatherings by members of the tribe. The secretary also pursued with vigor any actions by local law officials and courts which involved Indians, and he served as liaison with the Indian agent whose office was on the east coast at the Dania Reservation. Then, too, there were always instances when sick or injured Indians had to be transported miles to a hospital in the secretary's car, and arrangements made by the Association or another agency to underwrite the medical expenses. One major goal of the Association was the promotion of a Seminole handicrafts industry, and registration of an official trade mark to protect them from cheap imported items being sold as genuine Indian articles. 55 To this end they supported the work of Deaconess Harriet Bedell, an Episcopal missionary, in developing a nascent cottage industry among the Seminole families living near her mission station on the Tamiami

^{53.} "Hanson Talks on Seminoles," 4.

[&]quot;Annual Meeting of the Seminole Indian Association of Florida, Held in Fort Myers, Florida, July 24, 1935. From Proceedings of the Meeting as Published in The American Eagle, Estero, Fla.," a broadside located in the Seminole Indian File, Florida Historical Society Library.

^{55.} Ibid.

Trail. ⁵⁶ This did not imply Association endorsement of her missionizing activities.

The years of World War II brought a significant interruption of the Association's work due to curtailment of travel and a refocusing of many members' interests. It would be difficult at best to continue after the war; many older members had died, others had moved away, and the federal government was taking a stronger role in the welfare of Seminoles. When Stanley Hanson died in 1945 it appeared to signal the demise of the Seminole Indian Association as well. 57 Yet, a cadre of dedicated people still remained to take up the work, although on a more limited basis. The Association, through its new secretary, Bertram Scott, was influential in lobbying against termination of the Seminoles in the 1950s. 58 It was primarily through his efforts that the Florida cabinet went on record in opposition to the proposed termination of the tribe. The last president of the organization, Robert Mitchell of Orlando, focused his energies in supporting the efforts of the Mikasuki-speaking Seminoles of the Big Cypress and Tamiami Trail to secure exclusive hunting and trapping rights to some 200,000 acres of land. When a group of these Indians broke away from the Seminoles to form their own Miccosukee Tribe in 1962, Mitchell became an unofficial advisor and honorary member of the tribe. His long record of Indian rights advocacy, as well as the endorsement of the Miccosukee Tribe, led to Mitchell's appointment as a member of the first State Indian Commission by Governor Claude Kirk in 1969, and, after an interregnum, his subsequent reappointment by Governor Reubin Askew. 59 Through his membership on this influential state commission, Mitchell carried on the tradition of involvement established by his friend Stanley Hanson and the Seminole Indian Association.

In retrospect all three of these private societies fulfilled a vital role in support of the Florida Seminoles during the first half of

For an acount of Deaconess Bedell's work among the Seminoles, see William Hartley and Ellen Hartley, A Woman Set Apart (New York, 1963) 202-75

^{57.} Fort Myers News-Press, April 5, 1945.

^{58.} Joint Hearings, Part 8, Seminole Indians of Florida, 1103-13.

^{59.} Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr., established the Florida Commission on Indian Affairs by executive order on June 16, 1969. Governor Reubin O'D. Askew established the Governor's Council on Indian Affairs by Executive Order 74-23, on April 10, 1974.

this century. It was a period of traumatic transition from a self-sufficient life style based on subsistence farming supplemented by hunting and trapping, then uprootedness, and ultimate resettlement on federal trust lands with the establishment of a new agricultural-herding economy. ⁶ Throughout much of this ordeal the Seminole people received only minimal support from the federal Indian service, and that through a single agent who was under staffed and poorly funded. If these societies had not functioned, along with myriad local church and civic groups which also rallied to their cause, the Seminoles might not have survived the period as a people. There was a very real danger that they would be dispersed and ultimately absorbed into a growing population of urban and rural poor in South Florida.

The societies sustained the Seminoles by a variety of means: they provided legal counsel, funneled direct assistance to families and school children, promoted better housing and health care, and constantly lobbied at all levels of government for a recognition of Indian rights. Primarily, though, it was their leadership in the effort to have state and federal trust lands set aside for the Seminoles, as well as forestalling the threat of termination, which insured tribal political and economic integrity for future generations. Given the voluntary nature and limited financial resources of these organizations, their geographic separation and lack of coordination, as well as the intragroup philosophical and personality conflicts, it is unlikely that they could have accomplished more than they did in the context of the times. As it was, leaders like the Willsons, Stranahans, and Hansons often held the groups together through good times and bad on the strength of their personal efforts-and unreimbursed expenditures.

It may be argued by contemporary critics that societies such as these often fostered naive and paternalistic conceptions of the American Indian, and tended to promote "Christianizing and civilizing" to the detriment of native cultures. If so, this would only be consistent with the prevailing nineteenth-century Christian, humanitarian reform movement's emphasis on religion, education, and assimilation as an answer to the "Indian problem." To be sure, there was much that smacked of maudlin sentimentality and a surfeit of religious zeal in some pronouncements

^{60.} Kersey, Pelts, Plumes, and Hides, 125-26.

and activities of the Florida societies. However, the ranks were also filled with individuals who had spent their lives hunting, trading, and in some cases fighting with the Seminoles. Their knowledge of, and respect for, the Indian way of life had a leavening effect on the societies, and the role which they played was generally one of securing the Indian's land and rights rather than fostering assimilation. To a degree this ethos was lost as the older members passed from the scene and were replaced by newcomers who harbored a somewhat idealized version of what the Indian was supposed to become in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, when a definitive history of the Indian peoples of Florida is written, a prominent place must be accorded these societies which functioned when they were most needed. ⁶¹

^{61.} This article is an expanded version of papers and earlier articles resulting from Dr. Kersey's continuing interest in this subject. See also, Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "The Seminole 'Uprising' of 1907," Florida Anthropologist, XXVII (June 1974), 49-58.

CAREER OF A "CARPETBAGGER": MALACHI MARTIN IN FLORIDA

by MILDRED L. FRYMAN*

THE EPITHET "CARPETBAGGER" holds such a solid place in the vocabulary of American history that it would be difficult to describe the nation's Reconstruction experience without utilizing it. In 1868, the editors of a Pensacola newspaper expressed the attitude towards "carpetbaggers" which prevailed among white Southerners. "While crushed beneath a grinding military despotism, hireling spies and impudent adventurers have swarmed upon . . . [us] taking a despicable advantage of . . . [our] weakness, misfortunes and suffering to traduce, vilify and malign . . . [us]. . . . Upstarts, without name, character or position in their own land, have, with the aid of military power, imposed upon . . . [the South] an odious government, and foisted themselves into office and power as . . . rulers. " 1

Numerous historical studies feature the activities of the "upstarts" and "adventurers" who came to Florida after the Civil War. In contrast, biographical accounts exist for only a few of these individuals. ² When the Democratic party returned to power in 1876, many Florida "carpetbaggers" faded into the obscurity from which they had materialized a decade earlier. Others have been remembered only because their names were linked with stories of Yankee misdeeds which survived the end of the Reconstruction era.

Association with Florida's notorious convict-lease system provided Malachi Martin with a reputation as a brutal and corrupt man. From 1868 to 1877, Martin served as chief ad-

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^{1.} Pensacola West Florida Commercial, October 13, 1868. The masthead

of this issue carries the date as October 12, 1868.

2. Claude R. Flory, "Marcellus L. Stearns, Florida's Last Reconstruction Governor," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January 1966), 181-92; Jerrell H. Shofner, "A New Jersey Carpetbagger in Reconstruction Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly, LII (January 1974), 286-93; Richard N. Current, Three Carpetbag Governors (Baton Rouge, 1967), 3.35

ministrator of the state penal institution at Chattahoochee. A book written by a convict labor camp captain fostered the image of Martin as an evil prison warden. J. C. Powell wrote The American Siberia chiefly as an expose of Florida's convictlease system which became fully operable only after Martin resigned from the penal organization. Powell characterized Martin as a fortune hunter whose regime was "one of almost unrelieved barbarity." Powell wrote that "a man named Martin was warden [of the Chattahoochee prison], and the place was horror's den. He had been placed in charge of the building during the war, at a time when it was used as an arsenal. The state got rid of its criminals by turning them over bodily to him, and paid him bonuses amounting to over \$30,000 for accepting the charge. He had vast vineyards and worked the convicts in them, manufacturing all kinds of wine, at which he made a fortune. There were no restrictions whatever placed upon him by the state." 3 None of Powell's statements in this passage is wholly true. Nevertheless, the reputation with which that author endowed Martin persists today.

Born in Ireland in the early 1820s, Malachi Martin emigrated to the United States in 1847. ⁴ Within the next five years, he established himself as a retail dry goods merchant in New

J. C. Powell, The American Siberia, or Fourteen Years' Experience in a Southern Convict Camp (Chicago, 1891; facsimile editions, New York, 1969, Gainesville, 1976), 10, 8.
 Martin probably was born in 1822; he stated in November 1864, that

^{4.} Martin probably was born in 1822; he stated in November 1864, that he was forty-two years old. Records of Volunteer Officers, Quartermasters Department, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, IV, 229, Record Group 92, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Hereinafter cited as RVOQD. In November 1871, he gave his age as fortynine. U. S. Congress, Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, "Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, Miscellaneous and Florida," House Reports, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., no. 22, pt. 13, p. 184. Martin's age was reported as forty-five in the 1870 census and as fifty-six in the 1880 census. U. S. Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population Schedule, Florida, Gadsden County, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Population Schedule, Gadsden County, original returns on microfilm, Robert M. Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. (All census returns cited hereinafter are microfilm copies of the original.) Burial records give Martin's age in 1884 as fifty-eight. Records of Calvary Cemetery, Blissville (now Queens Village), Long Island, Trustees of St. Patricks Cathedral, Archdiocese of New York, as cited in a letter from Edward J. Milty to the author, April 8, 1976.

York City. ⁵ He remained in the dry goods business until he entered military service in December 1861, as a second lieutenant in the Second Independent Battalion, New York Light Artillery (the "Irish Brigade"). ⁶ He soon became quartermaster for the entire Second Independent Battalion and may have received a promotion to first lieutenant as well. ⁷ In any case, he received an appointment as captain and assistant quartermaster in the U. S. Volunteers and subsequently resigned from his original unit. ⁸

Martin served with the Army of the Potomac from early in 1862 until January 1864, when he requested reassignment to the Army of the Gulf. In April 1864 he arrived in New Orleans to take up his new responsibilities. At the end of that year, he was transferred to the District of Key West and Tortugas, where he remained until after the war's end. In July 1865, he received orders to proceed to the headquarters of the District of Florida. ⁹

Martin arrived in Tallahassee to assume his duties as chief quartermaster on the staff of Brigadier General John Newton a few months after Federal troops occupied the state capital. He remained with Newton's staff when the general obtained command of the Middle District of Florida at the beginning of August 1865. From early September until Christmas, Martin filled two posts: chief quartermaster of the Middle District of Florida and acting chief quartermaster of the Department of Florida. After being relieved of the latter duties, he continued to serve in the former capacity until the funds and property for which he was accountable were transferred to another jurisdiction late in January 1866. A few days later, Martin asked

^{5.} Trow's New York City Directory, 1852 through 1862 (New York, 1852-1862). Martin's Irish wife bore him a son, Walter, in 1852, and may have died soon thereafter. She was not living with him in Florida in 1870, and he remarried before 1880. U. S. Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population Schedule, Florida, Gadsden County.

^{6.} RVOQD, IV, 229.

Military Service Record [of] M. Martin, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General 1780-1917, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

^{8.} Final Certificate no. 2265, Documents Relative to U. S. General Land Office, Record Group 49, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Hereinafter cited as DGLO.

^{9.} RVOQD, IV, 229-31.

to be mustered out of military service, and on March 13, he received his discharge. 10

Before Martin left the U. S. Volunteers, he established residency in Leon County, Florida, and engaged in agricultural activities there. His decision to settle in Tallahassee remains unexplained. Undoubtedly Martin's activities as quartermaster acquainted him with the post-war economic conditions which forced many plantation owners to mortgage or sell their lands. Shortly after the war, Live Oak Plantation, located north of Tallahassee, became a burden to its owner, William H. Branch. Before or during January 1866, he appears to have leased that property to Martin. 11 Evidently the latter failed to meet his responsibilities, for at the beginning of 1867, Branch instructed his lawyer to bring suit against Martin. 12

As his next agricultural venture, Martin joined another Tallahassean as "M. Martin and Co." in the purchase from George A. Croom of land located southeast of Tallahassee. Croom held a mortgage on the property valued at over \$16,000. Although Martin agreed to "devote his entire time and energies" to the farming operation as its general manager, he again was unsuccessful. In January 1868, one year after purchasing this land, the partners remitted it to Croom. 13

Having failed as a farmer, Martin made a tentative entry into Florida politics. On January 20, 1868, a constitutional convention assembled in Tallahassee which immediately became a battlegound for the radical and moderate factions of Florida's Republican party as they began to struggle for control of the reconstruction process. By the end of January, the radicals clearly dominated the convention. In the first days of February, a moderate minority opened its own "rump" assembly in nearby Monticello. The radicals adopted a constitution reflecting their views, but in the late night hours of February 10, the "rump" delegates occupied the Capitol convention hall. They drafted

^{10.} Ibid., IV, 231-32.

^{11.} Leon County Deed Record Book N, 399, Office of the Circuit Court Clerk, Courthouse, Tallahassee. All Leon County records cited herein-

after are located in the courthouse unless otherwise stated.

12. William B. Brickell to W. H. Branch, January 30, 1867, A. J. Peeler to William H. Branch, January 31, 1867, and John Bradford to William Branch, October 17, 1876, Branch Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

13. Leon County Deed Record Book N, 546, 551; Book P, 62.

another, more moderate constitution which soon was implemented. Martin, nascent public servant, played a minor role in these important events, serving the moderate "rump" assembly as its sergeant-at-arms.

After the convention adjourned, Martin remained in Tallahassee. On May 13, 1868, he received an appointment as an agent of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. 15 Former military men like Martin provided a good source of manpower for the bureau as it engaged in aiding blacks to solve problems accompanying their new freedom. Martin served as bureau agent in Leon and Wakulla counties until December 31, 1868, when the Freedmen's Bureau in Florida ceased operation except for its educational services. ¹⁶

Late in 1868, according to a contemporary observer, Martin was destitute; he failed to make rent payments and accumulated other debts. 17 Fortunately he was selected in November 1868, as the first commanding officer of the newly created Chattahoochee Penitentiary. No state penal system had existed in Florida prior to the Civil War, but post-war circumstances made the creation of one seem necessary. In the absence of state prisons, law breakers were fined, penalized through corporal punishment, or incarcerated in county jails. After the war, authorities badly overestimated the volume of offenses which would be committed by

Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, February 18, 1868, containing letter dated February 13, 1868, signed M. Martin "Sergeant-at-Arms"; D. Richards to David S. Walker, February 15, 1868, cited in John Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida. The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida after the Close of the Civil War. (Jacksonville, 1888; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 371-72.
 Howard to Gile, December 17, 1868, Letters Involving Appointments, Assistant Commissioner for Florida, U. S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington D. C.

men, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

16. For Martin's monthly reports to his superiors on his duties and activities as a bureau agent, see Unentered Letters and Reports from Subordinate Officers, Assistant Commissioner for Florida, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Ralph L. Peek, "Aftermath of Military Reconstruction, 1868-1869," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLIII (October 1964), 138.

17. Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 223; Martin to Simon Conover, July 6, 1869, Papers of Malachi Martin, catalogued as Records of the U.S. Army Quartermaster Department.

U. S. Army Quartermaster Department, District of Middle Florida, Papers, 1865-1869, Special Collections, Robert M. Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Hereinafter cited as Martin Papers.

freedmen and thus anticipated having to administer punishment to a large number of criminals. 18 In December 1865, the Florida House of Representatives suggested the creation of a committee to investigate the establishment of a state prison system.

The former United States arsenal at Chattahoochee seemed a logical site for such an institution. Built in the 1830s, it consisted of an enclosed quadrangle containing barracks, officers' quarters, and work shops all surrounded by walls twelve feet high and thirty inches thick. 20 After the Civil War, federal authorities turned the property over to the Freedmen's Bureau. 21

It was not until 1868 that the desire for a prison became a reality. In his opening message to the first session of the reconstituted Florida Assembly, Governor Harrison Reed proposed a penitentiary system utilizing the Chattahoochee arsenal. He based his recommendations on the leasing of inmates as laborers. The widespread practice of convict leasing came into use in the South before the Civil War, but it was not entirely unknown in antebellum Florida. Reed described his system as one which would provide the state with a source of income as well as a way to punish and reform criminals. He asked the new legislature to petition Congress to place the Chattahoochee arsenal at the state's disposal for use as a penitentiary. 22 On July 10.

^{18.} Jerrell H. Shofner, Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877 (Gainesville, 1974), 53-56.

struction, 1863-1877 (Gainesville, 1974), 53-56.

19. Florida House Journal, 1865, 54.

20. Mark F. Boyd, "Historic Sites in and around the Jim Woodruff Reservoir Area, Florida-Georgia," Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 169, River Basin Surveys Papers, No. 13, p. 276. In 1866, the State of Florida was offered the arsenal for use as a prison. The arsenal was in possession of the Freedmen's Bureau by mid-November 1866. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to President Andrew Johnson, November 14, 1866, in U. S. War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 70 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Series III Volume V. p. 1042

III, Volume V, p. 1042.
21. Tallahassee Semi-Weekly Floridian, October 4, 25, 1867. Martin as quartermaster of the District of Middle Florida ordered the reas quarternaster of the District of Middle Florida of defered the feature and stores in preparation for the transfer of the Chattahoochee arsenal to the Freedmen's Bureau. Martin to W. H. Hutchinson, October 7, 1865, Martin Papers. J. C. Powell's contention, cited above, that Martin was in charge of the Chattahoochee arsenal during the Civil War has no basis in fact, for Martin's military record clearly indicates that he arrived in Florida after the war's enď.

[&]quot;Governor's Message," Florida *Senate Journal*, 1868, 53-54. See N. Gordon Carper, "The Convict-Lease System in Florida, 1866-1923" 22.

1868, a joint resolution to that effect was passed by the Senate and Assembly of Florida. 23

A few weeks later, a legislative act established a state penitentiary to house convicted criminals who would be "employed at hard labor." It was to be "governed by a military organization, and conducted as a military establishment," with the adjutant general of Florida as superior officer. Rules and regulations were to be made by the governor and cabinet sitting as the Commissioners of Public Institutions. They also were to make contracts with individuals for the labor services of the inmates. The commandant's pay was fixed at five dollars a day; living quarters were provided for him at the prison. 24

The new penitentiary system became operative at the end of 1868. That September, Reed went to Washington to ask the Secretary of War and the commissioners of the Freedmen's Bureau to allow the Chattahoochee arsenal to be used as a prison. ²⁵ The request was granted. On November 16, Martin received his appointment as commanding officer of the new institution. ²⁶ Although his appointment was not confirmed until January 20, 1869. 27 he took up his duties before the year (or his term as Freedmen's Bureau agent) ended. 28

In his first annual report, Martin described problems which confronted him and mentioned programs he had implemented at the penitentiary: "New sills have been put under the porches of all the buildings. The barracks have been repaired; the windows of all the buildings, except the work-shops, have been glazed; the grounds around the prison cleaned up; trees trimmed so as to give a better circulation of air; and the appearance of the place much improved. We have cultivated a

⁽Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1964) for a full study of the development of the convict-lease system in Florida.
23. Laws of Florida, 1868, 184.
24. Ibid., 35-43. The officers' quarters at the arsenal, a building which today houses the administrative offices of the Florida State Hospital, were sufficiently commodious to provide housing for Martin and other

<sup>officers.
25. "Governor's Message," Florida Assembly Journal, 1869, 15-16.
26. "Report of M. Martin . . .," in "Report of Adjutant-General," in Florida Senate Journal, 1870, Appendix, 91.
27. Harrison Reed to the Senate, January 20, 1869, Al-Box 23, Secretary of State's Papers, Florida State Archives, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Department of State, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee. Hereinafter cited as SSP.
28. Jacksonville Florida Union, December 16, 1868.</sup>

good supply of vegetables, and some 150 bushels of corn. We have fenced in about 400 acres of pasture. We have also constructed a dam on the Mosquito Creek about half a mile from the prison. . . . A brick-yard and mud-machine have been constructed; and the prisoners have been constantly employed for the benefit of the State." 29

Much remained to be done to secure the prison. Cells were a necessity, for prisoners were "herded together in a common dormitory" at night. It required "the best efforts of the officers and men of the guard to hold the prisoners" during 1869, and "all the efforts of the officers of the prison" to reform the convicts were "as chaff thrown against the wind" under the prevailing circumstances. A system of "humane but firm" discipline had been used, in addition to which chains, muskets, and bayonets proved useful deterrents to escape attempts. Convicts received reprimands for a first offense against prison rules and regulations. A second transgression led to solitary confinement, on occasion with only bread and water as rations. Martin thought that "the established discipline of the prison . . . [had] been remarkably successful, and . . . [would] compare favorably with most of the well-conducted prisons of the country." ³⁰

Not everyone shared Martin's opinion of his disciplinary system. Early in July 1869, reports circulated concerning acts of cruelty committed against a convict who had tried to escape. The governor, accompanied by the sheriff of Gadsden County, visited the prison. He concluded that Martin was indeed a "strict disciplinarian," but that his sternness was tempered by his "Irish heart." A court of inquiry acquitted Martin of charges of cruelty to the prisoner in question. ³¹ This episode rendered the commandant rather sensitive on the subject of violent episodes with which he or other prison officials might be associated. In September, Martin wrote a letter to the Jacksonville Florida Union explaining two such situations in an effort to prevent criticism.

Martin experienced other problems in 1869. In September, he

[&]quot;Report of M. Martin . . .," in Florida Senate Journal, 1870, Appendix, 29.

Ibid., 90-94.

^{31.}

Tallahassee Sentinel, July 10, 24, 1869.
"M. Martin" to "Editor of Union," August 16, 1869, in Jacksonville Florida Union, September 2, 1869.

noted to a friend that he was "annoyed almost to death" by Adjutant General George B. Carse, who required all purchases for the penitentiary to be made through his office and who stationed the prison quartermaster in Tallahassee. 33 Before the year ended, however, the Commissioners of Public Institutions commended Martin for his management of the state penitentiary, especially in consideration of the "many embarassments under which its officers labor." ³⁴ In November, three cabinet members made an official visit to the prison promoted by a growing awareness of the problems created by the penitentiary's insecure physical plant. The commissioners concluded the disciplinary rules instigated by Martin were "excellent" and adopted them without alteration as the official penitentiary regulations. 35

Other events which occurred during the next three months tempered the board's approbation of Martin's management of the prison. In his 1870 message to the legislature, the governor stated that the organization of the penitentiary "as a military institution is inconvenient and inconsistent with the spirit of our government." He recommended that a civil administration be established at Chattahoochee.³⁶ Martin vehemently opposed this suggestion. "I think I see the nigger in the fence here," he wrote to George Wentworth. "I anticipated this," he added, "and can give reasons for [this action] which I am sure would not be remarkably satisfactory to [Reed's] friend our selfsufficient Adjt. Genl." To future governor Marcellus Stearns, he wrote, "this is only what I expected. It is the only way to work a plan tried with me without success. I ask my friends to oppose it." 37

What next occurred remains a mystery. It is clear that the commandant had displeased the governor. In February 1870, Reed wrote a letter to the Florida Senate announcing new ap-

Martin to Wentworth, September [20 or 30], 1869, [marked "Void",], 33. Martin Papers.

Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, December 6, 1869, Florida State Archives, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Department of State, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee. Hereinafter cited as MBCSI.

^{35.} Ibid. The visit to the prison was made on November 26 and 27, 1869; the commendation was contained in a report made by the inspection committee to the board at large.
36. "Governor's Message," Florida Assembly Journal, 1870, 17.
37. Martin to Wentworth, January 13, 1870; Martin to Stearns, January

^{13, 1870,} Martin Papers.

pointments which he wished confirmed. In the surviving document, one sentence appears with a pencilled slash cancelling its authority. "Charles D. Lincoln to be Commandant of the Penitentiary in place of M. Martin, removed for violation of law in introducing whiskey within the grounds, violations of orders, and abandonment of the post and protracted absences." 38 Another letter dated the same day partially clarifies the situation. Reed evidently forgot that, three days earlier, he had nominated Lincoln for another position for which he had already received confirmation. ³⁹ A technicality thus blocked Martin's removal, but the intent to replace him was real. What remains unexplained is the reason for this attempted ouster of a man who such a short time before had received the commendation of his superiors.

Perhaps a clue lies in the last two phrases of the abortive dismissal statement: abandonment of his post and protracted absences. On January 29, 1870, Malachi Martin applied to the Florida Land Office for homestead rights to 126 acres of land located several miles east of Chattahoochee. 40 In his claim. Martin certified that he built and occupied a house on his homestead tract before May 1, 1870. Quite probably Martin utilized convict labor in the construction of his new home. There is a later recorded instance in which he employed at least two convicts to erect another structure on his property.

The completion of his home undoubtedly occupied much of Martin's attention in 1870, but there were other important occurrences in his life. Both he and the penitentiary became focal points in a puzzling sequence of events which began that spring. In May, the governor asked an extraordinary session of the Florida Assembly to change the government of the penitentiary system from military to civil form. The only response to this request was the creation of a legislative study committee. 41 Several months later, in January 1871, the governor renewed his recommendation for a change in the prison

Reed to the Senate, February 18, 1870, SSP.
 Charles Mundee [Secretary of the Senate] to Reed, February 18, 1870,

Final Certificate no. 1067, June 5, 1876, DGLO. 40.

Governor's Message," Florida Assembly Journal, 1870, Extraordinary 41. Session, 10, 14.

system's structure. 42 On this occasion, he obtained almost immediate results. On January 26, a bill designed to establish and maintain a state prison was signed into law. 43

This new act implemented Reed's request for a shift to a civil administrative structure at Chattahoochee. It also provided for closer supervision of the prison (the term "penitentiary" is not used in this legislation) by the Board of Commissioners of Public Institutions and closer recording of prison expenditures. The law called for the appointment by the governor of a warden; the present commandant was to remain on duty until his successor had been confirmed. 44 By the end of February, a decision had been made to retain Martin in the transformed supervisory post of warden. 45

The 1871 prison act clearly stated that the warden would reside at the prison and could not spend a single night elsewhere without written permission from the adjutant general. It also explicitly forbade the warden to accept gifts or rewards from prisoners. 46 It is unlikely that state authorities would have prohibited profiting from prisoners only to award the warden bonuses for receiving them, as Powell alleged in *The American* Siberia. During the 1870s, the state of Florida approached bankruptcy and could not have afforded to pay even \$3.000 to Martin. Furthermore, the warden's personal financial status in those years does not reflect the acquisition of such a large sum of money from any source.

The new administrative system gave authority for the prison's governance to the Board of Commissioners of Public Institutions. 47 A few weeks after the law passed, the commissioners issued their regulations. Rule twenty-five prohibited the "employment of a Prisoner by any of the officers of the Prison for private or personal purposes." 48 The strengthening of the commission's control over prison activities probably resulted from Martin's earlier infractions of the rules.

^{42. &}quot;Governor's Message," Florida Assembly Journal, 1871, 27. 43. Laws of Florida, 1871, 17-23.

^{44.} Ibid.

^{45.} MBSCI, February 27, 1871. No record was found of Martin's actual appointment as warden.

^{46.} Laws of Florida, 1871, 19-20.

^{47.} Ibid., 17-23.

^{48.} MBSCI, February 21, 1871.

Rule twenty-five to the contrary, Martin retained the favor of his superiors. A committee of Cabinet members was appointed to travel to Chattahoochee on a routine inspection visit at the beginning of March 1871. According to an accompanying newspaper reporter, the visitors found the warden to be an "affable and pleasant gentleman" and a "rigid disciplinarian." The reporter also described Martin as a man "of intense energy . . . [who] personally superintends everything, and has as fine a discipline, as neat a place, and as good order as the absurdity of the means at his disposal will allow of." The facilities, however, were described as "totally inadequate . . . a mere burlesque upon a prison." 49 At the beginning of 1872, Martin still conducted prison affairs in such a way as to avoid unfavorable comment. A legislative committee which visited the prison in January reported no illegal use of prison labor or harsh disciplinary practices. 50

Martin enjoyed success in other endeavors during the early 1870s. A contemporary identified the warden as something of a power behind the scenes in Republican party politics during those years, but little evidence supports that view. ⁵¹ Two years later, however, Martin's political career began to accelerate. In 1872, he was elected to the Florida Assembly as one of Gadsden County's representatives. 52

During Harrison Reed's administration, Martin did gain identity as a member of the moderate Republican "ring" or faction collected around the governor. 53 At the Republican convention held late in the summer of 1872, Martin nominated Marcellus Stearns as governor.⁵⁴ As a result of the fall election, moderate Republicans continued their dominance under the leadership of the new governor, Ossian Hart. Before many months passed, Hart died, and Lieutenant Governor Stearns became Florida's chief executive. The stage was set for a stormy political drama.

^{49.} Ibid., February 27, 1871; Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, March 7, 1871.

^{50.} Florida Assembly Journal, 1872, 273-75.
51. Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 134.
52. Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, December 17, 1872; Jacksonville Daily Florida Union, March 22, 1876, referred to Martin's serving on the Burkley of Carpetbal Carpetbal 1979.

Republican Central Committee in 1872. Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 221. Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, August 13, 1872. 53. 54.

No event of special significance to his political career marked Martin's first year in the legislature. He did participate in some political maneuvering prior to the 1873 session. Moderate Republican leaders put forward both Martin and a black member as candidates for the seat of speaker of the Assembly, According to their plan. Democratic representatives would vote for Martin in order to prevent the election of a black. These tactics failed: Simon Conover, a radical Republican, won the position. 55

When the 1873 legislative session ended. Martin concentrated on broadening his farming enterprises and land holdings. His main agricultural pursuit was viticulture, the growing of grape vines. A few farmers in his area began making wine shortly before the Civil War, favoring the scuppernong grape. ⁵⁶ By the fall of 1874. Martin considered himself sufficiently expert on the subject of grape culture to address the Palatka Fruit Growers Convention. He claimed that his vineyards produced at least 1,000 and sometimes as much as 2,000 gallons of wine per acre. He estimated that a profit of thirty-five cents per gallon could be made on scuppernong wine.

In his book Powell asserted that Martin had made a fortune from his vineyards, The Hermitage, but judging from available information, it is unlikely that this was true. In 1880, Martin planted forty acres in vines, including the bunch grapes which he sold as fruit. He made 3,000 gallons of wine that year, an amount far below his 1874 calculation of yield per acre. At the rate of thirty-five cents per gallon, his 1874 projection of profit to be made, he received only a, little over \$1,000 in 1880 ⁵⁸

If Martin profited greatly from his vineyards, he had little to show for it. In November 1880, his political activities brought

Records, 1873-1878.

Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 223.

Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 223.
 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, August 25, 1868; Ledyard Bill, A Winter in Florida (New York, 1869), 216-17.
 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, November 24, 1874. See also the text of Martin's speech, "On the Cultivation of the Scuppernong and Manufacture of Wine," pp. 253-57, in Florida Assembly Journal, 1875, Appendix, "Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lands and Immigration . . . December 31, 1874."
 U. S. Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Agricultural Schedule, Florida, Gadsden County; Gadsden County Tax Records 1873-1878

him to the brink of personal disaster. Faced with seemingly unsurmountable problems, he attempted to dispose of his property and leave Gadsden County. He commented to an associate that "all the means I have in the world is *[sic]* invested in my property here." Martin feared that if his search for a buyer or tenant failed, he would have to abandon his farm and thus be "on the world without a home or a dollar." 59 These are not the words of a man with great wealth at his disposal.

If Martin did not amass a monetary fortune in the 1870s, he advanced his political career during those years. In 1874, 1875, and 1877, he served as a member of the legislature. In the 1874 session, he again became a candidate for speaker. As in 1873, his role was to attract Democratic votes while blacks voted for the other "ring" candidate, Alfred B. Osgood. This time the plan worked, and Martin won the prestigious post. 60

Another legislator, John Wallace, accused Martin of using his political influence to line his own pockets by padding appropriations for prison expenses. ⁶¹ Surviving records provide little material with which to assess this charge. If Martin did add to his personal income in this manner, he certainly failed to take full advantage of his opportunities. Prison expenses for 1874 were \$20,700.35. Annual salaries at the prison totalled about \$10,000. 62 In 1874, a balance of \$8,134.92 covered the cost of provisions, fuel, and incidental expenses such as repairs,

59. Martin to Chandler, November 8, 1880, Chandler Papers.

^{60.} Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 228-29; Florida Assembly Journal, 1874, 5-7.

^{61.} Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 248.62. Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, May 25, 1875; Florida Assembly Journal, 1875, Appendix, 93, 99. Average annual expenses for the 1869-1874 period (in U.S. currency) were \$22,940,37. Salaries for penitentiary, and later prison officials, were fixed by legislation: Laws of Florida, 1868, 35-43; Laws of Florida, 1871, 17-23. Martin's reports to the Adjutant-General, which are available for most of the years of his service, General, which are available for most of the years of his service, indicate in all but one instance (1869 report) the amount expended for institutional salaries. In 1872, salaries totalled \$12,696.50. Florida Assembly Journal, 1873, Appendix, 138. In 1873, they totalled \$11,680.19. Florida Assembly Journal, 1874, Appendix, 210. The total for 1874 was \$12,565.43. Florida Assembly Journal, 1875, Appendix, 99. 1875 salaries came to \$10,336.49 but in 1876 reached only \$8,976.41. Florida Assembly Journal, 1877, Appendix, 145, 147, 154. Salaries for 1869, 1870, and 1871 (no reports from Martin are available for the latter two years) were expended at a lower scale than that used after 1871. See Laws of were expended at a lower scale than that used after 1871. See Laws of Florida, 1868, 35-43 and Laws of Florida, 1871, 17-23. Therefore, although the average salaries for 1872-1876 equalled about \$11,000, the overall average from 1869-1876 probably was about \$10,000.

farm implements, lumber, and sundries. The amount of \$7,595.81 was expended for similar items in 1876; Martin held no influential legislative position in that year. 63 This patchwork of statistics admittedly falls short of providing sufficient evidence to clear Martin of the charges made by Wallace.

Conditions at the prison prompted the Florida Assembly to order an inspection of the premises early in 1874. In taking this action, the legislators no doubt embarrassed their speaker. According to one account, Martin tried to prevent the two black members of the legislative committee from reaching Chattahoochee. He correctly suspected that they intended to inspect the prison closely for signs of mismanagement. Martin gave them a false departure time for the special train he had arranged, but they found another way to reach the prison. According to their report, Martin ordered them marched off the grounds at bayonet point after they discovered some prisoners chained on their backs. ⁶⁴ Although this description of the episode may be exaggerated, it is certain that the two inspectors were "forcibly ejected" from the prison. However, the Assembly failed to pass a resolution censuring Martin and merely ordered another investigation of the prison. The session ended before it could be implemented. 65

In March 1874, a special investigator visited the prison to assess the treatment of federal prisoners confined there. He found eighty-one inmates at the institution; most working under guard at the prison farm. The inspector described housing conditions as "filthy" and vermin-ridden. Martin's reaction to this report is not known, but questions about conditions at the prison subsided after the spring of 1874. 66

Martin's 1874 term as speaker of the Assembly assured him a position of leadership within the state's moderate Republican structure. A contemporary Democratic newspaper reported that Martin, William Purman, Robert Meacham, and Jonathan Gibbs

^{63. &}quot;Report of the Warden of the State Prison," December 31, 1874, in "Adjutant-General's Report," December 31, 1874, Florida Assembly Journal, 1875, Appendix, 93; "Report of the Warden of the State Prison," December 31, 1876, in "Adjutant-General's Report," December 31, 1876, Florida Assembly Journal, 1877, Appendix, 147, 154.
64. Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 248-50.
65. Florida Assembly Journal, 1874, 342, 308, 363.
66. Tallabassea Weekly, Floridian, March, 3, 1874.

^{66.} Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, March 3, 1874.

(all Republicans) were each "satisfied that he is the pet of the administration and that all the moving and removing capacities of the accidental Executive [Marcellus Stearns] will be exerted in his own special favor." In spite of the fact that Florida Democrats were preparing to challenge "carpetbag" control, the Republicans continued to struggle among themselves for supremacy within the party. During the summer of 1874, Republican nominating conventions in the various electoral districts of Florida turned into battlegrounds on which moderates and radicals warred to have their respective candidates accepted by party members. 68

Martin chaired the first district Republican nominating convention in Tallahassee in August 1874, where he quite literally fought for his candidates. The convention soon split into two separate factions. Enraged by the success of a coup carried out by radicals who appropriated the meeting hall during a recess of the group he chaired, Martin found words inadequate to express his feelings. At one point he literally pushed away the incumbent first district congressman, Purman. In the wake of the fight, each of the two factions selected its own congressional candidate, one of whom was Purman.

Martin returned to the Florida Assembly in 1875 as a Gadsden County representative but did not regain the speaker's seat. ⁷⁰ Republicans of all persuasions were in the minority. The following year, Florida experienced one of its most intense political struggles as resurgent Democrats challenged the beleaguered Republican party. The complex but loosely woven fabric of the Reconstruction era in Florida failed to obscure the old society which lay just beneath it. Marcellus Stearns and the divided Republican factions he represented provided a good focal point for a timely Democratic attack on the gubernatorial seat.

The political events of 1876 enveloped Martin. Serving as a member of the Republican State Executive Committee, he

^{67.} Jacksonville New South, August 5, 1874. 68. Shofner, Nor Is It Over Yet, 293-94; Wallace, Carpetbag Rule in Florida, 290-300.

Jacksonville New South, August 15, August 19, 1874; Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, August 18, 1874.

Jacksonville New South, January 9, 1875.

participated in planning the upcoming election. 71 His involvement was heightened by his services as chairman of that group's five-man campaign subcommittee. 72 The results of the election were not accepted as final until investigations had been concluded. Martin represented the Republicans before the board of canvassers who scrutinized the controversial Florida situa $tion^{-73}$

In spite of the Democratic victory, Martin remained an active public figure in 1876 and 1877. In the fall of 1876, Gadsden County voters reelected him to the legislature. ⁷⁴ After the session began, his defeated opponent claimed that Martin was ineligible to run because, under the Constitution of 1868, "no person properly belonging to one of the departments shall exercise any functions appertaining to either of the others, except in cases expressly provided for by this Constitution." The investigating committee held the opinion that "the acceptance of the office of Assemblyman by the contestee had the effect . . . of vacating the office of Warden . . ., and he having previously resigned," the committee concluded that Martin could retain his seat. 75

Governor George Drew recommended to the 1877 legislature that the penitentiary be made self-sustaining through the leasing of prisoners. Increased investments in railroad construction and the growth of the lumbering industry, both supported by northern capital, created demands for cheap unskilled labor which the contract system was well designed to meet. Drew's opinion of the prison's value doubtless also was colored by the fact that it was a product of a Republican administration. The governor suggested that the position of warden either be abolished entirely or alloted a lower salary. 76

The next day a legislative committee began to consider Drew's suggestions. Investigators who visited the prison early in 1877 came away recommending that "convicts be hired out

^{71.} Jacksonville Daily Florida Union, March 22, 1876.

^{72.} Ibid., July 4, 1876.

Tallahasee Weekly Floridian, December 5, 1876.
 Jacksonville Daily Florida Union, September 26, 1876, quoting Tallahassee Sentinel of preceding Thursday; Florida Assembly Journal, 1877,

^{75.} Florida Assembly Journal, 1877, 117-19.

^{76.} Ibid., "Message of the Governor," 49-50.

upon the most advantageous terms that can be obtained. And, also, that the lands belonging to the institution, other than the immediate grounds upon which the Prison is situated and is enclosed around it, be rented out." 77 Subsequent legislation resulted in the abolition of the state prison. 78

There is little doubt that Martin's administration of the prison and especially of its financial affairs displeased the Democratic legislature. In the summer of 1875, a Florida newspaper had remarked upon the warden's salary (six dollars a day), his rent-free residence at the prison, and the privilege accorded him of purchasing goods at cost from the prison stores. 79 The 1877 legislative investigating committee reported that convicts had "been employed by the Warden of the Prison on his own farm and vineyard at various times, for which the Warden should be charged at the same rate as is paid by other persons who employ them." 80 The committee failed to ascertain the extent to which Martin utilized convict labor in his vineyards.

After the 1877 legislative session ended, Martin's public career flagged. That spring he was considered for but not appointed to a position as an internal revenue collector. 81 In 1880, he again campaigned in Gadsden County for election to the legislature only to run a poor fifth behind another Republican and three Democrats. 82 Martin involved himself in other party activities during the 1880 elections. He served on a subcommittee which managed Republican campaign efforts in the western half of Florida and was selected as one of the presidential electors on the Republican ticket in the national elections. He also worked as an election inspector in Gadsden County. 83

In November and December 1880. Martin wrote a series of

^{77.} Florida Assembly Journal, 1877, 564. Laws of Florida, 1877, 86-91, 92-95, 96, 98.

^{78.} Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, May 25, 1875.

^{80.}

Florida Assembly Journal, 1877, 564. Pensacola Herald, March 28, 1877, quoted in Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, April 3, 1877. Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, November 16, 1880.

Martin to Chandler, November 8, December 16, 1880, William E. Chandler Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., microfilm excerpts from volumes 50 and 52, courtesy of Peter Klingman, Daytona Beach, Junior College, Daytona Beach, Florida. Hereinafter cited as Chandler Papers.

letters to national Republican party leader William Chandler in which he described "how the Democrats managed this farce called an election in Fla. In appointing Inspectors they chose on the part of the Dem's either honest men whom they knew would not serve or 'God fearing' [men] who were ready to do any dishonest job they were directed to do." He added that the Republicans chose "the most illiterate and incompetent col'd men" and had placed "every possible impediment . . . in the way of the registration of Republicans." There was more. "I have gone through a great deal of danger during political campaigns in Fla., but never in all my life have I been so near being assinated [sic] as on the night of the last election!" Inebriated Democrats, he claimed, threatened his life as he served as inspector at a polling place. On his part, he had cautioned blacks to remain sober and patient. After the polls closed, but before the votes were counted. Martin received warning that he might be harmed if he reported the election as dishonest. but some blacks armed themselves and escorted him to the home of a friend 84

These events prompted Martin to consider his future safety. The Democrats "say that if it was not for me they would have no difficulty in controlling the Niggers. . . . I am not particularly anxious to become a martyr or . . . to make my wife a widow. Come what will I must leave here." He confided to his correspondent that "within two minutes three men have been here to tell me that I had better not remain here, at least for the present." In the same letter, Martin reminded Chandler, who had actively supported President Garfield in the recent elections. of a vacant appointive federal position in Florida-the surveyor generalship-and asked for assistance in obtaining it. 85

A few weeks later. Martin again unburdened himself to his influential friend. "I have been unable to sell my property and have rented all my farming lands to col'd men, except my home place and my vineyards. I am taking all the precautions I can, keep good dogs and a night watch man around my buildings. If they get me there will be another funeral besides mine unless they are quicker than I am." Martin reflected that

^{84.} Martin to Chandler, November 8, 1880, Chandler Papers. 85. Ibid.

he sometimes thought that "if I could go away for some time and the new administration would reconstruct this Southern banditti, decent men could live here. I like the country and the climate-but the people-Good Lord, deliver us! Politically they have neither honor, honesty or decency. Not a white man, except one of the Stearns, has darkened my door since I was nominated as one of the Presidential Electors." 86

Martin's plight evidently moved William Chandler; in May 1881, he received an appointment as surveyor general for Florida. 87 His new responsibilities did not prevent his giving attention to his farm and vinevards. In the summer of 1881. he contributed comments on scuppernong cultivation to a pamphlet on fruit growing in Leon County. 88 That fall, a visitor to The Hermitage described in some detail the "busy little world" he found there and quoted Martin as saying that "the wine business pays its way." There were twenty-five acres planted in scuppernong and eight to ten acres in bunch grapes for shipment north. Martin also made wine, and according to the visitor, the wine cellar was "a large and commodious building, about 48 by 70 feet," three stories high, in which there were seven 500-gallon vats. 89

Martin continued to nurture his political career. In 1881, he presided over the Republican Executive Board for Florida. 90 The unhappy experience of the 1880 campaign affected his attitude, however. He explained to an associate that "after the last election in Florida, I had fully resolved never again as long as the Lord let me live to attempt to cast a vote in this state until I had reason to believe it would be counted as I had cast it." He commented that he had nevertheless been holding conferences with both Republicans and Democrats to try to arrange an honest election for 1882. "The support of the Inde-

^{86.} Ibid., December 16, 1880, Chandler Papers.

U. S. Department of the Interior, General Land Office, Annual Report of the Commission, U. S. Surveyor General for Florida, July 1, 1880-June 30, 1881.
 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, July 5, 1881.

^{89.} Ibid., September 20, 1881.

^{90.} Charles A. Hentz, "My Autobiography," typescript, II, 148, Special Collections, Robert M. Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Dr. Hentz, who treated Martin for dislocated bones in his foot after a fall, described his patient as a large man of 250 or more pounds.

pendent movement for which the time seems ripe, is our [the Republicans] only hope of success and protection at the polls. ⁹¹ Martin's consistent efforts for and support of his party probably provided the basis for a rumor which circulated in the summer of 1884 suggesting that he might become permanent state party chairman. During those months, Martin unsuccessfully sought the first district's Republican nomination for congressman. 92

A short time later, on August 29, 1884, Martin died at his Gadsden County home. 93 At his own request, his body was shipped to New York for burial on Long Island. He left behind a widow, his home, and vineyards which would soon lie fallow. Over the years, Mrs. Martin disposed of the Gadsden County land. In 1912, Martin's son sold his father's house, bringing to an end the association between the Irish "carpetbagger" and his adopted state. 94

Malachi Martin's career in Florida well illustrates the evolution of a "carpetbagger." When his military service ended. Martin perceived that in Tallahassee and the surrounding area could be found opportunities for advancement. After an uncertain beginning, he became known to the leaders of the moderate wing of Florida's Republican party and received appointments and presumably political support from them. He enjoyed moderate success in politics and managed not only to survive the 1876 return of the Democratic party to political supremacy but also to become a leader in the state's regular

Martin to D. B. Henderson, September 23, 1882, Chandler Papers. Edward C. Williamson, "Independentism: A Challenge to the Florida Democracy of 1884," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (October 91.

^{1948), 146,} 1948), 146.
93. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 2, 1884. The 1885 Florida census schedule of persons who had died during the preceding year listed the cause of Martin's death as consumption and the place of death as Tallahassee. The Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, September 2, 1884, described the cause of death as "heart disease" and stated that 2, 1884, described the cause of death as "heart disease" and stated that Martin died at home. It is worth noting that in the 1885 Florida census mortality schedule, Martin's race was categorized as "B" or Negro and that his widow was enumerated in the population schedule of that census as a Negress. Florida, Census of 1885, Mortality and Population Schedules, Gadsden County, original returns on microfilm, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee.
 Gadsden County Probate Records, Office of the County Judge, File 1197; Gadsden County Deed Record Book H, 446, 540; Book I, 297, 425, 484, 496; Book K, 19; Book L, 187, 188, 582; Book M, 636; Book 2, 203. All Gadsden County records are located in the county courthouse Outings Florida

house, Quincy, Florida.

Republican party organization. At least for a time he also prospered as a farmer and wine producer.

Legends and half truths such as those related by J. C. Powell in *The American Siberia* have played a greater role in shaping Martin's image than have his political and agricultural accomplishments. There is no denying that Martin sought opportunities for personal advancement in post-war Florida. His futile first attempts at farming occurred on land made available by others' misfortunes. But as a successful grape cultivator, he provided a measure of leadership in the search for alternative market crops which Florida agriculturalists undertook after the plantation economy failed. Wine production did not bring Martin great wealth, but he did demonstrate that viticulture was a profitable industry.

Martin made his first major contribution as a public servant in Florida in the somewhat novel area of penal administration. Disgraceful physical conditions, inadequate legislative support, and the failure of the convict-lease system to be implemented quickly all helped generate the shabby reputation acquired by the Chattahoochee penitentiary. As warden, Martin's activities, as well as his scruples, attracted criticism, some of which appears to have been merited. Martin's transgressions cannot be fully assessed due to the absence of thorough documentation, but it is clear that his regime was not, as Powell asserted, "one of almost unrelieved barbarity."

As a politician, Martin's personal ambitions seem to have been moderate, for he contented himself with positions of limited influence. Apparently, both his allegiance to his adopted state and his desire to work for the attainment of its social and political stability were genuine. By the time of his death, Malachi Martin had achieved "name, character, and position" through his career as a "carpetbagger" in Florida.

THE WHITE SPRINGS POST OFFICE CAPER

by Jerrell H. Shofner *

 \prod ITH THE 1885 constitution ratified and the state's poll tax law about to become effective, the 1888 election was the last in which large numbers of blacks voted and was the last in which the Republican party posed a serious threat to the predominance of the Democrats for many decades. Even then the Democrats carried the state races by comfortable majorities. But the 1888 race had been an exciting election in which some Conservative-Democrats in the black belt counties had left themselves vulnerable to charges of violating federal election laws. This caused concern among them when Democrat Grover Cleveland was defeated for reelection to the presidency by Republican Benjamin Harrison. Return of a Republican president meant that federal marshals and district attorneys would be vigorously checking alleged election law violations as they had before Cleveland's 1884 victory. As the inevitable investigations began in 1889 national attention focused on Madison County where citizens tried to prevent federal officials from following up on charges by Republican congressional candidate F. C. Goodrich that he had been defeated by illegal election tactics. But nowhere in the state was there more excitement than in Hamilton County where a seventeen-year old future governor of Florida shot a Republican in the head and one of the most bizarre post office robberies in the state's history occurred. 1

Situated along the Georgia border where the Suwannee River flows out of the Okefenokee Swamp, and about 100 miles east of Tallahassee, Hamilton County was a plantation area on the eastern edge of Florida's black belt. It had a majority of white residents with a large minority of blacks. Never receptive to outsiders who appeared there after the Civil War, white Hamilton

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Samuel Pasco to Francis P. Fleming, February 2, 1889, Box 124, Governors Correspondence from Washington, Secretary of State files, P68-01, Florida State Archives, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, Florida.

Countians had been generally successful in resisting United States government efforts during Reconstruction. This was partially due to the county's somewhat isolated location and also because of greater demand for attention elsewhere. In January 1866 Freedmen's Bureau Agent A. E. Kinne refused orders from his superior officer to make a scheduled inspection trip through the county. Another agent was subsequently encouraged to leave Florida on short notice rather than risk remaining in Hamilton County. Reports of flagrant terroristic activities along the Georgia line caused H. C. Whitley, who headed an early and much smaller version of the present-day secret service, to send agents to infiltrate the local night-riding organization. J. J. O'Toole assembled enough evidence to indict and arrest eleven Hamilton County residents for violating federal civil rights laws by beating to death Edward Thompson, a black resident of neighboring Lowndes County, Georgia. This arrest and the undercover activity preceding it were especially resented by native white residents of the county. Although the violence abated after 1871, the county was once again involved in Reconstruction affairs during the 1876 election campaign when precinct returns from White Springs and Jasper became involved in the dispute between Democrat Samuel J. Tilden and Republican Rutherford B. Hayes over Florida's presidential electoral votes. 2

Like their neighbors elsewhere in the state, white Hamilton County residents were happy when Conservative-Democrat George F. Drew was inaugurated in January 1877. But they did not regard that event as "the end of Reconstruction" as many people would come to do in later years. They did not realize at the time that Hayes's 1877 removal of federal soldiers still remaining in the South would end such use of military forces for many decades. That only became clear as time passed. They did know that the Republican party was still a formidable opponent as long as it had the electoral support of the large body of black voters in the

^{2.} Thomas W. Osborn to A. E. Kinne, January 7, 1866, John H. Baker to F. E. Grossman, August 5, 1867, J. F. Mowe to Grossman, August 5, 1867, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Florida, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; H. C. Whitley to Amos T. Ackerman, September 29, 1871, Source-Chronological Files, 1871-1872, Department of Justice, Record Group 60, National Archives; Docket, United States Circuit Court Cases, 1871-1878, Record Group 21, Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia.

state. And they knew that federal officials could still investigate alleged election law violations and make arrests under national legislation. As long as Republicans sat in the White House federal officers-especially judges, district attorneys, and marshals-were likely to be Republicans willing to enforce those national laws. In fact, despite his overtures to southern Demoncrats, Hayes appointed Republicans, many of whom came from outside of Florida and who were regarded by native whites as "carpetbaggers." Hayes's successors-Garfield and Arthur-pursued a similar policy. There were vigorous investigations and numerous arrests arising from the presidential election of 1880 in Florida.

There was considerable relief among native white Florida Democrats, therefore, when Grover Cleveland was elected president in 1884. His victory meant that Democrats-often Florida Democrats-would be replacing Republicans in the federal offices. Symbolic of the significance of this change was the early 1885 appointment of Jefferson County's William Bird as United States marshal for the northern district of Florida. Bird had himself been arrested in 1870 for violence at the Monticello polls which had interfered with the election and prevented numerous blacks from casting their votes. The election of 1884 was beset by the same election tactics by Democrats as the one four years earlier. But this time there were no investigations and arrests because Bird and others like him had taken over the federal offices. ³

It was with chagrin and alarm that Hamilton County Democrats and their northern Florida neighbors watched as the electoral count of 1888 returned the presidency to the Republican party. Their tactics in that election would not stand close examination by the federal officials who were bound to return. The situation was exacerbated in the county by the presence at White Springs of C. L. Morrison, a stubborn, belligerent Republican, a former Union soldier, and an avid member of the Grand Army of the Republic. When rumors circulated that he was to replace Owen K. Paxton as postmaster at White Springs, angry local citizens began discussing what might be done.

The first action set off by such argument was the shooting of Morrison by Fred P. Cone, a resident of Columbia County who was then visiting his uncle, Charles F. Cone, who lived near White

^{3.} Jerrell H. Shofner, Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877 (Gainesville, 1974), 214.

Springs. Young Cone may have intended to do a favor for his uncle and his neighbors or he may have simply thought that it was open season on such men as Morrison in Hamilton County. Whatever Cone's motive, the enduring influences of Reconstruction activities are exemplified in the case. Born in 1871 and only five years old when the disputed presidential election ostensibly ended Reconstruction, Cone grew up in an environment where white Republicans were scorned by their Democratic neighbors. The shooting almost certainly grew out of the belief that Morrison and those like him were outside the community, undeserving of the rights accorded to its members. When this same Frederick Preston Cone became governor of Florida forty-nine years later, it was no longer fashionable to shoot Republicans, but the governor still shared the views of his community about the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the impact that they had on Florida society. Their views were to be seriously challenged just a few short years after Cone left office in 1941.

As soon as he recoved sufficiently from the wound, the enraged Morrison swore out a warrant against Fred Cone for "shooting with intent to kill." Although the younger Cone had left the county by that time, the case was such a strong one that Charles F. Cone attempted to persuade Morrison to drop the charges. Despite the seeming inconsistency with his later actions, Morrison finally agreed to withdraw the complaint in return for the elder Cone's payment of his medical bills-a total of \$30.

In the spring of 1889 the long-standing rumors were confirmed when Morrison assumed the duties of postmaster at White Springs in place of Owen K. Paxton. While many local residents boycotted the post office in protest of the appointment, several local men planned and set in motion one of the most ludicrous assaults on a government office to be conceived in this period when controversy, turbulence, and resistance to national authority were commonplace. While some of the planners were never clearly identified, others included Owen K. Paxton, the ousted postmaster, Charles F. Cone, and Stephen S. Sharp, the incumbent

Fred D. Peer to E. G. Rathbone, January 30, 1891, Records of the Attorney General, Record Group 60, National Archives; U. S. Census Office, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, original population schedules on microfilm, Columbia County, Florida, copy in Orange County Public Library.

^{5.} Peer to Rathbone, January 30, 1891, Record Group 60.

sheriff who had been among those arrested in 1871 by H. C. Whitley's secret service agents for the beating death of the Georgia black man. To carry out their scheme they chose Lem T. Morgan and P. H. Lewis. Morgan, about twenty-one years old at the time, seems to have been induced by the older men to take part in the affair, but Lewis, an illiterate, ignorant, and hopelessly gullible person, was an obvious dupe. ⁶

Morgan talked Lewis into paying a five dollar fee to become a member of a bogus detective agency, allegedly located in Wichita, Kansas. Armed with a badge and credentials, he apparently believed he was vested with police powers by this wholly fictitious agency. In early August 1889, Lewis received through the post office at Marion Station, a small community on the railroad about thirteen miles northwest of White Springs, "a document purporting to come from the detective agency, which recited that Morrison had been guilty of 'Muldertery,' and other things in language equally as ridiculous and absurd," and ordering him to arrest Morrison and take him to Lake City to be turned over to another officer of the agency. He was also ostensibly empowered to take charge of the White Springs post office. ⁷

Deputizing Morgan as his assistant, Lewis went to White Springs, arrested an amazed and angry Morrison and took him to Lake City where he was held prisoner for two days. Meanwhile, Lewis turned the post office over to J. H. Long who was "sworn" in by Paxton, the former postmaster who was also a notary public. Long removed the post office material to another building, but later returned it to Morrison. The United States marshal interceded, freed Morrison, and arrested Morgan, Lewis, Long, Cone, Paxton, and two others, all of whom were subsequently indicted on charges of conspiracy to take over the White Springs post office. A lengthy investigation by District Attorney J. N. Stripling, and another by Fred D. Peer, a United States postal agent in Florida, with Samuel E. Kercheval, a special postal examiner from Washington, produced only meager evidence against any of the individuals except Morgan and Lewis. Stripling concluded that Lewis had been duped by the others and was innocent of a conspiracy. Deciding that he had sufficient evidence for a case only against Morgan, Stripling asked for a severance, tried him alone,

^{6.} Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, August 3, 17, 1889.

^{7.} J. N. Stripling to Attorney General, June 23, 1890, Record Group 60.

and obtained a conviction. Morgan was fined \$3,000 and assessed about \$600 in court costs. 8

When he learned that Stripling did not intend to pursue the case against the other conspirators and that not even Morgan was being sentenced to a prison term for the outrage against him, Morrison exploded in a fury of charges against everyone, including Stripling. Accusing the district attorney of complicity with local Democrats against him, the contentious postmaster declared that Morgan's fine had been paid by the local Democratic executive committee. Stripling responded that there was no ground for either charge "except in friend Morrison's rather fertile imagination." ⁹But Cone, Sheriff Sharp, and Paxton were members of the Democratic committee.

When United States Attorney General W. H. Miller asked Stripling for an explanation of Morrison's charges, the harried official explained that he had continued the conspiracy case against Cone and the others, hoping to gather more effective evidence before the next session of the federal court. He added the hope that Miller could "induce Morrison to devote the same time and energy to looking up evidence in the case that he devotes to gadding about over the country trying to pose as a martyr." ¹⁰

Morrison had substantial reason to feel martyred. After his kidnapping and the post office robbery developed into criminal indictments against the perpetrators, Charles F. Cone and Sheriff Sharp decided that Morrison had committed a crime by withdrawing his earlier charges against Fred Cone for shooting him. On a charge of "concealing a felony," Sharp arrested Morrison and placed him in the county jail in Jasper, with the admonition that no bail would be permitted for his release. After several days of incarceration, however, bail was accepted, and Morrison was released. The charge, made by persons who had paid Morrison money to commit the act, stood. The principle witness against him was Fred Cone who had done the shooting in the first place and against whom no charges were pending. ¹¹

Horatio Bisbee, a former Republican congressman and Jack-

^{8.} Ibid

^{9.} Ibid.; Jasper News, March 6, 1891.

^{0.} Stripling to Attorney General, June 23, 1890, Record Group 60.

^{11.} Criminal Index, Book 1, and Criminal Docket, 1890-1891, Hamilton County Records, County Courthouse, Jasper, Florida; Peer to Rathbone, January 30, 1891, Record Group 60; Jasper News, June 27, 1890.

sonville attorney who had served as United States district attorney during the turbulent 1870s, was employed at Stripling's urging to assist in prosecuting the conspiracy case. After reviewing the evidence, the two lawyers decided that they had evidence which might convict Paxton and Long, but not Cone and the others. At a trial in Jacksonville in February 1891, Paxton was convicted, but Long was acquitted. ¹²

Still dissatisfied with Stripling's efforts, Morrison travelled to Washington to complain in person to the attorney general. He convinced both Fred Peer and Sam Kercheval of the post office department of his allegations and they joined in the criticism, demanding that Stripling be ordered to try the cases with greater vigor.

Meanwhile, the sheriff and his Hamilton County cohorts kept up their campaign against Morrison. He had purchased a safe in which to store his post office materials from a Cincinnati firm and gave a note for the purchase price. When he failed to make the final payment on time the firm turned the notes over to B. F. Jackson, a White Springs justice of the peace, for collection. Jackson entered a suit, Morrison was notified to appear in court, he failed to make an appearance, and Jackson obtained a default judgment against him. In the meantime Morrison had paid the note but stubbornly refused to notify either Jackson or the judge. even though he lived less than 400 yards from where the court convened. Called upon to enforce the judgment, a delighted Sheriff Sharp ordered Morrison to deliver the safe to him. Instead, Morrison closed and locked the safe door, told the sheriff that it contained government documents, and threatened to have him arrested by federal authorities if he removed it. Failing to get Morrison to open the safe and remove the material, the angry sheriff confiscated it anyway. Morrison went to Jacksonville and swore out a warrant before the United States commissioner against the sheriff and his deputy. They were both arrested and bound over to appear at the next term of the United States court. A grand jury later investigated the charges and dismissed them.

While that was going on, the sheriff advertised and sold the safe for costs incurred in the case. He was unable to deliver it to

Samuel E. Kercheval to Attorney General, February 21, 1891, Stripling to Postmaster General, May 25, 1892, Record Group 60; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 25, 1891; Jasper News, March 6, 1891.

the buyer, however, for Morrison still refused to remove its contents. In March 1892 the obstreperous postmaster made the mistake of visiting Jasper where he accidentally encountered the sheriff who "brutally assaulted and severely wounded" him. Stripling again investigated the matter but informed Morrison that he could not make a case which would hold up in the United States court. When Morrison again complained to the attorney general, Stripling was once more asked to explain his actions. After recounting the incident, Stripling added that "there are many other little facts . . . connected with the safe matter but they are valuable only for . . . showing that the sheriff and Morrison are both as stubborn as mules, and do not like each other." He admitted, however, that the beleaguered postmaster had "had many other difficulties to contend with." Perhaps most serious of all was that he "lives in a community where it has been a crime to be an active Republican and where the most intense prejudices exist against him." 13

Unable to aid Morrison through the law and unable to reason with him, Stripling was concerned for his safety. Commenting that he had frequently heard Morrison's political opponents "say that they would not be surprised to hear of his assassination," Stripling added that he would be surprised "if he is not [assassinated]." But when urged to leave the community, Morrison said that such a course would be cowardly. Feeling that "there is more valor than sound discretion" in such an attitude, Stripling urged Postmaster General John Wanamaker to find a different job for Morrison. "If, in remaining at White Springs, he has been prompted by the motives he has expressed," the district attorney wrote, "he is certainly deserving of something better than he now holds . . . if he remains he will be murdered . . . and as his troubles have been brought about principally [because he] persists in holding a Federal position, under a Republican administration, I earnestly urge that he be given employment that will enable him to leave the place with his family." The letter was endorsed by former Governor Harrison Reed, United States Judge Charles F. Wayne, United States Marshal Edmund C. Weeks, Philip Walter, clerk of the United States Court, and several other prominent Republicans in the state. 14

Stripling to Attorney General, July 25, 1892, Record Group 60.
 Stripling to Postmaster General, May 26, 1892, Record Group 60.

Wanamaker apparently heeded this advice, but Morrison remained determined. From Washington in late July 1892, he wrote Marshal Edmund C. Weeks that "I am still on the hunt for justice. The department of justice issued orders peremptory to Mr. Stripling to prosecute my case at once." But there is no indication that Stripling ever obeyed such an order. 15 In the November 1892 election Grover Cleveland defeated Harrison and returned to the presidency. The Democrats once again assumed most of the offices they had relinquished four years earlier. By the time McKinley replaced Cleveland in 1897, the incendiary issues stirred up by the Civil War and Reconstruction were receding. With most Negroes disfranchised after 1889, the Republican party ceased to be a threat to Democratic supremacy, and Floridians began giving more attention to economic depression and the Cuban insurrection which would lead to the Spanish-American War.

Morrison's belligerent and contentious personality was an obvious contributor to his difficulties at White Springs, but the episode was one of the last overt incidents of the Reconstruction era. After more than thirty years of continual disruption by war and its aftermath, Hamilton County society was no longer affected by those issues. But this was not because they had been settled. It was because native white residents had resisted all efforts to alter their customs and traditions and were no longer challenged by outside forces after the early 1890s. Over in adjoining Columbia County, young Fred Cone grew to manhood and lived in a society not much different from that into which his father had been born before the Civil War. His act of violence against the unwelcome intruder in late 1888 had been ratified by the events which followed it and confirmed by white dominance of Florida society during the early decades of the twentieth century. The system to which he was accustomed remained intact throughout Fred Cone's life. But when he left the governor's office in 1941, forces were in motion which would soon upset it. Cone and his generation had done the natural thing in rallying against outsiders who attempted to alter their society, but they left their posterity poorly prepared for what was to come in the post-World War II era.

C. L. Morrison to E. C. Weeks, July 23, 1892, Box 4, Edmund C. Weeks Collection, M74-22, Florida State Archives.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and masters theses completed in 1977 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is included.

Auburn University

- Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)-"Economic Aspects of British West Florida, 1763-1773" (continuing study).
- Robert R. Rea (faculty)-"Governor John Eliot of British West Florida" (continuing study).

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine

- Luis R. Arana-"Spanish Construction and Repairs at Castillo de San Marcos, 1784-1821"; "Spanish Construction and Repairs at Fort Matanzas, 1784-1821" (continuing studies).
- Edwin C. Bearss (National Park Service, Denver Service Center)-"American Construction and Repairs at Castillo de San Marcos, 1821-1935"; "American Construction and Repairs at Fort Matanzas, 1821-1935" (continuing studies).

Daytona Beach Community College

Peter D. Klingman (faculty)-"Black Politicians in Reconstruction Florida" (continuing study).

Emory University

- William H. Hoover, Jr.-"Florida and World War II: A Brief History" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- Elliott Mackle-"The Eden of the South: Florida's Image in American Travel Literature and Painting, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed); "Utopian Colonies in Florida" (continuing study).

Flagler College

- Thomas Graham (faculty)-"Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat"; "The Andrew Anderson Family and St. Augustine, 1821-1924" (continuing studies).
- Michael J. Sherman and Dawn Wiles (faculty)-"Mexico/St. Augustine Living History Project" (continuing study).

Florida A&M University

Barbara R. Cotton (faculty)-"The Effects of Antebellum Conditions Upon Postwar Economic Adjustment of Blacks in Jacksonville, 1870-1895" (continuing study).

Florida Atlantic University

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)-"Seminole Indians of Florida" (continuing study).

Vernon M. Leslie-"Miami Beach During the Great Depression" (M.A. thesis in progress).

Florida Southern College

J. Larry Durrance (faculty)- "The Activities of the 'Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching' in Florida" (continuing study).

Florida State University

- William R. Brueckheimer (faculty)-"The Yankee Quail Plantations of Southwestern Georgia and North Florida"; "Historical Geography of the Tall Timbers and Lake Iamonia Region" (continuing studies).
- Robert F. Crider-"Jose Coppinger, Governor of East Florida, 1816-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- K. A. Deagan (faculty)-"Sixteenth Century Investigations: Testing of Five Sixteenth-Century Sites in St. Augustine (continuing study).
- Marilyn Mitsuo Feaver-"Florida Homesteads under the Southern Homestead Act (1866-1876)" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

- Marvin C. Frazier-"Slavery in Jefferson County" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Robert Hall (faculty)-"Slave Religion in the Deep South [Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama]" (continuing study).
- Robert Hall (faculty) and Marilyn Dantico-"A Rural Unemployment Survey: Suwannee, Hamilton, Lafayette, and Columbia Counties" (research completed).
- Robert Hall (faculty) and Paul George-"Black Floridians as Seen in *The Crisis*, 1910-1940" (continuing study).
- Dororena Harris-"Abolitionist Sentiment in Florida" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- James P. Jones (faculty)-"History of the Florida State College for Women" (continuing study).
- Rick Jones-"Spanish Inn (deMesa Site): Investigation of House Evolution from 1740-1820 and Study of Spanish criollo culture" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Edward Keuchel (faculty)-"History of Columbia County" (continuing study).
- Joan Koch-"Investigations of Nuestra Senora de Soledad Site: Seventeenth Century Parish Church, Hospital, and Cemetery" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Sharon T. Meredith-"Social Life in St. Augustine in the 1850s" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Gregg Padgett-"C. K. Steele and the Tallahassee Bus Boycott, 1956-1960" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- Nancy Rachels-"Biographical Study of Peter O. Knight and his Influence on the Tampa Bay Area" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Everett A. Rains-"Race Relations in Florida, 1865-1919" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- C. Peter Ripley (faculty)-"Black Abolitionists" (continuing study).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty)-"History of St. George's Island" (continuing study).
- Fay Ann Sullivan-"Georgia Frontier, 1754-1775" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Thomas R. Wagy-"The Administration of Governor LeRoy Collins: An Opened Door to a New Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)-"Southern Indians in the Colonial Period" (continuing study).

Florida Technological University

- Richard Adicks (faculty)-"History of Oviedo, Florida" (continuing study).
- Richard C. Crepeau (faculty)-"Origins of Melbourne Village" (continuing study).
- Thomas D. Greenhaw (faculty)-"Patrick Tonyn: Last Royal Governor of East Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)-"Negro Land Tenure in North Florida" (research completed); "Sidney Catts and the Bureau of Negro Economics" (continuing study).
- Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty) and Jose Fernandez-"Kidnapping of Freedmen for the Cuban Slave Trade after 1865" (research completed).
- Paul W. Wehr (faculty)-"History of Central Florida"; "Will Wallace Harney of Pinecastle, Florida" (continuing studies).

Georgia Southern College

George A. Rogers (faculty)-"William Bartram's Route through Southern Georgia and Northern Florida"; "Stephen Elliott in Florida" (continuing studies).

Guilford College

Alexander Stoesen (faculty)-"Biography of Claude Pepper" (continuing study).

Hillsborough Community College

L. Glenn Westfall (faculty)-"West Tampa: The Second Industrial Community in Hillsborough County"; "The Tobacco Industry in Jacksonville"; "Eduardo Hidalgo Gato: Migrant to Millionaire" (continuing studies).

Hillsborough County Museum

Mike Mayfield and staff-"Black History of Tampa"; "Florida Maritime History" (continuing projects).

Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami

Dorothy Jenkins Fields - "Black Photographic Archives and Oral History Collection of South Florida" (continuing study).

Arva M. Parks-"Nineteenth-Century South Florida"; "Coconut Grove" (continuing studies).

Thelma Peters-"Early Homestead Families on Upper Biscayne Bay" (continuing study).

Jean C. Taylor-"South Dade County" (continuing study).

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

Linda V. Ellsworth-"Pensacola's Creoles, 1860-1970"; "West Florida Furniture Making, 1800-1920" (continuing studies).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

Michael C. Scardaville and staff-"Biographical File of Cathedral Parish Registers, 1594-1763" (continuing study).

Robert Steinbach, Kathleen Deagan, Herschel Shepard, Craig Thomson, and Michael Scardaville-"Archeological, Architectural, and Historical Investigations of the deMesa-Sanchez Site" (continuing study).

Jacksonville University

Frederick S. Aldridge (faculty)-"An Analysis of the Effect of Consolidation Upon the Productivity of City Employees, City of Jacksonville"; "History of Jacksonville Planning Board" (continuing studies).

George E. Buker (faculty)-"History of the Jacksonville District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers"; "Union Blockade of Florida During the Civil War" (continuing studies).

Joan S. Carver (faculty)-"Analysis of the Political Impact of Consolidation of Jacksonville" (continuing study).

James M. Olson (faculty)-"Participation of Women in Florida Politics Since 1920" (continuing study).

McNeese State University

Thomas D. Watson (faculty)-"United States-Creek Relations, 1783-1830" (continuing study).

Palm Beach Atlantic College

Robert D. Billinger, Jr. (faculty)-"With the Wehrmacht in Florida: The Evolution of German POW Facilities in Florida between 1942 and 1945" (continuing study).

Jerry W. Weeks (faculty) - "History of the Florida Citrus Industry" (continuing study).

Pasco-Hernando Community College

Richard J. Stanaback (faculty)-"History of Pasco and Hernando Counties" (continuing study).

Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Guy Bishop-"Commerce and Trade between the English and the Indians, British East and West Florida, 1764-1784" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

L. David Norris-"The Administration of Jose Coppinger: The Incident and Consequence of the International Transfer of Florida in 1816-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

South Georgia College

Paul George (faculty)-"Carry Nation's visit to Miami in 1908" (continuing study).

Paul George (faculty) and Bob Hall-"Black Floridians as seen in *The Crisis*, 1910-1940" (continuing study).

Tallahassee Community College

Janice B. Miller (faculty)-"The Rebellion in East Florida in 1795"; "United States Neutrality on the Spanish East Florida Frontier, 1793-1796" (continuing studies).

Francis A. Rhodes (faculty) and Mary Margaret Rhodes-"The History of the Catholic Church in North Florida" (research completed).

Troy State University at Fort Rucker

- Morris Simon (faculty)-"Ethnological and Ethnohistorical Reconstructions of the Spanish Colonial Period" (continuing study).
- J. Barton Starr (faculty)-"Loyalists of British East Florida"; "Slave Codes of the British Floridas"; "Mid-Eighteenth Century Cotton Gins" (continuing studies).

University of Alabama

- James F. Doster (faculty)-"The Creek Indian Confederacy, 1700-1825" (continuing study).
- Alan Thompson-"Social and Economic Characteristics of the People of Mobile, Alabama, 1850-1861" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Alabama in Birmingham

Jack D. L. Holmes (faculty)-"Pensacola Settlers, 1780-1821"; "Bernardo de Galvez and the American Revolution in West Florida" (continuing studies); "Studies in the Spanish Borderlands of the Southeast (research completed).

University of Arizona

George R. Adams-"William Selby Harney: Frontier Soldier" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Florida

- Elizabeth Alexander (project director), Bruce Chappell, Lorne McWaters, and Michael Getzler (editorial assistants)"Calendar of the Spanish Holdings of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History" (continuing project).
- Dona K. Beidleman-"Ceramic Remains as Indicators of Socio-Economic Status in Colonial St. Augustine" (M.A. thesiscompleted).
- Amy Bushnell-"The Officials of the Royal Treasury in the Provinces of Florida, 1565 to 1702" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

- David Button (faculty) and Richard Scher (faculty)-"Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Six Florida Communities, 1960-1976" (continuing study).
- Bruce Chappell-"A History of the Diego Plains in the Second Spanish Period" (continuing study).
- William C. Childers (faculty)-"Garth Wilkinson and Robertson James: Abolitionists in Gainesville During Reconstruction" (continuing study).
- David R. Colburn (faculty) "The St. Augustine Racial Crisis, 1963-1964: The Non-violent Movement" (continuing study).
- Caroline Johnson Comnenos-"Florida's Sponge Industry: A Cultural and Economic History" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Merlin G. Cox (faculty)-"A History of the Citrus Industry in Central Florida" (continuing study).
- Merlin G. Cox (faculty) and Charles Hildreth-"A History of Gainesville, Florida" (continuing study).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty)-"History of Florida Archeological Work"; "Indian Tribes of the Central Gulf Coast" (continuing studies).
- Charles H. Fairbanks (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)-"Florida Archeology" (continuing study).
- Michael V. Gannon (faculty)-"Documentary History of Florida, Volume I: The Colonial Period, 1513-1821" (continuing study).
- William Tucker Gibbs-"Claude Pepper and the Election of 1948" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Patricia Griffin-"Mullet on the Beach": The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- E. A. Hammond (faculty)-"History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875" (continuing study).
- Ellen Hodges-"The Stephens Family in Antebellum and Civil War Florida: A Social and Economic History" (M.A. thesis in progress); "Letters of Winston and Octavia Stephens" (continuing study).
- John Paul Jones (faculty)-"History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).
- Stephen Kerber-"Park Trammell of Florida" (Ph.D. disserta-

- tion in progress); "Letters of Winston and Octavia Stephens" (continuing study).
- Robert Thomas King-"The Florida Seminoles in the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- William Gary Livesay-"The First Fifty Years: A History of the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications, 1925-26 to 1975-76" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- Kevin M. McCarthy (faculty)-"A Cultural, Literary, & Historical Tour of Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty) "Archeology of Weeden Island Peoples in Northern Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty) and Samuel Proctor (faculty)-"TACACHALE-Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia during the Historic Period" (accepted for publication, Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History, Florida State Museum).
- Linda V. Nelson-"Present Status of Photographic Education in Florida Community Colleges" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- Paige Parker-"Political Mobilization in the Rural South: A Case Study of Gadsden County, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Ralph L. Peek (faculty)-"Florida in World War II" (continuing study).
- Julian Pleasants (faculty)-"Zibe King, Jacob Summerlin, and the Cattle Barons in Florida, 1860-1910" (continuing study).
- George Pozzetta (faculty) "Florida Immigration, 1865-1915"; "Ethnic Interaction in Tampa" (continuing study).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)-"Documentary History of Florida, Volume II: Modern Florida, 1821-Present"; "Florida Slave Interviews" (continuing studies).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)-"TACACHALE-Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia during the Historic Period" (accepted for publication, Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History, Florida State Museum).
- Reith E. Root-"A Study of the Factors Relating to the Selection and Use of Agricultural News by News Editors of Florida Daily and Weekly Newspapers" (M.A. thesiscompleted).

- Richard Sapp-"Suwannee River Town, Suwannee River Country: Political Moieties in a Southern Country Community" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Willie J. Simmons-"Johnson Crossing: The Study of a Rural Black Community" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Mary Jo Tierney-"A Study of Editorial Responses in Selected Florida Newspapers in Reaction- to Student Dissent Following Kent State and Cambodian Invasion" (M.A. thesiscompleted).
- Cornelia Mae Twigg-"Editor John D. Pennekamp: Herald of Change" (M-A. thesis-completed).
- Linda Vance-"May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- John T. Washington-"Power in the Black Subcommunity of Orlando" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).
- L. Glenn Westfall-"Don Vicente Ybor, the Man and his Empire: Development of the Clear Havana Tobacco Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).
- Arthur O. White (faculty)-"A Thirty Year History of Florida's Community College System, 1947-1977" (research completed); "One Hundred Years of State Leadership in Florida Public Education, 1876-1976" (accepted for publication, University Presses of Florida); "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study).

University of Miami

- Ernest F. Dibble (faculty)-"Joseph M. White and Florida Territorial Growth"; "The Naval Live Oak Reservation" (continuing studies).
- Charlton W. Tebeau (emeritus) A History of Florida and Florida's Last Frontier; . . . Collier County (revisions and updating).

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Jerry W. Weeks-"Florida Gold"; The Emergence of the Florida Citrus Industry, 1865-1895" (Ph.D. dissertation-completed).

University of North Florida

Dan Schafer (faculty)-"Biographical Study of the Stevens family in Jacksonville"; Biographical Study of Eartha M. M. White" (continuing studies).

University of South Florida

- Robert P. Ingalls (faculty) "Labor and Urban Vigilantes" (continuing study).
- Martin LaGodna (faculty)-"Florida Governors" (research completed).
- Steven F. Lawson (faculty)-"Civil Rights Movement in Tampa in the 1960s" (continuing study).
- Gary Mormino (faculty)-"Italian Immigration in Tampa" (continuing study).
- Louis A. Perez, Jr. (faculty)-"Cuban Immigration and Labor in Tampa" (continuing study).

University of Tampa

James W. Covington (faculty)-"The Rough Riders in Tampa"; "Federal Relations with the Florida Indians, 1859-1970" (continuing study).

University of West Florida

- William S. Coker (faculty)-"Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company" (continuing study).
- Lucius F. Ellsworth (faculty)-"Lumbering in Northwest Florida during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (continuing study).
- Janice R. Holmlund-"Living History Farm Museum: A Feasibility Study for Pensacola" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- Walter Howard-"The Claude Neal Lynching in Marianna, Florida, 1934" (M.A. thesis in progress).
- James R. McGovern (faculty) and Walter T. Howard-"The Marianna Lynching-1934" (continuing study).
- Charles R. McNeil-"The Red Snapper Industry in Pensacola, 1845-1965: An Historical Perspective" (M.A. thesis-completed).

- H. Wesley Odom-"Captain Cayetano Perez and the Fall of Mobile, 1813" (M.A. thesis-completed).
- George F. Pearce (faculty)-"The United States Navy in Pensacola"; "The Torment of Pestilence: Yellow Fever Epidemics in Pensacola"; "The West Indies Squadron and American-Caribbean Diplomacy, 1823-1841" (continuing studies).

Valdosta State College

- Lamar Pearson (faculty) "Spanish-Indian Relations in First Spanish Period Florida"; "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in First Spanish Period Florida" (continuing studies).
- Joseph Tomberlin (faculty) "The *Brown* Case and Its Aftermath" (continuing study).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menendez de Aviles and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568. By Eugene Lyon. (Gaines-ville: The University Presses of Florida, 1976. 253 pp. Preface, notes, epilogue, appendixes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

This book represents a significant turning point in colonial Florida studies. Heretofore the founding years of Spanish Florida have been described in terms of nationalism, war, and religion. One was aware that Pedro Menendez de Aviles and his successors were zealous patriots, that the adelantado slew hundreds of enemy French on the beaches south of St. Augustine, and that Spanish theology looked with special favor on the Spanish state, while the state returned the favor. Now for the first time the founding years, from 1565 to 1568, have been sketched against the background of commerce. Eugene Lyon has given us the first enterpreneurial history of Menendez and La Florida. It is a magisterial work. No one is more familiar with the Florida documents in the archives of Seville. Simancas, and Madrid than this accomplished scholar. Through careful examination and comparison of the extant manuscripts, Dr. Lyon has discovered a Menendez somewhat different from the man who previously and variously has been depicted as swashbuckler, daredevil, demagogue, and saint-fanatic. Lyon's Menendez is a businessman. Among the adelantado's many original motives for undertaking the settlement of Florida, uppermost, one would suspect from Lyon's data, was his intention to develop here a rich commercial empire based on mining and agriculture. Menendez desired to be Florida's first great land developer, industrialist, and agribusinessman. Quite the most remarkable demonstration of Menendez's primary motives for conquering Florida is Lyon's revelation that, at the time he signed the asiento, or contract, with the king establishing the Florida expedition, neither he nor the king was aware of the French settlement of Fort Caroline on the St. Johns. Earlier writers, the reviewer included, knowing of Phillip II's reluctance to venture further into a Florida that had vanquished

four would-be conquistadors, have assigned the reason for the king's change of mind, and for Menendez's brave words and actions, to the receipt of intelligence about Laudonniere's intimidating trespass on Spanish soil. Not so, Lyon says; Menendez and Phillip signed their agreement on March 15, 1565. First news of the French fort and settlement did not reach Seville until March 26, 1565. True enough, in view of that shocking report, royal aid in the form of troops and supplies was added to the expedition, but Florida was not conceived in the beginning as a battlefield; it was regarded as a commercial enterprise, and one whose costs would be borne principally by Menendez himself. Dr. Lyon explains the elaborate system of the adelantamiento in the Spanish Indies, and details the manner in which Menendez was required to underwrite the expense as well as the risk of conquest in exchange for his license and privileges in the Carrera de Indias. There were long negotiations involving, at various times, the Council of the Indies, the Casa de Contratacion (Board of Trade), private bankers, such as Pedro del Castillo, a relative, and with other family members. Indeed, in the end, the Florida commercial monopoly became the business of some nine major Asturian families, all of whom were closely interrelated by blood and marriage, and from whose members Menendez drew most of his chief military and civil subordinates.

The results, of course, were not what the Menendez clan expected. Although the adelantado succeeded-and better than some historians would prefer-in expelling the French interlopers, and although he did build a city that would last, and conducted valuable interior and coastal surveys, etc., the commercial goals of his venture fell far short of achievement. Lyon suggests several reasons: too large an initial investment; no discoveries of precious metals, gems, or minerals; failure to grow adequate crops in sandy soil; loss of ships; fraudulent and corrupt practices by minor officials; and general ineffectiveness of Menendez's Indian policy. In 1573, one year before his death, frustrated by attempts to deal successfully with Indians in South Florida, the adelantado asked royal permission to enslave them and be rid of them.

Ruling in a lawsuit brought by collateral heirs to obtain benefices from the adelantado's estate, the Council of the Indies concluded in 1633 that Pedro Menendez had faithfully fulfilled his part of the contract. Thus, despite broken dreams of landed estates, pacific Indians, and prosperous merchants, the enterprise of Florida at last received the state seal of approval.

This book makes an extremely valuable contribution to our knowledge of Florida's beginnings. Although its scope is limited, and it does not treat the many other aspects of Menendez's adventure in quite the detail one might wish to see, it provides a better understanding of Menendez the entrepreneur than we have seen before or are likely to see again-given the years required to prepare it-in the foreseeable future. In this reviewer's judgment it will stand for this century as the classic of its genre.

University of Florida

MICHAEL V. GANNON

Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893. By Edward C. Williamson. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976. x, 234 pp. Preface, maps, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$8.00.)

This is a study in depth of sixteen critical years in Florida politics. Only during the preceding era of Radical Republican Reconstruction do we find a revival with as much confusion and upheaval. In the years after 1876, the Democrats succeeded by hook or crook in eliminating the blacks, most of them ex-slaves, and the Republican party from any role of importance in state government. They put the stamp of Bourbonism on the state for a century at least, conservatism in everything-unrestricted development and management of the state's resources by private interests, low taxes, limited public services, and little interference with freedom of action by individual or corporation in the conduct of his business or personal affairs.

This process put the two-party system under a very severe strain and produced some strange political alliances. There were far more differences among Floridians than there were parties to represent them. The Democrats had the Civil War issues and white supremacy on their side, and joined by former Whigs who might otherwise have been Republicans, they stood together and triumphed, first by the use of fraud and intimidation, and finally by constitutional and legislative action.

It is not so much that any new thesis is advanced by Professor Williamson. The general features of political life in that genera-

tion are well established. What we have here is a fully documented account of how it all came about in Florida. The leadership and the techniques are identified. This study has been a long time in the making. The author published his first article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* on a phase of it more than thirty years ago. He has continued his interest in the subject and has incorporated findings of other scholars, all of which adds breadth as well as depth to the account.

If readers are somewhat overwhelmed and sometimes confused by the weight of the data, it is but another measure of the confusion of political activity in the period. This is rightly called grass roots politics, for in the Democratic party of that day, county organizations controlled the action rather than any of the gubernatorial figures. In contrast the Republican leadership came mostly at the state level.

Partly because the blacks are central to any understanding of the politics of the period, partly because of the new interest in their history during the last three or four decades, Williamson's is the fullest account of the role of the former slaves in Florida politics after Reconstruction. Deserted by the Hayes administration, dependent upon carpetbag leadership that lacked unity and status and financial backing, and forced by circumstances to work on the land of their former owners, most of whom were Democrats, blacks had little chance of being heard.

Williamson has chosen the convict lease system as the measure of the Bourbon regard for human rights. The roots of this nefarious practice were in the preceding Republican era, but the Bourbons embraced it fully, and it persisted until the early 1920s. There was little but lip service to any kind of social or political reform on the part of the leadership and little demand for it on the part of the rank and file. Anything that cost the taxpayers money was eschewed by one and all. In spite of the emphasis upon issues that divided them, the whites in the Democratic party were in full agreement upon many issues. They wished economical and laissez faire government. This meant scant support for the nascent public school system, created on paper at least by the Radical Republicans. They both wanted railroads and development. They differed only in that small farmers wanted land at little or no cost and regulation of railroad rates and services rather than favors to northerners like Hamilton Disston and the railroad companies. It should not be overlooked that Bourbons found little difficulty voting with Republicans on issues of land disposal and railroads. Small wonder that the programs of Independents and Populists had little appeal to the small farmers who probably should have opposed the Bourbons more than they did.

Students who wish to understand the roots of Florida politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only now being changed by the growth of urbanism, industry, and the immigration of non-Southerners, have a gold mine in Williamson's book. Incidentally, Bourbonism is far from dead in 1978. If the Democrats choose too liberal candidates now as they once did with Independents and Populists, many Florida conservatives will vote Republican as they did for Claude Kirk against Robert King High in 1966.

Springfield, Georgia

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

Oglethorpe in America. By Phinizy Spalding. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977. xi, 207 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, map, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

This study of Oglethorpe's American career is in many ways a model monograph. Lucidly written, carefully argued, and unpretentious, it displays a remarkable mastery of a rich primary and secondary literature, is effectively organized, and, most impressive of all, is laudably concise. Eschewing the temptation to present "a complete account" of the subject, a temptation that most historians seem to find irrestible, the author rigorously focuses upon the main questions and excludes all unnecessary detail. The result is as good a book as is presently available on the role of any of the main founding figures of the colonies, except perhaps for Edmund S. Morgan's excellent study of John Winthrop.

Concentrating primarily upon the question of whether Oglethrope "was really worthy" of the extraordinary "admiration accorded him" by contemporaries and many later historians, the volume provides a careful assessment of both Oglethorpe's character and his accomplishments and failures. The portrait that emerges is of an aggressive, ambitious, self-confident man of

"astonishing energy" and "immense dedication," a bachelor who made his work his life and whose commitment to Georgia was so deep that, to meet public expenses, he unhesitatingly over the years advanced over 90,000 pounds of his personal fortune, a sum that was not finally repaid until 1792. "Spiritually fastidious" and austere in his living habits, he was animated by challenges and "thrived on the stresses of a new environment." He found it "no hardship to live as his colonists did," for which he won their almost total approval. Broadly compassionate, he had "an almost naive faith that the environment" could "make, or remake, a man." Unmethodical, vain, an easy prey to flattery, extremely sensitive to any affront to his personal or his colony's honor, he was unable either to delegate authority or always to distinguish the important from the trivial.

The American career of this "complex and many-faceted" man, the author argues, was on the whole "positive and fruitful." Oglethorpe's reluctance to share power left the colony without a secure civil structure, his inexperience contributed to the disastrous expedition against St. Augustine in 1740, and his failure to put more stress upon the development of the Indian trade and forest industries helped to insure the failure of some of the primary objectives of the Georgia experiment. Against these failures, however, the author balances a much longer list of successes: Oglethorpe's choice of superior locations for his main settlements, his scrupulously fair treatment of the Indians which left the Spaniards "with only the Yamasees as reliable allies," his vigorous and effective resistance to the Spanish invasion of Georgia in 1742, and his unflagging moral and spiritual leadership all helped to insure Georgia's "existence as a distinct and contributing province inside the [British] Empire."

Challenging the currently fashionable view that Georgians under the Trustees were, in Daniel Boorstin's words, "victims of philanthropy," the author denies that the effort, so militantly supported by Oglethorpe, to avoid some of the social mistakes of other colonies-notably South Carolina-by excluding lawyers, Roman Catholics, rum, slavery, and Africans was foredoomed to failure by "the impersonal laws of economics or by any other factor." He admits that Oglethorpe's "principles . . . were too demanding for the average man" and that the intruding presence of the economically successful slave society of South Carolina just

across the Savannah River constituted an almost irresistable model for economically ambitious Georgians. But, he suggests, it was not the utopian character of the Trustee's vision that prevented its realization but mundane factors such as the Spanish menace, which early forced Oglethorpe to subordinate social to military considerations, and the resulting neglect of the Indian trade and other economic activities that might have brought a modest prosperity without slavery. Such counterfactual arguments are always difficult to sustain, but this particular one is made with sufficient cogency to remind us once again of the dangers of assuming that what happened was inevitable.

The Johns Hopkins University

JACK P. GREENE

Colonial Georgia, A History. By Kenneth Coleman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976. xvii, 331 pp. Editor's introduction, preface, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

This work is one of the thirteen volumes of A History of The American Colonies commissioned by Charles Scribner's Sons on the eve of America's Bicentennial celebration. According to the general editors, Milton Klein and Jacob Cooke, the series "seeks to synthesize the new research, to treat social, economic, and cultural as well as political developments, and to delineate the broad outlines of each colony's history during the years before independence" (p. xii). Coleman has carried out his assignment with varying degrees of success. His synthesis of the main outlines of Georgia's colonial past encompasses in succinct and clear narrative both the old and new scholarship, yet his emphasis focuses on political and economic developments at the expense of the social and cultural. The most important contribution which this book makes is its broad overview of Georgia's colonial years. Teachers of Georgia history will welcome it as a supplement to their reading lists; students will find it a well-written, generally fastmoving introduction; and general readers will find it equally attractive.

Coleman is most successful in the first half of his book which treats the Trustee period (1733-1752). He handles well the settlement of the colony, the nature of its philanthropic background, the nature of government and economic development

under the Georgia Trust, and the impact of James Oglethorpe and George Whitefield. He goes out of his way to counter the old image of Georgia as a colony settled by debtors, a mistaken historical impression corrected by Albert Saye in *New Viewpoints in Georgia History*. Somewhat fresher is the question of Whitefield's motives in founding Bethesda orphange. Coleman argues that Bethesda came into being less because of the need for a new institution to care for orphans and more to fill Whitefield's own desire for a base of operations outside the control of the Anglican church.

The second half of this study is devoted to the royal period of Georgia's history (1754-1782). As Coleman indicates in his brief bibliography (p. 315) the "royal period has not aroused as much interest as the Trustee period." Nor does Coleman compensate for the weakness in the secondary literature. In a work specifically spawned by the Bicentennial it seems strange to find that the prelude to Independence and the subsequent events of the Revolution should be compressed into a descriptive narrative with so little reflective analysis. Still to be answered are the important questions: who the Tories were and why Governor James Wright was unable to hold Georgia in the Loyalist column; who the Whigs were and why they split among themselves.

University of South Carolina

DAVID R. CHESNUTT

The Papers of General Nathanael Greene, Volume 1, December 1766-December 1776. Edited by Richard K. Showman, Margaret Cobb, and Robert E. McCarthy. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976. liii, 411 pp. Foreword, introduction, acknowledgments, history of Greene's papers, editorial method, glossary, chronology, notes, maps, index. \$17.95.)

Historians of the Revolutionary era, of Rhode Island, and of Georgia will be glad to see this project underway. The great majority of the Greene correspondence, some 10,000 items, which is to be published has already been assembled. About one-fourth of the documents will be printed in full; the rest will be calendared. When the series has been completed, a microfilm edition of all the documents is planned. To this reviewer, it seems that the editors have done a very thorough searching job.

In his introduction, Editor Showman sets forth the editorial aims. First is the desire to transcribe the papers as faithfully as possible. This reviewer, also engaged in editing eighteenth-century documents, knows this is not an easy job. Next the editors, through their very helpful footnotes, try to make the documents intelligible to the reader. In a sense, this puts the reader in the place of the original recipient, but it often goes beyond this. The editors also point out errors in the documents and try to provide continunity by filling gaps between the documents. All in all, the editors have done a fine job according to the canons of modern historical editing.

It is not the editing but the documents themselves which show what sort of person Nathanael Greene was. In the early 1770s Greene, in correspondence with a young friend, Samuel Ward, Jr., a student in Rhode Island College, sounds much more like a teenager than a thirty-year-old man. This shows Greene's immaturity in writing and his desire to impress young Ward, whom he undoubtedly considered his intellectual and social superior and whose formal education he probably envied. Here are the great ideals and dreams of a youth, rather than the practical knowledge of a young businessman. Other early documents concern the iron business in which the Greene family was engaged. Throughout the book there are family letters with his wife, brothers, aunts, uncles, and cousins. About one-fifth of the volume consists of documents before Greene's military career began.

By June 1775, Greene and his Rhode Island troops were in the Boston area opposing the British. In April 1776, the American army moved to the New York area anticipating the coming of the British. By early December Greene was in New Jersey. The volume ends with the capture of Trenton on Christmas Day.

Much of the army correspondence is routine and is concerned with food, supplies, discipline, and military maneuvers. There is a little discussion of long range plans and military philosophy. This correspondence reveals several things about Greene. He was concerned with military discipline and the welfare of his soldiers. He wanted to secure the independence of the United States. After his military career began, Greene showed an increasing feeling of competence, though he never claimed to be a military expert and always deferred to George Washington as a competent superior

and a man whom he admired. Greene corresponded with three members of the Continental Congress-President John Hancock, John Adams, and Rhode Island delegate Samuel Ward, Sr.-and with Governor Nicholas Cooke of Rhode Island. He wrote of his ideas about the army, the military, and the United States and its destiny, including references to the necessity of independence as early as December 1775. These letters show considerably more maturity and belief in his abilities than those written in 1770.

The editors, the Rhode Island Historical Society, and several other sponsors are to be commended for such a fine volume. We can only look forward with keen anticipation to the subsequent volumes in the series.

University of Georgia

KENNETH COLEMAN

This Affair of Louisiana. By Alexander DeConde. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976. x, 325 pp. Acknowledgment, preface, illustrations, map, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$12.50.)

As Professor DeConde explains in his preface, this study is an interpretive synthesis which offers speculative analysis. His thesis is that an expansionist Anglo-American ethos, rooted in the colonial experience, was present in the early years of the United States. Moreover, a "pious imperialism" already existed at the time of the Louisiana Purchase. Taking issue with the traditional interpretation of the acquisition of Louisiana, which claims that it came from Europe's distress or inevitable destiny, DeConde regards it to have resulted from a conscious desire for expansion. True to his word, he maintains this thesis throughout the book. In his conclusion, "The Imperial Thrust," he calls the early desire for expansion in this country's history imperialism. This is at variance with the "conventional wisdom," which he maintains has long held that until the mid-nineteenth century Americans were a peaceful people who expanded their nation by chance, were filled with a sense of mission to extend the blessings of democracy, and sought to build an empire for liberty and not for the exploitation of others. Modern scholarship, however, has all but demolished this view.

This Affair of Louisiana begins with the French establishment of Louisiana, Spain's feeble hold of it in the last third of the eighteenth century, and the American penetration of the province in people and commerce. When France regained Louisiana, Americans became alarmed at the prospect of a strong nation defending it instead of a declining Spain. Already American expansionists viewed the acquisition of Louisiana as desirable. Jefferson's bid to purchase New Orleans resulted in Bonaparte's unexpected offer to sell all of Louisiana, an offer which could not be refused nor did any American want to. The expansionists next concluded that Louisiana's boundaries were virtually limitless and encompassed West Florida and Texas, although it was clear that at the time of the purchase West Florida was not a part of Louisiana and the claim to Texas tenuous. The last third of the book examines Jefferson's hawkish efforts to coerce Spain into surrendering West Florida. For their part, the Spaniards recognized the American "lust for land" as early as the American Revolution. As a waning power under Charles IV, Spain usually was no more than a pawn in the machinations of Bonaparte, but which still occasionally arched its back in defiance of its questionable French ally and asserted itself against a covetous American neighbor.

Professor DeConde has presented a well-written book filled with convincing arguments. While it is the product of secondary sources and published documents, it contains an extensive bibliographical essay which covers thirty-five pages. Although it is a good book and a welcome addition to the Louisiana Purchase literature, a few things in the mind of this reviewer could have improved it. Citation of all the material used in the text, instead of only quotations, would have made it more valuable. DeConde also displays some unfamiliarity with the French and Spanish periods of Louisiana where a number of minor errors crop up, including his reference to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos as simply Lemos despite Jack D. L. Holmes's book title to guide him. Finally, while the quotations help to enliven the narration, in some places they appear excessive.

Nevertheless, *This Affair of Louisiana* is a fascinating book which should make the defenders of the traditional interpretation of the growth of the United States, if there are any left, take notice. For those of us who have followed events from the Span-

ish side and have seen Spain's attempts to defend its borderlands against American claims, we can only applaud DeConde for "telling it like it was."

Fort Lewis College

GILBERT C. DIN

The Diary of Edmund Ruffin, Volume II, The Years of Hope, April, 1861-June, 1863. Edited by William Kauffman Scarborough, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xxxv, 706 pp. Introduction, genealogy, chronology, maps, notes, illustrations, index. \$35.00.)

For Edmund Ruffin the supreme tragedy of his life was that the dissolution of the Union, toward which he had devoted his entire adult career, came too late for him to play an active role in the affairs of the new nation. Physical infirmities and advanced age not only incapacitated the South's most fervent secessionist from serving the Confederacy in a political or military position, but also prevented him from employing his talents as a propagandist in the cause of southern independence. Consequently, the wartime entries in Ruffin's *Diary* are inherently less valuable than those written during the active period of his life. Nevertheless, the record of his observations and reflections written during this critical period is full of human interest, and not entirely without value to Civil War historians.

Perhaps Ruffin's most valuable historical contributions in Volume II of his *Diary* are concerned with his experiences as *a* planter of northern Virginia. Although he earlier had turned his plantations and slaves over to his sons, Ruffin continued to take an intense personal interest in the operation of these landholdings. Visiting them frequently, and sometimes taking charge of their management temporarily, Ruffin himself experienced and recorded the tribulations of planters caught in an active theater of military operations. When trusted slaves defected to the Federals, virtually ending cultivation of the Ruffin lands, he concluded, earlier than most observers, that economic collapse was a greater danger for the Confederacy than military defeat.

In addition to first-hand accounts of the affairs of his family, Ruffin recorded his own experiences and observations related directly to the war in Virginia. Being passionately interested in the South's military efforts, Ruffin used his fame as a southern Founding Father to gain admission to military units and installations which normally would have been barred to a civilian. He was present, nominally as a volunteer private of Virginia militia but actually as an honored V.I.P., at the first Battle of Manassas, where he observed the fighting from a strategic height overlooking the battlefield, and he was allowed to accompany the South Carolina Palmetto Guards when they marched after the retreating Union army. He also was an observer at the critical Battle of Seven Pines, where he narrowly escaped injury when a shell burst nearby. Having the means and leisure to travel, Ruffin visited a wide variety of fortifications, arsenals, and other military establishments, but having no eye for detail he did not leave much of interest to historians.

Most of Ruffin's *Diary* in the 1862-1863 period is composed of entries giving his reactions to news of military events reaching him second or third hand by way of newspapers and conversations with supposedly informed individuals. These entries are so numerous that they could be used to test the reliability of information reaching Richmond civilians. Similarly, the *Diary* reflected the rise and fall of civilian morale with the ebb and flow of the Confederate war effort.

Professor Scarborough has edited the second volume of Ruffin's *Diary* with the same thoroughness that characterized the initial volume. As a result, non-professional readers interested in the history of the Civil War will find themselves infected by the excitement of the time even as Ruffin was himself.

Florida State University

JOHN HEBRON MOORE

A New Birth of Freedom: The Republican Party and Freedmen's Rights, 1861 to 1866. By Herman Belz. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976. xv, 199 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95.)

Many years ago, the late Allan Nevins reminded us of the duality of the problem besetting Americans in the 1850s and 1860s. Not only slavery, Nevins argued, but the concomitant problem of race adjustment, lay at the root of the Civil War. Now, in *A New Birth of Freedom*, Herman Belz has traced the

tortuous path by which American politicians came to grips with slavery and the problem of race adjustment between 1861 and 1866; or, as he himself puts it, "how emancipation that was undertaken for military reasons gave rise to federal policies protecting the liberty and rights of freed slaves and how these policies eventually led to the civil rights settlement of 1866." The focus is on the Congress and on the federal government in general-for Belz correctly argues that the major outcome of the debates over the blacks' status and rights was the emergence of new concepts of citizenship and civil liberties and federal authority to prevent infringement in these areas.

The path he traces begins with the Confiscation Acts of 1861-1862. Initially, he argues, emancipation had a pragmatic aim-the elimination of slaves as rebel property and the denial to southern forces of the considerable manpower represented by the slave population. The Second Confiscation Act of 1862 provided, for example, for the emancipation of certain slaves, but it made no provision for guaranteeing the liberty or rights of these blacks. Those who recognized the need for permanent safeguards to freedmen's liberties were content to shelve the problems involved until military events forced the issue.

The use of blacks in the Union forces pushed Republicans further along the road to grappling with the issue of what freedom meant and what safeguards might be erected to bolster black liberties after the conflict. By tradition, military service had carried with it the connotation of citizenship, and citizenship, in turn, presupposed the guarantee of certain rights. Yet blacks had been excluded from full citizenship by the implications of the Taney opinion in the Dred Scott case. Did military service grant citizenship? Were blacks full citizens? Did citizenship bring with it political equality, or were the rights it conferred more restricted? The conscription measures enacted in 1863 and 1864 stopped short of declaring blacks citizens, but they explicitly recognized them as subject to national law, as full persons within the constitutional meaning of that term. Citizenship now came to embrace all persons born or naturalized within the United States, whatever their color. It did not convey equality in the twentiethcentury sense of that term-but it did impart certain crucial rights, which Republican congressmen now argued were automatically extended to blacks: free speech, freedom of the press,

free exercise of religion, the right to assemble and to petition for redress of grievances. But citizenship stopped short of guaranteeing full participation in the political process.

Most important for the future, Belz argues, was the doctrine emerging by 1863-1864 that no state law could deny any person the rights of national citizenship. Republicans would never deny state citizenship, but they were increasingly convinced that states could and must be prevented from treading on the rights of national citizens as they had done in the case of blacks before the war. Initially, the concern was more pragmatic than humanitarian-and throughout the conflict it grew as much out of internal struggles for control among Republicans as out of concern for the welfare of blacks. But as northern troops advanced further into the South, this concern became the linchpin around which turned the controversy over Reconstruction. How could the liberties of blacks best be protected? What modifications would be necessary in the federal system and within the southern states? And what intervention would be necessary on the part of the North? By 1864, events in Louisiana had convinced at least some Republicans that protection of freedmen's liberties could not safely be left to southern Unionists. Though the Wade-Davis bill never became law, Belz argues, it was of the utmost significance. It marked a new departure in northern approaches to guaranteeing the liberties of citizens. Though it left enforcement responsibility with the states, it guaranteed blacks the right to sue for their freedom through writ of habeas corpus. And, for the first time, it legislated at the national level the principle of intra-state equality for blacks. The importance of this new approach for subsequent legislation was great. If the debates over the Freedman's Bureau underscored the limited and tentative nature of northern commitment to intervention in the South, and the preference for a laissez-faire approach with minimal outside intervention and guarantees against "reverse discrimination" vis-a-vis the blacks, the outlines of policies to be laid down in the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 were nonetheless emerging by 1864.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Fourteenth Amendment were, Belz believes, the culmination of wartime thinking on blacks, citizenship, and the rights of the freedmen. The Thirteenth Amendment had abolished slavery and had stripped from the states the right to reimpose it. But Republicans had not seen this measure as altering fundamentally state-federal relations. By 1865-1866, Belz argues, the Republicans' anger over treatment of blacks in the South had advanced the argument further. The real issue now became not whether blacks would be granted certain rights, but whether state or federal governments would have the authority to legislate in this area. Also at issue was the nature of citizenship; Republicans now argued that citizenship was dual, that it was "coterminous and cooperative rather than bifurcated and conflicting." The legislation of 1866 did not tell the states what rights to confer on their citizens; rather, it said that any rights conferred must be conferred equally on all. And, since blacks were citizens, the choice left the states was to strip whites of their rights or extend them to blacks.

The wartime debates and the extension of the definition of citizenship and the authority of the federal government in the "settlement" of 1866, Belz argues, set the stage for subsequent efforts on behalf of the freedmen. Never mind, he suggests, that the commitment to black rights was limited in scope, or that Republicans often seemed as motivated by their desire to protect white refugees in the South as to aid the freedmen. Never mind that the extension of rights in theory did not guarantee the existence of those rights in practice, or that enforcement proved defective and the northern presence in the South was temporary. C. Vann Woodward reminded us years ago that Reconstruction, as twentieth-century civil libertarians would have had it work, would have been impossible for nineteenth-century politicians; the conception of federal power was simply too restrictive, and the machinery for enforcing what legislation was enacted and what guarantees were made was defective. The significance, Belz argues, lies not in the failure, but in the positive accomplishment: the extension of definitions of citizenship and federal power which have formed the basis for the twentieth-century revolution in civil rights and set the stage for federal excursions into social planning and welfare.

In all of this, Belz has made a major contribution. His view of the debates-restricted as it is largely to the Congress and the public press-tends to be narrow, and many will judge that he underplays the humanitarian concern for blacks shared by a substantial group of Republican congressmen. Others will argue that his preoccupation with events in the South neglects the complicating factor for northern congressmen of black rights in the North and the limits they were pressured by their constituents to set to those rights. But this remains a substantial book, which provides welcome elucidation of points central to the nature of wartime and early post-war civil rights measures and to the nature of federal-state relations.

Duke University

ELIZABETH STUDLEY NATHANS

Joseph E. Brown of Georgia. By Joseph H. Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. x, 612 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$35.00.)

When in 1857 Joseph Emerson Brown was chosen as the Democratic nominee for governor of Georgia, Robert Toombs inquired: "And who in the Devil is Joe Brown?" The nominee, a north Georgian of humble origins, was not as well known as Toombs, Cobb, Alexander Stephens, and other prominent contemporaries, but his successful campaign for governor in 1857 marked the beginning of an upward course that made him for many years the most influential man in Georgia. He also became the most controversial Georgian of his time. As governor during the Civil War he was involved in a conflict with the Confederate administration that greatly impaired southern morale and gave much aid and comfort to the Union. After the war he aligned himself with Republicans in support of Congressional Reconstruction. With the decline of Republican rule he switched back to the Democrats and later spent ten years in the United States Senate. During every stage of his public life he made money from sound investments and shrewd management, and eventually he became a wealthy man.

Joseph H. Parks, in this volume published by the Louisiana State University Press in its distinguished Southern Biography Series, treats the enigmatic and turbulent Georgian with admirable balance and skill. He faults Brown for provincialism, shiftiness, stubbornness, opportunism, and excessive concern for power. But he credits him with intelligence, energy, initiative, courage, determination, and a sincere interest in the welfare of the masses.

In his treatment of Brown as war governor, Professor Parks commends him for his enthusiasm in raising and equipping troops at the beginning of the conflict and for his effort throughout the war to meet the needs of the common soldiers and their families. He is strongly critical of the extremes to which Brown went in resisting conscription, impressment, and the suspension of the habeas corpus. Referring to Brown's message to the Georgia legislature of March 10, 1864, Parks states: "He openly opposed every major piece of legislation passed during the recent session of Congress. . . . Brown's charge of conspiracy on the part of the Confederate Congress and the president to deprive the states and their people of their rights was false and he knew it. . . . The governor himself was power hungry and he resented any encroachment upon his realm. . . . Had he himself been president, his dictatorial actions would have dwarfed those of Davis."

However, Professor Parks points out that Brown's condemnation of the Confederate government was based in large part on a genuine lack of confidence in the president's leadership and a sincere belief that Jefferson Davis was much more concerned about the safety of Virginia than about the security of Georgia. The author sums up Brown's role as war governor with the comment: "There could be no doubt but that Joe Brown was eager to promote what he considered the best interests of the people and state of Georgia. His honesty and integrity were beyond question. The degree to which he was loyal and patriotic depended upon one's definition of those terms." This seems to be a fair conclusion.

Concerning Brown's postwar career, which he treats as fully as his earlier life, Parks states: "Those less successful often accused him of being unscrupulous and dishonest, yet no action of his was ever proved illegal. He took advantage of opportunities. . . . When the path turned, he turned. In his late years he became something of a patriarch. . . . Enemies were fewer . . . and he was content with his accomplishments and contributions."

Doubtless some readers will consider the author overly generous in his estimate of Brown. But they can hardly question his effort to be fair in his judgment, and they will find much to commend in his thoroughness of research, his clarity of style, and the completeness of his portraiture.

Emory University

BELL I. WILEY

Vendetta: A True Story of the Worst Lynching in America, the Mass Murder of Italian-Americans in New Orleans in 1891, the Vicious Motivations Behind It, and the Tragic Repercussions That Linger to This Day. By Richard Gambino. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977. xi, 198 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography. \$7.95.)

Professor Richard Gambino has turned his formidable writing talents to the tragic story of the 1891 lynching of eleven Italians in New Orleans. In doing so he brings together a great deal of material from scattered accounts that have existed for years and adds several intriguing insights of his own. The result is a comprehensive, readable-though highly sensationalized-chronicle of the New Orleans affair.

The standard interpretation of the 1891 tragedy has pictured a relatively simple chain of events. The lynchings occurred essentially as a result of the alleged Mafia assassination of New Orleans police chief David Hennessy. When a jury failed to return guilty verdicts against a group of arrested Italians, citizen outrage spontaneously escalated into mob fury. After breaking into Parish Prison, some of New Orleans's best citizens answered the "higher call of justice" and murdered eleven of the accused assassins.

Gambino counters this explanation by suggesting a much more complex web of motives. At the heart of his case is the claim that Mayor Joseph Shakespeare and a Committee of Fifty, representing the city's economic and political elite, manufactured a bogus "Mafia scare" to mask other designs. They used the scare and the convenient murder of Hennessy as a "cover" to crush the rising economic power and social threat of the Italian community. As Gambino points out, Italian immigrants had been making remarkable progress in farming and land ownership, and within the city itself "they monopolize the fruit, oyster and fish trades and are nearly all peddlers, tinkers or cobblers." By mixing openly with blacks, Italians also often failed to share the racial biases of many New Orleans residents. On both accounts they threatened the established order.

The author marshals a convincing array of evidence to sup-

port his interpretation. Hennessy, it seems, had a very checkered past which included part ownership in a whorehouse, participation in various shootings, and a deep involvement in the morass of New Orleans political in-fighting. Any of these connections could have provided reasons for the assassination, but the official investigation failed to explore these possibilities. The prosecution case suffered similar weaknesses. Many witnesses placed the accused individuals away from the scene of the crime, and the prosecution relied on the flimsiest of hearsay evidence. Shortly after the lynching, the city passed an ordinance giving control of all dock work in New Orleans to the just-formed Louisiana Construction and Improvement Corporation, a business headed by prominent lynch mob leaders. This action effectively froze out Italian businessmen and workers from the multi-million dollar dock trades. Numerous other revelations either refute accepted beliefs or offer plausible alternatives.

Presumably for its shock effect, Gambino frequently lapses into hyperbole. The very title of the book is indicative of this tendency, and the use of highly-charged words abounds in the volume. To those who might argue that emotional subjects call for emotional treatments, there are examples of similar events which have been handled with balance and objectivity. William Ivy Hair's examination of the New Orleans Race Riot of 1900 and William M. Tuttle's study of the Chicago Race Riot of 1919 are two in point. The sensationalized approach that Gambino has selected may well attract a wide readership, but in the end it converts it into a lawyer's brief, albeit a good one.

To borrow from the courtroom, he has established more than a "reasonable doubt" about the standard interpretation. Some readers will undoubtedly be disappointed with the rhetoric and the tendency to editorialize, but on balance this volume has rendered a service in bringing together the full story of an important event in southern and immigration history.

University of Florida

GEORGE E. POZZETTA

American Indian Policy in Crisis: Chiristian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900. By Francis Paul Prucha. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. xii, 456 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Professor Prucha is undoubtedly one of the most significant, albeit controversial, scholars writing in the field of Indian history at the present time. Even his most severe critics, however, will have difficulty faulting Prucha's latest work, an impeccably documented and evenly presented treatise, if they carefully observe his prefatory disclaimer: "I do not pretend that this book is 'Indian history.' The native Americans enter into the narrative, to be sure, but they are not the subject of my story. I am writing about the white humanitarians, about the sincere religious-minded men and women who believed intensely that only one solution was possible for the problem they saw facing the United States in its relations with the Indians-complete Americanization." It is the story of this interlocking directorate of humanitarian reformers and their allies in the federal bureaucracy which Prucha explores with precision and understanding.

Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century the inexorable process of assimilating the Indian passed through various stages. At the conclusion of the major Indian wars in the 1870s there was a great outpouring of sympathy for the plight of the tribes, and various reform societies were organized in the East both to protect their rights and to assist in a "civilizing" process. The Grant administration inaugurated a "peace policy" whereby the tribes were placed on reservations. There, under the influence and tutelage of the Christian reform groups and government agents, they were to be transformed into yoeman farmers and herdsmen, accept Christianity, and become law-abiding citizens. As Prucha saw it "The 'Peace Policy' might just as properly have been labeled the 'religious policy,' " so close was the cooperation between the government and mission groups in formulating and carrying out Indian policy. Although there were various attempts to place Indian affairs in the hands of the military, the reform adherents in Congress successfully beat back every challenge to civilian control, arguing that the military could not bring to bear the civilizing influence needed by the "savages." Only in the

1880s, with the institution of a secular educational system on the reservations, as well as off-reservation residential schools such as Carlisle, was the religious domination in Indian affairs successfully challenged.

In that same decade it became obvious that the reservation system had failed to erode tribalism to the extent expected by the reformers, and there were calls to break up the huge reservations and force Indians to become individual freeholders. This was accomplished through the twin expedients of dissolving Indian political independence in their own territories and alloting the land in severality through the Dawes Act of 1887 and the later Dawes Commission of 1893. This process held an added national appeal in that it also opened up several millions of acres for settlement by non-Indians. By 1900 most of the policy goals of the reformers appeared to have been realized, and yet some 250,000 Indians remained an unassimilated, impoverished segment of the society. In summarizing this half-century effort Prucha holds that "The Christian reformers faced the crisis in American Indian policy with honesty and the best of intentions. With singleminded devotion to their cause, they brought forth their panaceas-land in severality, law, education, and efficient administration-and by united effort triumphantly won their way in Congress. With typical reformers' zeal they swept criticism and opposition aside, for they knew that they were supremely right. So much more tragic, then, was their ultimate failure."

Florida readers will search in vain for any mention of the Seminole remnant in this state which was late in attracting the attention of the reformers. It was not until 1891 that the Womens National Indian Association purchased land for a mission station at Immokalee. This mission was assumed by the Episcopal Church two years later, and it operated until 1914. However, the real work of Christianizing the Florida Indians was performed by native Baptist missionaries from Oklahoma who began coming in 1907, and had a congregation established by the 1930s. Although these later reform efforts in Florida are not mentioned, there are excellent sketches of the Womens National Indian Association and its leader Amelia Quinton, of Captain R. H. Pratt, the Indian educator whose report on the Florida Seminole in 1879 brought their presence to national notice, and of the Indian

Rights Association which played a significant role in the struggle to secure lands for the Seminoles early in this century.

Prucha's work succeeds in placing the effort to assimilate the Indian in the context of a middle-class, Protestant, Christian ethos which prevailed in American society until World War I. It is must reading for the historian who would understand the interplay of local Indian defense societies, such as those operating in Florida, with the national movement which spawned them. The general reader will find the book devoid of the polemics which pervade most contemporary works dealing with past American Indian policy, and thus may come to comprehend, though not accept, the motives of the reformers which fostered this tragic episode.

Florida Atlantic University

HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Indian-White Relations: A Persistant Paradox. Edited by Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1976. xx, 278 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, illustrations, commentary, discussion note, biographical sketches, appendix, index. \$15.00.)

This book, volume ten in the National Archives Conferences series, contains the papers and proceedings of the National Archives Conference on research in the history of Indian-white relations. As a rule, most of us can think of no duller reading than the proceedings of a conference. This book, however, is a credit to the authors and editors because it presents materials valuable for both the student and the professional historian.

I would suggest that the reader leave the foreword, preface, introduction, and Prucha's small article, "Doing Indian History," to the last, and begin with the six topical sections of the book. The first discusses resources related to American Indian history held by the National Archives and Records Service. The section provides a realistic background for people who are not already familiar with the organization and holdings of that vast institution. The second section deals with American Indian assimilation in the nineteenth century. The excellent articles by Herman J. Viola and Henry E. Fritz contribute a number of new and welcome insights.

Section three surveys Indian collections outside the National Archives and Records Service. C. Gregory Crampton and Angie Debo give reportorial surveys of Indian collections in the Duke Project and of major Indian record collections in Oklahoma. John C. Ewers, in a more interpretive essay, discusses "Artifacts and Pictures as Documents in the History of the Indian-White Relations." More historians who attempt to write American Indian history should heed the important contributions of this anthropologist. The fourth section, called "The Role of the Military," contains an essay by Robert M. Utley who discusses "The Frontier Army: John Ford or Arthur Penn?" His is the mature evaluation of a man who has long studied the subject.

The fifth section deals with recent research on Indian reservation policy. The papers by William T. Hagan and Kenneth R. Philp show good research, careful craftsmanship, and mature judgment. One of the greatest strengths of this section is the quality of the commentaries done by Roy W. Meyer, Mary E. Young, and W. David Baird. The last section includes material on recent policy, including the statement of Louis R. Bruce, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on the policy of the Bureau as of 1972. An essay by Lawrence C. Kelly entitled "John Collier and the Indian New Deal: An Assessment" makes a truly important contribution to the study of contemporary events. In addition to the topical section, the book contains a preface, introduction, a small article on doing Indian History, six printed introductions (of which at least three are superfluous), six discussion notes (well worth reading), biographical sketches, and an appendix.

This diverse material makes the book fragmented. However, the editors come off credibly. Serious scholars of American history will find the volume a research tool worthy of their attention.

University of Utah

FLOYD A. O'NEIL

The Natural Superiority of Southern Politicians: A Revisionist History. By David Leon Chandler. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977. 394 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, illustrations, index. \$10.00.)

My life is surfeited with the agony of reading books that I

wish I had written. This is one. The only relief from the pain comes in the knowledge that I would not have done it half so well, so that I can salve my wounds with the unguent of awareness that a good idea has been handled by a fine writer and an incisive thinker. In short, the book is both fascinating and suggestive. I suspect it will be referred to for years and that its title will become a cliche. If the book were more ponderous and less readable, even professional historians would hail it, but some may back away because it does excite the reader into turning the next page. Historians unfortunately are suspicious of most authors who can write a graceful sentence.

Thinking about *The Natural Superiority*, I can't help comparing its theme with the situation prevailing on the military field in the Civil War. The Union had every advantage except leadership, but the South held on and even threatened for four bitter years for little other reason than the fact that it had a stubborn, unyielding, adaptive officer corps that somehow blunted the implications of defeat, oftentimes forced Union troops to fight on southern terms, and generally neutralized northern assets.

So with politics. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the South should have been overwhelmed in Washintgon, but the miracle is that the South has so frequently set the political climate for the nation. By what right, in a government of the majority, has the comparative handful of southern politicians managed to prevail, to determine what issues shall be faced, what issues shall be delayed, what issues shall be ignored altogether? The remainder of the nation has had the votes; the South has called the shots. When the South has retreated, it has nevertheless fashioned a magnificent delaying action, looked at in the light of a contest of wills. And it has won at delay because it had leaders who knew how to make unlikely alliances (some would say "unholy"), who knew how to take advantage of the terrain (translate as "parliamentary rules"), and who fought always on guerilla terms, never as mass against mass.

The United States Senate provides an excellent example. Exclusive by its very constitutional arrangement, it has brought forth some enormously attractive members who became national figures but never became powerful senators. No, because they never were admitted to the Senate Club, that small core group that places loyalty to the Senate ahead even of politics and per-

sonal careers. As examples, Chandler, the author, points out Eugene McCarthy and Birch Bayh in modern times-men who "can conduct themselves with intelligence and courtesy and decorum"-as men who have never made it into the Club, while Russell Long "can pad around the Senate floor in his stockinged feet, half-crazed with drink, and remain not only accepted by but a ranking member of the Club" (page 254).

Why? Long belongs. He belongs because southern senators pretty well control membership of the inner group. Through a happy circumstance I once had the privilege of a couple of hours alone with Senator Hubert Humphrey, who told me that one reason he was so devoted to Lyndon B. Johnson, even to the point of damaging his own chances to become president, was that Johnson had brought him into the Club. They had come into the Senate together, more or less equal in rank and seniority. Johnson then made the Club because Senator Richard Russell of Georgia thought he belonged and Humphrey did not because he was from some far-off place called Minnesota. But Johnson reached out that long arm of his and guaranteed the Club that Humphrey was all right, and the result had considerable influence in the history of numerous political battlefields. If Humphrey had not joined the Club, he possibly would have developed into a solitary figure like the late Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, much admired nationally, much quoted by the press, but ineffectual in getting his views accepted.

The same thing held true in modern times with Sam Rayburn and his Board of Education. After work, Rayburn's clique would hold their board meetings in the speaker's offices to discuss everything from pending legislation to committee assignments. Here the decisions were made. Who belonged to the board? Only those who were sponsored by someone who could vouch for their soundness. Usually the sponsor was some Southerner. Harry Truman was sitting in a board meeting when he was notified that Franklin D. Roosevelt was dead and he was president.

What all this boils down to is that the nation's capital has been run like society in a small southern town. I can move into town as a legitimate intellectual, with a string of accomplishments a block long, and with all the money and good ideas that one person could possibly utilize in a lifetime. But I still cannot get accepted into the local country club, I still do not get invited

to advise with the town fathers, I am admired but shunned until some local leader of impeccable social credentials makes me his latest protege-says that I am all right. On my own I never would have become a factor in the town's society. So with the nation's political leadership. The remainder of the nation has owned the money, has frequently shown leadership in business and industry, has held prime administrative positions, and has issued national ukases. But the South has determined the force of the fiats, has quietly (sometimes) sabotaged those programs it does not like, and has exerted influence and strength far beyond its numbers.

This book will be read by professional Southerners with great glee. I just hope it will be read by non-Southerners who want to understand what has happened to them and by critical Southerners as a guide to stabilizing and continuing their power in more positive directions than has sometimes been the case in the past.

University of Texas at Austin

Joe B. Frantz

The Future Of History: Essays in the Vanderbilt University Centennial Symposium. Edited by Charles F. Delzell. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1977. xi, 263 pp. Preface, notes, notes on the contributors, index, \$13.95.)

As an observance of its centennial in 1975, Vanderbilt University held a symposium on the future of historical research and writing. It invited leading practitioners of various specialties within the discipline to present papers on the status and probable future of their specialties. These papers comprise this impressive volume. They deal with the interaction of history and the social sciences, intellectual history, southern history, Latin American history, Japanese history, the Renaissance and Reformation as examples of the problem of periodization, contemporary history, and American foreign policy. Taken together, they compare most favorably with Historical Studies Today, the volume of essays published in 1972, based on the series in Daedelus. Like those earlier essays, these reflect the strong influence of the French Annales school on many phases of historical writing. Lawrence Stone's perceptive comments in the present volume deal directly with this influence.

These essays, ably edited by Charles Delzell, demonstrate

mature judgments and sophisticated analyzes of the problems related to specialized fields. For those outside the specialties, the papers offer expert introductions to the problems and challenges inherent in each. For instance, Woodrow Borah informs us that growing professional maturity among scholars in Latin America has engendered in many a distaste for "exploitation" of their subjects by North American practitioners. The situation has parallels in this country among those black scholars who think that whites are trespassing when they write black history. A similar contribution comes from John W. Hall when he explains that the writing of Japanese history has emerged beyond the descriptive phase that makes Oriental institutions plausible to Occidentals. It now creates "contexts of comparability" that enable cross-cultural analysis and permits Japanese history to be studied as the basis for alternative modes of expression and behavior, as in literary, dramatic, and musical areas.

As revealing as are the essays dealing with non-American history, readers of this Quarterly will likely find most stimulating C. Vann Woodward's consideration of "The Future of Southern History." In offering perspective on its future, Woodward noted that in the last two decades, the writing on this topic has increased tremendously. His Origins of the New South contained a sixteen-page bibliography of secondary sources when it appeared in 1951. When a second edition was published in 1971, the comparable bibliogaphy had expanded to 112 pages. This vast increase of attention to southern history does not reflect merely a quickening of interest on the part of Southerners, but rather the sudden emergence of the field into "a position of central importance in national history" (p. 138) and that the field has attracted a disproportionate amount of first-rate talent. Woodward sees the increased interest in the field being generated from two sources, those fortuitous and inherent. In the former category were the civil rights movement and the migration of blacks from the South to northern cities. The culmination of these socially explosive forces served to heighten interest in their origins, which led directly to the aspects of southern history dealing with slavery. abolition, reconstruction, and race relations. Among the inherent sources of interest in southern history was the impulse to compare the plantation economy and slavery with those institutions as they existed elsewhere, such as in Brazil and the Caribbean. Given the richness of the themes of southern history, it has attracted platoons of quantifiers who have brought their equipment, some highly analytical and some highly flawed, to bear on central problems. For all the flaws in recent quantified work, some of it "brushing aside the legitimacy of the document," it has contributed to the immense vitality of this phase of American history.

University of Maryland

WALTER RUNDELL. JR.

Biocultural Adaptation in Prehistoric America. Edited by Robert L. Blakely. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977. 144 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, references, illustrations, tables, contributors, \$4.50.)

The book is a collection of papers by eight authors. Its primary objective is to discuss biocultural adaptations in prehistoric America: humans survive, not through culture or biological adaptation, but through biocultural adaptation. Since human adaptation takes place within the interface of biology, culture, and environment, there is collective strength in a synthetic approach to anthropological theory. In the six papers that follow, the goals are met successfully, the reader learns how the biological anthropologist can contribute significantly to archeological interpretation. For example, a skeleton might reveal a particular condition, but what was it about the culture and the environment that may have caused the condition? How is an individual likely to be affected in his or her ability to function in society as a result of the condition? The physical anthropologist might be able to supply important information about nutrition, diet, paleopathologies, dentition, aging, status, infanticide (perhaps even abortion), sexual dimorphism (that might disclose similarities or differences in the division of labor), burial practices, demography, population movement (e.g., immigration), and miscegenation.

Peeples points out in his article that biological anthropologists should be included when a research design is constructed and when it is executed in the field because through careful excavation, recovery, and analysis a human burial contains more anthropological information per cubic meter of deposit than any other type of archeological feature. Peeples also points out the

importance of asking new questions or making old inquiries in new ways.

Eliot Chapple, in the concluding article, cautions us about many statements made throughout the book: the papers have all relied heavily for their interpretation on a knowledge of the accounts available in historic records. Alternate possibilities should be considered because one cannot be sure of the continuities between history and prehistory. For example, he warns that high status does not always mean better nutrition nor do many grave goods always indicate high status. In defense of the other authors. however, Louise Robbins cautioned about attributing tooth wear to abrasive diet because chewing tobacco causes similar attrition in present-day societies. Blakely writing about demography stresses that alternative explanation should be considered and that societies cannot always be fitted to already existing models. Anthony Perzigian states that there is nothing magical about any of the techniques; what it boils down to is much hard work with no guarantees of the results. Many of the authors, including Robert Gilbert in his discussion of trace element analysis, warn that in most cases standards have not been established, and thus it is impossible to discern if prehistoric skeletal remains deviate from the norm. The archeologist might be guilty of using methods before the methods are ready to use.

Chapple's article should be studied by all archeologists. He emphasizes his apprehensions about the value of hypotheses that are generated with little raw data: "It is common place in statistics to emphasize that the place to begin is with the raw frequency distributions . . . it is a rule that is usually ignored." A comparison of the distributions themselves is probably more significant than "the blind use of cookbook statistics."

I do not agree with Chapple that the emphasis of interpretation should be on individuals. The value of interpretation to social scientists will depend upon the degree to which we can state that individuals form a pattern and not an idiosyncratic occurrence. Nor do I agree with Chapple's statement that he finds no "justification for the popular stereotype that only the human species has culture." No one has demonstrated conclusively to me that other animals communicate symbolically or accumulate knowledge that is passed on from generation to generation and are able to build complex systems we call culture.

This reviewer would recommend this book as an important contribution that should be read by all archeologists whether they will be excavating human remains or not. In addition, the book offers an up-to-date review of a number of problems relating to the prehistory of the southeastern United States.

University of Florida

BARBARA A. PURDY

BOOK NOTES

The Forgotten Frontier: Florida Through the Lens of Ralph Middleton Munroe is by Arva Parks of Miami, a member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society. Ralph Munroe, the subject of her study, visited Florida first in 1877, where he found the "simple and genuine life." A few years later he brought his ailing wife to South Florida hoping she could regain her health there. After her death he visited Florida every winter, and then in 1899 he decided to make it his permanent home. Munroe was one of the founders of Cocoanut Grove. He became a well-known yachtsman, writer, sailboat designer, and renowned conservationist. He was also an excellent photographer, and was one of the earliest to record with a lens the scenes in and around Biscayne Bay and the Florida Keys. Ms. Parks has assembled 230 of Munroe's best photographs. They cover the period from the 1880s to 1900. The quality of the photography is excellent, and the pictures record a way of life that began to disappear when the railroads moved into the area, opening it for settlement and development. Many of the pictures are being printed for the first time, and they include the Seminoles, blacks, early tourists, and women and children. Ms. Parks's text is as excellent and as interesting as Munroe's photographs. Published by Banyan Books, Miami, Forgotten Frontier sells for \$25.00.

The Building of Castillo de San Marcos is by Luis R. Arana and Albert Manucy, both well-known Florida historians. The Castillo, which became a National Monument in 1924 and which is visited by nearly 1,000,000 people annually, was started

in 1671 when Queen Marianna ordered Florida to be fortified. There was to be a main castillo at St. Augustine, a second fort to control the harbor mouth, and a third to prevent troop landings. Work on the Castillo proceeded slowly, and there were many interruptions before it was completed in 1695. The cost was about \$220,000. The Castillo became an impregnable fortress, and although besieged on several occasions, it was never captured by military force. An earlier addition of this booklet, written by Albert Manucy, was published in 1942 in the *Interpretative Series* of the National Parks Service. This new enlarged version, which includes materials added by Luis Arana, was published by Eastern National Park and Monument Association for Castillo de San Marcos Monument. It may be ordered from the Castillo Shop, Box M, St. Augustine, Florida 32084. The price is \$1.75.

The Life of John E. Rovensky, Banker and Industrialist, is by Donald L. Kemmerer of the University of Illinois. Rovensky was born in 1880, the Gilded Age, and his career terminates with his death in 1970, the Atomic Age. He was an influential banker and industrialist. Mr. Rovensky loved the good life, and he spent considerable time in Florida, mostly in Palm Beach. His philanthrophy included several Florida organizations, such as Good Samaritan Hospital in West Palm Beach. Mr. Rovensky's second wife, Maisie, had earlier been married to Morton F. Plant, whose father, Henry F. Plant, built the Tampa Bay Hotel and was the founder of the Plant system, later the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. The book was published by Stipes Publishing Company, Champaign, Illinois, and it sells for \$12.00.

Charles Vignoles was appointed surveyor and civil engineer for St. Augustine in August 1821, just one month after the American flag was raised over Florida. As a cartographer he saw the need for a new map of the territory which he prepared. He also wrote *Observations Upon the Floridas*, one of the volumes being published in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series. John Hebron Moore of Florida State University is the editor of this new edition, and he has written an introduction. *Observations* includes a short history of Florida, but it mainly

provides the kind of information that a settler contemplating moving to Florida would want to have. The facsimile also includes an article on Florida co-authored by Vignoles for the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*. *Observations Upon the Floridas* was published by the University of Florida Press, and it sells for \$8.50.

A Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Oceola Nikkanochee is another of the volumes in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series published by the University of Florida Press. It was written by Dr. Andrew Welch, an English physician who lived in and near Jacksonville at the time of the Second Seminole War. His study tells of the relationship of a young Indian boy and a white Florida family. Welch was the author of Narrative of the Life and Sufferings of Mrs. Jane Johns and A Narrative of the Life of Benjamin Benson which are also included in this facsimile volume. Frank Laumer, editor of this facsimile, has written an extensive introduction to the book. The volume sells for \$12.00.

Florida: A Perspective, by David R. Hull, Jr. and Wilbert Annis, was prepared for the Florida Ocean Science Institute as part of a continuing assessment of the dynamics and problem issues of Florida. The Institute (FOSI) is engaged in environmental marine research, health testing, and rehabilitative work with young people who are experiencing behavioral problems. This monograph examines the factors responsible for the rapid growth of Florida since 1960, and describes resources, government, social programs, and, in a special section, the economic problems of the state. There is a selected bibliography in addition to graphs and tables. Order from FOSI, 1500 Southeast 3rd Court, Suite 202, Deerfield Beach, Florida 33441. The price is \$4.95.

Jake Gaither: America's Most Famous Black Coach, by George E. Curry, is the story of Alonzo Smith Gaither, former head football coach and athletic director of Florida A & M University. He was voted into the Football Foundation Hall of Fame in 1975, the first coach of a predominantly black college to be so honored. After a quarter of a century of coaching at Florida A & M, Gaither had chalked up the enviable record

of having won eighty-five per cent of his games; he never had a losing season. When he retired in 1973, his record was better than that of any active coach in the country. While this is primarily a sports book, it describes Gaither's early life and details his activities in Tallahassee and at Florida A & M. He joined the staff in 1937, after receiving a graduate degree from Ohio State University. Many of Gaither's players went on to become professional football stars. These include Willie Galimore (Chicago Bears), Bob Hayes (Dallas Cowboys), and Hewritt Dixon (Oakland Raiders). Another Florida A & M alumnus, Althea Gibson, was the first black to win tennis championships at Wimbledon and Forest Hills. She played tennis and basketball at Florida A & M on scholarship, and Coach Gaither served as her counselor and advisor. Jake Gaither was published by Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, and it sells for \$7.95.

Lafayette County, History and Heritage, a Bicentennial publication, was dedicated to the late Lloyd Holmes Melton, Jr., the author of a history of Lafayette County which appeared first as a newspaper series (forty-six articles). These articles have been reproduced together with other newspaper stories relating to churches, civic clubs, banks, and the schools of the area. The book is being distributed by the Mayo Rotary Club, Box 424, Mayo, Florida 32066, and Southeastern Library Service, Box 44, Gainesville, Florida 32602.

Sanibel and Captiva, Enchanting Islands is by Richard N. Campen, author and photographer, who, with his wife, has been a visitor to the area for many years. His book was published by West Summit Press, 27 West Summit Street, Chagrin Falls, Ohio 44022. When Mr. Campen first visited the islands the causeway connecting them to the mainland was not yet completed, and the area was just beginning to be developed. The photographs, many in color, reveal the beauty of the sea, birds, vegetation, and the marine life of the islands. Sanibel and Captiva are famous for their shells, and the pictures show shellers looking for treasures in tidal pools and bars. Mr. Campen's narrative is from entries made in his journal in 1976-1977. The book sells for \$8.95.

How Florida Got Its Shape, by John Dorschner, was published originally as an article in *Tropic Magazine*. It briefly examines the historical events which helped to shape the northern boundary of Florida. It was printed for the Pensacola Historical Society, and may be ordered from the office at 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

The Pensacola Historical Society has also published *German Mercenaries in Pensacola During the American Revolution,* 1779-1781. This was translated in 1938 by Louis Krupp from *Die Deutschen Huefstrippen in Nordenamerikanischen Befreinngskriege,* 1776 bis 1783 (1863) by Max von Elking. Mary Lou Robison Fleming, who helped with the original translation, has written an introduction.

Indians of North and South America, by Carolyn E. Wolf and Karen R. Folk, is a bibliography of the extensive holdings of Indian materials in the Willard E. Yager Library-Museum at Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York. More than 4,000 books, monographs, documents, and articles are included in the collection. There are many items relating to Florida and southeastern Indians, including the Seminole, Creek, Choctaw, Catawba, and Chickasaw. There is both a title and a subject index. All materials in the Library-Museum circulate and are available through interlibrary loans. Published by Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, New Jersey, this bibliography sells for \$22.50.

The Seminole Tribe of Florida was compiled and distributed at the twentieth anniversary celebration of the organization of the Seminole Tribe of Florida held in Fort Lauderdale, August 20, 1977. It includes important data relating to the tribal organization and leaders. There is a list of the superintendents beginning with Louise Pierpont, medicine men, the Constitutional Committee, the tribal council, and members of the board. In 1957 Billy Osceola was named as the first chairman, and Betty Mae Jumper became vice-chairman. Howard E. Tommie is presently chairman of the Tribal Council and Bill Osceola serves as vice-chairman. The Narrative History in Miniature of the Seminole Indians of Florida by Mrs. Frank Stranahan is also included in this publication. It may be ordered from

the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Inc., 850 Northeast 12th Avenue Extended (Holiday Park), Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33034. The price is \$3.00, postage included.

The History of St. Joseph's Church and Parish, 1891-1977 is by Martin De Porres Lewis. St. Joseph's Colored Society was founded during the 1880s as part of St. Michael's Church of Pensacola. St. Joseph's Church developed out of the Society. The cause for the founding of St. Joseph's is not known. Perhaps St. Michael's was becoming overcrowded and there was a need for another church, or possibly the creoles and blacks of St. Michael's were not allowed to take an active part in church activities. The first St. Joseph's church was dedicated in 1892, and a larger building was dedicated two years later. This booklet records the religious, educational, and welfare activities of St. Joseph's in the years since its founding. Order from the author, 1520 East Cross Street, Pensacola, Florida 32503. The cost is \$2.50.

In 1971 Escambia County initiated a project to review and index all its historic documents. Ernie Lee Magaha, clerk of the Circuit Court and County Court, was placed in charge of the program; Leora M. Sutton became historical researcher. Over 7,000 court cases and 1,300 wills have been indexed. Several monographs and articles have resulted from this work, including *Blacks and Slavery in Pensacola, 1780-1800; Pedro de Alba; Wreath of Laurel or Cup* of *Hemlock;* and *Blocks 3 & 11, Old City Plat of Pensacola.* There is also a report of the archeological excavations of Panton, Leslie and Company. For information on the project and the publications, write Mr. Magaha, Room 205, Courthouse Annex, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

Colonial Life on the Georgia Coast, by Nick Honerkamp, was published by the Fort Frederica Association, Inc. Archeologists from the University of Florida were associated with the project excavating the Thomas Hird site at Frederica. Hird arrived with his family there in 1736. He was listed as a dyer, but he also farmed and may have raised livestock. This booklet describes the archeological activities and the artifacts the archeologists found. It may be ordered from the Association, Route 4, Box 286-C, St. Simon, Georgia 31522, for 60 cents.

Temples of Democracy: The State Capitols of the USA is a compendium by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and William Seale of photographs and text on every state capitol. It includes some material on Florida's Historic Capitol. Part of this building. one of the oldest state capitols in the nation, still stands in Tallahassee although it is now threatened with demolition. The Florida Capitol, constructed in the 1840s, is described as an "impressive carpenter-built state house." It became the model for other state and municipal buildings constructed throughout the West, including one at Benicia, California, built in 1852. The authors refer to Charles J. Latrobe. Benjamin Latrobe's nephew, who visited Tallahassee in the 1830s. He noted that the legislators frequented the groggeries near the Capitol where they partook of "'democratic drinks," including the mint julep, mint sling, bitters, hailstone, snowstorm, apple toddy, punch, Tom and Jerry, and eggnog, in defiance of the Tallahassee Temperance Society. There is a picture of the Capitol as it appeared about 1875. The book sells for \$29.95, and it was published by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., New York.

Frontier Claims in the Lower South is a record of claims filed by citizens of Alabama and Mississippi resulting from depredations by the Creek Indians during the War of 1812. The material was compiled by Richard C. Lackey, with an introduction by John D. W. Guice. It is available from Polyanthos, Inc., P. O. Drawer 51359, New Orleans, Louisiana 70151. The price is \$12.50.

Sinful Tunes and Spirituals, Black Folk Music to the Civil War, by Dena J. Epstein, includes a substantial mass of historical evidence, much of it previously unknown to musicologists and historians of black culture, of the development of black music in the United States. One boat song describes a trip up the St. Johns River, sometime around 1835, just as the Second Seminole War was beginning. The vessel, manned by blacks, was carrying a load of muskets for the settlers who were being threatened by the Indians. The author also notes that Sidney Lanier in his Florida . . . A Complete Hand-Book and Guide listed whistling as a form of black music and that Zephaniah Kingsley of Fort George Island, Florida, encouraged "dancing,

merriment, and dress" among the slaves on his St. Johns River plantations. The book includes pictures and musical examples. It was published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, and it sells for \$17.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Florida Confederation Workshops

Elizabeth K. Ehrbar, chairperson of the Florida Confederation of Historical Societies, has announced programs for forthcoming workshops. The first will be held in Tallahassee, February 16, 17, 18, 1978, in cooperation with the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Department of State; the Division of Recreation and Parks, Department of Natural Resources; and the Tallahassee Preservation Board. Sessions are planned with the staffs of the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, and Interpretative Exhibits, Division of Recreation and Parks. There will be a visit with Mrs. Joan Morris, director of the State Photographic Archives in the Strozier Library, Florida State University, and tours of the New Capitol, the R. A. Gray Building, and the museum at San Marcos de Apalachee State Historic Site, Saint Marks, Nancy Dobson, director of the Tallahassee Preservation Board will preside at the luncheon on Friday, February 17. Welcoming the participants will be L. Ross Morrell, acting director of the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, and Dr. Thelma Peters, president of the Florida Historical Society. The Downtown Holiday Inn, Tallahassee, will be the conference hotel. The workshop will be available to members for \$10.00 and to non-members for \$25.00. For registration and information write to Mrs. Ehrbar, Box 36, Saint Marks, Florida 32355.

There will be a second Confederation workshop held in Pensacola on May 3, 1978, at the time of the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. There will be sessions on historical interpretation, on how to set up trust funds, and to raise funds, and on problems facing historical societies and ways to solve those problems. James A. Stevenson, chief of Interpretative Services, and Elizabeth Ehrbar, exhibits supervisor, Division of Recreation and Parks; Randy Nimnicht, director, Historical Association of South Florida, Inc.; and Norm LeCoe, an attorney from Gainesville, will be speakers. The Sheraton Inn, Pensacola, will be the site of the conference. This workshop is

being held in cooperation with the Pensacola Historical Society.

The Florida Confederation of Historical Societies is one of the activities sponsored by the Florida Historical Society. Membership is available to all historical societies and agencies, libraries, museums, archives, and other interested organizations. For information write Ms. Margaret Burgess, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620.

Florida College Teachers of History

The annual meeting of the Florida College Teachers of History will be held at Rollins College in Winter Park on February 3-4, 1978. Headquarters will be the Langford Hotel, which is adjacent to the campus. There will be panels on pop culture and history; also on freedom and suppression (which will deal with apartheid in South Africa, Nazi-concentration camps, the Stalinist purges, and the black experience in the nineteenth century). A third session will include a discussion of religious dissent as it relates to Russian history. There will be a buffet dinner on Friday evening and a luncheon Saturday. Dr. John L. Evans, Department of History, Florida Technological University, is program chairman. Charles E. Duesner of Hillsborough Community College is president of the Florida College Teachers of History, Dr. Elmar B. Fetscher, Florida Technological University, is vice-president, and Edward F. Keuchel of Florida State University is secretary-treasurer.

Jacksonville History Conference

The second conference on Jacksonville history will be held at Jacksonville University, February 24-25, 1978. Papers will deal with the railroad and insurance histories of Jacksonville; blacks, Cubans, and Jews in Jacksonville; women's history; fine arts; the history of the St. Johns River; governmental history; public housing; and the Navy in Jacksonville. There will be workshops on genealogy, oral history, and teaching history through utilization of museum exhibits. There will also be a session on historic sites and structures of Duval County. Among those reading papers and serving as panelists and

commentators are Sam Frank, John Weldon, Jacob F. Bryan, III, James B. Crooks, Richard Bowers, Alton Yates, Roberto Andrade, Sidney Lefkowitz, James Olson, Frances Kinne, Anne Saltmarsh, Doris Wilson, Daniel Schafer, Donald Wisdom, George E. Buker, Carol Desmordt, J. S. Scott, Jr., Ann Grimes, Ed Bell, Mark Gluckman, Wayne Wood, Herschel E. Shepard, Jr., Ivan Clare, John Van Ness, Robert Carius, Joan Carver, Dena Snodgrass, and Frederic S. Aldridge. President Robert A. Spiro of Jacksonville University will welcome the conference participants. Dr. Aldridge and Dr. Buker are program chairmen. For copies of the program and information about the conference write in care of the Department of History, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, Florida 32211.

State and Local History Awards

The American Association for State and Local History at its national meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, September 1977, voted Awards of Merit to Marjory Stoneman Douglas of Coconut Grove and Dr. Alfred Jackson Hanna of Winter Park, and Certificates of Commendation to Dr. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Florida Atlantic University, and WRUF Radio Center, University of Florida. These national awards were in recognition of superior achievement and quality in preserving and interpreting state, provincial, and local history, Mrs. Douglas's award was the result of her career as a renowned conservationist and as a writer whose short stories, histories, and novels have illuminated Florida's natural, social, and cultural history. Dr. Hanna, Professor Emeritus of Rollins College, was honored for the many years that he has dedicated to the study, collecting, and writing of Florida history. In addition to the volumes which he co-authored with his wife. Kathryn Abby Hanna, on Lake Okeechobee and Florida's east coast, Dr. Hanna is known for his study of Achilles Murat, A Prince in Their Midst, and Flight Into Oblivion, the history of the final days of the Confederate government and cabinet.

Radio Center of the University of Florida produced as a Bicentennial project a series of fifty-two history tapes describing Florida's historic buildings and sites. "It Happened Here," was broadcast by radio stations throughout Florida. Dr. Kersey's

book *Pelts, Plumes, and Hides: White Traders Among the Semi-nole Indians, 1870-1930* (University Presses of Florida, 1975) was the basis for the award he received. All of the certificates will be presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Pensacola, May 5-6, 1978.

Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference

The eighth Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will convene in Pensacola, October 5-6, 1978. The conference is co-sponsored by the Escambia County School Board. Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola Junior College, and the University of West Florida. The general topic of the conference is "Ethnic Minorities in Gulf Coast Society." The major discussion areas will be "Strangers and the Southern Eden," "Ideologies of Race and Ethnicity in the South," "Italians and Mexicans in the Melting Pot," "Greeks, Cubans, and Jews along the Gulf Coast," and "Ethnic Stereotyping." Willard B. Gatewood, George E. Pozzetta, William F. Holmes, David D. Mays, George N. Green, William I. Hair, Ted Carageorge, L. Glenn Westfall, Wayne Flynt, and Jane E. Dysart are among the scheduled participants. Jerrell H. Shofner, Florida Technological University, is program chairman. Further information and copies of the Proceedings of the seven previous conferences are available by writing to the general chairman, Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola, Florida 32504.

Announcements and Activities

The City of Fort Lauderdale, in cooperation with the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, has published *A Tour through History* as a special Bicentennial project. It is a waterway guide to important monuments and sites along the New River, Intracoastal Waterway, Middle River, and the Dania Cutoff Canal. There is also a map. All of the places are identified with seawall signs marked with a special logo. Research was supervised by Mrs. Gary Lang.

The Tampa Historical Society presented its D. B. McKay

Award for Distinguished Contribution to Florida History to Dr. James Covington of the University of Tampa. This announcement was made at the seventh annual dinner meeting of the Society held November 29, 1977. Several of Dr. Covington's articles on Florida Seminoles have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and his history of the Third Seminole War has been accepted for publication. Dr. L. Glenn Westfall is president of the Tampa Historical Society.

The Pat Dodson Complex was dedicated at the University of West Florida, November 10, 1977. Dodson played a major role in the redevelopment of Historic Pensacola. He organized and chaired the Governor's Conference on Development of Florida's Historical Resources in 1968, and was the first chairman of the Pensacola Historical Restoration Preservation Commission. He chaired both the steering committee for Florida's participation in the Bicentennial and the Florida Bicentennial Commission in 1970-1972. He also served as secretary of the Florida Historical Society. In recognition of these contributions, he received an Award of Merit in 1975 from the American Association for State and Local History.

The 1978 annual meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society will be held in Fort Walton Beach on April 1, 1978. The banquet speaker will be Dr. Charles Fairbanks.

The Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami, has received a grant of \$375,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities for the planning, development, and furnishing of the new museum being planned for the Downtown Cultural Center. The Historical Museum will be housed in a separate building in the Center which will provide more than triple its present space.

The Georgia Department of Archives and History will hold its twelfth annual Institute in Atlanta from July 24 to August 18, 1978. The four-week program offers comprehensive training in basic concepts and practices of archival administration, research use, and the management of traditional and modern documentary materials. Record control and scheduling, reference services, preservation techniques, and archival administration are other topics studied. Application deadline is May 15, 1978. For further information write to the Training Officer, Archives Institute, Georgia Department of Archives and History, 330 Capitol Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia 30334.

The Confederate Memorial Literary Society announces its awards for historical research and writing published during the year 1977 on the period of the Confederate States of America. Deadline for entry is March 1, 1978. The Jefferson Davis Award is for a book-length narrative history, the Founders Award is for work in the area of research or editing of primary sources resulting in publication of one or more volumes, and the Award of Merit is for a published article or monograph. For information, write Museum of the Confederacy, 1201 East Clay Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219.

Penn School was established as a school to educate the freedmen after the Civil War on St. Helena Island, off the coast of South Carolina. The institution, which has continued to the present, has been a major cultural and social force in the offshore islands stretching from Charleston south to Savannah. The Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has recently completed microfilming all of the papers and photographs connected with Penn School, under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The thirty-three reels of microfilm and the forty-two page guide are available for purchase from the Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, 024A, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

The Women in Louisiana Collection, a research and resource facility for women's programs and for the enrichment of Louisiana Studies, has been established at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, as a division of the Center for Louisiana Studies. It is the first women's archives to be established in the state. The Collection hopes to add letters, diaries, memoirs, household records, organizational records, and the papers of individual Louisiana women representing business, the professions, and the arts. Anyone with materials to deposit or donate may contact Dr. Vaughan Baker, Dupre Library, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, Louisiana 70504.

The Second Georgia Studies Symposium will be held February 3-4, 1978, at Georgia State University, Atlanta. This will be a multidisciplinary gathering of scholars interested in the study of the people and culture of Georgia. For information write Sue Peters, Division of Public Service, Georgia State University, University Plaza, Atlanta, Georgia 30303 (telephone 404-658-3466).

The sixth annual General W. S. Brown Memorial Military History Conference will be held February 4, 1978, at the University of Alabama Ferguson Center. The conference is entitled "The Role of the Military in Modern World Affairs: The Influence of Weaponry upon Modern Warfare." For information write George M. Faulk, P. O. Box 2967, University, Alabama 35486.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 29 United States Code)

'Title of Publication: THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY Date of Filing: September 21, 1977.

1Frequency of Issue: 4 times per year.

iLocation of Known Office of Publication: University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620.

Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, 4202 E. Fowler Avenue, Tampa, Florida 33620. *Editor:* Dr. Samuel Proctor, P.O. Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville,

Florida 32604

Managing Editor: Dr. Samuel Proctor, P.O. Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604.

Owner: Florida Historical Society.

Known Bondholders, Mortgagees and Other Security Holders: None.

Circulation:	Average No. Copies Co Each Issue During P Preceding 12 Months	ublished Nearest <i>to</i>
A. Total No. Copies Printed B. Paid Circulation 1. Sales Through Dealers and carries, Street Vendors and Counter Sales	1829	1859
2. Mail Subscriptions	1684	1686
C. Total Paid Circulation D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or Other Means Samples, Complimentary,	1684	1686
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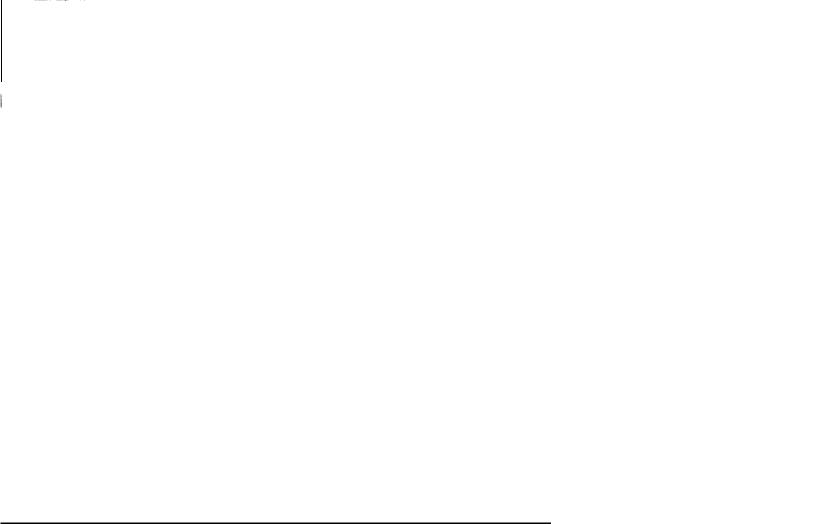
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1978			
Jan. 14-15	Florida Folk Arts Conference	White Springs	
Feb. 3-4	Florida College Teachers of History Meeting	Winter Park	
Feb. 16-18	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies- Workshop	Tallahassee	
Feb. 24-25	Second Annual Jacksonville History Conference	Jacksonville	
April 1	Florida Anthropological Society Meeting	Fort Walton Beach	
April 12-15	Organization of American Historians	New York City	
May 3	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies- Workshop	Pensacola	
May 5-6	FLORIDA HISTORI- CAL SOCIETY-76th ANNUAL MEETING	Pensacola	
Sept. 19-23	American Association for State and Local History Annual Meeting	Springfield, Illinois	
Oct. 5-6	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola	

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