The Florida Historical Quarterly

October 1978

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COVER

The Fourth of July parade down Pine Street (now North Second Street) in Fort Pierce in 1905 celebrates the formation of St. Lucie County. The county had been formed originally in 1844, and its name was changed to Brevard in 1855. It was recreated on May 24, 1905, as the forty-sixth county in Florida. The photograph shows the Fort Pierce Band, led on horseback by Lee Coats. Courtesy of the St. Lucie County Historical Museum, Fort Pierce.

The Florida Historical Quarterly

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LVII, Number 2 October 1978

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FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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CUBANS IN TAMPA: FROM EXILES TO IMMIGRANTS, 1892-1901

by LOUIS A. PEREZ, JR. *

THE TEN YEARS WAR which began in 1868 came to an unheralded end in the interior of Camaguey Province in eastern Cuba. A decade after the "Grito de Yara," Cubans and Spaniards met in the remote village of Zanjon to put a formal, if only ceremonial, end to the ill-fated struggle for Cuban independence. The Pact of Zanjon in 1878 brought to an end one cycle of immigration and precipitated the onset of another. The outbreak of hostilities in Cuba in 1868 set into motion the first in a series of population dislocations. Separatists unable to participate in the armed struggle, together with thousands of sympathizers seeking to escape the anticipated wrath of Spanish colonial administration, scattered throughout Europe, Latin America, and the United States. By the end of the first year of armed struggle, some 100,000 Cubans had sought refuge abroad. [1]

A peculiar broadcast fixed the distribution of Cuban exiles. A small group of separatists, largely of patrician origins, wealthy, and capable of enjoying a felicitous exile, settled in Europe. Other separatists, consisting in the main of middle class professionals and businessmen, emigrated to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. A third group, by far the largest, consisted of Cuban workers. Unable to sustain exile without both employment and a dependable source of income, these workers tended to settle in the southeastern portion of the United States, most notably Florida-first Key West and later Tampa.

Political unrest in Cuba unfolded against a larger economic drama. By the middle of the nineteenth century, key sectors of the Cuban economy had become dependent on the North American market. Economic dislocation in the United States reverb-

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* Mr. Perez is professor of history at the University of South Florida, Tampa.

1. Fernando Portuondo del Prado, *Historia de Cuba*, 6th ed. (Havana, 1957), 438.

erated directly, and often with calamitous repercussions, in Cuba. The panic of 1857 in the United States precipitated pressure for higher tariff duties on items manufactured abroad. [2] During the Civil War, moreover, a succession of laws raised the average rate of tariff on dutiable goods to a high of 40.3 per cent. The effect on the Havana cigar industry was immediate. Panic gripped the manufacturers, and many factories went into bankruptcy and ceased operations. [3]

The disruption of the Havana factories resulted in a major reorganization of the industry. Several of the more resourceful manufacturers, seeking to penetrate the high tariff wall, relocated their operations in the United States. Since the 1830s, Key West had served as a site of modest cigar manufacturing. [4] In the 1860s the city provided Cuban manufacturers an ideal setting for the production of cigars. Key West offered easy access to the tobacco regions of western Cuba and the commercial centers of Havana. Moreover, the labor required to produce the much-coveted Havana cigar was readily available. In 1869, as the war in Cuba deepened, the Spanish cigar manufacturer Vicente Martinez Ybor left Havana and established his El Principe de Gales factory in Key West.[5] From this modest start, Key West emerged within a decade as the major cigar manufacturing center in the United States. [6]

Almost from its inception, the fate of the cigar industry in the United States was very much linked to developments in Cuba. Repression of Cuban separatists during the Ten Years

2. For a discussion of economic conditions of the period, see George W. Van Vleck, *The Panic of 1857* (New York, 1943).
3. Julio LeRiverend, *Historia economica de Cuba,* 2nd ed. (Havana, 1965), 167-96.
4. For the early antecedents of cigar manufacturing in Key West, see Gerardo Castellanos G., *Motivos de Cayo Hueso: contribucion a la historia de la emigracion revolucionarias cubanas en los Estados Unidos* (Havana, 1935).
5. Manuel Deulofeo, *Heroes del destierro. La emigracion: notas historicas* (Cienfuegos, 1904), 11. For a complete study of Vicente Martinez Ybor, see Glenn Westfall, "Don Vicente Martinez Ybor, the Man and His Empire: The Development of the Clear Havana Industry in Cuba and Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1977).
6. Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1973), 117-18. See also Joseph M. Leon, "The Cigar Industry and Cigar Leaf Tobacco in Florida During the Nineteenth Century" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1962), and Westfall, "Don Vicente Martinez Ybor, the Man and His Empire."

War contributed to swelling the exile population.[7] As wartime conditions in Cuba forced Havana cigar factories to close, many unemployed workers migrated to Key West in search of work.

Similarly, the end of the Ten Years War had far-reaching consequences on the Cuban community in Key West. After the Pact of Zanjon, hope for Cuban independence in the foreseeable future waned among all but the most zealous patriots. The pact had released many exiled separatists of further active commitment to the cause of independence. Nowhere did this express itself more dramatically than among the cigarworkers in Key West. Patriotic ardor after 1878 yielded increasingly to labor militancy.

The emigre cigarworkers in Florida had long been committed to a tradition of militant trade unionism. A heightened sense of class consciousness and a keen political awareness propelled them into the vanguard position of proletarian struggles. The esprit of skilled workers, pioneer trade unionism among cigarworkers, and the central place occupied by the reader, or *lector,* served to promote a solidarity uncommon among Cuban laborers.[8]

In the years following the Zanjon Pact, there was a resurgence of militancy among the cigarworkers. New organizations emerged to advance their interests. As early as 1865, a Cuban cigarworker, Saturnino Martinez, founded the weekly newspaper *La Aurora.*[9] A year later, cigarworkers in Havana Province organized a number of associations, including the Workingmen's Mutual Aid Society of Havana, the Brotherhood of Santiago de Las Vegas, and the Workingmen's Society of San Antonio de Los Banos. In 1878, the workers founded the Worker's Guild and the Workmen's Center. That same year, tobacco selectors founded the Society of Selectors. In 1892, cigarmakers organized the first workers convention in Havana.

These activities in Havana had immediate repercussions in Key West. The nearness of the island and the frequency of travel between Cuba and Florida, together with family and work

7. Martin Duarte Hurtado, "La lucha de los tabaqueros en Tampa y Cayo Hueso," *Granma,* January 2, 1967.
8. See Louis A. Perez, Jr., "Reminiscences of a 'Lector': Cuban Cigar Workers in Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LII (April 1975), 443-49.
9. Jose Antonio Portuondo, *'La Aurora' y los comienzos de la prensa y de la organizacion obrera en Cuba* (Havana, 1961), 23-115.

ties, combined to make the world of the cigarworkers on both sides of the Florida Straits a single universe. By the mid-1880s, strikes and work stoppages in the Key West industry had become commonplace. Beset by labor problems, several manufacturers launched a search for a new site for their factories. In 1885, Vicente Martinez Ybor settled on a forty-acre tract of land east of Tampa.[10] Other manufacturers followed, and within a year, two new cigar factories commenced production of the Havana cigar in Tampa. In 1889, a prolonged and violent strike in Key West resulted in a number of other manufacturers moving to Tampa. Another strike in 1894 led to the addition of still more factories in Tampa.

The new industry in Ybor City soon came to possess many of the features of the pre-industrial production system. A distinctive Latin quality of paternalism, prevalent throughout the pre-industrial Hispanic world, established the tone of early labor-management relations in Ybor City and West Tampa. Martinez Ybor soon acquired all the characteristics of a benevolent *patron,* fully solicitous of the needs of his employees. Newly-constructed homes, subsidized by Martinez Ybor, were made available to workers at modest prices and in interest-free installment plans.[11] Reminiscent of the proto-typical Latin American patron, Martinez Ybor took personal interest in the well-being of his employees, often serving as godfather to workers' children, making emergency cash advances to needy workers, and sometimes contributing to the funeral expenses of his employees. Social ties further strengthened the relationship between the patron and his workers. "When Vicente Martinez Ybor sensed restlessness among his employees," one writer noted, he "would invite the workers to his large home for a picnic."[12] At Christmas time, he dispatched wagons laden with gifts of suckling pigs and pastries for his employees and their families.[13]

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10. For a detailed description of the origins of Ybor City, see Durwood Long, "The Historical Beginning of Ybor City and Modern Tampa," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLIX (April 1971), 31-41. See also Emilio de Rio, *Yo fui uno de los fundadores de Ybor City* ,Tampa, 1950).
11. "Life History of Mr. John Cacciatore" (Ms., Federal Writers Project, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library), 3. See also Joan Marie Steffy, "The Cuban Immigration of Tampa, Florida, 1886-1898" (M.A. thesis, University of South Florida, 1975), 14-15.
12. Steffy, "Cuban Immigration of Tampa Florida," 25.
13. Gloria Jahoda, *River of the Golden Ibis* (New York, 1973), 223.

Cigar factories in Tampa were only a few years old when the cause of *Cuba Libre* revived exiles' passions. Indeed, the reorganization of the Florida cigar industry occurred almost simultaneously with the resurgence of independence sentiment. Largely inspired by Jose Marti, the exile separatist leadership worked tirelessly to rekindle the patriotic zeal among expatriate Cubans. Few responded to Marti's appeal with more enthusiasm than the cigarworkers in Florida. Subsuming into his nationalism a vague radical populism, Marti appealed directly to the exiled cigarworkers to serve as the cutting edge of the independence movement.

The drive for independence in the 1880s and 1890s displayed several notable features distinguishing it from the effort mounted in 1868. The movement for Cuba Libre at the end of the nineteenth century received on the whole its major impetus from Cubans residing outside the island. [14] Mobilized by Marti, they provided the initial leadership for independence. Marti introduced into the new drive for independence, moreover, distinctive populist and radical sentiments. New populist crosscurrents stirred separatist ranks. For Marti, Cuba Libre signified not only a nation free of Spanish rule, but also a country from which racism, exploitation, and oppression had been eliminated. [15] No other sector of the exiled patriots was more disposed by temperament and tradition to identify with Marti's version of Cuba Libre than the Florida cigarworkers. [16]

Marti made the first of a series of visits to Key West and Tampa in early 1892. He discovered that he had not misplaced his confidence. By the end of the year, during a visit to Tampa, Marti announced the creation of the Cuban Revolutionary party (PRC), dedicated to the winning of Cuban independence. [17] For

14. For the best single study of the Cuban exiles and the war for independence, see Juan J. E. Casasus, *La emigracion cubana y la independencia de Cuba* (Havana, 1953).
15. See "Pobres y ricos," "Sobre negros y blancos," and "Mi raza," in Jose Marti, *Obras completas,* edited by Jorge Quintana, 5 vols. (Caracas, 1964), I, pt. 2.
16. "El obrero cubano," Marti, *Obras completas,* I, pt. 2, 537-74.
17. Fanny Azcuy, *El Partido Revolucionario y la independencia de Cuba* (Havana, 1930), 47-68. See also Nestor Carbonell y Rivero, *Tampa, cuna del Partido Revolucionario Cubano* (Havana, 1957), and Barbara Ruth Johnson, "Origins of the Partido Revolucionario Cubana in Tampa: Marti and the Tobacco Workers" (MA. thesis, University of Florida, 1968).

the next six years, cigarworkers in Tampa labored tirelessly for the cause of Cuban independence. By 1896, the cigarworkers had established forty-one patriotic clubs, thirty in Ybor City and eleven in West Tampa.[18] These juntas served as the vital infrastructure of the PRC. Throughout the 1890s they collected funds, promoted separatist elan, and propagandized in their communities. Local juntas, further, co-ordinated support of filibustering expeditions leaving Florida for Cuba.[19] Many cigarworkers made individual contributions at the factory, donating typically one day's pay on a regular basis.[20]

The organization of cigarworkers into juntas halted all trade union activity. Indeed, for the duration of the war, activities based on class grew increasingly incompatible with activities based on nationalism and were all but formally proscribed by separatist leaders. The PRC leadership frowned on strikes, perceiving work stoppages as a threat to the independence cause. Class was subordinated to nationalism. In February 1896, a threatened strike in Tampa prompted Tomas Estrada Palma, the chief of the New York delegation, to visit Ybor City to urge workers to return to the factories in behalf of Cuba Libre.[21]

The politics of class, moreover, became a secondary concern as both labor and management found themselves inexorably linked on the same side of the independence cause. Many leading cigar manufacturers, including Vicente Martinez Ybor, Domingo Villamil, Teodoro Perez, and Cecilo Henriquez, publicly identified with Cuban independence. Eduardo Hidalgo Gato, the Key West cigar magnate and close personal friend of Marti, donated tens of thousands of dollars to the separatist cause.[22] Benjamin Guerra, secretary-treasurer of the PRC, owned a cigar factory in Tampa. At the same time, such noted socialist cigarworkers as

18. Gualterio Garcia to Tomas Estrada Palma, March 22, 1896, and Julio Cesar Orta to Joaquin Castillo, March 20, 1896, in Leon Primelles, ed., *La revolucion del 95 segun la correspondencia de la delegacion cubana en Nueva York*, 5 vols. (Havana, 1932-1937), III, 384-86.
19. See Richard Vernon Richenbach, "A History of Filibustering From Florida to Cuba, 1895-1898" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1968), and Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward* (Gainesville, 1950), 96-137.
20. See "Colectas del Club 24 de Febrero, desde 25 de agosto de 1895." Ms., Union Marti-Maceo, Tampa; photocopy in author's possession. See also Wen Galvez, *Tampa: impresiones de emigrado* (Ybor City, 1897), 165-98.
21. *Tampa Tribune*, February 21, 1896.
22. Castellanos G., *Motivos de Cayo Hueso*, 185-89; Jose Marti to Eduardo H. Gato, October 27, 1894, in Marti, *Obras completas*, II, pt. 2, 471-73.

Carlos Balino, later one of the founders of the Cuban Communist party, and Diego Vicente Tejera, organizer of the Cuban Socialist party, labored in exile as close collaborators of Jose Marti.

The end of the war in 1898 had an immediate impact on Cubans in exile. For many, support of the independence movement had defined in very specific terms the nature and function of exile. Peace transformed the meaning of exile. In October 1898, the separatist leadership abolished the Department of Expeditions. [23] In December, the New York delegation announced the dissolution of the PRC, enjoining patriotic juntas in the United States to disband local organizations.

The community of Cuban exiles in Florida, so long singularly preoccupied with the cause of independence, faced an uncertain future. The era of self-imposed exile had come to an end. For many, the opportunity to return to Cuba opened painful choices. The war had allowed many to persuade themselves that exile was a function of political commitment. Indeed, for many Cubans, this conviction accurately reflected the reality of their exile. Many, most notably professionals, lost little time in returning to Cuba.[24] But others had come to look upon Florida as a permanent home. This was the birthplace of their children and where they owned homes. News of employment difficulties further subdued enthusiasm to return to Cuba. The three-year war for independence had devastated the Cuban countryside and crippled the urban economy. Competition for jobs grew increasingly fierce as the more than 50,000 soldiers left the ranks of the Liberation Army in search of work. In September 1899, the Havana *Liga General de Trabajadores* published a manifesto denouncing the lack of jobs for those who had labored faithfully abroad for the cause of independence. There seemed little opportunity now for these patriots to return and resume their lives on the island. [25]

The end of the war, further, had the immediate effect of returning to center stage long-deferred class issues. For three years, the cigarworkers had labored under a patriotic injuction against strikes. As the moratorium on labor activity lapsed, increasing

23. General Emilio Nunez to the Chiefs and Officials of the Department of Expeditions, October 15, 1898, in *Patria,* October 19, 1898.
24. Jose Rivero Muniz, *Los cubanos en Tampa* (Havana, 1958), 110-11.
25. Evelio Telleria Toca, "Los tabaqueros cubanos y sus luchas en Cayo Hueso y Tampa," *Bohemia,* April 28, 1967, 23, 113.

attention was given to working conditions. The end of the war also affected cigar manufacturers. Peace in Cuba promised to restore and expand tobacco exports to the United States. The expulsion of Spain, moreover, offered a new field of investment for North American capital. Indeed, the age of the independent immigrant cigar manufacturer was drawing to a close. More than this, a way of life in Ybor City and West Tampa was coming to an end. The pre-industrial patron system, personified by the benevolent paternalism of Martinez Ybor succumbed to technology, corporate organization, and *yanqui* efficiency. The tobacco conglomerates of the 1890s lost little time in acquiring preponderant control of tobacco fields and factories in Cuba. By 1902, some ninety per cent of the export trace in Havana cigars had passed under the ownership of American trusts. [26] At the same time, many cigar factories in Tampa were acquired by American corporations. Not perhaps without appropriate symbolism, the grand patron of Ybor City, Vicente Martinez Ybor, died in 1896. In 1899, the Havana-American Company, a consortium of cigar factories in New York, Chicago, and New Orleans, established ownership over a number of Tampa factories. Two years later, the Duke Tobacco Trust made its debut in Tampa, and the Havana-American Company came under control of the American Cigar Company.

New production systems were the inevitable concomitants of the new corporate ownership. Increasingly, the relatively relaxed if not always efficient pace of work in the old factory became subject to a new regimen of efficiency and labor rationalization. Nothing better illustrated the implications of the new economic order descending on the Tampa cigar industry than the weight strike *(huelga de la pesa)* in 1899. The old Ybor factory instituted a weight system whereby each cigarmaker received a fixed quantity of tobacco with which to produce a specific number of cigars. Workers protested that the assigned lot of tobacco was inadequate, and they demanded the removal of the scale. The manufacturers' refusal precipitated a walk-out that received immediate support from cigarworkers in other factories.

The 1899 strike involved crosscurrents and issues of far-

26. See Meyer Jacobstein, *The Tobacco Industry in the United States* (New York, 1907), 101-16, and Leland H. Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony* (New York, 1928), 157.

reaching significance. First, the 1899 strike represented the first major labor-management confrontation in almost a decade. It further involved a central, if unstated issue. The introduction of the weight system underscored the qualitative nature of the transformation occurring in the cigar industry. The measure represented one of the first efforts to introduce efficiency into the factory. Quite apart from the workers' claim that the assigned weight imposed an unreasonable quota system, the measure struck at the long-standing if unofficial practice whereby cigarworkers were allowed small quantities of tobacco for their own personal use. A traditional pre-industrial fringe benefit was now being threatened. [27] In the end, the workers were successful. The manufacturers removed the scale. In addition, a uniform level of wages won approval. In the course of negotiations, moreover, the workers secured authority to establish workers' committees in each factory. [28]

The 1899 strike had a galvanizing effect on Tampa cigarmakers. The success of collective action encouraged cigarworkers to formalize the organizational infrastructure emerging from the strike. Long the target of Samuel Gompers and the Cigarmakers International, Cuban workers in Tampa chose instead to establish a union wholly of Cuban origins. [29] The organization of *La Sociedad de Torcedores y sus Cercanias,* popularly known as *La Resistencia,* resulted in formal liaison with cigarmakers' organizations in Cuba. The cigarworkers' world on both sides of the Florida Straits, shattered by the war for independence, was

27. Interview with Tomas Mayet, February 20, 1973, Tampa. "Because of the individual nature of his work, and his product," Fernando Ortiz wrote, "the cigar-maker always was entitled to his own 'smokes'-that is, a certain number of the cigars he made for his personal use. This privilege came to acquire a tangible economic value. The cigar-maker could sell his smokes to a passing customer, and the manufacturer came to regard this as a part of the worker's wages, paid in kind. The attempt to treat this privilege as a part of the worker's wages gave rise at times to acrimonious disputes and strikes." Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (New York, 1970), 86-87. Gloria Jahoda wrote of the old Tampa factories: "The filler was never weighed; that would have been an offense against latin *[sic]* honor. It was assumed that no worker took any. He was allowed to smoke as many finished cigars as he cared to. It was a privilege he guarded jealously." Jahoda, *River of the Golden Ibis,* 219.

28. Durward Long, "'La Resistencia': Tampa's Immigrant Labor Union," *Labor History,* VI (Fall 1965), 195-96.

29. John C. Appel, "The Unionization of Florida Cigarmakers and the Coming of the War with Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* XXXVI (February 1956), 47.

reunited in 1899. For the next three decades, cigarworkers in Havana and Tampa came to depend on each other for support, funds, and ideas.[30] La Resistencia gave palpable form to the determination of cigarworkers to remain in Tampa and their commitment to defend laboring class interests in their new homeland within the context of the long-standing proletarian traditions.

La Resistencia developed quickly into the cutting edge of the community of immigrant cigarworkers in Tampa. In another successful strike in 1900, La Resistencia outmaneuvered the International Cigarmakers Union for authority to organize the cigarworkers. Nor were strikes organized by La Resistencia wholly confined to working conditions. Union leaders had sufficient insight into political and economic relationships to discern the appropriate pressure points in Tampa's power structure. In one instance, the destruction of a local bridge connecting Ybor City and West Tampa forced workers to undertake hazardous boat crossings twice daily. In May 1901, La Resistencia threatened a strike to force the manufacturers to pressure city officials to repair the bridge. "We cannot get what we want by asking for it ourselves," explained one worker, "so we strike and the manufacturers obtain it for us."[31]

The third and by far the most dramatic confrontation between management and labor occurred in mid-1901, when La Resistencia challenged manufacturers' plans to open factory branches outside of Tampa. Perceiving its closed shop under siege, the union threatened a general strike unless the manufacturers met their demands to abandon plans to expand operations. In late July 1901, La Resistencia undertook its most ambitious effort by calling some 5,000 cigarworkers to the streets. The 1901 general strike continued well into the fall. Expression of support for the Tampa cigarworkers came from Key West and Havana. The strike received prominent sympathetic press coverage in the Cuban press.[32] Expressions of solidarity from Havana unions included statements of moral support and funds for the relief of workers and their families.[33]

30. See Alberto F. Pedrinan, "Ybor City: las ruinas de lo que fuera una civilizacion floreciente," ms., 1975; copy in author's possession.
31. Long, "'La Resistencia,'" 202.
32. See *Diario de la Marina,* September 4, 1901.
33. The support of Tampa cigarworkers in Cuba may not have been en-

Widespread support among cigarworkers notwithstanding, the strike came to an unsuccessful and violent climax. Vigilante squads and local police inaugurated systematic harassment of union supporters. Arrested strikers were offered the choice between jail or returning to the factory. A citizen's committee organized by local businessmen kidnapped several union leaders and forcefully deported them to Honduras. Landlords, in collusion with manufacturers, denied strikers extension of credit and eventually evicted workers and their families. Union funds deposited in local banks were frozen. [34]

La Resistencia failed to survive the four-month strike. The collapse of the union created immediately the opening through which the International Cigarmakers made organizing in-roads and ultimately absorbed a good number of immigrant workers. On still another level, the cigarworkers were integrated into another American institution-one more step in the Americanization of the cigarmakers and the conversion of cigarworkers from exiles to immigrants.

The struggle for Cuban independence, stretching intermittently for thirty years had organized the cigarworkers in exile around the cause of Cuba Libre. Except for the period of labor militancy during the mid-1880s, the nadir of the separatist effort, Cuban workers in exile subordinated class interest to national pursuits. The end of the war precipitated a major reorientation of cigarworkers' attention and energies. With the establishment of peace, the long-cherished expectation of returning to Cuba subsided as workers reconciled themselves to more or less permanence in the United States. New institutions emerged in Tampa to protect and promote the interests of the new immigrants. La Resistencia represented one such response. The establishment in 1899 of the *Circulo Cubano* (Cuban Club) represented still another expression of the roots sinking into the Tampa soil. De-

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tirely selfless. Some workers held out the hope that cigarworkers in Tampa would deliver a crippling blow to the industry in Tampa, thereby forcing cigar manufacturers out of business. This, many expected, would lead to the revitalization of the industry in Cuba. See Secret Service Report, Police Department of Havana, September 27, 1901, file 193 (letters received), records of the military government of Cuba, in record group 140, National Archives, Washington. See also Jose Rivero Muniz, *El movimiento obrero durante la intervencion* (Havana, 1961), 28-29, 85-86.

34. Long, "'La Resistencia,'" 210-11.

signed to provide a variety of medical, social, and educational services, the Circulo Cubano gave another institutional focal point to the permanent cigarworkers, and the Cigarworkers International after 1901 gave Cubans an additional institutional tie to the United States.

Not that the immigrant cigarworkers severed entirely their ties to Cuba. On the contrary, relationships between both centers of the cigarmakers' world remained close and mutually reinforcing. Nor did the cigarworkers shed their traditional radicalism. Indeed, the strikes of 1910, 1920, and 1931 offered palpable proof of the persistence of the old world radical tradition.

Cubans were doomed, however, in their struggle to preserve the individuality of their community. The very uniqueness of the settlement, its traditions and its politics, singled it out for extinction. Its very success guaranteed its demise.

"CAMP HELL": MIAMI DURING THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

by DONNA THOMAS*

"MY DOMAIN BEGINS in Jacksonville," Henry M. Flagler once playfully wrote to President William McKinley.[1] Actually, he was not far from the truth. The Florida East Coast Railroad, the heart of Flagler's financial empire, built many towns along the east coast of the state, and it linked them with each other and the rest of the country. Miami, which was incorporated in 1896, started as one of the villages in Flagler's "domain." It was virtually a company town in its earliest days. John Sewell and J. A. McDonald, early mayors of Miami, were Flagler employees. The Royal Palm Hotel, Miami's showplace, was part of the chain of hotels which Flagler was constructing along his railroad's route.[2] His company installed street lights in the business district and built the waterworks during the first year of Miami's incorporation.[3] The *Miami Metropolis*, the only major newspaper, was owned by Flagler between 1897 and 1905.[4] It mirrored most of his opinions and protected his interests. Thus, Flagler could hardly be opposed to the town's attempts, when the war with Spain began, to bring an army camp to Miami, a desire which was probably as much motivated by profit-seeking as by patriotism.

For its part, the United States Army, unprepared for a war with an overseas power, needed coastal bases from which to

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* Ms. Thomas is a doctoral student in United States history at the University of Florida and editorial assistant on the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

1. Flagler to McKinley, February 15, 1898, William McKinley Papers, Library of Congress.
2. Edward Nelson Akin, "Southern Reflection of the Gilded Age: Henry M. Flagler's System, 1885-1913" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1975), 97-103; John M. Sewell, *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami, Florida* (Miami, 1933), 3-57.
3. Isidor Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami, Florida* (Miami, 1925), 23.
4. Akin, "Southern Reflection of the Gilded Age," 100; Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens, Georgia, 1949), 160-66.

transport troops to Cuba and Puerto Rico. Staff officers quickly noted the potential of South Florida as a major concentration point. In mid-May 1898 an inspection team led by Brigadier General James Wade toured several sites in the South, but the general did not think that Miami had the warehouse and dock facilities needed by the army or a harbor deep enough to accommodate naval vessels and troop transports.[5] The matter did not end there, however. In early June, a board of four staff officers visited "the proposed locations with railroad and city officials." Apparently the Miami leaders first showed the officers the site originally rejected by Wade. But after the board again raised objections to it, the Miami group offered them another site, "in the immediate vicinity of the [railroad] station."[6]

The four officers, in their report to Adjutant General Henry Corbin, noted the fine beaches, healthful climate, adequate and wholesome water supply (a statement which they would soon regret), and the great effort being made by Flagler to clear and grade the second site for use as a camp. Until the improvements were completed, the board concluded, "we would not recommend this site for a permanent camp. . . . If military necessity requires it, a camp of 5,000 men can be established here."[7] Colonel Charles A. Greenleaf, the surgeon assigned to serve on the board, thought that Miami might make a good "camp of refuge" if yellow fever broke out in other southern camps, but he later testified that he never intended it to be a full-scale military installation.[8]

The members of the board, like General Wade before them, hesitated over Miami's lack of facilities. The superintendent of the town's waterworks convinced them that the water supply could meet the camp's demands, but they balked at the lack of railroad sidings near the campsite, since the Florida East Coast had laid only enough track to handle the still-modest traffic generated by Miami's winter tourist seasons. "There are no ware-

5. *Miami Metropolis*, June 17, 1898; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, May 18, 1898; William J. Schellings, "Soldiers in Miami, 1898," *Tequesta*, XVII (1957), 71.
6. United States Senate, Document 221, 56th Congress, 1st sess., *Report of the Commission Appointed By the President to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department in the War With Spain*, 8 vols. (Washington, 1900), VII, 3364; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, May 25, 31, 1898.
7. Senate Document 221, VII, 3364.
8. Ibid., V, 1965-66, 1978.

houses available, but the railroad company officials stated that they would put up such warehouses," the board reported. "No supplies can be purchased at this point without shipping in." [9] In other words, a camp of major proportions at Miami would be a quartermaster's nightmare.

Miamians, and probably Flagler as well, were unaware of the army's supply problems, which were national as well as local in scope. The War Department had not been prepared for the thousands of recruits which Congress had authorized the Regular Army earlier in 1898, and when more than 200,000 men enlisted in the volunteer regiments, the government's facilities were nearly swamped. The Quartermaster General's Department, which supplied most of the things new soldiers needed, simply did not have on hand sufficient quantities of uniforms, blankets, tentage, cooking utensils, and all the other items which were needed immediately. Quartermasters throughout the United States had to try to purchase what equipment they could from local civilian sources. [10] Miami, with no wholesale facilities, presented severe complications in the matter of supplies. However, to the town's boosters, the rapid growth of Miami convinced them that anything was possible. After all, Miami looked like "a real town" as early as December 1896, with a city hall, jail, volunteer fire department, thriving business district, and Flagler's light and water systems. [11] When the war broke out on April 25, 1898, Miami, not yet two years past its incorporation, had a population of 2,000. [12] The *Metropolis,* angered over the original rejection of Miami as a camp site, hoped that the four staff officers of the second board would see the light. "The truth is that Miami should have been selected in the first place, instead of Tampa, over which we have every advantage in the matters of location, healthfulness, good water, and freedom from the pests which afflict most other places." [13] The editorial writer seemed unconcerned that a major camp would bring the influx of two to three times as many soldiers as current residents of the town, thus

9. Ibid., VII, 3364.
10. See Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army For Empire: The United States Army in the Spanish-American War, 1898-1899* (Columbia, Missouri, 1971), 139-76.
11. Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami,* 23.
12. *Miami Metropolis,* August 5, 1898; Senate Document 221, VIII, 81.
13. *Miami Metropolis,* June 17, 1898.

straining facilities already pressed to keep up with Miami's growth.

Although the board in its final report was not enthusiastic about the Miami campsite, and General Wade and his officers had earlier rejected it, Major General Nelson A. Miles, who commanded the army, decided to send troops to the town. Miles, an aging but ambitious officer who had made his reputation fighting Indians, was angry over Secretary of War Russell A. Alger's refusal to allow him to take personal command of an army of invasion. Miles, as a consequence, jealously guarded all of his other prerogatives as the nation's ranking soldier. This included the selection of new campsites, a task better suited to members of his staff who understood supply, logistics, and camp sanitation. It was Miles, then, who ultimately decided that Miami would make a good camp for an infantry division, and he brooked no compromise on such details.[14] From the existing evidence, it is hard to say whether Flagler, or even Secretary Alger, whom Flagler knew, influenced Miles's decision in any way. In any event, by the middle of June a division of the IV Corps which was then encamped near Mobile, Alabama, received orders to break camp and proceed by railroad to Miami.[15]

The first soldiers arrived in Miami on June 24, 1898. By the first week in July, the entire division of 7,500 men had established its camp. The *Metropolis* mistakenly told its readers that the troops were regulars.[16] Actually, they were volunteers from nearby southern states. The division, redesignated the First Division, VII Corps shortly after arrival in Miami, was initially commanded by Brigadier General Theodore Schwann and consisted of two brigades. The First Brigade contained the First Texas, First Louisiana, and First Alabama regiments; the Second Brigade consisted of the Second Texas, Second Louisiana, and Second Alabama. Upon reaching Miami, the troops made camp north of town in that order, the First Texas being assigned the portion of the area adjacent to Biscayne Bay and the Second Alabama receiving the campground farthest inland.[17] The boundaries of the First Brigade's areas were the bay on the east

14. Cosmas, *Army For Empire*, 144-45.
15. *Miami Metropolis*, June 24, 1898.
16. Ibid.
17. Senate Document 221, VIII, 81; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, June 29, 1898.

and Avenue E (now Northwest First Avenue) and the railroad track on the west. The Second Brigade's camps began at the track and continued west until the end of the clearing at Avenue J (Northwest Sixth Avenue).[18] This was a crucial assignment for the soldiers, for the eastern site proved to be superior to the western, which was not yet completely cleared. This fact would color the troops' opinions of Miami, and it would in turn affect Miamians' attitudes toward their visitors.

Miamians eagerly awaited development of the camp. Even before the troops arrived, Flagler's *Metropolis* noted the town's achievement: "Under the efficient management of the officials of the East Coast Ry., Camp Miami has been made the most beautiful and convenient camp for soldiers in the State."[19] Indeed, Flagler did try to improve the area, especially the eastern portion of the site. He assigned men to the tasks of digging dozens of wells, laying water pipes for connection to the city waterworks, finishing a large sewer at Biscayne Bay, and clearing the grounds of palmetto thickets and coral boulders. Flagler also ordered the early opening of the Royal Palm, which ordinarily operated only during the tourist season, to serve as headquarters for the ranking officers.[20] However, work was not completed when the soldiers began to arrive.

Flagler's construction activities resulted in a bonanza for Miami businessmen. His organization probably spent about $10,000 or more on equipment and building.[21] The camp improvement projects also employed fifty to a hundred extra workmen. By the beginning of July, lumber was in short supply as new structures, civilian and military, quickly appeared.[22] Local merchants capitalized on the military's presence by advertising everything imaginable as "soldier boys' specialties."[23] Miami had only one drug store in 1898, but the Townley Brothers' soda fountain soon received competition from small cold drink stands

18. Sewell, *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami,* 150; *Miami Metropolis,* July 1, 1898.
19. *Miami Metropolis,* June 24, 1898; Sewell, *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami,* 150-51.
20. *Miami Metropolis,* June 24, 1598; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* June 2, 1898.
21. Schellings, "Soldiers in Miami," 71.
22. Sewell, *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami,* 150-51; Senate Document 221, VII, 3356; *Miami Metropolis,* July 8, 1898.
23. See *Miami Metropolis,* July 1, 1898, for sample advertisements.

which catered to thirsty soldiers. The Townleys countered with a large stock of lemonade, guaranteed to satisfy thousands of orders each day, and other merchants opened small food stands to complement the liquid refreshments. [24] The sale of liquor was illegal in early Miami under the terms of the original deeds to city plots, but Camp Miami was near the unincorporated settlement of North Miami, in which whiskey was readily available, along with prostitutes and games of chance. Soldiers often slipped out of camp at night to visit the saloons patronized by local civilians. [25]

If Miami welcomed the volunteer soldiers and their money, the troops themselves were uncertain about the town and its residents. Many of the soldiers had ridden for several days in crowded trains to Camp Miami, only to find a newly-cleared, partially-improved coral field. "We had heard glowing accounts of Miami on our way down there," remembered Captain H. R. Carson, chaplain of the Second Louisiana. "Our information, however, was secured mostly from railroad folders." [26] For staff officers posted to headquarters, life in Miami could be pleasant. General Theodore Schwann and his successor, Major General J. Warren Keifer, lived in the Royal Palm. Their staffs and most brigade and regimental staff officers either billeted at the hotel, a luxury resort with such comforts as chilled drinking water, fine food, and full access to the bay breezes, or they tented on the Royal Palm's extensive grounds. [27] The average infantryman, however, did not have deluxe quarters, good food, or ample entertainment. Chaplain Carson noted the contrast between activities at the Royal Palm and life in the company streets: "There was a most magnificent and gorgeously appointed hotel right in the midst of a perfect paradise of tropical trees and bushes. But one had to walk scarce a quarter of a mile until one came to such a waste wilderness as can be conceived only in rare nightmares." [28]

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24. J. K. Dorn, "Recollections of Early Miami," *Tequesta,* IX (1949), 55; *Miami Metropolis,* July 22, 29, 1898.
25. Dorn, "Recollections of Early Miami," 55; Sewell, *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami,* 140.
26. H. R. Carson, *Recollections of a Chaplain in the Volunteer Army* (n.p. [1899?]), 5.
27. *Miami Metropolis,* June 24, July 8, 22, 1898; Sewell, *John Sewell's Memoirs and History of Miami,* 181; Senate Document 221, VIII, 83, 85.
28. Carson, *Recollections of a Chaplain in the Volunteer Army,* 5.

The enlisted men of the Texas, Louisiana, and Alabama regiments soon found themselves helping to clear the "waste wilderness" by performing a large amount of manual labor. All units except the First Texas, camped on the area by the bay which had been completely cleared, were drafted to work with Flagler's laborers, as well as to march and train. Having enlisted to fight, not dig, the troops were indignant over the assignment. They called themselves the Flagler Improvement Company, the *Metropolis* reported, apparently missing the soldiers' sarcasm. [29] The historian of the Alabama troops called his comrades "soldier slaves" and noted that Flagler had found a cheap way to get his lands cleared and graded for postwar use. [30] As a consequence of forced service on the projects, morale declined in the five regiments affected. After participating in the military drill expected of them, the soldiers dug, hauled, and graded "under such conditions as few negroes *[sic]* in all the country experienced," noted Chaplain Carson, who ignored the fact that many of the workers on Flagler's gangs were black. "The men," Carson argued, "became absolutely indifferent to the impulse which had led them to enlist." [31] Doubtless too, many of the volunteers, eager to embark for Cuba or Puerto Rico, fretted that the war would end before they saw any combat. This would certainly make them resent being assigned to construction duty as a type of personal insult to their soldierly abilities. [32]

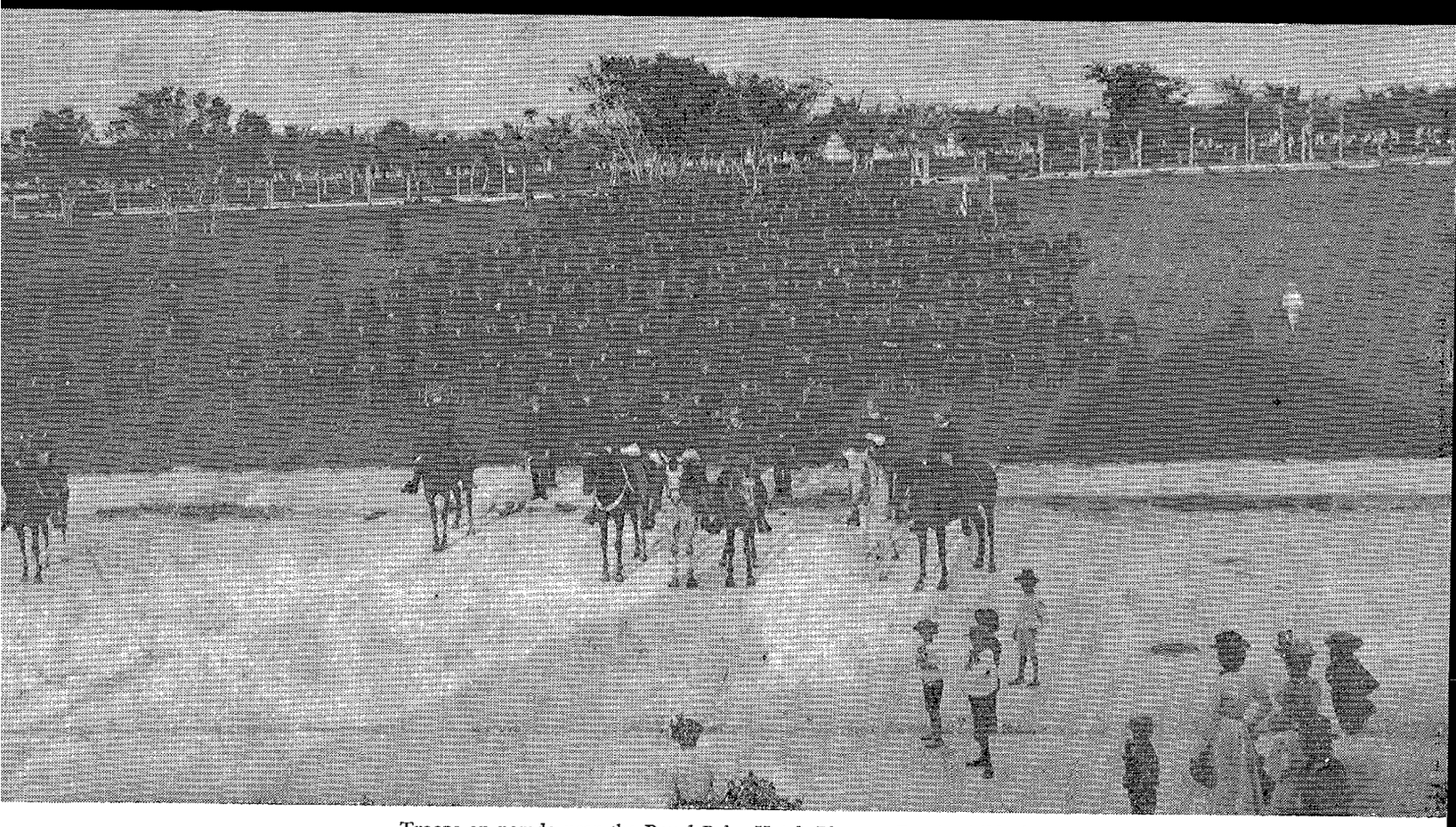
As any experienced supply officer could have predicted, the lack of provisions and equipment soon added to the volunteers' misery. "At Miami," one quartermaster sergeant, himself a former regular, testified, "there was a long time that we received no vegetables at all. We got fresh beef after we had been there about ten days, but the first ten days . . . we had nothing but bacon." [33] The arrival of a shipment of potatoes and onions in

29. For the First Texas, see M. Koenigsberg, *Southern Martyrs: A History of Alabama's White Regiments During the Spanish-American War, Touching Incidentally on the Experiences of the Entire First Division of the Seventh Army Corps* (Montgomery, 1898), 178. For the troops' remark, see *Miami Metropolis*, July 29, 1898.
30. Koenigsberg, *Southern Martyrs*, 177-86.
31. Carson, *Recollections of a Chaplain in the Volunteer Army*, 6-7.
32. For evidence of the soldier's restlessness, see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen*, July 5, 6, 7, 15, 29, 30, 1898. However, it is not possible to determine how much of this sentiment was that expressed by troops in Camp Miami and how much was that of an overly-zealous war correspondent.
33. Senate Document 221, III, 426.

late July was a welcome event. Even the full military menu of 1898, based as it was on beef or salt pork, bread or crackers, coffee, beans, and potatoes, did not much appeal to normally well-fed citizen-soldiers. [34] At Miami, the difficulties faced in supplying even those items were sure to anger the men. Soldiers with money could buy sandwiches, milk, fruit, and cakes from the numerous Miami merchants catering to the military trade, but, because of War Department delays which were common during the war, some of the troops had not been paid for months. [35] Furthermore, other supply problems plagued the troops. The Quartermaster General's Department, because of the nation-wide shortage, had not supplied all the cooking items and camp equipment needed for a comfortable bivouac. Since little of this gear could be purchased in South Florida, the soldiers had to do without. Even uniforms presented problems. The six regiments had been issued blue wool service uniforms of the type used by regulars on the Great Plains. [36] These were unbearably hot in summertime Miami. The War Department, aware of the need to develop special clothing for warm weather campaigning in the Caribbean, began to purchase summer uniforms of khaki duck. Some of these new outfits reached troops in Miami during late July, but most of the men left South Florida still attired in uniforms designed for stations a thousand miles to the north. [37] Officers could purchase summer uniforms custom-made from local tailors, or they could buy the new garb from a firm in Cincinnati which had sent a representative to Miami to solicit such orders, but few enlisted men could afford either option. [38]

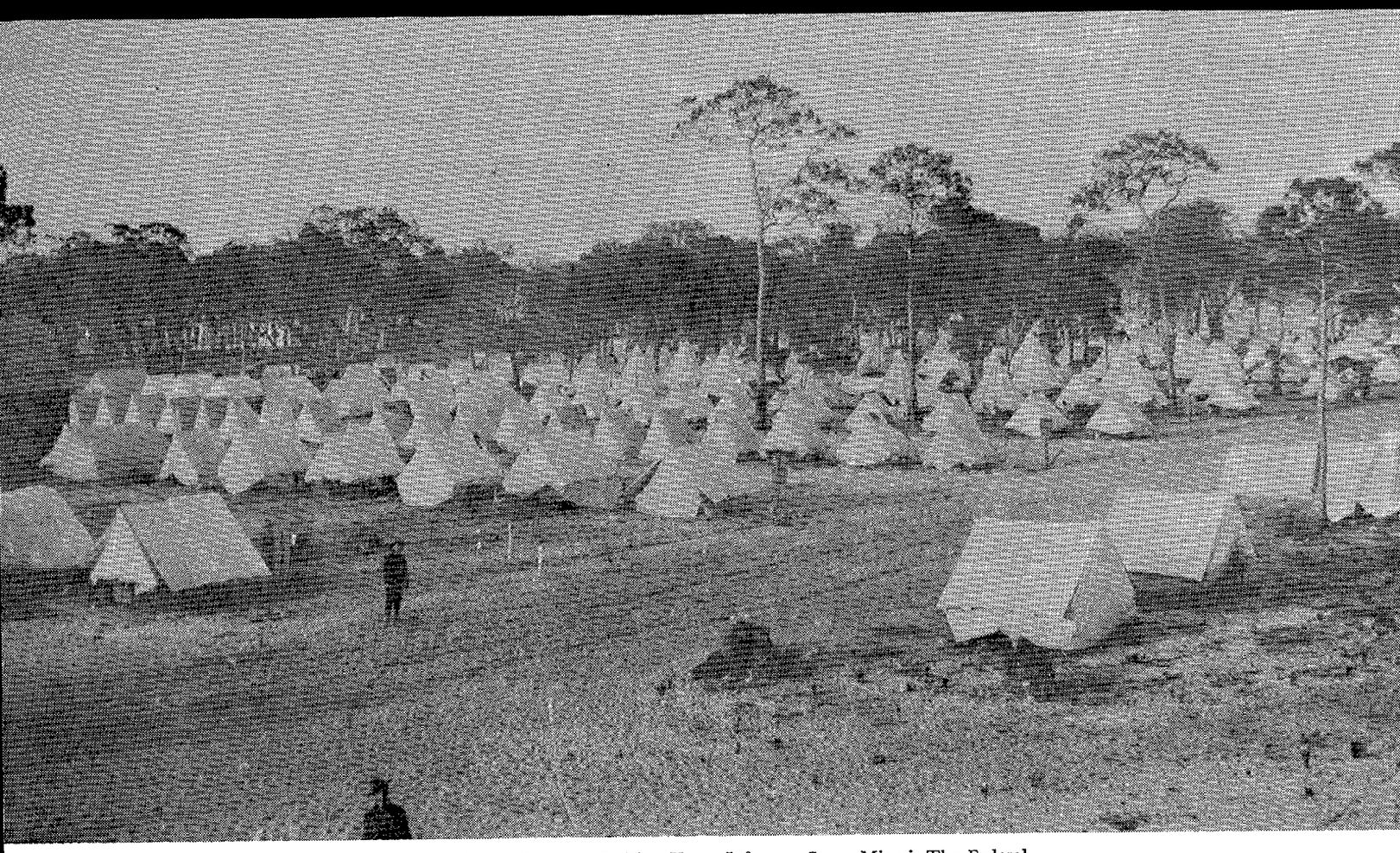
The most serious problem, however, was the deteriorating health of the command. The water supply was not as healthy as the board of officers or the waterworks superintendent had claimed, and the soldiers' ignorance of proper camp sanitation made the condition much worse. The exact nature of the problem of water purity was disputed for years, but most military health

34. *Miami Metropolis,* July 29, 1898. For the army ration, see United States War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1898,* 3 vols. (Washington, 1898), I, pt. 1, 549-51.
35. *Miami Metropolis,* July 22, 1898.
36. See Senate Document 221, VIII, 82.
37. *Miami Metropolis,* July 22, 29, 1898; Carson, *Recollections of a Chaplain in the Volunteer Army,* 5.
38. See *Miami Metropolis,* July 1, 15, 1898.



Troops on parade near the Royal Palm Hotel. Biscayne Bay is visible in the background.

Courtesy of the Historical Association of Southern Florida



Campsite of Company L, First Texas Infantry, Camp Miami. The Federal Building is now on this site.

experts agreed that the water at Camp Miami was a potential hazard to the troops.[39] Three surgeons on duty with the First Division initially complained about conditions on July 18 in a letter to the chief surgeon of the VII Corps. They termed the water that Flagler supplied to the troops "thoroughly contaminated, infected, and too dangerous to utilize for drinking purposes." They worried particularly about the health of the Second Brigade, which lived in an area "bounded on the southern and western sides by low, marshy lands covered with a dense vegetation which is alternately flooded and exposed." The doctors feared the outbreak of malaria, but they already had a serious health problem on their hands: an autopsy performed on the body of an officer from the Second Louisiana proved the existence of typhoid fever.[40] By mid-July, the Second Brigade reported about 350 men daily on sick call as fever and other ills spread. The First Brigade, some elements of which had camped too near open refuse sinks and the Biscayne Bay sewer, reported a sick list of approximately 260.[41] The camp physicians were convinced that the water had played the key role in this outbreak of disease, and they recommended that the troops be moved "at once."[42]

Lieutenant Colonel L. M. Maus, the VII Corps' chief surgeon, had visited Miami only days before the three surgeons wrote their letter. He noted that the water from Flagler's newly-dug wells had "a disagreeable taste, an offensive odor, and, in my opinion, [it] contains a large percentage of organic and vegetable matter." He concluded that the wells were not deep enough and had been contaminated by surface drainage. The main water supply to Camp Miami was supposed to be from the city waterworks. This was Everglades water, cooled, purified, and piped to the camp via the new pipeline. Maus doubted that this water was whole-

39. For a modern assessment by a physician, see Scheffel H. Wright, "Medicine in the Florida Camps During the Spanish American-War-Great Controversies," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association,* LXII (August 1975), 21-23, which points to the shallow wells and inadequate latrine facilities of Camp Miami as the cause of water contamination which led to disease.
40. Senate Document 221, VIII, 72-73.
41. Ibid., VIII, 72, 84-85. Figures are approximate because the regiments did not report their sick lists on the same day.
42. Ibid., VIII, 73.

some in summer, for it, too, was discolored, smelly, and "offensive in taste." [43]

General Keifer, the division commander, discontinued the use of the well water for drinking purposes. He noted that the soldiers had preferred it, contaminated though it was, to the piped water, which was often so warm that it was unpleasant to drink. The general ordered each regiment to install a large water tank, cooled with ice, for storage of drinking water. This caused a major ice shortage in the town, but it probably helped the troops.[44] Still, not all the complaints ceased. A Red Cross field agent visiting Miami in late July condemned the waterworks and noted that the soldiers continued to use water from the forbidden wells. [45]

Sick soldiers received the best care possible under the circumstances, but often that care was woefully inadequate. The division hospital at Miami was a hastily-prepared facility, an adapted, partially open, wooden building located within the town limits. The best efforts of the surgeons and nurses were foiled by lack of sufficient medical supplies and shortages of tentage, coupled with the rapid spread of illness within the command. As a consequence, the hospital, like the water supply, became a controversial issue. Colonel Maus declared the facility "unsuitable and unsanitary." [46] Eleanor Kinzie Gordon, wife of the general commanding the Second Brigade, sharply criticized the condition of the hospital building, the lack of nurses and competent attendants, and the carelessness which led to one patient's being set on fire by an overturned candle. Mrs. Gordon did more than complain; she arranged for the purchase of mosquito netting, a rare item in wartime Miami, for the hospital and supervised the refurbishing of the building. [47] As she noted, most of the medical personnel did their best to prevent illness and save the gravely sick, but the odds were against them.

Miamians reacted to the soldiers' suffering with sympathy, mixed occasionally with disbelief. As the *Metropolis* noted in August, "Miami water doesn't produce typhoid fever among its

43. Ibid., VIII, 78-79.
44. Ibid., VIII, 80; *Miami Metropolis*, July 29, 1898.
45. Senate Document 221, VIII, 84-85.
46. Ibid., VIII, 79.
47. Ibid., VIII, 92-93; Carson, *Recollections of a Chaplain in the Volunteer Army*, 9; *Miami Metropolis*, July 22, 29, 1898.

own citizens. . . . The records show that . . . no adult has died since February 28th last." [48] Flagler, concerned about adverse publicity against Miami, telegraphed Secretary Alger: "I understand that very unfavorable reports have reached you regarding the sanitary conditions, as well as discomforts of the camp at Miami, Fla. If not wholly untrue they are grossly exaggerated, and I ask as a personal favor that you suspend adverse judgment" until a proper briefing. [49] Miami's newspaper resented the town's growing image as an unhealthy place, and it denied all the charges. "The health of the soldiers has been as good here as in any other camp," the *Metropolis* stated, and it predicted that "the stories . . . concerning the unhealthiness of Miami will be properly viewed by the people at large, and will do us no harm." [50] Some Miamians attributed the soldiers' maladies to their habit of walking through heavy rainstorms or to a "Sunday outing" attitude toward hard work in the "hot broiling" summer sun. [51]

Actually, there was truth in some of the Miamians' claims, but the soldiers could hardly be expected to see it that way. Summer weather in the South in the era before central air conditioning could be both unpleasant and unhealthy at times, and Miami's weather in the summer of 1898 alternated between heavy rainstorms and hot, dusty days. [52] The same could be said about the weather at the other makeshift military camps in the region. Troops at Miami suffered from "diarrhea, dysentery, and a low form of fever," all of which, like the dreaded typhoid itself, were common diseases among recruits in any nineteenth-century army camp, for the military medicine of the time remained primitive in its methods and ignorant of the causes of many diseases. [53] Furthermore, it must be noted that not all of the reported sickness originated in Miami. The First Alabama, for example, had a sicklist of ninety-two upon arrival in the

48. *Miami Metropolis,* August 5, 1898.
49. Senate Document 221, VIII, 73.
50. *Miami Metropolis,* August 12, 1898. A similar view appeared in the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* July 21, August 1, 9, 1898. That paper was also controlled by Flagler.
51. *Miami Metropolis,* July 15, 29, 1898.
52. See ibid., July 15, 29, 1898.
53. See Senate Document 221, VIII, 79. For an account of medical problems during the war, see Cosmas, *Army For Empire,* 245-94, and the Medical Department's own report in *Annual Reports of the War Department,* 1898, I, pt. 1, 688-727.

town.[54] However, to the soldiers, the eight to ten per cent of the division's total strength on daily sick call was the sole fact that mattered.

The Second Brigade, with the higher rate of illness and the poorer campsite, was particularly disgusted with Camp Miami, but most soldiers were angry over their conditions. "Miami is a bitter memory to many a home in our state and Texas and Alabama," Chaplain Carson recalled.[55] Sergeant M. Koenigsberg claimed that he and others in the Alabama regiments would rather "have gone through all the worst struggles of Santiago than have endured one month of Miami." At least eighteen Alabama volunteers, he wrote, had died while in the camp, victims of the "Moloch of Miami."[56] According to Lieutenant Colonel Curtis Guild, Jr., inspector general of the VII Corps, the soldiers' nickname for Miami was "Camp Hell."[57]

By the end of July, Miamians were having growing doubts about some of their military guests. The Second Brigade's soldiers had earned a reputation early among the civilians as troublemakers and spreaders of rumors. "Speaking of the Second Brigade as a whole, there is no doubt that a very large majority of our people here were very well glad to see them leave," the *Metropolis* reported, and the paper placed most of the blame upon the men of the Second Louisiana, a regiment "which seemed to delight in circulating all the mean reports they could think of."[58] Regardless of whether or not the Second Brigade deserved its reputation, the truth is that soldier-civilian incidents did occur. These, however, are hard to document, for the *Metropolis* followed the Flagler position in trying to minimize bad publicity and to ease tensions while the troops were in town. One rather comical incident did find its way into the newspaper. The local dentist, Dr. L. M. Dodson, lost his gold watch to a pair of light-fingered soldiers as he was drilling holes in a pair of dice for two of their comrades.[59] Doubtless, Miami's more devout citizens moralized that such was the price of sin for an accomplice to gamblers.

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54. Senate Document 221, VIII, 85.
55. Carson, *Recollections of a Chaplain in the Volunteer Army,* 7.
56. Koenigsberg, *Southern Martyrs,* 9, 15.
57. Senate Document 221, VIII, 83.
58. *Miami Metropolis,* August 12, 1898.
59. Ibid., August 5, 1898.

Simple theft, however, was not the only cause of friction between soldiers and townspeople. Since they had access to firearms, the soldiers could terrorize civilians if they chose to do so. Their usual victims were Miami's blacks, whose segregated "Colored Town" adjoined the Second Brigade's campsite. All of the troops in the division were white and most were life-long Southerners. Probably many of them felt it necessary to keep the blacks "in their places." Although the *Metropolis* did not report the incident, two pioneer Miamians later recalled the beating and aborted lynching of a Miami black who did not step off a sidewalk as two white women approached. The troops involved were probably from a company of the Second Texas. The situation became so tense that many blacks fled to Coconut Grove to avoid continued harassment by armed and angry soldiers.[60]

On the other hand, the soldiers did not cause all the problems in wartime Miami. One angry husband was said to have shot dead a soldier whom he believed had insulted his wife.[61] The shooting incident which most concerned the *Metropolis,* however, was accidental: a provost guard, firing at a fleeing soldier who had ignored their warnings, wounded two Miamians asleep nearby in their makeshift quarters. The paper demanded that the army pay for the men's medical care and compensate them for lost worktime and for "their injuries and suffering," but the final disposition of the matter is unrecorded.[62]

Most Miamians and the soldiers, however, did have cordial relations. The regimental bands often played for civilians, and townspeople were among the spectators at dress parades, even those of the Second Brigade. A ladies' aid group from Coconut Grove collected sewing kits and other notions for the troops. Churches of all denominations encouraged soldiers to attend their services and invited the chaplains to preach.[63] The *Metropolis* praised the troops on the day after payday for their good

60. Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami,* 36-37; Dorn, "Recollections of Early Miami," 55. Cohen reported that a soldier killed the black; Dorn said that some officers intervened and released the man, and the soldiers later shot up several houses in "Colored Town" as a "warning" to their intended victim. Paul S. George, "Colored Town: Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LVI (April 1978), 432-47, gives useful details on the area during this period.
61. Cohen, *Historical Sketches and Sidelights of Miami,* 36.
62. *Miami Metropolis,* July 22, 1898.
63. See ibid., July 8, 15, 22, August 5, 1898.

behavior, calling most of them "a first-class set of men."[64] In turn, General Gordon of the Second Brigade praised Flagler's representative, J. A. McDonald, for his "invaluable help" in improving the campsite and in preparing the hospital facilities.[65] Miamians especially liked the men of the First Texas, perhaps because they complained least about their campsite, the best of all the areas. The First Texas, the *Metropolis* noted, was "composed of the best blood of the Lone Star State, and the regiment was the toast as long as it remained with us. Officers and men alike were found to be gentlemen of the finest type." The paper regretted that the regiment had to leave, and it also praised the rest of the First Brigade as "excellent regiments and composed of the best men."[66]

On August 1, 1898, the First Division received orders to break camp and move via railroad to Jacksonville, where the rest of the VII Corps was encamped.[67] The movement took ten days, the First Alabama being the last unit to leave on August 12. A few staff officers and a small hospital detachment remained in Miami to care for those patients too sick to move immediately. It was the misfortune of Camp Miami and the First Division that the last day was marked by a tragic act of nature. A lightning bolt struck a soft drink stand at which a score of soldiers had gathered, killing two and stunning most of the rest.[68]

Miami returned to its quiet off-season existence as the troops departed. The *Metropolis,* perhaps attempting to put the best face on the town's experience with the army, reminded it readers, "What the Encampment Did For Us." All of the points listed exemplify the booster mentality of many early Miamians. "It caused 100 acres of scrub land within the city limits to be cleared," and it contributed to the construction of "one mile of railroad sidetrack," extra paved streets, an artesian well, "two immense warehouses," and "several substantial stores in the business center." Camp Miami also gave employment to "everything and everybody for nearly six weeks," and it made business

64. Ibid., July 22, 1898.
65. Ibid., August 5, 1898.
66. Ibid., August 12, 1898. The report of a ball given in honor of the regiment's officers by local civilians appears in ibid., July 22, 1898.
67. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union and Citizen,* July 31, 1898; *Miami Metropolis,* August 5, 1898.
68. *Miami Metropolis,* August 12, 1898.

"brisk." Moreover, it helped advertise Miami "from Maine to California," even if some of that publicity was less than ideal. Profits, too, "went into the thousands of dollars." [69] Clearly, patriotism paid well.

Despite the rosy account printed in the *Metropolis,* the best epitaph for Camp Miami was written by General Gordon in his cordial letter to J. A. McDonald: "That some things have not realized the benefits we hoped for has not been your fault, but . . . the result of factors . . . beyond our control. The fact is that the number of troops were too great for the resources of a place where almost everything they needed had to be created." [70] Camp Miami's record in terms of sickness was probably no worse than the records of most other camps of the Spanish-American War. [71] As a modern physician-historian notes, much of the criticism directed at Camp Miami and the other Florida encampments of 1898 was unfair. "The difficulties which arose were the result of hasty and inept decisions, lack of preparedness, rapid mobilization of thousands of men, limited knowledge and experience of most of the officer personnel, and exaggerations of an overly aggressive press." [72] But, in the final analysis, the common soldiers suffered, and no amount of explanation would make them forgive. Miami was a "bitter memory" to many of the Southerners who had been stationed there; the town's complete lack of the facilities needed to sustain a military camp had virtually insured that that would be the result. Miami's boosters and Henry M. Flagler and his Florida East Coast Railroad had overreached themselves, to the soldiers' chagrin. One day Miami would grow

69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., August 5, 1898.
71. Although Jacksonville's encampments had a sick list average of about four per cent of the commands stationed there, the ten per cent average at Camp Miami compared favorably with the ratios at Camp Alger, Virginia, Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, and Camp Thomas, Tennessee, major camps in more temperate climes. Comparative figures do not appear in United States War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1899,* 3 vols. (Washington, 1899). The *Miami Metropolis,* August 5, 1898, claimed that only thirteen soldiers had died in Camp Miami, but Koenigsberg, *Southern Martyrs,* 15, disputes this. For a rough comparison of death figures among troops at Florida camps, see Wright, "Medicine in the Florida Camps During the Spanish-American War," 20. For background on other major camps, see Senate Document 221, VIII, 54-71, 89-103, 185-405, and Cosmas, *Army For Empire,* 266-75.
72. Wright, "Medicine in the Florida Camps During the Spanish-American War," 26.

to prominence as a direct result of wartime military activity, but that day was to be nearly half a century in the future.

LEGISLATING A HOMESTEAD BILL: THOMAS HART BENTON AND THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR

by MICHAEL E. WELSH*

OF THE MANY causes Thomas Hart Benton espoused in his long Senate career, few demonstrate more clearly his perseverance and determination than his support for Florida during the Second Seminole War (1835-1842), culminating in his Armed Occupation Act of 1842. The United States government and its citizens, in pursuit of a policy of aggressive territorial growth, met the stubborn resistance of an exotic blend of runaway slaves and expatriate Indians in the swamps and marshes of the Florida peninsula. [1] Determined not to suffer a fate similar to other southeastern tribes during the years of Indian removal, the Seminoles mounted a guerilla campaign which drained the United States militarily, economically, and emotionally. [2]

The length of the conflict led many observers to despair of any solution short of complete withdrawal. For a people enamored of their "Manifest Destiny," submission to an "uncivilized" enemy bordered on the unthinkable. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Benton watched with increasing alarm the reversals suffered by the United States forces in Florida. As a major spokesman for frontier expansion and liberal land policies, he empathized strongly with the struggle of Florida's citizens to assume their rightful position in the union of states. As a slaveholder he recognized the tensions between abolitionist and slaveowner recurring in the debates on the prosecution of the Indian war. But above all Benton was a

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* Mr. Welsh is a doctoral candidate in United States history at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

1. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 2-21. The term "Seminole" is a Creek word meaning "runaway" or "wild one." It applied in the nineteenth century to a variety of Indian groups and their black allies and kin throughout the peninsula.
2. Ibid., 321-27. Congress dictated the transfer of the southeastern tribes west of the Mississippi in 1830, in response to southern pressure for fertile Indian lands for white settlement.

nationalist and desired a moderate course to solve the maze of problems attendant to the conflict. [3]

By 1839 Benton had serious reservations about the efficiency of conventional troops in the Florida campaign. Neither regular army forces, amply supplied and equipped, nor militia units could dislodge the Seminoles from their protection in the forests and swamps. In 1837 Benton himself had thought that western frontiersmen, familiar with travel through the wilderness, knowledgeable of Indian habits and warfare, and capable of living off the land, would quickly conclude hostilities. [4] After several fruitless volunteer campaigns, including one from his home state of Missouri, Benton revised his thinking on the strategy of the war.

Convinced of the futility of offensive warfare in Florida, Benton seized upon a plan to populate the peninsula with hardy yeoman farmers, willing to cultivate and defend the land. Such an idea was not new either to the senator or the nation. Malcolm J. Rohrbaugh has called America's public domain, or unsettled frontier, the "magnet" which attracted "one of the greatest mass migrations in the history of the world." [5] The inexorable spread of settlers reshaped the land, as they planted new crops and instituted new ideas about government and democracy. Benton admired the virtues fostered by possession of private property, at one point calling for "gratuitous grants" to all land seekers. Their labor extracted wealth from the soil, he said, and formed the backbone of the nation. [6]

On January 3, 1839, Benton rose before the third session of the Twenty-Fifth Congress to present both his interpretation of the Seminole War and his solution, entitled, "A bill for the armed occupation and settlement of that part of the Territory of Florida overrun by hostile bands of marauding Indians." [7] The war had revealed many divisions within the society at large, he recalled, especially "party spirit," which led various writers and politicians not to condemn the Seminole resistance but to praise

3. See Elbert B. Smith, "Thomas Hart Benton: Southern Realist," *American Historical Review*, LVIII (July 1953), 795-807.
4. William Richard Gentry, Jr., *"Full Justice": The Story of Richard Gentry and His Missouri Volunteers in the Second Semiole [sic] War* (St. Louis, 1937?), 4-5.
5. Malcolm J. Rohrbaugh, *The Land Office Business* (New York, 1968), 295.
6. William M. Meigs, *The Life of Thomas Hart Benton* (Philadelphia, 1904), 164-76.
7. *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 3rd sess., 95.

the Indian action. Benton feared that the "future historian who should take these speeches and publications for their guide (and they are too numerous to be overlooked), would write a history discreditable to our arms, and reproachful to our justice. It would be a narrative of wickedness and imbecility on our part-of patriotism and heroism on the part of the Indians." [8]

To preclude "the danger of such a history," Benton, both as a member of the party in power (the Democrats) and a United States citizen, felt moved by "an imperious sense of duty" to expose such errors. The major cause of the war, he felt, was not in the illegality of the Treaty of Paynes's Landing signed in 1832, whereby seven Seminole chiefs allegedly agreed to removal to lands west of the Mississippi and then later refused to comply. Instead, Benton argued that the Indians pursued the war because of their "thirst for blood and rapine," coupled with their "confident belief" that the swamps would protect them from pursuit by the whites. [9]

Benton then presented his bill to enable white citizens to populate the interior of Florida. It offered free land, weapons, and rations for one year in return for permanent settlement in the area. [10] The bill was read and ordered by the Senate to a second reading.[11] On February 5, 1839, Arkansas Senator Ambrose Hundley Sevier of the Committee on Military Affairs reported out the newly-named Armed Occupation bill without amendment. Sevier recommended prompt passage of the bill, and it was then ordered up for a third and final reading. [12]

The following day the Senate resumed consideration of the measure. After Benton suggested a few minor semantic changes, Senator William Campbell Preston of South Carolina, an opponent of the legislation, moved that further action on it be postponed indefinitely. Preston's motion, which passed by a vote of twenty-three to nineteen, took the chamber by surprise. Senator John McCracken Robinson of Illinois, a supporter of the bill who had been outside the hall during the motion, quickly

8. Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, 2 vols. (New York, 1854-1856), II, 72.
9. Ibid., II, 76.
10. Ibid., II, 77-82.
11. *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 3rd sess., 145.
12. Ibid., 172.

moved for reconsideration, and the bill was carried over for further study.[13]

On February 9 when the bill was again being considered, Senator John Williams of Mississippi called for an amendment to require all male settlers claiming land to be at least eighteen years of age. The measure passed, and the bill was printed.[14] On February 19 the measure came up for final discussion. Despite opposition from such luminaries as Henry Clay of Kentucky, Benton's forces carried the day. The Senate accepted the measure, twenty-five to eighteen, and sent it on to the House of Representatives.[15]

The Armed Occupation bill met opposition in the House from a variety of sources. One Florida historian has attributed the bill's defeat in the House to southern pressure. Large slaveholders and land speculators sought the best land for themselves, and obstructed efforts to include small farmers in the measure.[16] The *St. Augustine News* reported that "Southern Conservatives" in the House had indeed hurt the cause. Worse still, an unusual alliance of "Southern Whigs, Abolitionists and Federalists" had conspired to embarrass the Democratic administration of President Martin Van Buren.[17] Should the bill ultimately fail, predicted the *News*, "the blood of the female and of the infant shall be on their [the opponents'] heads."[18]

The House defeat of the bill disturbed Senator Benton but did not keep him from pressing his case again. With the seating of the new Twenty-Sixth Congress, he addressed its first session on December 6, 1839, giving notice of his intentions to reintroduce the Armed Occupation bill.[19] On January 3, 1840, Benton's Committee on Military Affairs reported a new measure out, and it became the special order of the day for Monday, January 6.[20]

Benton's persistence with the settlement bill had not gone unnoticed. On December 27, 1839, the *St. Augustine News* re-

13. Ibid., 174.
14. Ibid., 181.
15. Ibid., 202, 205.
16. James W. Covington, "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XL (July 1961), 42.
17. *St. Augustine News*, April 27, 1839, quoting the *Washington Globe* (n.d.).
18. Ibid., March 23, 1839, quoting the *Washington Globe* (n.d.).
19. *Congressional Globe*, 26th Congress, 1st sess., 20.
20. Ibid., 96. The *Globe* did not record the House vote on the Armed Occupation bill, stating only that it failed to pass.

ceived word of the senator's renewed efforts, and took the occasion to offer its congratulations: "Mr. Benton has ever exhibited the most commendable zeal and attachment to the interests of Florida. . . . Her cause, with such aid, is in truly able hands-and we trust that the measure so dear to him . . . will, with his commanding influences, be soon destined to their full fruition." [21]

After the reading of the bill on January 7, Benton took the floor to deliver a few pertinent remarks. He noted the bill's previous Senate passage and read the secretary of war's report endorsing armed occupation of Florida. Secretary Joel R. Poinsett further recommended the raising of 1,000 volunteers to serve as mounted dragoons. They were to be trained expressly for guerilla warfare "to render them equal to the Indian in vigor and endurance." This combination of settlement and defense would serve both to populate and secure the area in a manner heretofore untried. [22]

Benton then indulged in a lengthy polemic on conditions in Florida, the necessity of the bill, as well as responses to its opposition. Benton referred to several worthy historical precedents for the armed occupation of hostile territory. The children of Israel, he contended, had "entered the promised land, with the implements of husbandry in one hand, and the weapons of war in another." The Goths, he reminded his audience, had overtaken the countries of southern and western Europe in similar fashion. America herself provided the best examples, beginning with the "Pilgrim forefathers," and proceeding to Benton's own experiences in frontier Kentucky and Tennessee. [23]

The army had served its purpose, Benton noted, and deserved the approval of the nation. It had blunted the thrust of Indian resistance and for two years had encountered no major enemy concentrations. Some 2,000 Seminoles had been captured and sent west to reservations in the Indian territory, with the small remainder scattered throughout the swamps in southern Florida. The troops had prepared the country for settlement, Benton reported; they had explored and charted the interior of Florida, "established some hundreds of posts," and built "many

21. *St. Augustine News,* December 27, 1839.
22. *Congressional Globe,* 26th Congress, 1st sess., appendix, 71.
23. Ibid.

hundred miles of wagon roads" and "some thousands of feet of causeways and bridges." The senator took pride in listing these achievements and hoped that his colleagues concurred. [24]

Benton then directed his attention to the government's unsuccessful attempts to negotiate a settlement with the Seminoles in the spring and summer of 1839. These aborted peace efforts, according to Benton, "only served to show the unparalleled treachery and savagism" of the "ferocious beasts" with whom the nation had to treat. The Seminoles accepted the gifts and blandishments of the peace commissioners only to commit further murders. The peace overtures, combined with the success of their "treachery," emboldened the remaining Seminoles to the extent that they might never be seized as captives. [25]

According to Benton, the failed negotiations and offensives left the Congress a galling choice: accept armed occupation or acquiesce in failure. Benton then marshalled four arguments to dramatize the merits of his alternative. First, as a part of the Union, albeit a territory, the citizens of Florida had a "clear constitutional right" to demand protection, and not have to "solicit it as a favor." Second, "humanity and compassion" dictated the extension of assistance and protection to Florida. "These are white people and Christians," Benton noted, who had "suffered every extremity and every horror known to Indian warfare." The senator suspected that this particular point might receive a fair amount of criticism. "According to the pseudo-philanthropy of the day," he said, "white people have but a poor chance for compassion against negroes and Indians." But he hoped to muster enough sympathy for the "white Christian race" to counter these arguments. [26]

The interests of commerce underlined Benton's third reason for sponsoring the bill. The Florida peninsula had to be "cleared of marauders," replaced by an orderly population, and "subjected to regular government." Merchant ships which wrecked off the long and irregular coast of Florida often encountered parties of Indians who could not distinguish the crews from the enemy soldiers, with the result that they killed the sailors and seized

24. Ibid., 72.
25. Ibid., 72-73.
26. Ibid., 73.

their possessions. In the interior, farmers could neither plant their crops nor market them for profit.[27]

Benton's fourth contention was an issue of dubious merit. The peninsula had to be militarily secure, he said, given its proximity to the West Indies. Benton feared that Great Britain, having freed her slaves the decade before, might organize black battalions in the islands to invade Florida, which Benton described as the weakest point of the South. These forces would march north where "the lever would find its fulcrum to raise the black population of the South" to revolt. Florida, a "vital link in the chain of national defense," required preservation at all costs.[28]

Benton found his bill naturally irresistible. It was the appropriate, efficient, and cheap remedy for Florida's ills. "The heart of the Indian," he believed, "sickens when he hears the crowing of the cock, the barking of the dog, the sound of the ax, and the crack of the rifle." Such a frontier cacaphony was proof of the white man's intentions to remain. Indians knew the transient nature of the soldiers' role; "they are mere sojourners in the land," said Benton, "and sooner or later must go away." By placing whites in the Indians' midst, the Seminoles would either assume the offensive or slink off in defeat.[29]

Having made his case, the senator relinquished the floor to his opponents. Senator Benjamin Tappan of Ohio rose to indicate his sympathy for the good intentions of the Armed Occupation bill, but he disapproved of its methods. He doubted whether yeoman farmers would accept the challenge. "The men you will probably obtain," he predicted, "will be the idle and worthless population of our large cities," lured by the free rations and weapons.[30]

Senator William Preston then offered his suggestions for ending the Seminole War. He also shared Benton's concern and went further to place the blame on "the want of the proper attention of Congress to the subject." When the war broke out in 1835, both the Jackson administration and the general public "regarded this contest as a trifling affair," requiring a mere demon-

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., 74.

stration of force to induce the Seminoles into submission. Now Congress had a $25,000,000 expense on its hands and was "throwing away the country itself." [31]

It was with the mechanics of the Armed Occupation bill that Preston took issue. "The conquest of the country," he declared, "should be made by an adequate force," or the war should be "terminated by treaty." Congress had no power to impose armed settlements, he argued, and even if it did, Congress might have to offer similar inducements at prohibitive expense to other frontier areas. Furthermore, the terrain of Florida, Preston believed, could support no agricultural endeavor save a plantation economy with its large number of slaves. Slaveowners could not defend their possessions as readily as the small freeholder, and the government, Preston feared, would have to assume the burden of Florida's defense. [32]

Preston suggested that Congress implement the plan put forth by General Zachary Taylor during the time he was in command in Florida (1838-1839). Taylor had called for the creation of a district defense, dividing the interior of Florida into sections twenty miles square, each with a command post and a company of troops. These areas would be policed thoroughly to drive the Indians from their protection in the brush. Before it could be implemented, however, the Van Buren administration aborted the plan in favor of a cease-fire and talks. [33]

Preston felt that the government should reinvestigate the merits of Taylor's plan. A cordon of military posts might be constructed across the peninsula, with 10,000 men enlisted to sweep through the territory in a massive dragnet covering every foot of ground. As for the cost of this expedition, Preston had no qualms; in light of the multi-million dollar expenses already incurred, he desired to put an end to the war "at whatever cost." Benton's bill was both inefficient and impotent, and Preston hoped the second vote would meet a fate identical to its first balloting. [34]

After this heated session, on January 8, 1840, the Senate ordered the Armed Occupation bill up for a third reading. [35] On January 10, the bill underwent further debate. Senators Robert

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 75.
33. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 249.
34. *Congressional Globe,* 26th Congress, 1st sess., appendix, 75.
35. Ibid., 26th Congress, 1st sess., 107.

Strange of North Carolina, John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, Tappan of Ohio, and Preston of South Carolina spoke at length against it, and offered several amendments. The Senate went into executive session to discuss the bill and then adjourned without action. [36]

On January 12 Benton received an opportunity to respond to the latest criticisms. In keeping with his style, his answer was lengthy and involved. Benton began by addressing the curious appearance of three Spanish land grants claiming ownership of most of interior Florida. The grants allegedly had been presented by Ferdinand VII of Spain to three Spanish nobles: the Duke of Alagon, the Count of Punonrostro, and Don Pedro de Vargas. The grants, issued from February to April 1818, violated the eighth article of the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819, which ceded the Floridas to the United States. Article Eight declared all grants tendered after January 24, 1818, to be null and void, with the grants in question specifically mentioned by Ferdinand as invalid. [37]

Twenty-two years later these "dead, rotten, and putrid grants," as Benton termed them, returned to haunt his efforts at achieving peace. The original grantees had long since died and their lands were dispersed among a welter of claimants. The grants comprised all unclaimed territory in Florida and threatened not only Benton's proposal but present occupants of Florida land as well. [38]

Despite the curious nature of this challenge, Benton saw it as "rubbish," and secondary to more important matters. Senator Preston's call for blanketing the peninsula with troops was well-intentioned but uneconomical. To place but one soldier per square mile would require 45,000 combat troops, with another major force as replacements and support. Even now, according to Benton, the existing regiments there were but half-full. Less than 900 enlisted men served in Florida, yet the costs were still exorbitant. "Instead of covering the country with soldiers," Benton argued, "we wish to cover it with inhabitants." [39]

Benton then presented letters of support from several key

36. Ibid., 113.
37. Ibid., 26th Congress, 1st sess., appendix, 94.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., 95.

government officials who had participated directly in the Florida war. In his annual message to the legislature in January 1839, Richard Keith Call, Florida's territorial governor, recognized the futility of the present offensive warfare. He recommended that settlers be induced to migrate to Florida. He envisioned 10,000 pioneers helping save millions of dollars and thousands of lives and preparing the way for Florida's entry into the Union.[40]

Additional support came from Dr. Thomas Lawson, surgeon general of the United States Army who had witnessed the unpleasant medical aspect of American participation in Florida and was highly skeptical of success in the present efforts. He projected another five to ten years of fighting to rid the country of Indians. The Armed Occupation bill would cast the settlers in a defensive position, Lawson wrote, as "experience teaches us that we are better at repelling an invasion than in making a conquest."[41]

Benton's third and most prestigious supporter was General Thomas Sidney Jesup, commanding officer in Florida from late 1836 to late 1838. Jesup had incurred the wrath of many Northerners for his seizure of Osceola in 1837, while the Seminole chief was ostensibly protected by a flag of truce. Benton felt that Jesup's accomplishments far outweighed the criticism. As Benton noted, Jesup had effected the removal westward of some 2,200 Seminoles; "three or four times more than the number of all the killed and wounded, taken and removed by all the other Generals put together."[42]

Jesup felt that no other measure but the Armed Occupation bill could break down the last of the Seminoles, unless the government was prepared to imitate the tactics of the British on the island of Jamaica during the Maroon War of 1665-1739. For some seventy years black slaves in rebellion eluded capture by hiding out in the mountains. It was not until the British imported bloodhounds to track down the rebels that the slaves surrendered, and the war ended.[43] Should the government reject these alternatives, Jesup believed the Indians would be caught "only by their own consent," a most unlikely occurrence.[44]

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40. Ibid., 95-96.
41. Ibid., 96.
42. Ibid.
43. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 265-67.
44. *Congressional Globe,* 26th Congress, 1st sess., appendix, 96.

Buttressed by such influential support, Benton discussed at length the benefits of the bill for prospective settlers. All males would receive free of charge 320 acres of good farm land, "in a soft climate, open to sea breezes," and ripe for production. Settlers would receive a clothing allowance for one year, payable semiannually at the rate of $30-50 per person. The settlers would also receive free rations for one year and arms and ammunition valued at $30 from the government. They would also receive free medicine and medical care in military hospitals when necessary. [45] United States troops would transport them to their homesites and protect them afterwards. [46]

Benton, cognizant of Senator Preston's fears of an inundation of vagabonds and drifters, was careful to outline the type of settler likely to accept these generous terms. Benton sought the yeoman-the "300-acre man," he called him-the man of "muscle, nerve, and of labor." Attracting good men would prove no obstacle since small farmers in land-poor regions of the United States would provide the core of this migration. [47]

The last issue on Benton's agenda was the dismissal of abolitionist charges that the Armed Occupation bill guaranteed another slave state to upset the balance in Congress. Benton welcomed the presence in Florida of small farmers whom he felt would undoubtedly vote Democratic. Northern Whigs and abolitionists were sure to object, Benton said, and would muster all their forces in and out of Congress to defeat the bill. But their small-mindedness would not permit them to see the larger benefits of the bill. It would terminate an expensive contest, pacify a distracted territory, restore exiled citizens to their homes, and draw an integral part of America closer to the Union. [48]

Benton's powerful rhetoric once again had a great impact upon his Senate colleagues. His bill met little difficulty in its last hearings and came up for a final vote on January 20. After brief remarks by both sides, the totals showed twenty-four ayes

45. Ibid., 97. The rations consisted of 3/4 lb. pork or bacon or 1 1/4 lbs. fresh or salted beef, 18 oz. of bread or flour or 12 oz. of hard bread or 1 1/4 lbs. corn meal per person per day, plus, for each 100 rations issued, an additional allotment of 4 lbs. of soap, 1 1/2 lbs. of candles, 2 quarts of salt, 1 gallon of vinegar, 2 lbs. peas or beans, 10 lbs. of rice, 6 lbs. of coffee, and 12 lbs. of sugar.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 98.
48. Ibid., 99-100.

and fifteen nays. Benton had triumphed again.[49] But the victory, as before, was short-lived. The House of Representatives found this version of the Armed Occupation bill little different than the one defeated the previous session, and banished it to a similar fate.

For the next two years the Seminole War became the least of Benton's concerns. Personal problems at home, especially his wife's failing health, limited his time on the floor of the Senate. Increased criticism of his policies in his home state forced Benton to return to St. Louis on more than one occasion to explain his actions. But most troubling was the Whig victory in the presidential and congressional elections of 1840. Jacksonian Democrats no longer governed the nation, and the Senate came under the direction of northern Whigs. New issues confronted Congress with the Harrison and Tyler presidencies and the consideration of much Whig legislation. The Armed Occupation bill, twice a failure in the best of political times, had few prospects in 1841.[50]

The bill, dormant for over a year, received a boost on May 10, 1842, when President John Tyler declared an end to hostilities in Florida. He rationalized that there were too few Seminoles (less than 300) left in Florida to justify further operations. The President suggested that settlers venture into the territory now that the region was more secure. Six days later Benton once more introduced his Armed Occupation bill. It was read twice and dispatched to the Committee on Military Affairs for further study. On June 2, Benton reported out his bill, asking for early action.[51]

When Benton stepped onto the Senate floor on June 13 to defend his bill, he detected a changed attitude among his colleagues. The opposition, though still present, seemed less vocal; some enemies had left office, while others had changed their minds and were now prepared to support the measure. His arguments remained the same: the need for quick action to ease Florida's suffering and the benefits to the nation. Perhaps the President's endorsement of the concept of the bill prompted the change; perhaps the easing of tensions in Florida was responsible.

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49. Ibid., 117-30.
50. William Nisbet Chambers, *Old Bullion Benton: Senator From the New West* (Boston, 1956), 251-64.
51. *Congressional Globe*, 27th Congress, 2nd sess., 503, 566.

Whatever the reasons, the bill's fortunes seemed at last to brighten.[52]

The crucial stage for Benton's bill came on July 18, 1842, when the House of Representatives took up the Armed Occupation bill for the third time. Representative Samuel Stokely of Ohio spoke first in support of the measure, listing its clauses and closing with a plea to avoid the disgrace of being beaten in war by a few savages. Opposition surfaced quickly, as William Cost Johnson of Maryland opposed the idea of free guns and ammunition. This incentive would lure sportsmen, he argued, who would range at will throughout Florida in search of game, not farmland. He condemned the system as a "fraud upon the public" and urged that the bill be set aside.[53]

Stokely responded to these charges by telling Johnson that the clauses granting free weapons and rations had already been stricken from the bill while in a House committee, replaced by additional grants of 160 acres of land to the wives of each male settler. By including women Stokely hoped to enhance permanent settlement, as "the presence of the families would bind the settlers to the soil." To support his case, Stokely narrated several incidents of heroism displayed by women in the early settlement of the West, a process which Stokely saw as having "a most happy effect in stimulating the courage and enterprise of their male relatives."[54]

Several other representatives offered amendments for and against the bill, and then John Quincy Adams, former president and antislavery sympathizer, rose to make several observations. He disapproved of the use of the word "protection" in the bill, wondering why Florida was more entitled to protection than Massachusetts. Adams sympathized in principle with the bill's intentions to secure the safety of Floridians. But he also felt that proper treatment of the Indians, coupled with diplomacy, might induce the remaining Seminoles to remove west of the Mississippi and that this bill might not be the answer.[55]

Horace Everett of Vermont followed Adams, claiming that the measure was nothing more than a scheme for land specula-

52. Ibid., 618-19.
53. Ibid., 764.
54. Ibid., 765.
55. Ibid.

tion, injurious both to Florida and the rest of the country. He offered an amendment authorizing the President to pay each Indian warrior who surrendered and migrated west $1,000, as well as $200 to every person persuading an Indian to remove. An additional $100,000 was requested to defray the expenses of this surrender and migration. Everett's motion was defeated. [56]

With the close of debate in the House on July 18, the Armed Occupation bill came up for a vote. Its opponents fought to the end, moving for reconsideration and tabling, and finally adjournment when their other tactics failed. The House, on its third try, passed the bill by a vote of eighty-two to fifty. Lacking the original provisions for free weapons and rations, the bill went back to the Senate for final action. [57]

On August 1, 1842, the Senate took up the House version of Benton's bill. Senator Joseph White of Indiana objected, stating that any settlement on the land before conducting an official survey would result in bothersome litigation. But William Preston, an old adversary of the bill, registered a telling argument. Times had changed, he said, and Florida no longer needed troops. Though the House bill limited the inducements to settlers, some form of relief had to be extended to Florida. The vote came shortly thereafter, with the Senate passing the bill by a margin of twenty-four to sixteen. [58]

On August 4, 1842, President Tyler signed into law the Armed Occupation Act. All heads of families, male or female, as well as single men over the age of eighteen, were eligible for quarter sections of land. They had to be able to bear arms, though none were furnished, and to settle in an area bounded by a line running east and west about three miles north of Palatka, and ten miles south of Newnansville. No claims could be made within two miles of an army post, on lands with preexisting private claims, or on land containing "live oak or red cedar trees." [59]

A total of 200,000 acres became available to claimants, who

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56. Ibid., 765-66.
57. Ibid., 766.
58. Ibid., 818.
59. Armed Occupation Act, August 4, 1842, V U. S. *Statutes at Large*, 502; Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 314; *Niles' Register*, September 17, 1842; Dorothy Dodd, "Letters From East Florida (1843)," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (July 1936), 51-54.

could apply at land offices in Newnansville and St. Augustine for settlement permits.[60] The permit listed additional requirements: settlers had to remain on the land for five years, erect a "dwelling house," and "clear, enclose and cultivate" at least five acres of the land.[61] By the close of the year of eligibility, August 4, 1842, some 1,312 permits had been requested with 1,184 claimed. Most land was taken near forts, despite restrictions on such activity, and most permits were issued at the Newnansville land office.[62]

Judging the success or failure of Benton's bill demands more than mere quantitative analysis. The Armed Occupation Act did not create Benton's dream of a "determined band of hard-fighting farmers." Few had decent weapons, and fewer still were proficient in their use. A minor Indian scare in 1849, for example, saw nearly all interior settlements south of Ocala abandoned. Critics also felt that these inexperienced farmers bypassed valuable farmland, choosing nonproductive soil instead.[63] On May 3, 1848, the Florida legislature petitioned Congress to modify the five-year residence requirement of the Armed Occupation Act, as many settlers, unfamiliar with Florida's interior climate and terrain, encountered "sickness and bad water" on the hammock lands, and had removed their families to "more healthy spots." The legislature felt that those who had attempted to cultivate the land in good faith deserved title, whether their residency was five years or not.[64]

Despite these arguments, many historians concur in the belief that the Armed Occupation Act was a success. James W. Covington states that settlers formed a "hard core" of opposition to the Indians, and by complaining of sporadic Indian conflicts, forced "reluctant federal officials" into the altercation referred to as the Third Seminole War (1855-1858).[65] John K. Mahon takes an approach similar to Covington's in assessing the act. Assuming five persons per permit, Mahon figures the addition to the population of Florida in the years 1842-1843 to have been nearly 6,500, a sum more than ten per cent of the entire popu-

60. Covington, "Armed Occupation Act of 1842," 45.
61. Dodd, "Letters From East Florida," 52.
62. Covington, "Armed Occupation Act of 1842," 47; Dodd, "Letters From East Florida," 52-53.
63. Covington, "Armed Occupation Act of 1842," 52.
64. House Miscellaneous Document 78, 30th Congress, 1st sess.
65. Covington, "Armed Occupation Act of 1842," 52.

lace. The act also provided an incentive to settlement not available elsewhere in the United States at that particular time. In consequence the map of the peninsula was filled out and almost all portions of the wilderness explored. In 1845, only three years after the proclamation ending the war, Florida entered the Union as a state.[66]

The Armed Occupation Act stands ultimately as testimony to Benton's Jeffersonian faith in the goodness of the American people, and his Jacksonian adherence to pre-emption, or "first purchase" of unsettled lands, as the outlet for America's energies. The act was the first of several donation acts in United States history to induce settlement on distant and dangerous parts of the public domain.[67] Benton proposed similar settlement incentives in 1838 in regards to the Oregon territory, and for settlements along the right-of-way of his "Highway to the Pacific" in 1851.[68] Through Benton's exertions Florida gained national recognition for the problems unique to her climate and geography, as well as benefitting from an influx of settlement which otherwise might not have occurred. Benton overcame public indifference both to his measure and the war effort in general, both partisan and personal opposition among his congressional colleagues, and involvement of his bill in a variety of issues inflaming the public mind, such as expansionism, abolitionism, conservative economic policy, and the like. By war's end the United States Treasury had expended nearly $40,000,000 over a period of eight years to prosecute a war with no permanent treaty signed, no glory for the participants, no satisfaction for the Indians removed west. Only Thomas Hart Benton's bill and its Florida benefactors emerged as a positive development from this tragic episode in Florida's and the nation's history.

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66. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 314, 326.
67. Meigs, *Life of Thomas Hart Benton,* 177.
68. Benton, *Thirty Years' View,* II, 481; Meigs, *Life of Thomas Hart Benton,* 177.

THE REBELLION IN EAST FLORIDA IN 1795

by JANICE BORTON MILLER *

SOON AFTER East Florida was returned to Spain by the British following the American Revolution, a governmental structure was established with headquarters in St. Augustine. The first governor of this second Spanish period, Don Vizente Manuel de Zespedes, carried out the complex process of transferring jurisdiction. Thus by 1790, when the second governor, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, arrived in the province most of the English settlers had emigrated and Spanish institutions-government, trade, church, and school-were operating. St. Augustine was a town of approximately 1,862 persons, of whom 450 were in the military and about 412 were slaves.

The St. Marys River constituted the northern border of East Florida, and between it and the St. Johns River to the south, a distance of about thirty miles at the mouths, was a frontier area occupied by an estimated 300 settlers. Most of these settlers were American or English who had been attracted into Florida by the offer of large land grants, and had taken an oath of loyalty to Spain, thus becoming its subjects. They brought their families with them, and were developing sizable plantations and hoping to establish profitable trading ventures.

There were many problems facing Governor Quesada during his administration. Among the most serious were the continuing threats of invasion from Georgia during the last three years of his term, 1793-1796. In June 1793, Spain and Britain agreed to an alliance and declared war on France. The declaration of war was posted throughout the province with a manifesto ordering French settlers living in the province to leave within ten days. Word spread that French sympathizers were enlisting troops and commissioning officers in Georgia and South Carolina. This, along with rumors of conspiracy and disloyalty in the province, created turmoil in St. Augustine. In the United States those

* Ms. Miller is a member of the history faculty at Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee.

sympathetic to the French Republic supported plans to seize Spanish and British lands along the American borders.

Among the settlers living along both the Georgia and Florida banks of the St. Marys River and those between it and the St. Johns were many who stood to gain by the overthrow of the Spanish government in Florida. Some wanted to be under French control, others hoped for revolution to establish a republican government, a few dreamed of independence from all nations. [1] The government in St. Augustine indicted a number of these settlers for treason, forwarded their cases to Havana, and awaited that court's final decision.

When, as a result of President Washington's demand, the French Minister Genet and the French consul in Charleston were recalled, prospects for stability and peace promised to improve. Instead, indications increased that Americans living in south Georgia near the Florida border, joined by Spanish subjects, were preparing to invade the province. The French established a base on Amelia Island at the mouth of the St. Marys River which the Spanish had abandoned the previous year for lack of means to defend it. [2] General Elijah Clarke, formerly an American Revolutionary officer, had put together a force of men, and thinking that he could further his own interests by supporting the French, planned aggression in coordination with the insurgents. Jean H. Fauchet, the new French minister to the United States, considered it permissible to aid rebellious activity which he considered this to be. [3]

The government of St. Augustine believed that the French intended to use the port of St. Marys as a place to bring and sell prizes and to equip their own ships. Should this happen they feared that the French would quickly spread into the surrounding countryside and that the coastal area would become populated with Frenchmen from the United States and elsewhere,

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1. Bartolomeo Morales to Luis de las Casas, June 27, 28, 1795, East Florida Papers, roll 9, bundle 26M2, microfilm, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Hereinafter East Florida Papers are cited as EFP.
2. Juan Nepomuceno Quesada to las Casas, May 27, 1795, EFP, 9:26M2.
3. Adet to minister of foreign relations, February 9, 1796, *American Historical Association Annual Report, 1903* (Washington, 1904), II, 827, quoted in Richard K. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796* (Berkeley, 1961), 96.

who would live "without king, without law, or religion" and would be a constant threat to the safety of East Florida. [4]

In November 1794, the court in Havana ordered that for lack of evidence the Spanish subjects charged with treason and held in Moro Castle in Havana and the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine be freed. The judge acknowledged the seriousness of their crimes and instructed Governor Quesada to continue to observe their conduct. [5] Their release proved to be a costly mistake to the Spanish government, and their return to East Florida in December posed an immediate threat to the province.

These men had come into Florida from Georgia and South Carolina. All owned property in East Florida and one had a business interest there. Richard Lang had been magistrate for the Spanish in the St. Marys district, captain of one of the companies of dragoons on that river, and he owned a plantation in the area. John MacIntosh had a plantation, *Serro Fuente,* on the St. Johns River near the Spanish customs port of San Nicolas. William Jones owned a plantation along the south bank of the St. Johns near the San Nicolas post. John Peter Wagnon, who had entered the province in 1791, had twenty-four slaves, some horses and cattle on his land, and he owned a house in St. Augustine. William Plowden was a trader and owned a large house in St. Augustine. Their relatives and friends lived in East Florida and Georgia and could be relied on for support. It would be impossible to prevent them from returning to the Florida frontier and reinitiating designs against the Spanish government. This time there would be support from Elijah Clarke and his associates.

Released from prison in January 1795, the men who had been held in Havana joined those in St. Augustine and headed for Georgia and locations on the St. Marys River-Coleraine, Temple, and Newton (St. Marys). [6] It was not long before they began to make demands on Quesada and to issue threats if their requests were not fulfilled. Some wanted compensation for their "oppressed innocence" and threatened to make "all possible efforts to be freed of the yoke of despotism and extend the breadth of liberty and freedom which God has given to all human beings." [7]

4. Morales to las Casas, May 27, 1795, EFP, 9:26M2.
5. Julian France Campos to las Casas, November 13, 1794, Archivo General de las Indias, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 1498.
6. Quesada to las Casas, January 15, 1795, EFP, 9:26M2.
7. Richard Lang to Quesada, February 27, 1795, Lang to the Governor of

Disturbances along the border increased with such frequency that Colonel Carlos Howard, commander of the Spanish frontier, believed that they were deliberately intended to foment discord among citizens of Georgia and the settlers of East Florida. [8] The revelation that Elijah Clarke was in the vicinity reinforced this conviction. Howard learned of a secret communication written by Plowden which disclosed plans for a Florida invasion.

United States troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Gaither were sent to St. Marys to assure American neutrality. Gaither, aware of threats to East Florida from within the United States, dispatched a message to Colonel Howard offering, in the interest of peace between the United States and Spain, to notify him of any unauthorized plotting against Florida, particularly by the "Clarkinos." From Augusta, Georgia, Governor George Matthews promised Quesada that he would use the militia against Clarke and his band. [9]

In the meantime, in St. Augustine supplies had become dangerously low, and the arrival of a brigantine from New York bringing grain was anxiously awaited. Tension increased when it was reported that two corsairs were blockading the entrance to the bar and preventing the ship from making port. It was also known that a vessel had disembarked five men on Matanzas, just south of St. Augustine, where they were able to get supplies. Word also reached St. Augustine that artillery and arms had been unloaded on Amelia Island. [10] Quesada was working desperately despite illness from recurring fever. By May he was forced to transfer his authority to Colonel Bartolomeo Morales, commander of the Third Battalion of Cuba assigned to East Florida. Quesada remained in constant consultation with the interim governor. [11]

Morales and Quesada knew that if Clarke and his followers entered East Florida by way of the St. Marys River and the

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East Florida, May 10, 1975, Plowden to the Governor of East Florida, June 19, 1795, John Wagnon to John McQueen, November 15, 1795, EFP, 83:196A16.

8. Translation of a letter by Carlos Howard to Commander Don Abamiel Nicolls dated September 16, 1794, and translation of the letter in which the undersigned magistrates of Newton St. Mary replied to a letter of Howard to Nicolls dated September 17, 1794, EFP, 83:196A16.
9. Howard to Quesada, September 19, 1794, EFP, 83:196A16.
10. Ibid.
11. Morales to las Casas, May 2, 1795, EFP, 9:26M2.

French corsairs held Amelia Island, they would control not only the island and port but also the land in between it and the St. Johns River. Thus communications, both sea and land, with the United States would be cut, and imports of meat and other commodities would be impossible.

On June 1, 1795, unknown to the Spanish, Richard Lang with his two sons assembled a group of twenty Georgians at a point on the St. Marys River. They crossed the river into East Florida where they were joined by Spanish subjects including some fifteen militiamen who had been garrisoning the Spanish post of Juana for over nine months. [12] A total of seventy-two men moved south toward the St. Johns River. [13]

On June 27, they approached their first target, Fort Juana, which lay six miles north of the Spanish fort of San Nicolas on the St. Johns River.[14] They captured the commander of the post, Ensign Isaac Wheyler, the garrison, twelve other militia, and a group of prisoners. They also seized 114 head of cattle, several horses, a Negro belonging to Francisco Felipe Fatio, a Spanish subject, and sent guards with the men and animals off to Georgia. They then burned the post and two days later moved out toward the St. Johns River. Their goal was the fort at San Nicolas. [15]

The only person at Juana whom the rebels left behind was the mess steward who managed to notify Carlos Howard of what had happened. Howard quickly dispatched Captain Nathaniel Hall with twenty-four dragoons in pursuit, but when they failed to find the rebels they returned to the base. Macintosh appeared before Howard, "well mounted and armed," and pretending innocence, requested permission to go as a volunteer in the pursuit. Peter Wagnon acted out the same role, appearing before Captain Hall. [16] At the same time Howard received word that Amelia Island had been taken and that the French flag was flying there.

When news of the attack reached St. Augustine the members of the council of war persuaded Quesada to resume his command. At a meeting on July 7, the members brought the governor up to date on all matters regarding the invasion. They heard a report

12. Francisco Felipe Fatio defending Daniel McGirtt, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
13. Quesada to las Casas, July 5, 1795, EFP, 10:26M2.
14. Fatio defending eight prisoners, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
15. Fatio defending Juan Faulk, December 14, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
16. Quesada to las Casas, July 5, 1795, EFP, 10:26M2.

from Andres Atkinson, captain of the militia dragoons, who had just returned from Georgia. He gave an account of a dinner he had attended with the magistrates of St. Marys where he found himself in the company of a number of French and some partisans of Richard Lang. [17] There was to be an invasion of Florida with 300 men. Elijah Clarke had traveled through Georgia and South Carolina enlisting troops, offering them a brilliant fortune in the conquest of the province. He promised that within a few days he would be on the south bank of the St. Johns River where he had many followers and friends. The plan was to enter the Nassau River with a boat capable of holding sixty men and to take the Spanish launch, *Nuestra San Agustin.* Then with both boats they would ascend the river as far as San Nicolas, overpower the battery, join with partisans of East Florida waiting there, and take possession of the entire province. The operation would conclude with an attack on the plaza of St. Augustine. Atkinson added that sixty men had already gone to Amelia Island under Lang and others were being sent to reinforce them. [18]

The council began to plan measures for defense. The three urban militia units, organized earlier by Quesada to defend St. Augustine, were ordered to the St. Johns River. [19] Amelia Island was to be reoccupied, all free Negroes enlisted, Indians and auxiliaries assembled, and forty men of the regular force sent to the St. Johns. The posts along the St. Johns River were to be reinforced by men from the garrison in St. Augustine. The enemy camp installed inside of Spanish territory must be seized. A battery was to be constructed at the bar of the St. Johns River. The magistrates of St. Marys and the governor of Georgia were to be petitioned to aid in preventing attacks. [20]

All of the inhabitants of the St. Johns River must take up arms for their own defense and be ready to prevent the rebels from crossing to the south side of the river. They were to move their cattle south of the river for public use and to prevent their being captured by the enemy. Goods and furniture of value should also be moved south. All artillery on the banks of the St.

17. Juntas de Guerra, July 7, 1795, EFP, 129:294P12.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Quesada to las Casas, July 5, 1795, EFP, 10:26M2.

Johns were to be fixed for defense in case the enemy crossed the river. The help of the English brigantine corsair, already on the St. Johns, should be solicited.[21] Because of the difficulty of getting mail to Havana, John Leslie of Panton, Leslie & Company, offered a small balandra to be used to carry mail out from Tampa Bay.[22]

Quesada described the situation in the province as one of "anguish: blockaded by sea, attacked by land by numerous enemies . . . with few garrison, without money to pay August expenses, without means to pay the militia or of satisfying the Indians who could act as auxiliaries . . . and surrounded by settlers' dissatisfaction with all monarchical government."[23]

Meanwhile, patrols were established along the St. Johns to guard the frontier. Carlos Howard took the first company of urban militia and a group of free Negroes and mulattos to a position farther down the river to San Vicente Ferrer (St. Johns Bluff) closer to the entrance of the St. Johns. Captain Nathaniel Hall, commander of the second company, guarded the seven miles of frontier between San Nicolas and the house of Fatio. Lieutenant Timothy Hollingsworth was second in command under Hall and Lieutenant Ignacio Lopez commanded the battery itself.[24]

The night of July 9 was dark and rainy as patrols took up their guard. Hollingsworth sent Sergeant Ruben Hogan with two men to guard the three miles of river from the battery to the house of a settler, William Lane. He also sent five militia to patrol the mile from the house of settler James William Lee to the battery, a point of strategic importance. Hollingsworth then went with Lieutenant Summerlin, four militiamen, William Lane, and his son Pierce to Lane's house where there were a number of men present including Lieutenant Daniel Hogan of the militia.[25]

The men were all having coffee when Lane's brother-in-law, a soldier of the Spanish militia, entered and announced that all were prisoners. William Lane and his son Pierce joined him, saying if all did not surrender they would be killed. Armed men began appearing at the door, a number later estimated at about

21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Fatio defending Hollingsworth, 1797, EFP, 129:295.
25. Ibid.

seventy, all led by Richard Lang himself. They drew their swords, entered the house, and took the occupants prisoner. At three in the morning Lang ordered all of the captives to accompany fifty of the rebels to the battery of San Nicolas. Not far from that post the rebels and prisoners met a large assembled group ready with plans to seize the battery. [26]

Among them were John MacIntosh, John Peter Wagnon, William Plowden, and William Jones, all of whom had been indicted earlier for treason and released the previous year. There were other Spanish subjects, including James William Lee, William Lane, his son, and the five men of the militia sent by Hollingsworth to the house of James William Lee. Also among the group were ten men arrested by Lee himself. All together there were about 100 armed men including some mercenaries whom Lang had hired. Supplies had been provided by the French consul in St. Marys.[27] When the insurgents arrived at the St. Johns River they were met by seventy-one Spanish settlers and militia assembled there ready with canoes to take the men across. [28]

Once on the south side the rebels dispatched one of their group, who spoke Spanish well, to the fort, some 300 yards away. Met by four lookouts, this emissary announced that he had brought militia of Florida to reinforce the post. By the time that Lopez came out, all of the rebels had arrived on the scene and began quickly to disperse over the entire fort. Lopez ordered his troops to take arms, but before they could do so, the enemy fired upon them, killing two soldiers. They then seized Lopez and the thirty-five troops of his command. [29]

While the battery was being overrun, William Lee directed the seizure of the Spanish launch, *San Simon,* which was guarding the river pass.[30] The rebels ordered the commander Manuel Otero and his twelve crewmen to surrender, and after an attack of fire at close range the Spanish colors were lowered. [31] William Lee then turned over the launch to the rebels, crying out *"viva la*

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26. Ibid.
27. Bartolome de Castro defending John Jones, September 23, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
28. Rafael Saavedre de Espinosa defending William Lane and Cornelio Rain, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
29. Junta, July 11, 1795, EFP, 129:294P12.
30. Fatio defending George Cook, December 19, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
31. Santiago Mella regarding Otero, EFP, 129:294Pl2.

libertad." [32] Shortly thereafter Lopez surrendered the whole battery.

Peter Wagnon ordered the prisoners taken first to Temple and then to Amelia Island where they were to construct a battery. [33] All the prisoners, including twenty-two soldiers of the regular troops, were forced to sign a paper which, unknown to many of them, indicated that they were joining the rebels. [34]

At the time of the seizure of San Nicolas it was believed that the enemy was taking the whole East Florida province, they had control of both rivers, and that they were being directed by General Clarke. [35] Lang announced that he would be in charge of the entire province and that reinforcements would arrive momentarily. [36] It was believed that Colonel Howard was retreating from San Vicente Ferrer to St. Augustine and that all the roads into the city were held by the rebels. [37]

The rebels spread information, much of it false, that the battery at Santa Isabel, the posts of San Vicente Ferrer, Two Sisters, and the rest of the St. Johns River were in their possession. It was thought that the regular Spanish troops, militia, and officers, were prisoners. As help had not arrived from St. Augustine the stories sounded believable. [38] The rebels freed Lieutenant Ignacio Lopez who pledged that he would not take up arms. He needed his freedom so that he could inform Governor Quesada at St. Augustine of the fall of the battery. [39]

When Lopez reported the capture of San Nicolas, Quesada feared that the enemy might also take St. Augustine. In an emergency meeting the council of war drew up plans to defend the city. The troops would make a stand at a line extending from the Castillo de San Marcos, while the cavalry would guard the main streets. All males who could physically carry arms would be enlisted regardless of class. Women and children would embark in boats, which would anchor in the shelter of the castillo. Those who found this impossible would seek shelter in one of the vaults of the fort. Under no circumstance would there

32. Petition of William Lee, December 23, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
33. Lorenzo Yanes defending William Rain, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
34. O'Kelly defending Nabit Davies, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
35. Swining, December 22, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
36. Petition of Lee, December 23, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
37. O'Kelly defending Davies, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
38. Fatio defending Faulk, December 14, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
39. Junta, July 11, 1795, EFP, 129:294P12.

be any exchange of prisoners taken by the rebels, as the latter had already proposed. [40]

The revelation of the numbers of Spanish subjects who took part in the rebellion or actively cooperated with it, increased apprehension in St. Augustine. Quesada declared that his major care was "not the declared enemy but the hidden and domestic one." He now suspected many of the settlers. He even began to distrust some he had considered loyal, such as Francisco Felipe Fatio, who had offered to help the government in general terms, but when it came to particulars "he excuses himself with a thousand pretexts." Fatio had to provide some maize, but Quesada noted that "it was worm eaten and of little usefulness." [41]

On July 12 the Spanish forces, reinforced by the English brigantine corsair, arrived at San Nicolas. [42] The enemy was put to flight so quickly that they were forced to abandon many Spanish soldiers and some weapons and supplies. They also left behind, perhaps deliberately, the list of signatures implicating them as joining the rebels. Significantly the list did not contain the names of those known to be rebels. Three of the enemy were apprehended-William Lane, his son, and James William Lee. John MacIntosh, John Peter Wagnon, William Plowden, Richard Lang, and William Jones escaped. [43]

Following the recovery of the battery, a Spanish brigantine reached Amelia Island in time to assist Commander Hall and his 120 troops in an attack which freed twenty Spanish prisoners and put the rebels to flight.[44] General Clarke, who had entered the province, was among those forced to flee. [45] The infamous Daniel McGirtt, distrusted by both Georgians and Spanish, was captured and charged with serving as Clarke's pilot. [46] The rebels returned to the neighborhood of Temple. Passing through St. Marys, they publicly boasted of their action, and Richard Lang declared that he would always be a thorn in the side of the Spanish. [47]

By the first of November the scene had changed. The ma-

40. Ibid.
41. Quesada to las Casas, July 13, 1795, EFP, 10:26M2.
42. Fatio defending Faulk, December 14, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
43. Proceedings on the seizures relevant to the Rebellion of 1795, 1795-1799, by Quesada, July 17, 1799, EFP, 129:294P12.
44. Fleming defending Summerlin, 1797, EFP, 129:294P12.
45. Francisco Rovira defending Ricardo Malpas, deceased, EFP, 129:294P12.
46. Fatio defending McGirtt, EFP, 129:294P12.
47. Junta, July 11, 1795, EFP, 129:294P12.

jority of the men who had come to join Clarke had deserted. Not more than thirty remained, and these were discontented. Even Richard Lang was ready to leave, Atkinson reported, and "the rest know clearly that they have been destroyed in their designs. In reality all are so fed up with the business that I believe that they will not return to commit equal offenses." [48]

Starting with the reoccupation of San Nicolas the Spanish authorities began to arrest all suspected of treason or collaboration with the enemy. The government ordered the seizure of the abandoned plantations, properties, and goods of prisoners or those who escaped to Georgia. The responsibility for making an inventory of goods and transporting them to St. Augustine was assigned to Bernardo Sequi, captain in the urban militia, and several of his assistants.

Land, buildings, furniture, farm equipment, animals, and produce were confiscated. Included were gilded mahogany and walnut tables, chests of drawers, desks, plates, glassware, soup tureens, copper jars and pots, kitchen utensils, books, both male and female clothing, tools, a mill stone, boats, pistols, guns, rifles, bullets, 800 pounds of raw cotton, several acres of corn, sweet potatoes, and maize, lumber, herds of cattle, large numbers of sows, horses, chickens, ducks, turkeys, and of course slaves. At least twelve plantations along the St. Johns River were seized, as well as Wagnon's property and goods in St. Augustine. [49]

These commodities were taken by boat to St. Augustine where they were placed in the custody of the general depositor, Miguel de Ysnardy. [50] Since there was no public corral, the cattle and hogs were housed with a private settler "to his great inconvenience." A knowledgeable person was appointed to value the goods at a "just price," and they were then put up for auction. The sale was announced by a drummer of the Battalion of Cuba and a Negro slave who called out the sale in a "loud and intelligible voice." When a number of people had gathered, the bidding began. These sales were carried on for several months. The money received was left in custody of the court. Slaves not

48. Nathan Atkinson to Howard, October 24, 1795, Atkinson to Howard, November 1, 1795, EFP, 83:196A16.
49. Goods seized from some rebels, July 22, 1795, Members of the San Juan Militia who were fugitives and gone with the Americans whose goods were seized and sequestered, October 31, 1795, EFP, 129:294P12.
50. Ysnardy to Quesada, April 5, 1796, EFP, 129:295.

sold became public charges and caused many problems. It was claimed that they would not work, feigning illness, and in the case of women, claiming the necessity of caring for their children. [51]

The prisoners were first sent to the Castillo de San Marcos, but there were not enough dungeons to hold such a large number. Arresting those known to be rebels was simple, Quesada noted, but implicating those only suspected was a "delicate operation . . . the cause up to now has been handled with little care and exactitude." Quesada was concerned that many innocent people might be arrested: "Accusations reach me every minute. . . . The province is in an extraordinary commotion, everyone suspicious of one another." [52]

The Spanish arrested all who were at the battery after its recovery, those who had worked for the enemy while in capture, those who had been treated with friendliness or recognition by Lang and his friends, those whose names were on the list signed by prisoners, all who had been arrested at the house of James William Lee and the eight at William Lane's house who were taken to the San Nicolas battery, anyone who had left St. Augustine without a pass, and all prisoners of the rebels on Amelia Island and those who worked for them. Sixty-eight cases were brought before the court, including thirty-five persons who had escaped to Georgia. Among the latter were Richard Lang, John MacIntosh, and John Peter Wagnon. Twenty-eight were present in court when charges were made. One man was incarcerated in the castillo and it was feared that he had lost his mind, and four of the rebels had died while imprisoned. [53]

The trial began in St. Augustine in January 1796. Enrique White in the meanwhile had become governor of the province, succeeding Quesada. The court was presided over by Francisco Enzinoso de Abreu, advocate of the Royal Audiencia and Chancellery of Mexico and Santa Domingo. Lieutenant Ignacio Lopez appeared as military advisor before the court and in the presence of the officers of the court and the prisoners, sixty-four persons all together, he read the declaration of charges. [54] Each

51. Goods seized from some rebels, July 22, 1795, EFP, 129:295.
52. Quesada to las Casas, July 29, 1795, EFP, 10:26M2.
53. Castro y Ferrer defending Francisco Goodwing, 1798, EFP, 129:294P12.
54. Testimony of criminal decrees formed against the rebels that invaded this province in said year 1795, EFP, 129:294P12.

person had been assigned a defender, none of whom were advocates. The trial lasted two years and one month, during which time all of the prisoners were held in the castillo unless they became ill enough to be taken to the hospital. [55]

The trial was finally concluded at the beginning of 1798. On February 22 Governor White came before the court to pronounce the sentencing. None of the prisoners were present. "For the crime of high treason perpetrated against the King, this city, and its province, in the rebellion which was subdued in the past year of 1795, and death which was given in the attack on the San Nicolas post to one corporal of artillery and two soldiers of the light infantry I declare the penalties against those before cited." The first sentencing was against the thirty followers of Richard Lang, all of whom had escaped. Wherever each might be found a rope was to be placed around his neck so he could be dragged by the tail of a horse to the plaza and pavilion, there to be hanged on the gallows. The town crier was to proceed the criminal, calling out the nature of the offense. The criminals would remain on the scaffold for three days when they would be lowered by the executioner and publicly quartered. "The heads and arms, will be fixed proportionately in the vicinity of the post of San Nicolas and the pass of the St. Johns River to serve as a farning to others." All of their goods were to be confiscated and their children prohibited from any inheritance, dignity, or public office. Should any person venture to impede or save the victim, Governor White warned, the punishment would be execution and confiscation of all his goods. [56]

Timothy Hollingsworth, William Lane, and James William Lee, all being held in the castillo, would receive similar penalties of death and quartering, their goods confiscated, and their children denied the right of inheritance, dignity, or public office. Included also in this group was the deceased Jorge Aarons.

Fifteen others who were prisoners in the castillo, including Daniel McGirtt, thirteen year old William Rain, another illiterate boy, and three members of the urban militia, were sentenced to ten years at hard labor with rope and shackle on their feet, and to rations without pay. Of the fifteen, five would work on the fortifications of the city of Havana, five on those at

55. Fatio defending eight prisoners, EFP, 129:294P12.
56. Rebellion of 1795, February 24, 1798, EFP, 129:294P12.

Pensacola, and five in St. Augustine. Anyone violating his sentence would suffer death. Nine others were freed with the stipulation that they leave St. Augustine within fifteen days, moving their possessions to an area south of the city. There they would be given acreage equal to what they had owned in St. Augustine. [57]

That same afternoon at four o'clock the government secretary certified that he, the public interpreter, and the officer of the guard had Hollingsworth, Lane, and Lee, guarded by soldiers with rifles and in the presence of their respective defenders, brought out of their cells to hear their sentences read. They were then returned to the dungeons where a blacksmith affixed chains on their feet. The officials then proceded to the next group, informing them of their sentence to ten years at hard labor. The last group was set at liberty. [58] There is no evidence to show that any of the rebels were ever executed. Those still living in East Florida by the of the century, only three years later, were pardoned. Those forced to leave St. Augustine complied, but received lands to their satisfaction. [59]

Thus ended, after nearly three years, the rebellion, the trial, and the meting out of punishment to those who were still in custody. With it also ended the valiant hopes of Governor Quesada for developing the province of East Florida into a growing and prosperous part of the Spanish Empire in America.

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57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.

INSIDE THE RING: BISBEE-LEE CORRESPONDENCE, FEBRUARY-APRIL 1880

by PETER D. KLINGMAN *

THE ELECTION YEAR 1880 was critically important to Republicans nationally and in Florida. Despite the abandonment of southern Republican party organizations in the wake of Rutherford B. Hayes's narrow victory and the resulting compromise in 1877, neither the national G.O.P. nor Florida Republicans were politically moribund. On the national level three Republican giants were in pursuit of the presidential nomination though none were to achieve it - Ulysses S. Grant, considering a third term, a move especially popular with southern blacks and carpetbaggers, John Sherman, secretary of the treasury in the Hayes administration, and James G. Blaine, "the Plumed Knight," powerful United States senator from Maine. [1]

In Florida the Republican candidates for governor were also influential politicians. The party's choice was one which mattered, for it was not yet an era in which Florida Democrats, divided themselves between moderate ex-Whigs led by George Drew and old-line Democrats under William D. Bloxham, were assured of victory. The two G.O.P. candidates who were being mentioned most prominently were Simon B. Conover, retiring United States senator, and William Ledwith, Jacksonville postmaster who, despite previous pro-Confederate sympathies, had come out supporting Grant for a third term presidency. Ledwith hoped thereby to win the endorsement of the state's black Republicans. [2]

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* Mr. Klingman is instructor in social science at Daytona Beach Community College, Daytona Beach.

1. George N. Mayer, *The Republican Party, 1854-1966*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1976), 198-200.
2. Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, 1976), 62; *Savannah News*, n.d., quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 27, 1880. The article cited former Florida tax commissioner J. B. Stickney as a possible candidate. Harrison Reed, former governor, was facetiously mentioned in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 3, 1880.

What follows is an exchange of letters concerning these and other issues. They were written between February and April 1880 by Congressman Horatio Bisbee, Jr., representing East Florida (second electoral district) and Joseph E. Lee, the powerful black Jacksonville Republican who controlled much of the Negro vote in the second district. Both men were members of the "ring" faction of the state Republican party, that group of federal officeholding Republicans generally opposed to the patronage powers of the governor and other state officials. [3]

The Bisbee-Lee exchange is of historical significance, for the letters shed new light on G.O.P. thinking in Florida in the post-Reconstruction period. Moreover, they reveal something of the personalities of the men themselves and of the nature of the relationship that existed between them. Horatio Bisbee had settled in Florida following the Civil War and had established a prosperous legal practice in Jacksonville before his entry into politics; he was always a central figure in the bitterly divisive intra-party struggles among Florida Republicans during and after Reconstruction. Indeed, East Florida Republicans commonly divided into pro- and anti-Bisbee forces as each congressional election approached. [4] Joseph Lee, on the other hand, had been one of the first Florida Negroes to pass the state bar examination, and he wielded considerable influence among Florida freedmen. During Reconstruction and in the years after 1876 Lee held a series of federal appointments in Jacksonville. He also served as chairman of the Duval County G.O.P. and secretary of the Florida Republican party continously until his death in 1920. [5] Finally, the corerspondence between Bisbee and Lee confirms that intra-party feuding continued to remain the Florida Republican party's central weakness in the post-Reconstruction period as it had been in the years after the Civil War. The letters which follow are in the Joseph E. Lee Memorial Library and

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3. For a discussion of Republican factionalism, see Williamson, "Independentism: A Challenge to the Florida Democracy of 1884," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXVII (October 1948), 131-56.
4. "Autobiographical Sketch of Horatio Bisbee," misc. mss box 35, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; Wanton S. Webb, ed. and comp., *Webb's Historical, Industrial, and Biographical Florida,* 2 vols. (New York, 1885), I, 131.
5. Biographical sketch of Joseph E. Lee, *Jacksonville Magazine,* January-February 1976, 22-24; Webb, *Webb's Historical, Industrial, and Biographical Florida,* I, 37.

Museum, Jacksonville. Spelling and punctuation have not been altered.

Feby 9 '80

Dear Colonel:

I suppose you will be quite surprised to hear from me and I should not trouble you [with?] the facts, that above my name follow writings to the *Patriot* from this City, I think as trying to leave the impression on your assistant that I am working to advise with Mr. Durkee for Congress. [6] I do not think I need assure you, that I shall do what I can to return you to Congress, it matters not what others may say, and just now I have as much as I can do to make some support for my family. I hope you may succeed in getting your seat because you were honorably elected to it. [7] Let me hear from you at anytime.

Joseph E. Lee

P.S. I am doing what I can to have Republican success, when, I shall sink into insignificance as far as politics are concerned. -L.

Washington, D.C. Feb'y 17, 1880

Friend Lee,

I was not in the least surprised to receive yours of the 9th inst.

I commenced a letter to you yesterday at N.Y. but finding I had not the time to complete it before [leaving?], abandoned it till here. The subject was not in my personal interest however. I was not surprised for the reason that I was not unconscious that a few wouldbe malcontents have underestimated your sagacity, independence, & foresight. I have never believed they would succeed either in convincing you that they had a grievance or of making you an appendage to one of their insurrections. [8] I have

6. Joseph Durkee came to Florida with the Union army and served as the Freedmen's Bureau agent in Alachua County before moving to Jacksonville.
7. House Miscellaneous Document 26, 46th Congress, 1st sess., records the testimony involving Bisbee's contested 1878 congressional race against Noble Hull.
8. Political opposition to Horatio Bisbee in 1880 referred to, while not stated explicitly, was from one of two possible sources: in Alachua County, Leonard Dennis and Josiah Walls, ex-congressmen who eventually would run against Bisbee in 1884; or in Duval County, where a "reform" faction of Republicans led by businessman Jonathan C. Greeley, former Governor Harrison Reed, and Negro leader Emanuel Fortune

no malice, hatred, or ill will towards anyone. I have or may have committed errors of the head, but my political course is untainted with any intrigue with democrats for personal ends or even with an impure party thought. It must have occured *[sic]* to the reflecting mind that no man ever had a harder struggle to give effect to the votes of a people or to teach our enemies to respect us than I have. Not only contested seats involving large expenditures, but a democratic Senate & House, and an administration that does not appreciate our condition. Had I consulted my own wishes & interests, I should have abandoned the fight after 1876, but I could not do so & respect myself, much less those who expressed their wishes at the ballot box.

Let me say now that if we win in 1880 or not, you cannot do as you suggest. The struggle to preserve the results of the war for the next ten years will be a momentous one, and your position is such that you will have to bear your part of the burden & share the honors of the victory when one [?]-I thank you for what you say, but I have not had the least concern respecting your attitude.

If I am renominated I shall continue fiercer than ever for success, but if this convention [9] is of the opinion that another can be selected, possessing more elements for success, or who is more devoted to the cause, I shall not pine over it nor attempt to make mischief.

We must move cautiously in the matter of nominating a governor. I do not look upon the subject in a place-limiting aspect. What we want is a man, who when elected, will give a *calm, dispassionate, [?] and honest government* under which colored men can have a place on the jury & thus put an end to sending them to the penitentiary for stealing a turnip, to their whipping and mal-treatment through democratic cussedness & save our school system-our only hope-from destruction. We ought to win on that issue alone. And we want none in office who will not work for our party supremacy when work is needed.

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had been formed. See Peter D. Klingman, *Josiah Walls: Florida's Black -Congressman of Reconstruction* (Gainesville, 1976), 126; Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age*, 65-66. *Jacksonville Union*, n.d., quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 16, 1880, was concerned about two Republican county slates in Duval County.

9. The East Florida second district convention was held in Jacksonville, May 10, 1880.

Some have thoughts that I should be nominated. *I do not think so* and for many reasons that appear cogent to me, I have taken myself out of that race. *I must insist on it.*

I believe I can name a ticket that will win. *Our candidate will be counted out* & will be put in by a quo warranto after a democratic cabinet has been appointed, who will not resign. [10]

This I predict, and you can see for such a fight we want a calm, stately, persistent man, whom no obstacle will oppose and no terror alarm. A man *who has smelt gun powder and smiled at the blue smoke of the enemy* is, I fear, only fit for such a work. To ignore the appeals of a personal friend and pleasant acquaintance is a hard thing to do, but in a great crisis such firmness is necessary. [11] The conviction here grows stronger and stronger that *the presidency may turn on Florida's vote,* in other words, the possible destiny of a country may depend on it. Hence we should be cautious.

It is probably [clear?] to you that I have regretted that you will not return where your influence would be greater perhaps than it is, [12] and I have struggled to have you return, but the *complications* were such that I could not control it: of this however you are familiar. I think it policy & right to remove a growing misimpression that our victory this year will be an easy one. I do not believe it, and such a feeling may damage us immensely. - I shall get my seat but when I cannot specify.

H. Bisbee, Jr.

Feby 20th '80

Dear Colonel:

Yours of recent date came to hand and I assure you, I was quite pleased to hear from you. As you say, and as I believe, we are to have one of the hardest, if not the hardest, that we have ever had in this State. I am willing to my [material destroyed] as a Republican [material destroyed] and the consequences be what they may.

10. *Quo warranto* proceedings refer to the recovery of a political office through the courts following a contested election.
11. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* March 30, 1880, speculated that Bisbee was supporting Dennis Eagan of Madison County for the Republican nomination.
12. Joseph Lee in 1880 held two federal patronage positions in Jacksonville-deputy collector of customs and deputy collector of internal revenue.

As to our standard bearer in the great gubernatorial contest, that we must soon [decide?]. I do not know what person you favor, but almost everyone concedes that you would be the proper man. [13] Some of us however know the great sacrifices that you have already made and the greater one that you would have to undergo and therefore do not press it.

I came to the conclusion long since that we must have as our gubernatorial standard bearer, one to the manner born, and, I think you can readily perceive my reason for this. We are the 'outs' and what that means [material destroyed] and we must get as many supporters and direct and indirect friends and supporters as possible. We can not ignore the facts, nor disregard it, that the democracy will lose much of their argument, if it can be called such, when they [material destroyed] . . . be forced to unseat at the head of our ticket a strong man, and, yet as they say, "one of their own."

Many of us think that Genl. Ledwith is the best available man, and [?] with effort to nominate him. Our leaders are so reserved that we cannot find what man they would wish us to support, so the general means of the people is being drawn closer and closer to the General, so much so, that I am inclined to think he will be nominated by acclamation if the people's voice is not stifled as it was at Madison. [14] It is my aim & shall be my earnest effort to have success for the whole Republican cause, and if I can be of any aid to you, let me know.

I believe I could be of much service to you and the Republican cause at large, if I were made a special or local State agent of some kind, say for instance, of the Post Office or Customs, or any other thing. This is often done, and Secretary Sherman would do it, I have no doubt, if it were called to his attention. He might see the advisability of such a thing, as there would be no confirmation.

Joseph E. Lee

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13. There is no direct evidence linking Bisbee to any candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, only that he clearly opposed William Ledwith.
14. The Republican state nominating convention in 1876 in Madison resulted in a "bolters' convention" that had temporarily split the party between two gubernatorial candidates-Governor Marcellus Stearns and Senator Simon Conover. Conover, however, withdrew that September. See Klingman, *Josiah Walls,* 110-11.

Washington, D.C., Feb'y 26, 1880

Friend Lee,

Yours of the the 20th at hand. Secretary Sherman has become a little timid in his discretionary appointments from adverse near-proper criticisms. I hope to secure you a position through an increase of deputy collectors Int. Rev. I have been as anxious to help you as you are to have it, but the difficulty is to find something that will not take you out of the State. As to the governorship - I have talked with Gen'l Ledwith very fully on this subject and as he will tell you, I am inclined not to commit myself. Duval County should exercise a powerful influence in the convention. Her citizens will have to furnish a large portion of ordinary work for the campaign. It should send a strong delegation, and I am inclined to think should act as a unit. I expect to see you & talk the matter over before the convention meets.

I like Gen'l Ledwith personally but have had doubts as to his strength. I fear he would be furiously assailed, and perhaps any other candidate will.

I have studied the question somewhile and believe that the nomination of a Southern man would concentrate a firm [?] against "Scalawags," & thus relieve the "carpetbaggers." For this reason I have favored a Southern man if we can find one that will stand firm.

Your views as to my position are correct. [15]

Whether I shall be seated this session can be accurately predicted about two weeks from now. I do not doubt that I shall be sometime before *the 9th of March 1881.*

H. Bisbee, Jr.

Confidential

Washington, D.C., March 8th 1880

Friend Lee,

My anxiety for the successful devotion to our cause, moves me to write you *in strict confidence,* which I ask you to keep, whatever may be your actions to other gentlemen. During two campaigns as a candidate for Congress, *I never made a pledge or promise of office* to any individual.

15. Bisbee's rejection of the idea that he himself would become the Republican gubernatorial nominee.

But as I have for several months formed an intention if I am elected to Congress again, I will elect a Pres. *to very prominantly* recognize your race by your appointment to one of the higher Federal offices. I do not think it improper to try as to you. I wish to add that I intend and shall do it, however great may be our friendly differences or *pending* questions before its people, or however divergent our course may be as to a State ticket.

If there is a man in Florida that will do more, or more effective work to carry our State ticket than I will, I do not know where he is; and in view of the blows that I have given and taken in the past 15 years on the stump, in private life, and in the courts, I have no doubt that my fidelity to our party will not be deemed to spring from personal interest entirely. As you and others have assured me that I should be renominated for Congress on which assurances I can doubtless rest my interests, without any special effect on [?]. First, personal interest would, to an ageeable mind, dictate that I should have little to say [regarding?] State matters.

But strange as it may appear, *the success of a formal and able Republican State ticket* will be of more personal value to me, and a greater victory, than its defeat though I will be re-elected in the latter event.

I have therefore concluded today this, the manner in which our county conventions have been called seem to me well calculated to produce chaos with its resulting consequences. Personal hostilities, bitterness of feeling, and a complete villification of the influence of Duval's delegation in conventions, and especially the alienation from our cause of two or three hundred voters in Duval County inclined towards me, but without strong party attachments, and easily repelled. It certainly never was *in the power of a committee* of 16 to resolve this fire if that number should constitute a quorum. Such a proceeding is wholly void. The committee might authorize a selected subcommittee to act for them and vest it with full power, but generally in that case, the subcommittee is vested with inside powers. [16]

Such irregular proceedings furnish the dissatisfied with the strongest possible ground for ignoring its action and proceeding [?]. This must be considered. Again it will be looked upon *as an*

16. Apparently the "reform" faction called for an early county convention without the consent of the county executive committee.

act of desperation and as an exhibition of weakness on the part of Ledwith's friends which others will readily seize upon and reject to his detriment elsewhere. Nor is it necessary. If the real sentiment (not manufactured) of the mass of our voters in Duval is for Ledwith, then he has nothing to fear in having a convention regularly called on full and ample notice. Duval, as I understand it, will present no candidates for Gov. save Ledwith, and *it will be the duty of every delegate* to stand by him, those whose first choice is not Ledwith, as well as those whose first choice is for him. He will thus have the influence of a solid delegation. I beg you to consider this calmly and dispassionately uninfluenced by those whose advice springs from personal interests or aspirations. Remember that a party rupture in Duval will disgust and drive from us hundreds of voters in all parts of the State, especially those who will look upon it as premonition of defeat. We have everything to gain *as a party* by having a full meeting of the committee and a convention regularly called; say about the 20th of April, and *nothing to lose by it.* [17]

I think only a few of us are counting too certainly on success. *It is an imagined context at best* and without unanimity of action, and a ticket that will command the support of what may be to me the non-partisan voters, we shall be fearfully whipped: and [?] not get that material aid from the National Committee which we are sure of, with unity of action and a solid front.

Please see Garvin and consider this matter-with reference to your appointment to some position, I can see that the prospect is exceedingly good on the commencement of the next fiscal year, but not certain before then. [18]

With reference to the Presidency I suppose there is no doubt that Florida is for Grant. I wish to add that I have no *personal* choice for Governor. My only wish is this: it is necessary his nomination shall not detract from his strength and that it shall not be a manufactured one but either spontaneous or deliberate exercise of judgement.

H. Bisbee Jr.

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17. The convention was held on May 5, 1880. See *Jacksonville Union,* May 6, 1880, quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* May 11, 1880.
18. William Garvin was the principal of the LaVilla school and a member of the Duval County Republican executive committee.

Mar 12 '80

My Dear Colonel :

I received your letter, and I assure you that I was quite pleased to hear from you and to read that what you said in your letter. The Committee will meet tomorrow and I am almost certain they will endorse all that was done the other day. [19] I should have answered your other letter but for the fact that I left for Madison, Monticello, and Tallahassee, and on my return, I found your letter of the 8th inst. which, I answer you, I shall keep *strictly confidential* as you request me. I have sufficient confidence in you to believe that if you make a promise to anyone that you will keep it, and it matters not what emnity persons may undertake to create between us, we understand each other & can work with each other.

Our Convention is called so early for the purpose of giving Grant a Boom in our State. Senators Conkling and [?] think that our State Convention is put off too far and I use [the?] words of the former in a letter to one of us where he says that if we wish Grant our nominee, we must agitate and call our own. Mr. Sherman would not have any chance if our Convention meets now; nor would Mr. Blaine because the people here do not know them. There will be a full meeting of the Committee tomorrow, and I shall write you at once as to their action. Hoping you continue to enjoy good health, and soon obtain that which is yours of right-your seat in Congress, and thanking you for your kind appreciation,

Joseph E Lee

Washington D.C. March 17 1880

Friend Lee:

Yours of the 12th, mailed on the 14th, is at hand. What I say to you, you can rely upon and you will not be disappointed. I care nothing about newspaper gossip.

I understand well the object of the early meeting in Duval; not only to give Grant a boom, but those jealous of Ledwith, and those do not believe he is the strongest man to nominate for Governor think that he is hurrahing for Grant - to promote his own purposes. My anxiety for success in Florida and in the

19. There is no record of the proceedings.

nation, together with my natural caution, may make me cowardly-but-I confess I think it unwise and unsafe at present to instruct delegates either for Congress, Governor, or President.

Penn. is the only State, *safer for the Republican ticket,* that has influence for Grant, and even a change of eleven voters there would have defeated insurrections, and this too, with gigantic power personal, political, and financial to back it. This shows a strong opposing current. There is scarcely and *[sic]* Grant, Blaine, or Sherman man, who, when driven to the point, will not admit that *Washburne is the wisest nomination to make.* [20] All concede his nomination would be equivalent to an election. With any other there is doubt. Why take an uncertainty? *I tremble* when I think what our condition in Florida would be with a democratic *Pres.,* with the Dist. Attny., Marshals, Judges for the Federal Court in their control. We can get along with a dem. Gov. providing we have a rep. Pres. - infinitely preferable to rep. Gov. and dem. Pres. Why then should we take any risk! Florida's delegation will neither nominate nor defeat Grant's nomination nor will instructing county delegates have any effect on other States. The State is small and insignificant comparatively.

Grant will be nominated, if at all, by a *grand rush* - a vote approximating unanimity. But how are we, here are republicans in Penn., N.H. (a *close State)* and other States that in 1876, in State conventions, clearly pronounced their unalterable opposition to a third term, to avoid being put on the defensive and compelled to apologize, a damaging position to be in.

Again, while Blaine is strong in the West, East, and Penn., Roscoe Conkling is the lion in his path in N.Y., standing like a demoralizing terror between Blaine and the White House. He is accused of personal antagonisms stronger than party fidelity.

Let public attention be turned to the *fact that it is a cause we are fighting for and not a man* - for a national government in full life and vigor - that shall not have to draw its sustenance from the [breasts?] of the States, if willing, and if unwilling, perish from the earth. In *fini,* for delegates from States not safe for republican tickets to combine and force against the judgment of States that are & must be relied upon to elect would be a prodigious insurrection.

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20. Congressman Elihu Washburne of Illinois.

I would make Grant Pres. tomorrow if I could, but I shrink from taking a risk and being placed on the defensive where there is no necessity for it. With Washburne as a candidate, we can be *fiercely* aggressive throughout the campaign. I wish you could agree with me, but I shall not quarrel with you if you don't - *I may err.*

H. Bisbee, Jr.

[Author's note: Joseph Lee's letter, March 22, 1880, written to Bisbee is too far damaged to be edited. The onion-skin is blurred almost beyond recognition; however, it is a report to the congressman of the Duval County convention that had been held on March 13. In one portion still partly readable, Lee apparently informed Bisbee of his resentment of Edward M. Cheney, chairman of the Republican state central committee who, according to Lee, claimed that Jacksonville blacks had little influence in state politics. Lee boasted to Bisbee that he had managed, in contrast to Cheney's notion of influence, to have caused Horatio Jenkins to be elected a Florida delegate to the national G.O.P. convention scheduled for Chicago in June 1880. [21]]

Private
Washington, D.C. March 28, 1880

Friend Lee,

Yours of the 22nd at hand. I feel like shaking your hand for what you say about Gen. Jenkins. He is one of the truest and most unselfish republicans in Florida and of more real ability than he is generally credited with. I have helped him all I could since democratic rule. I should like to see him President of the [?] Convention. I regret too *[sic]* see personal antagonisms generated among republicans, but in politics they seem unavoidable. Every person looks upon affairs from a different viewpoint and is too apt to quarrel with his neighbor because he does not agree with him. I have tried to avoid this, but of course if I were wantonly and intentionally provoked-it is human nature to bear it impolitically I think. Cheney is in dead earnest for the success of our party, but he is too apt perhaps to pay too little

21. Horatio Jenkins was a Republican carpetbagger who had been an early member of the Union-Republican Club in Jacksonville and had held an appointment as a collector of internal revenue.

respect to the opinions of others. If Duval has a delegate to Chicago, I think you should go, if you want to. The recognized colored leaders should represent their race and our course there. I do not care much who goes, so that they are worthy and intelligent men. Florida will have little if any influence in that convention, and I do not think any of the Southern States should.

I am more concerned about our home affairs and consent that the North should be allowed to elect the *man, who must be elected by their votes,* if at all.

I do not know how far you are personally committed to support Ledwith, but with my view of the requisite conditions and character of our ticket for success, I am constrained to approve his nomination. I did not want to allow any quarrel or rupture in Duval, but my judgement has been and is now against Ledwith's nomination. I believe it would be exceedingly weak. Some are supporting him now as the only means of giving prominence to the Grant boom, but have no confidence in the prospect of his nomination or his capacity to guide the Ship of State if it were possible to elect him. I repeat, I shall not quarrel with those who disagree with me, but I shall oppose his nomination honestly, for the reason I believe it would be an enormous blunder or misfortune. And if I could talk with you I believe I could make you see at least this - I am sincere in it. My view is that the Congressional convention should be called for the 10th of May at Jacksonville. I shall not be present and shall rely only on my friends to represent my wishes. I have no war to make on any men unless they take particular pains to misrepresent and misconstrue in my absence, as I fear a few impotent spirits have done.

Just when I shall come to Fla. I can't say, but hope to before the conventions assemble.

H. Bisbee, Jr.

Private
Washington, D.C. April 7, 1880

Friend Lee,

I hear that some evil-minded persons are endeavoring to fill your mind with apprehensions that I feel hostile towards you personally, and am going to attack you so. *There is not a word of*

truth in it. I do not blame you personally for your course of late politically and have repeatedly said so here. As you were situated, I do not see how you could have done otherwise. On the other hand I received a letter I left home for being a Grant man and come to Washington a Grant man, and as I have written and said, would make Grant President for four years from next March, if I had the power.

But-I am surprised at the attitude of the north and west (from which the election votes are to come) towards Grant and no thoughtful man can ponder over the situation without doubting a *democratic President would, I fear, make the South a hell for you & me* and it is the highest patriotism & the highest Statesmanship and devotion to party to avoid taking a risk if possible. For these reasons I wrote you that Washburne was our safest nominee & for these reasons I am opposed to instructing our delegates and not out of hostility of the man, but from the facts.

Then again I come to learn that it is openly asserted that I am a pronounced *Blaine man* in order to injure me with those who are for Grant. *No one has any authority to assert that I am a Blaine man.* I shall do what I can to effect such a nomination as will secure a [?] on the President question and make it a certainty as far as possible that our nominee will be elected and shall guard against enthusiasm for or devotion to me now, warping my judgement. I was abused by democratic newspapers all summer, fall, & winter up to the time this morning, which either to make me distrust you and to convince me that you are doing your utmost to prevent my nomination to Congress.

I do not believe it, as your own letter and those of others are directly to the contrary. And if the time comes when you think party or your personal interest requires that I shall not be nominated, I rely on you to say so to me. Differing with you as to nominations for governor, I frankly wrote you so, and my convictions against Ledwith's nomination do not spring from any prophetic visions or fancies but from my knowledge [?]. [Author's note: There is a large break, probably material lost.]

The latter gentleman I have not seen nor been to his headquarters since in Washington, no matter what any lying whelp may say to the contrary. [22]

22. James G. Blaine.

Permit me again to repeat what I said in my last-that I wish you could properly remain inactive as to Ledwith's nomination until I can see you.

I notice that Conover has abandoned Sherman.[23] Would be glad to hear on receipt of this. I am determined here to prevent our destruction by democratic federal appointments, and I hope it will not be forgotten by those who think I ought to come home.

H. Bisbee, Jr.

Jacksonville, Fl April 8th, 1880

Dear Colonel:

I received your letters of recent date and should have answered both sooner, especially the first, but that we have been very much engaged in our municipal affairs. As you perhaps have already learned, we have succeeded and the [whole?] of our ticket has been elected. I shall ask to be made City Attorney, but not with any expectation of obtaining it. The City Council will meet tonight, and I shall notice who vote against me and [?] them and their friends in the future. You have not to fear that anything will come from me or my friends injurious to your interests, but you have to watch others, as it were those of your own household. My efforts are going towards your nomination and your election.

Grant or Washburne will offend some but I prefer Grant and like most of my race look to him. I do not know how this delegation will go-instructed or not, but I do not think that it should be understood when they leave for Chicago that they [material destroyed]. The General is making a strong pull and I assure you that it will be hard work to beat him. I went into this fight in earnest & must stay until the man is [material destroyed]. I know him to be a good friend, and think he will make a good Governor. Whoever is nominated, I think, we must all support or elect if possible. Let me hear from you again.

Joseph E. Lee

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23. Alva A. Knight to Simon B. Conover, March 6, 1880, John Sherman Papers, Library of Congress manuscripts division. Knight's advice to Conover to abandon Sherman because of the overwhelming support of Duval County Negroes for Grant was apparently heeded.

Washington, D.C. April 12th, 1880

Friend Lee,

Yours of the 8th at hand. I had heard of our voting in the city and wrote Jenkins immediately to support you for attorney before I knew your position on it. Will write Durkee today.

You ought to have it, and nothing but cowardice will prevent it-at least it seems so to me. Do not misunderstand me as asking you to break any pledge you may have made to Ledwith, or break any promises, if any has been made. One should be certain in making them but when made should be securely kept. After nominations are made, if anyone should bolt, "*Shoot him on the Spot:*"

There may be cases saying ex-chieftains, but they are rare. I have no doubt the nominees, whoever they may be, will be supported by the party. If Ledwith is nominated, he will find no man in the State who will strike harder for him than I shall. But I shall endeavor to secure the nomination [material destroyed] . . . elements of our party and make a stronger governor if one elects him. I thank you for what you say with reference to myself, and in spite of every effort made to cause me to distrust you, my confidence has not been shaken. I understand what you mean when you say I must watch others and they have been watched & will be, and will be found harmless. Every one has the equal right to make his own political bed, but when made he must sleep on it.

As to the Presidential questions, before our convention meets, Grant will either be deemed nominated or will be out of the race entirely. Thurlow Weed's letter in last Friday's *Tribune* - an old, true, and [?] friend of Grant, has proven a heavy blow against the latter.[24] I was quite surprised to see it.

H. Bisbee, Jr.

Private

Washington, D.C. April 13th 1880

Friend Lee,

In further answer to your last, I wish to say a word with refer-

24. Although New York Republican strongman Thurlow Weed opposed Grant, at the national convention in Chicago in June, Grant remained a strong candidate for a third term, leading Blaine and others from the second through the twenty-eighth ballots; see Mayer, *The Republican Party,* 201.

ence to instructing delegates. We should elect men that will not barter & sell, and say to them, "at your peril, be true to the cause you represent, and if you barter and trade, your political grave will be ready on your return." While the sentiment among Florida republicans is understandably for Grant, in view of the revolution in public sentiment which is evidently going on in the republican States north, I think it unwise [?] instruct. A convention should be a *deliberative body* and with positive instructions there is no reason for deliberation. I hope you will form a convention in Duval to be held late in April or the first of May. Indeed, it seems to me, that if the convention is held as late as the 8th of May, we shall have a more active expression of sentiment than at an early day.

As far as my nomination is concerned, I want people to have ample time to consider and ponder over it. It seems to me from all I can hear that there is too much confidence of success. This may be a course of danger, and I see no ground for such confidence especially in our district, which is close and nip & tuck at best. If we can get our voters registered in the first district there is a fair margin for accidents, I am

H. Bisbee, Jr.

Events that followed the time frame of this correspondence provided both Bisbee and Lee with partial victories. Simon Conover won the Republican gubernatorial nomination, but William Ledwith was nominated as the party's candidate for lieutenant-governor. However, once the Democrats settled upon William Bloxham as their gubernatorial candidate, there was little doubt about the outcome of the election. He carried thirty-three of Florida's thirty-nine counties and won a popular vote margin of more than 5,000 votes.[25]

Neither Ulysses Grant nor Elihu Washburne received the G.O.P. nomination for the presidency at the June national Republican convention, nor did John Sherman or James G. Blaine.[26] The candidate was Senator James Garfield, a dark horse from Ohio who won on the thirty-sixth ballot.

Bisbee did win renomination to Congress and, despite a con-

25. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 28, 1880.
26. Mayer, *The Republican Party*, 201.

tested election struggle with his opponent Noble Hull, he was seated on January 22, 1881. At the same time, Joseph Lee received the Duval County Republican nomination for the Florida state senate, and won with ease in the general election.[27]

With a new political era developing in the post-Reconstruction South, Bisbee and Lee's influence in Florida politics began to wane. Bisbee ran again successfully for Congress in 1882, but lost two years later and decided to retire from public life. He returned to his law practice and died in Jacksonville in 1916. Lee continued his active involvement in the Florida Republican party until his death in 1920, but as the party itself declined in political importance, so did Joseph Lee. In his later years, however, Lee, like Bisbee, devoted more energy to civic affairs in Jacksonville.

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27. *Bisbee v. Hull*, House Misc. Doc. 26; *Jacksonville Union*, May 6, 1880, quoted in Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, May 11, 1880; ibid, November 16, 1880.

HONORING THE CONFEDERACY IN NORTHWEST FLORIDA: THE CONFEDERATE MONUMENT RITUAL

by W. STUART TOWNS *

ONE OF THE major ceremonial events in the post-Civil War South was the dedication of monuments raised to the honor and memory of Confederate soldiers. Many communities underwrote fund-raising drives for statues and monuments. If a local area could not boast of an authentic hero, they dedicated their monument to the "Confederacy," or the "Boys in Gray," or the "Private Soldier." Each unveiling ritual involved the same essential ingredients: a parade through the city streets to the site, several brief welcoming addresses by local dignitaries, some musical selections "appropriate to the occasion," a poem or two by the local town laureate, and an oration. The draperies were then lifted from around the monument, which would then stand as an enduring symbol of the Lost Cause. The South today is still dotted with these ever-present reminders of the Confederate era.

Pensacola was one of the communities whose citizens felt the need to remember the sacrifices made in behalf of the Confederacy. A monument, originally suggested by Edward A. Perry (later Governor Perry) in 1881, was to have been erected in Tallahassee as the state's memorial. [1] After Perry's death, the project languished, and by 1890 only $3,005 had been raised. Colonel William D. Chipley of Pensacola revived the idea in April 1890, and since all but $87.00 had come from Escambia County, the project was turned over to a committee in Pensacola for completion.[2] On August 15, a Ladies' Monument Association

* Mr. Towns is chairman of the Faculty of Communications Arts, University of West Florida, Pensacola. He wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Mrs. John C. Packard, Elizabeth Pierce, and Billy Grant, all of Marianna, and Marion Viccars of the University of West Florida Library, for their assistance.

1. Occie Clubbs, "Pensacola in Retrospect: 1870-1890," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (January-April 1959), 395.
2. *History of the Confederate Memorial Associations of the South* (New Orleans, 1904), 71-72.

was founded with Mrs. Stephen A. Mallory as president. Mrs. W. D. Chipley was elected vice-president, Mrs. Annie J. McGuire was secretary, and Mrs. Laura Thornton served as treasurer. [3] The movement would be placed in Pensacola rather than Tallahassee.

Three months later, a contract was awarded to J. F. Manning of Washington to construct and erect a stone monument at a total cost of $5,000. [4] Manning was to use granite from Richmond, Virginia, and was to include inscriptions honoring Edward A. Perry, Stephen R. Mallory, Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and the "heroes of the Confederacy." Perry, from Pensacola, was a general in the Florida Brigade, and Mallory, also from Pensacola, was secretary of the navy in the Confederate cabinet. Besides the inscriptions and a large stone shaft, there was to be an eight-foot tall granite figure on top of the column to be modeled from a painting entitled "Appomattox," which hung in the old Confederate capital building at Richmond. [5] Manning began work on the monument which was due to be completed and dedicated in 1891. But first, there were the financial problems to be solved.

As late as March 15, 1891, less than three months before the monument was to be erected, the fund was still $1,235 short of its goal. [6] The Ladies' Monument Association began a series of projects to raise the necessary funds. The Episcopal minister, Reverend P. H. Whaley, gave a public lecture on "The Charleston Earthquake," which was followed by a benefit supper. [7] The speaker had been pastor of St. Paul's, Summerville, South Carolina, shortly after the 1886 earthquake and was currently serving as rector in Pensacola. The evening's program included "the well-known local virtuoso," Miss Kauser, who played a piano solo, as well as orchestral music by the Pastime Club of Pensacola. [8] Tickets to the affair were twenty-five cents, with the food for the dinner being sold at various prices. An enthusiastic young supporter of the Association stood on a chair and auctioned off

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3. Ibid., 72-73.
4. Ibid.
5. Pensacola *Daily News,* March 29, 1891.
6. Ibid., March 15, 1891.
7. Ibid., April 15, 1891. See also Albert Sidney Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1820-1957* (Columbia, 1957), 425.
8. Pensacola *Daily News,* April 12, 15, 1891.

various articles as they were handed to him. A pickle brought the high price of $1.00 and a glass of lemonade sold for $20.00. [9]

Reverend Whaley apparently did his enthusiastic best also, and was warmly received. Newspaper accounts noted his "good voice and form," and "his description of the memorable event which formed the theme of his discourse was thrilling in its pathos and intense realism." According to the writer, Whaley's "auditors were profoundly impressed with the effort." [10]

On March 19, the Ladies' Confederate Monument Association met to begin their final planning. The local newspaper urged "every lady [to be] present" for this important session. [11] The women decided not to have a cornerstone-laying ceremony, as the actual work on the monument had begun, but agreed to focus their efforts on the dedication observance. [12] The major work at this meeting was to prepare the four inscriptions that were to be carved into the granite column. [13]

The monument was to be placed atop the hill near the site of Fort George overlooking downtown Pensacola and the bay. The statue would sit in the large Robert E. Lee Square and the Ladies' Association purchased 800 thirty-two pound cannon

9. Ibid., April 16, 1891.
10. Ibid., April 15, 1891.
11. Ibid., March 15, 1891.
12. Ibid., March 20, 1891. The cornerstone-laying ceremony was often used as an additional event to call attention to the monument. The following account describes a cornerstone ritual in Augusta, Georgia: "About half-past three o'clock the ladies met at the site. . . . And going down into the excavation made for the foundation . . . took off their gloves and prepared themselves for work. . . . It was indeed a novel sight to the large number of spectators to see the ladies, with delicate ungloved hands, laying brick and handling the trowel, but it was a holy duty they performed . . . that of rearing a shaft of marble in memory of the brave men who fought and died for a cause they considered just." "The Hero Dead," Augusta *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel,* April 27, 1875.
13. Pensacola *Daily News,* March 22, 1891. The south face inscription reads: "The Uncrowned Heroes of the Southern Confederacy, whose joy it was to suffer and die for a cause they believed to be just. Their unchallenged devotion and matchless heroism shall continue to be the wonder and inspiration of the ages." The east face is inscribed to "Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America. Soldier, Statesman, Patriot, Christian. The only man in our nation without a country, yet twenty million people mourn his death." The west face is dedicated to: "Edward Aylesworth Perry, Captain of the Pensacola Rifles, Colonel of the Second Florida Regiment, General of the Florida Brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia. Among the first to volunteer in the defence of his adopted state, faithful in every position to which his merit advanced him, his life and deeds constitute his best monument." The north face was inscribed simply: "Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy of the Confederate States of America."

balls and two old cannons to decorate the park across from Public School Number 1. [14] In 1889, the name of the park had been changed from Florida Square to Robert E. Lee Park, and the authority to erect a Confederate monument on it was later given to the Ladies' Monument Association. [15]

Fund-raising programs continued throughout the spring. A Miss Cary, a "talented elocutionist," presented a program with her students. The Hotel Escambia was the scene of a musical by Mrs. Quarrier of Louisville, Kentucky, at which $52.00 was collected for the fund. [16] In addition to cultural affairs, sporting events were also held to raise money. In April, the Pensacola Driving Association sponsored three closely matched races at Kupfrian's Park and donated the proceeds to the monument fund. [17]

Finally, the money was secured and all was in readiness for the dedication of the monument, which was set for Jefferson Davis's birthday, June 3, 1891. But troubles interfered. The project foreman from the J. F. Manning Company became ill and was not able to arrive in time to complete the job. Some of the granite being shipped to Pensacola was lost by the railroad somewhere south of Richmond, and additional stone had to be ordered. Finally, however, all these problems were solved, and the ceremony was rescheduled for June 17, 1891.

Troops in uniform came from St. Augustine, Daytona, Leesburg, Starke, Gainesville, and Ocala to take part in the parade and ceremonies. [18] The railroads provided them free passes for travel to Pensacola, and private citizens coming to the ceremony were allowed to ride for only one cent per mile. [19] The visitors could find lodgings in Dunn's Hotel for $2.50 per day. Dinner was seventy-five cents, breakfast and supper, fifty cents. The Hotel Escambia charged $1.00 per day with two in a bed; baths were twenty-five cents extra. [20]

Newspaper accounts told of some 3,000 visitors to Pensacola

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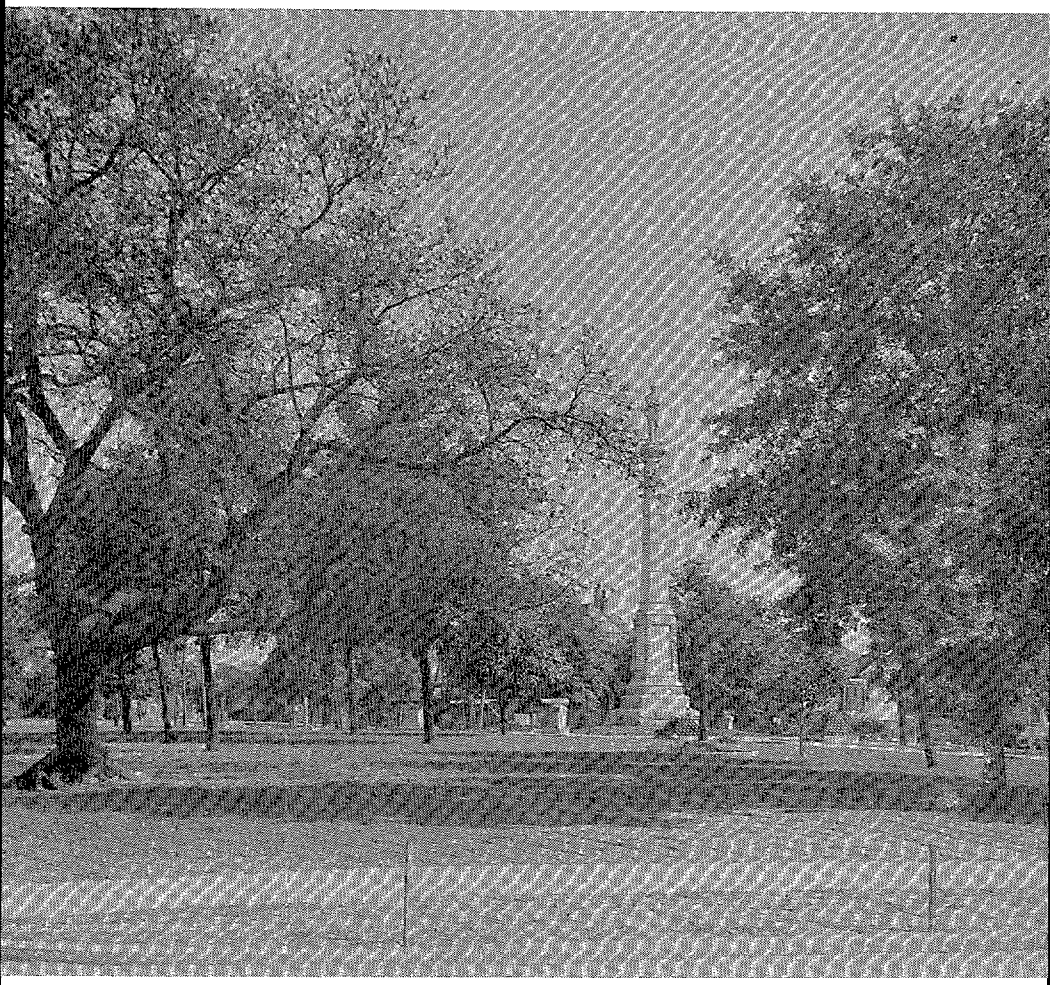
14. Ibid., May 13, 1891.
15. Special Collection 68-13, folder 29, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida.
16. Pensacola *Daily News*, March 29, 1891.
17. Ibid., April 4, 1891.
18. Ibid., June 16, 1891.
19. Ibid., May 13, 1891.
20. Ibid., June 16, 1891.



Pensacola Confederate Monument, Lee Square, circa 1903.

Courtesy John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola, and the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

for the event. [21] The parade was scheduled to start promptly at 4:00 p.m., and marchers were warned that "no delay will occur, and divisions not in position at that hour will be left." [22] The plans were to try to start late enough to miss some of the oppressive summer heat and humidity and yet early enough to complete the program by dark. Fortunately, there was a sudden rain storm earlier in the day which settled the dust on the unpaved streets and moderated the heat somewhat.

The parade wound its way up Palafox Street to the top of the hill, and the crowd assembled itself around the statue to hear the opening prayer by Reverend H. S. Yeager, local Presbyterian minister. The audience then sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee," Miss Jennie Henderson from Tallahassee unveiled the monument, and the band played "Dixie." Governor Francis P. Fleming gave a short speech of welcome in which he recalled the glorious past and predicted an optimistic future. [23] Fleming's speech set the oratorical stage for the rest of the evening.

The Reverend J. H. Curry of the Pensacola First Baptist Church then introduced Colonel Robert W. Davis of Palatka, former speaker of the Florida House of Representatives and future congressman from Florida. [24] Most ceremonial events include as a major part a speech of dedication or eulogy, and Pensacola's Confederate monument dedication was no exception. Davis devoted most of his speech to praise of the South's leaders and troops during the Civil War. Words praising the southern effort during the war were still important in 1891, and the speakers on this occasion in Pensacola obviously met the audience's expectations.

The Pensacola monument was dedicated and seemed destined to stand unaltered forever. But in succeeding years, debate flared over the park in which the statue was located. In 1938-1939, 1947-1948, and 1963-1964 the issue of what to do with the square surfaced. A 1939 letter to the *Pensacola Journal* by Idelette N. Reese expressed a typical reaction about the controversy and shed

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21. Ibid., June 18, 1891.
22. Ibid., June 14, 1891.
23. Walter Stuart Towns, "Ceremonial Speaking and the Reinforcing of American Nationalism in the South, 1875-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1972); Pensacola *Daily News*, June 18, 1891.
24. *Makers of America, Florida Edition* (Atlanta, 1909), I, 133; Pensacola *Daily News*, June 18, 1891.

more light on the community's feelings about the monument-feelings that were typical to the South in the post-war generations. "To destroy this memorial . . . where all the descendants of these men and all persons might go to study the record of their heroic deeds, and receive inspiration and to also dedicate their lives to build and maintain a re-united country-such action would destroy the purpose for which Lee Square was dedicated . . . and this monument was builded." [25] Gradually, the park area was reduced in size to make way for motor traffic. Palafox Street was the leading approach to the downtown area, and the park stood astride that avenue. Currently, Lee Square is only a small circle not much larger than the monument itself. By 1963, the issue was so controversial that the Confederate Monument Association was revived in November of that year under the leadership of Mary Turner Rule, Mrs. Louis R. Compo, and Mrs. John Taylor Bibb. Their task was "to enhance the beauty and significance of the square." [26] Apparently encroachments on the square have stopped and it safely guards the monument. The memorial statue serves still today as a focal point for oratory and ritual. Turned over to the Pensacola Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1903, the square is the scene of the annual observance of Confederate Memorial Day on April 26. [27]

Seventy miles east of Pensacola in Walton County, another Ladies' Memorial Association erected a monument in 1871. Jeannet I. McKinnon was the president of the Walton County group. After raising $250, they erected the monument, apparently Florida's first stone memorial to the Confederacy. [28] This monument had a peripatetic existence. Its first home was at the Euchee Valley Presbyterian Church, the site of some Confederate graves. For a time, it stood at Eucheeanna while that community was the Walton County seat. Finally, it was moved to DeFuniak Springs where it resides today on the courthouse lawn. [29]

Still further to the east, the community of Marianna surpassed both its western neighbors by consecrating not one but two monuments to the Confederacy. Little is known about the

25. *Pensacola Journal*, December 2, 1939.
26. Special Collection 68-13, folder 29, John C. Pace Library.
27. Ibid.; *Pensacola Journal*, April 25, 1974.
28. *DeFuniak Springs Herald-Breeze*, February 27, 1975.
29. Ibid.; John L. McKinnon, *History of Walton County* (Gainesville, 1968), 373, 376-77.

small memorial which now resides beside the courthouse. It was dedicated on November 30, 1881, and its inscription reads: "In Memory of the Confederate Soldiers of Jackson County, Florida." Marianna was the scene of one of the few Civil War battles fought in Florida. Apparently there was a great deal of pride in this fact and considerable Confederate sentiment and memory, as in 1921 a second monument was constructed under the auspices of the Florida Division and the William Henry Milton Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Mrs. Frank D. Tracy of Pensacola, who was president of the Florida Division, rallied statewide support for the monument, and the state legislature appropriated $5,000 for its construction.[30] Some 4,000 people observed the mile-long parade of Confederate veterans, decorated cars, floats, the Florida National Guard, Boy Scouts, and other groups.[31] After the parade, the thirty-five foot granite shaft was unveiled by the Misses Mary Bruce Milton and Floie Criglar.[32] The dedication ceremony was again filled with oratory, as Mrs. Tracy; Mrs. R. S. Pearce, president of the local U. D. C. chapter; Mayor N. A. Baltzell; Dr. Theop. West, a veteran of the Civil War; and Amos Lewis, a grandson of Arthur Lewis, Sr., a veteran of the Battle of Marianna, all addressed the large audience. The dedication speech was delivered by Governor Cary A. Hardee.[33]

An important facet of these southern Confederate monuments is the role the women played in their conception and construction. Apparently, as was the case in Pensacola, Walton County, and Marianna, it was usually the women of the community who developed the idea and brought it to fruition throughout the South. It provides interesting speculation about the role of women in an era before women's rights were accepted. As a number of southern historians have pointed out, the southern woman was often placed on a pedestal, not supposed to dirty her

30. "The Confederate Monument at Marianna, Fla.," *Confederate Veteran,* XXX (January 1922), 5.
31. Unknown newspaper clipping dated November 2, 1921, scrapbook of Mrs. John C. Packard, Marianna.
32. "Confederate Monument at Marianna," 5. Miss Milton was the granddaughter of Major William Henry Milton, for whom the Marianna United Daughters of the Confederacy chapter was named, and Miss Criglar was the grandniece of General William Miller, a hero of the Battle of Natural Bridge, fought near Tallahassee in 1865.
33. Packard Scrapbook, Marianna.

hands in politics or fund-raising or to be too outspoken and involved in community affairs.[34] Her "place" was still in the home in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, yet women were in the forefront of the three drives to perpetuate the memory of the Confederate cause. Obviously many southern women welcomed this outlet for their organizing and speaking talents. Perhaps some saw it as an opportunity to move into a place in society outside the home. At any rate, women were the prime movers of the Confederate monument building surge, and as a result, they left their mark on their communities.

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34. See Clement Eaton, "Breaking a Path for the Liberation of Women in the South," *Georgia Review*, XXVIII (Summer 1974), 187-99, and Anne F. Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago, 1970).

BOOK REVIEWS

Daniel Ladd: Merchant Prince of Frontier Florida. By Jerrell H. Shofner. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1978. ix, 180 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $8.50.)

Jerrell Shofner has done it again. He has made a high quality contribution to the literature of local history. This painstaking study is not a biography in the usual sense for it gives us little feel for the personality and home life of Daniel Ladd. It is an important study of the life and times of a businessman in the Old South - a not highly-touted vocation in that preeminently agricultural region, but one which the planters and farmers could not live without.

Daniel Ladd was a cotton factor in the Tallahassee region of Florida, basing his business mainly in the little St. Marks River village of Newport. In addition to his role as a factor he served his neighbors with general mercantile business, banking services, and as a promoter of local industry, river improvement, and road building. Ladd came to Florida in 1833. Born in Augusta, Maine, in 1817, he came of a family of merchants and traders, some of whose members had already moved South. Ladd began his Florida career as an apprentice clerk in his uncle's commission house in Magnolia and moved with his relatives to Port Leon in 1839 as the former town declined. There he went into business for himself and rapidly became a successful enterpriser noted for his honesty and sound business practices. After the destruction of Port Leon by a hurricane in 1843, Ladd was influential in the founding of Newport on higher ground further up the St. Marks River.

Ladd's life, which ended in 1872, paralleled the rise and decline of Newport and of plantation agriculture in Middle Florida. Shofner chronicles in considerable detail the business activities of Ladd at Newport as a promoter of the town, a factor whose business extended even into southern Georgia, a financier who provided the credit facilities his customers needed, a buyer and seller of human beings in the persons of black slaves, a shipper

who owned a river boat to transport his own and his competitors' goods, the owner of a steam-powered cotton press and lumber mill and the Wakulla Iron Works, a manufacturer of cypress barrels, a dealer in machinery made elsewhere, an owner of a plank road company, a small investor in a telegraph company, operator of a turpentine distillery, an importer of ice from New England, a real estate broker, promoter of a supposedly medicinal sulphur springs resort - in general, a restless, active man who found "excitement in arranging a specific purchase and pleasure in converting the original transaction into profit, no matter how small." The tensions, the bargaining, the compromises of trading "not only justified existence for Daniel Ladd, they made life interesting."

Ladd was not a political man and rarely commented on the turbulent controversies tearing the Union in the 1850s, but he was alarmed at the prospects of disruption of the federal government which would bring in its wake economic disruption. By 1860, the New England-born businessman was making known his strong Unionist sentiments, yet his neighbors elected him a delegate to the secession convention. There he opposed Florida's leaving the Union until the last vote. Then, seeing the hopelessness of opposition, he voted for leaving the Union.

Though opposed to civil war, Ladd realized the necessity for retaining the goodwill of his fellow citizens and gave unstinting financial support to the Confederacy. By 1865, "a war he had not wanted had resulted in the destruction of his successful factorage business along with most of his commercial and industrial property." Though he expected that with peace he would recover his former position, Ladd never fully recouped his Civil War losses. He was one of those antebellum figures who had lived too long. The plantation system never recovered in Middle Florida, and the new railroads turned business and commerce away from the puny port facilities of the St. Marks River.

Dr. Shofner is commended for this fine book; the University Presses of Florida is complimented for a very well-produced volume.

University of Florida HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

Eighteenth-Century Florida and the Revolutionary South. Edited by Samuel Proctor. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1978. xvii, 125 pp. Introduction, symposium participants, notes. $6.50.)

In Spain, where this book was read, savored, and reviewed, many dinners begin with an assortment of hors d'oeuvres called *entremeses variados.* A small taste of seven different "dishes," three commentaries, and an overview preface make this volume a similar offering, bound to stimulate one's appetite for more.

Florida's chairman of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, Lieutenant-Governor James H. Williams, sets the stage in "The Challenge of the Bicentennial," which, he concludes, "is not merely a memory but an enduring tradition . . . the promise that we will keep alive their vision of a free people" (p. 2).

David R. Chesnutt's experience as assistant editor of *The Papers of Henry Laurens* at the University of South Carolina brings a cogent analysis of "South Carolina's Impact Upon East Florida, 1763-1776," and the subsequent failure to mold East Florida into the South Carolina image. Different geographical factors were largely responsible, but Florida "was obviously outside the American mainstream" (p. 14). A theme common among all papers-the loyalty of settlers in the provinces of East and West Florida-further serves to place Florida's Revolutionary experience as unique. Thomas Brown, a loyalist refugee from Georgia's backcountry, is the central figure in Gary D. Olson's contribution. Brown's organization of the East Florida Rangers and their subsequent participation in the 1779 Savannah campaign illustrate the common problems faced in any war-conflicting, overlapping jurisdiction and jealousy among military commanders which prevented unified strategy and tactics.

In commenting on the essays by Professors Chesnutt and Olson, Professor Aubrey Christian Land of the University of Georgia notes, "they both say something new, and they both suggest much more. Each adds," he concludes, "a new facet to the Revolutionary period of Florida history" (p. 29). He points up the British failures to capitalize on opportunities (such as the loyalist sentiment typical in such fighters as Thomas Brown)

and in making "almost every mistake in the military lexicon" (p. 32).

Perhaps the most significant publication program emerging from the Bicentennial was the sponsorship by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Association for State and Local History of a series of volumes covering each state and the District of Columbia, under the chairmanship of James Morton Smith. Smith's essay on "Historical Agencies and the Bicentennial" is laced with good humor, solid facts, and an encyclopedia of programs sponsored throughout the land. Calling attention to the success of the American system over Watergate (Hugh Scott's August 9, 1974 note to James Madison: "It Worked."), Smith concludes that the Bicentennial has "reaffirmed our faith and hope in the vitality of the American experiment in self-government." (pp. 47-48).

Robin F. A. Fabel's study, "West Florida and British Strategy in the American Revolution," stresses the neglect which allowed the Spaniards under Bernardo de Galvez to conquer the British population centers in West Florida. Fabel stresses the fact that the British command regarded West Florida more as an island of the West Indies than as a part of the North American mainland, and that the British navy held the key to its defense. But the American Revolution was not the Seven Years War, and the combined Franco-Spanish fleet kept the British navy from its strategic duties. Fabel does make one serious error in speaking of the northern boundary of West Florida, which he says was fixed at the thirty-first parallel. That the 1764 line was actually moved to the 32° 28' vicinity gave rise to the post-Revolution boundary disputes between Spain and the U.S. (p. 50). Thomas D. Watson gives us a preview of his forthcoming contribution to the study of the outstanding mercantile firm of Panton, Leslie and Company by tracing the rise of the British firm in West Florida, 1782-1785. Spain subsequently utilized the firm to keep southern Indians supplied and allied.

Professor John Francis McDermott indicates his long experience doing research on the Mississippi Valley in "Some Thoughts on Britain and Spain in West Florida During the Revolution," and he reiterates the key point: "these colonies had strategic value for their parent countries, but otherwise they were insignificant." (p. 91).

Stephen Meats toys with the ageless conundrum of whether history is a science or an art. By analyzing William Gilmore Simms and his novels of the Revolution in South Carolina, Meats concludes that it is a blend of both. Simms knew his history, including oral interviews, manuscripts, secondary and primary published accounts, and historians would profit from a careful reading of his volumes. Calhoun Winton writes on "English Books and American Readers in Early Florida," one of the lacunae of literary history. Customs records from London reveal the weight of the books sent to America, if not the titles. Winton has traced South Carolina and early Florida newspapers and imprints in an intriguing essay which suggests numerous research trails to pursue.

Gloria Jahoda, who wrote the Bicentennial volume on Florida, concludes in her commentary on Professors Meats's and Winton's papers that such Bicentennial symposia as the one held at Tallahassee in 1975, from which these essays were obtained, would ultimately prove to be a "productive event" (p. 125). Unfortunately, this writer, who expresses "some amazement" at being identified as a historian also, belabors the dead horse of the "leyenda negra," which is becoming tiresome. "Possibly the Spanish mostly read holy books when they read at all," she opines (p. 124) in a statement which somewhat amazes this reviewer. Minor imperfections to the contrary-there is no index, no maps, no illustrations-this volume will stimulate all those interested in Floridiana, and, hopefully, American historians guilty of dismissing early Florida history will follow the important paths blazed by these outstanding scholars.

University of Alabama in Birmingham JACK D. L. HOLMES

LeConte's Report on East Florida. [By John Eatton LeConte] Edited by Richard Adicks. (Gainesville: The University of Florida Presses, 1978. x, 80 pp., Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, maps, index. $5.00.)

This is not the first time John Eatton LeConte's manuscript, "Observations on the Soil and Climate Of East Florida," has appeared in print, but it is certainly the first time the manuscript

has had such careful scrutiny. The editor's full and scholarly introduction, notes, and bibliography provide the information needed for the understanding of the report.

Richard Adicks's introduction also provides biographical information on LeConte, captain in the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers, when he came to Florida in February and March 1822 to explore that portion of East Florida where the St. Johns River flows from south to north. John Eatton LeConte, a native of New Jersey, was a member of a distinguished family of scientists, and a very sound botanist and zoologist in his own right. The family owned a plantation home, "Woodmasten" in Liberty County, Georgia, so he was no stranger to the South.

In LeConte's proposal to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, requesting permission to come to Florida, he set down his objectives: to make an investigation of the soil and climate; to try to discover whether the country had live oak, cedar, mahogany, or any timber that could be used by the United States Navy; to determine if a connection could be formed between the Suwanee and the St. Johns rivers, and between Tampa Bay and Lake George; and finally "to explore the St. Johns River to its source." For all this ambitious undertaking, LeConte received only $600 from the government, which meant curtailment of much he wanted to do. He came to Fernandina from Savannah, where he had been charting the Ossabow Sound. At Fernandina, he was given one officer, Lieutenant Edwin R. Alberti, one non-commissioned officer, and eight men. There is no evidence that any member of the company had any qualifications for the trip except LeConte himself. Though LeConte writes well, his report is quite short and often inaccurate. Dr. Adicks believes that LeConte, who was never very strong, had to rely on reports of explorations brought to him by his men, and thus made glaring errors in the description of the St. Johns above Lake George. LeConte did report accurately on the impossibility of growing crops such as coffee in the area. He also proposed that the government build fortifications at Tampa Bay and Key West. The military governor of the newly-acquired Florida territory, General Andrew Jackson, had already recommended a fort on Tampa Bay in a letter to John C. Calhoun, dated December 6, 1821, but it is doubtful that LeConte could have been aware of this.

LeConte's evaluation of the inhabitants of Florida is worth

noting: "There is in the inhabitants of Florida as well as those of our southern states an indolence of disposition; that prevents them from taking advantage of the peculiar qualities of their climate." LeConte kept temperature readings each day from February 10 through March 14, 1822. Temperatures ranged from a low of 29 degrees at sunrise on February 11, to a high of 88 degrees on both February 21 and March 2.

It was not until December 1822 that LeConte wrote to Chief of Engineers Major General Alexander Macomb that he had completed his report and a map of his travels. If he did indeed submit such a map, it has not been located, which is a great pity. Dr. Adicks points out the inadequacy of maps of Florida available to Americans at this time. He also includes "A Selected List of Maps."

This first volume in the FTU Monograph series is an attractive, well-designed, and well-printed book. It is illustrated with a portrait of John Eatton LeConte and photographic reproductions of three early nineteenth-century maps of Florida.

Tampa, Florida MARGARET L. CHAPMAN

Workdays: Finding Florida on the Job. By Bob Graham. (Miami: Banyan Books, 1978. 130 pp. Foreword, illustrations. $5.95 paper.)

Workdays should not be dismissed merely as a campaign document even though its author, Bob Graham, is in the race for nomination to the governorship of Florida in the Democratic primary. Graham grew up in Dade County on a dairy farm, and he could call upon youthful experience as he began performing his workdays, most which called for a strong back but few specialized skills. This review is concerned chiefly with the Florida that Graham explored and the report of his findings and observations. Graham describes in his book some of his widely varied jobs and the people that he met as a result. Only a few, however, of his working days are described in this volume.

The day that Graham spent with the Tallahassee police force showed him what some of the critical problems were in that community and how the policemen, struggling to be as professional as

possible, were trying to resolve them. A day at Tarpon Springs reflects upon an earlier and more prosperous era when gathering natural sponges was a thriving industry. Discouraged divers wonder why the government cannot map the sea bottom so as to facilitate finding the sponges "which are coming back." Graham's work in a convalescent home for the elderly revealed the sad and often lonely plight of this element of Florida's population which is increasing in size with each passing year. Graham's comments on the automobile, principally used cars, should strike a responsive note. Mechanics, he found, are unlicensed, unregulated, and too often untrained.

He encountered a part of oldtime Florida in a plant where mullet are processed by methods not too much different from those utilized a century ago except for packaging and marketing. A day in a Tampa cigar factory revealed what mechanization and the competition of cheap foreign labor have done to a once proud and thriving industry. In Ybor City, he saw to what degree that haven of good ethnic food and fellowship has declined. At Dania Beach he found handicapped workers who were wondering how long they would remain employed after support funds were depleted. Graham also noted how many of the handicapped were unable to find jobs which utilized their special skills.

The final story in *Workdays* details the plight of the jobseeker without money or skill in an oversupplied market. The Florida State Employment Service is severely criticized for its lack of sensitivity and initiative, at least in the Tampa-St. Petersburg area where Graham "sought" employment. It is surprising, even shocking, that job hunters who speak only Spanish are told to bring interpreters along for interviews, and that toilet facilities are restricted only for the use of personnel. This is a timely book. It is well written and edited, the pictures are good, and the design is excellent.

University of Miami CHARLTON TEBEAU

The Great Explorers: The European Discovery of America. By Samuel Eliot Morison. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. xv, 752 pp. Prefaces, illustrations, maps, index. $17.95.)

This is a fine compendium of two previous volumes by the late admiral and Harvard professor, Samuel Eliot Morison. The first volume dealt with the northern voyages of the American discovery and was published in 1971; it was followed three years later with the southern voyages. Both books were reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

This abridgement, like all the many books by Morison, is first rate. At the same time the studies he has published dealing with the discovery and the discoverers have a distinct flavor. Morison had strong personal beliefs, and the vast subject of the discovery of America has many, many disputed points. And it appears that as he grew older Morison became more stubborn in his convictions. Therefore, the Morisonian theories of the Northern and Southern Voyages are reflected in the compendium. Unfortunately, the great disputes over the discovery and discoverers of Florida cannot be found in this abridgment.

This book is a disappointment for Florida history since Florida is not once mentioned. Ponce de Leon is cited only one time in relation to Puerto Rico. Nor are mentioned any other figures who played important parts in the discovery and settlement of Florida. This book covers the Northern Voyages of John Cabot, Lavrador, the two Corte Reales, Verrazzano, Cartier, Gilbert, Frobisher, and John Davis. Then it moves to the Southern Voyages, beginning with the Columbus expeditions and then Magellan; it jumps Florida (or maybe Florida should have been the last of the Northern Voyages!). Personally I think there should have been, between Columbus and Magellan or before Columbus, a chapter dealing with Florida. After all, after Magellan there are two chapters about Drake's voyages, and the last chapter of the book is entitled "Drake in California."

For Florida history one must turn to the second book in the series. *The Southern Voyages: 1492-1616.* The FHQ review of this volume did not mention the acute controversy about the Florida discovery resulting from the research and writings of the late Florida historian, David True, and the prolific Puerto Rican historian, Aurelio Tio. The controversy has strongly in-

fluenced Morison as reflected in *The Southern Voyages.* Although the Florida debate is ignored in the compendium I would like to mention it in this review. First of all, Morison debunked True in every way, but especially True's assertion that the Cabots (father and son) probably were the first Europeans to see Florida. But as a personal friend of Tio he accepted the Puerto Rican historian's theories (based on circumstantial evidence as are Mr. True's claims). Tio says that Ponce de Leon discovered the Mexican coast in 1513 on his return from the discovery of Florida. Therefore, Ponce de Leon would also be the discoverer of Mexico, a far greater historical accomplishment than either his settlement of Puerto Rico or his discovery of Florida. Morison's acceptance gives respectability to the Tio theory. But most scholars all over the world, including Mexicans and Spaniards, refuse to take Tio seriously and consider his research biased and repetitious. It might be of interest to know that Tio lobbied for a Nobel prize for Morison after he had nominated him during the last years of the admiral-historian's life.

As to the other theory of Tio, insisting that Ponce de Leon made three trips to Florida-one more between 1513 and 1521-Morison is more circumspect, saying only that Tio has circumstantial evidence. I repeat, the colorful triangular controversy of Morison-True-Tio is unavailable in the abridgment but clearly presented in *The Southern Voyages.*

There is no doubt that this latest book is another splendid Morison work, full of scholarship and good writing. But for Florida history it is important for its background material. For example, chapter one, "English Ships and Seamen, 1490-1600," dealing with a variety of aspects such as ship designs, seamen's food, etc., is useful and recommended for any historian and student of history.

University of South Florida CHARLES W. ARNADE

The Indians and Their Captives. Edited and compiled by James Levernier and Hennig Cohen. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977. xxx, 291 pp. Acknowledgements, introduction, illustrations, bibliographical note, index. $17.50.)

This book is the thirty-first volume in the Contributions in American Studies Series published by the Greenwood Press. Levernier and Cohen have presented a collection and commentary designed to illustrate the scope and significance of captivity narratives as they changed through time. They have divided the narratives into five phases. These phases correspond to the major historical and cultural preoccupations of the captivity tradition. Beginning with a phase entitled "The Discovery of the Indian," and ending with "Beyond the Frontier," the editors have assembled an impressive collection of excerpts from major and minor captivity narratives. The authors of the narratives range from the obscure to the masters of early American literature, Melville, Cooper, and Hawthorne.

The first selection is an excerpt from an interesting narrative, "A Spaniard Among Florida Indians," which takes the reader back to 1529. It treats him to a lively story about the adventures of Juan Ortiz, his capture by the Indians and his later dramatic rescue in 1539 by the soldiers of the Hernando De Soto expedition. The narrative is spiced with Ortiz's near miraculous escape from execution by the timely intervention of the chief's daughter. Occurring over eight decades before the more famous, if somewhat questionable Pocahontas episode, the Ortiz adventure sets the tone for the volume.

White attitudes toward the American Indian displayed in the succeeding excerpts change as the narratives become more sophisticated. However, Levernier and Cohen, in their selections of the excerpts, maintain a consistent image of racial inferiority that, although it varies in intensity, is never erased. Paul Bibbs in his *Moccasin Bill; or, Cunning Serpent the Ojibwah, a Romance of Big Stone Lake,* states that Deerfoot "was by far the best-looking man in the village." (p. 196) Of course the reader soon learns that Deerfoot is a captive white man. Frequently the Indian is depicted as being incapable of tenderness, but when he is grudgingly granted this concession, it is within strict guide-

lines dictated by the moral code of the times. When white women are captured they are often pictured in the narratives as goddesses who are able to bear their misfortunes with quiet dignity. This image transcends any thought of humiliation at the hands of their beastly captors. Yet the grisly revenge of Hannah Duston, for the murder of her family, is justified and even applauded by the governor of Maryland with a generous bounty of fifty pounds.

The thirty-eight selections presented in this volume represent a wide range of changing attitudes toward the Native American. Not all the narratives are confined to Indians in North America. Melville in *Typee*, the harbinger of his genius, used many of the same stereotyped terms used by others to denote inferiority of the American Indian. However, these natives were located thousands of miles west of the Pacific Coast of North America.

Levernier and Cohen have achieved what they have set out to accomplish. The volume is a well-balanced examination of captivity narratives as they evolved through time. The book is a welcome addition which will increase our comprehension of white America's changing attitudes toward the American Indian.

Missouri Southern State College, Joplin ROBERT E. SMITH

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume Six: August 1, 1768-July 31, 1769. Edited by George C. Rodgers, Jr., David R. Chesnutt, and Peggy J. Clark. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1978. xxv, 660 pp. Introduction, notes, appendices, index. $27.50.)

This, the sixth volume of the Laurens papers continues as an excellent source for the eighteenth-century southern mercantile economy and its societal basis. Politically, this and the preceding volume are of great importance. The sources witness the transition of a wealthy merchant, comfortable and prospering in the British-American economy, a faithful subject and a soldier of the King (the Cherokee War), being transformed into an opponent of the system that had nurtured him. The seizure of the Laurens ships for customs violations under the Revised Sugar Act of 1763, is one of the most important events in American history, comparable to the celebrated writs of assistance cases of James

Otis in Massachusetts. These events brought around the ordinarily conservative merchants of Charleston to the impossibility of continued existence under the old regime. It pointed up the corruptions and injustices of British placemen though the offenders were removed, and other British officials were also offended by their actions. Rancor remained in the minds of merchants such as Laurens. Similar mistakes in appointments of judges and collectors nudged the merchants along the road to a general confrontation with England.

The editing of this volume proceeds on the same high standards of scholarship. But there are moments when this reader is puzzled. Is the newspaper account of an assembly election in 1768 a part of the *Papers,* or does this belong in a note to a letter to James Grant on February 11, 1762? My comment on this (pp. 122-23) is that the majority of the mechanics lived in the new parish of St. Michael's, not St. Philip's, as D. D. Wallace in *Life of Henry Laurens* had stated. Thus, this explains why the mechanics won two of three candidates in St. Michael's, and only Gadsden in St. Philip's parishes for seats in the assembly.

Georgetown University RICHARD WALSH

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789. Volume One: August 1774-August 1775. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, Rosemary Fry Plakas, and Eugene R. Sheridan. (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1976. xxxvii, 751 pp. Foreword, general view of the work, editorial method, guide to editorial apparatus, introduction, chronology, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, notes, index. $8.50.)

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789. Volume Two: September-December 1775. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, Rosemary Fry Plakas, and Eugene R. Sheridan. (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1977. xxvii, 585 pp. Foreword, editorial method and apparatus, chronology, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, notes, index. $9.00.)

Students of the Revolutionary and early national periods of American history have long been indebted to the scholarly labors

of Edmund C. Burnett, whose eight-volume edition of *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress* appeared between 1921 and 1936. Because the debates of the Continental Congress were not reported and published and the published journals of that body contain only a skeletal summary of the proceedings, the *Letters* has been an indispensable source for our knowledge of the first government of the United States. Burnett and his associates combed the state archives, historical societies, and other manuscript depositories scattered throughout the country, laboriously transcribing the documents by hand (photographic reproduction was not then available). Despite the shoestring budget on which he operated and the often chaotic organization of the various manuscript collections, Burnett turned up a great mass of previously unknown material. He was more than an industrious collector, however; he was a meticulous scholar whose annotations provide a sure guide to the understanding and interpreting of the documents. His monumental work has been an inspiring example to the modern historical editing enterprises that have proliferated during the last two decades.

In view of the limitations imposed on the editor and the primitive conditions in which he worked, it is not surprising that Burnett's *Letters* lacked completeness. This new edition under the direction of Paul H. Smith rests on the sturdy foundation provided by Burnett and will eventually supersede his work. Smith and his staff at the American Revolution Bicentennial Office of the Library of Congress originally planned to do a supplement to the *Letters*, a task that Burnett himself had begun; but the accumulation of an abundance of new material and the narrow scale on which the earlier edition had been conceived called for an entirely new and comprehensive edition. Scholars will be surprised to learn that Burnett's eight volumes "contained only about one third of some 18,000 pertinent documents available" (I, vii) and thus will heartily concur in the decision to establish this new editorial enterprise. Where Burnett needed only half a volume (290 pp.) to cover the period from September 1774 through December 1775, Smith requires two fat volumes (1,250 pp.) to chronicle these sixteen months.

The documents to be published in this series are "letters" in the broad sense of "writings" and therefore include memoranda, notes of debates, and drafts of speeches, as well as official and

private communications. These first two volumes amply demonstrate that Smith and his colleagues are worthy successors to Burnett. Newly discovered material published here for the first time will force a revision of the traditional accounts of the First Continental Congress. John Dickinson, for example, emerges as the major penman of that Congress-as attested by drafts of several important addresses (the Declaration of Rights and Grievances, the Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies, the Address to the King, and the Letter to Quebec) in his hand. A closer analysis of previously existing evidence, moreover, casts doubt on the notion that Joseph Galloway's plan of union was first entered on the journals and then expunged (I, 112-17).

Smith has adopted a sensible policy of annotation. The notes are at once authoritative, economical, and unobtrusive. One significant improvement over Burnett is the elimination of needless cross references to other documents in the volume-a task the reader can do for himself by an intelligent use of the index. Eschewing long interpretative notes, the editor nevertheless does not hesitate to provide an extended discussion where the occasion calls for it-such as the appearance of new evidence that modifies the older accounts. The editorial apparatus includes a detailed chronology of Congress and a list of the delegates. Each volume contains an accurate and comprehensive index and carefully chosen illustrations that are keyed to the text.

The Papers of James Madison CHARLES F. HOBSON
University of Virginia

The Southern Experience in the American Revolution. Edited by Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978. xvii, 310 pp. Introduction, notes, contributors, index. $15.00.)

Growing out of a symposium in the fall of 1975 on "The Experience of Revolution in North Carolina and the South," this collection of essays presents a cogent beginning for an in-depth examination of the American Revolution in the South. While the style of writing varies considerably, the quality of the research is consistently high.

Professors Crow and Tise have divided the nine essays into three parts dealing with various aspects of the "southern experience" in the Revolution. Part one explores the "Social and Political Origins of the Revolution in the South." Pauline Maier discusses the distinctiveness of the southern revolutionary leaders and comes to the conclusion that it was a distinctiveness of degrees; that "in personal characteristics and concerns, in values and ideology, . . . southern leaders were much like their northern counterparts" (p. 19). Robert M. Weir explores the "possible relationships between family life . . . and the nature of the American Revolution" (p. 26). He examines the southern colonial family and finds a great deal of tension present, and argues that this tension along with the child-rearing practices and the ideology passed on to the revolutionary generation (either intentionally or inadvertently) contributed to "a particular kind of rebelliousness" in the South (p. 45). Jack P. Greene examines the corporate self-image of Virginia as being especially virtuous and analyzes the impact the Stamp Act and the Robinson and Chiswell scandals had in shaking that concept. He persuasively argues that a reform movement resulted to attempt to restore *"virtus et libertas"* to Virginia and that in the process the pattern of rule by the gentry was insured for at least another decade. In a cliometric essay Professors Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary argue that in North Carolina an upper class ruled politically and economically, mobility was limited, and class consciousness was "necessarily" present. They argue that the Regulator Movement was caused by this class consciousness and not because of any East-West differences within the colony. While they may well be correct, I am perhaps one of those too-traditional historians who would be more readily convinced if more than two-or even six-counties were used in the statistical sampling.

Part two is the strongest section of the book. Professors John Shy and Clyde R. Ferguson in two separate essays present highly readable arguments concerning the British "Southern Strategy." Shy asserts that the policy of "Americanization" failed because of British overestimation of loyalist strength and British indecisiveness in implementing the policy. Ferguson follows up by showing the relationship of the patriot and loyalist militia to the failure of the southern strategy. He contends that the militia played a

more decisive role than is generally conceded and that the patriot militiamen had greater success and were, perhaps, decisive in the outcome of the failure of the British counterrevolution. Taken together, the essays of Shy and Ferguson present a tight argument on the nature of the southern strategy and on why and how it failed. One could only wish that all collections of essays held together as well.

While the individual essays are well-researched and well-written, Part three - "The Revolutionary Impact of the War in the South: Ideals and Realities" - is the weakest portion of the book. Mary Beth Norton's essay on southern women in the Revolution is an excellent - and admittedly tentative - beginning for more in-depth work on the subject. Her assertion that the physical, social, and economic devastation of the South caused by the Revolution contributed to the southern woman's consignment to her continued subservient status deserves fuller examination. While it is an interesting and informative essay, Michael Mullin's discussion of "British Caribbean and North American Slaves in an Era of War and Revolution, 1775-1807," appears peripheral to the collection as a whole. The essay is provocative, however, and leads one to anticipate the appearance of his *Negro Slavery in the Old British Empire and North America during an Era of War and Revolution, 1750-1834.* Peter H. Wood's discussion of South Carolina blacks is a fascinating essay in which he asserts that they were "taking care of business" in the colony by performing the physical labor and by struggling for some of the rewards of their labor. Finally, however, Wood argues that they were "taking care of business" by attempting to obtain "liberty and independence."

Collectively, the essays presented by Crow and Tise are excellent and suggestive of the many directions in which research needs to be directed in southern revolutionary historiography. My only stricture would be that the Floridas were part of the South and needed to be included in a discussion of the "southern experience"; certainly they had an effect on the "southern strategy." The University of North Carolina Press has also included an adequate index which enhances the usefulness of the volume. Of the many volumes of essays spawned by the Bi-

centennial, certainly *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution* is among the best.

Troy State University at Fort Rucker/Dothan J. BARTON STARR

Captive Americans: Prisoners During the American Revolution. By Larry G. Bowman. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976. viii, 146 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $9.00; paperback $3.50.)

In this short monograph Professor Bowman makes a detailed study of American Revolutionary War prisoners. A majority of those seized by the British army were incarcerated in New York City, which was under royal control from 1776 to 1783. Americans captured on the high seas might have ended up in the West Indies, at Mill Prison near Plymouth, England, or almost anywhere in the world. Fighting at Lexington and Concord confused both sides, and neither expected or prepared for a protracted war. Part of the misunderstanding concerned the Americans' exact status: were they rebels, who might be hanged and drawn and quartered, or prisoners of war? The latter implied recognition of an independent United States. In theory, Americans were always considered as rebels; in fact, George III's ministers treated captives as prisoners of war. The ministry adopted this policy partly to conciliate the colonists and partly out of fear of retaliation.

Confined in former sugar warehouses and ships' hulks in New York, below decks aboard British warships, and in converted hospitals in England, Americans suffered for months because of insufficient food and clothing. The death rate was appalling. Professor Bowman's thesis, a convincing one, is that despite the prisoners' genuine distress, Britain did not deliberately mistreat these captives. Since she did not envision a long war she made little preparation for feeding and housing. Much of the discomfort resulted from ministerial bungling and logistical difficulties. Commissary general of prisoners Joshua Loring and his subordinates were not sadists in the way critics

have portrayed the Confederate commander of Andersonville prison.

The British flag flew over St. Augustine throughout the Revolution. Some of the earliest American prisoners-those captured by Lord Dunmore in Virginia-were sent to the East Florida capital, and a sizable though undetermined number at one time or another were detained in this city. Except for Carolinians sent to East Florida after Charleston's fall in 1780, Professor Bowman has little to say about St. Augustine, although it is true that most of the prisoners there were French and Spanish rather than American. The focus of his book is on conditions in and around New York. He contends that when American Tories summarily hanged Captain Joshua Huddy in nearby New Jersey, this marked the most brutal incident of the war. Floridians involved in partisan fighting in the southern backcountry might not have agreed, however.

Professor Bowman has made extensive use of primary and secondary sources in this heavily documented study. There is an inordinate amount of factual and stylistic repetition, and the reader is not likely to overlook his thesis. His work makes a modest contribution to understanding conditions confronting American prisoners and should be of primary interest to specialists.

Florida State University J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade. By Herbert S. Klein. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. xxiii, 282 pp. Introduction, abbreviations, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. $20.00; $9.75 paper.)

This is an exploratory work with Professor Klein moving cautiously over a quantitative terrain strewn with mounds of data on the Atlantic slave trade. Much of that data he personally unearthed in the archives and libraries of Iberia, England, and Brazil, and its presentation alone makes a major contribution, But by far the most important impact of this study should be the myriad of questions posed and research opportunities opened by Klein's employment of the data to cast doubt on many generally

accepted tenets regarding the traffic. For example, his figures on mortality during the middle passage suggest a remarkable similarity of rates regardless of the nationality of captain and owners. Moreover, the rate of slave mortality aboard ship was (at least for the eighteenth century) about the same level as that sustained by European immigrants, soldiers, and convicts making the Atlantic crossing. And perhaps most startling, the cause of slave mortality does not seem to be "directly related to the manner of carrying or crowding the slaves" (p. 229).

The study examines in demographic detail the slave trades of Brazil (and that country's internal traffic), eighteenth-century Virginia and Jamaica, along with the French traffic and Cuba's nineteenth-century trade. The focus then is comparative over time. As might be expected, given Klein's preoccupation with the lesser known Brazilian slave trade over the past few years, it is this story which dominates, preempting about half of the books pages. Cuba and Virginia by contrast are disposed of in about twenty pages each; thus treatment of the respective slave traffics is far from uniform.

In every case, however, the author attempts to provide a notion of the total volume of the traffic, its African sources, shifts in regions of supply, seasonal variations, an age/sex breakdown of the black cargoes, an estimate of middle passage mortality, and in some cases the profitability of the trade. A comparison of the individual trades employing these categories in turn leads to one of the book's major conclusions - that a "surprising similarity" existed between them (p. 228).

A bonus for the general reader is a truly masterful introductory chapter which examines "the American demand for slaves and the Afro-American patterns of settlement" in the hemisphere, and in the process neatly summarizes the history of New World slavery. For researchers, the concluding chapter which posits a number of tantalizing questions generated by the study should have a stimulating impact.

The book does contain one or two surprising errors such as Klein's assertion (p. 225) that the Cuban slave trade only became "illegal" in 1835 with the signing of the Anglo-Spanish slave trade treaty. But the reference here is to the second such treaty. The first Anglo-Spanish treaty prohibiting the traffic was signed in 1817, to become fully effective in 1820. Again Klein (p. 200)

asserts that yellow fever was a "primary killer" of slaves during the middle passage which is highly doubtful. Finally, although not an error, this reader at least was puzzled by Klein's perplexity regarding the peak season for slaves entering the Caribbean. The months were January through June, a phenomenon which he tentatively concludes was probably related to the peak harvesting months for sugar when planters had ready cash, even though he acknowledges that planters usually bought slaves on credit. Yet a much simpler explanation could be that since the time of Columbus sailors in the region had been acutely aware of the hurricane season which persists from July through November.

A final complaint concerns the index, which is skimpy and will tend to limit or at least make frustrating the use of this book as an important reference tool. On the other hand, the footnotes are massive and highly informative, and the bibliography reflects Klein's mastery of the important literature on both the slave trade and slavery. Without question then the book makes an extremely important contribution to this literature while standing apart as one of the few truly comparative efforts in that historiography to date. The study is a credit both to the author and his publisher.

Bowling Green State University KENNETH F. KIPLE

"Dear Mother: Don't grieve about me. If I get killed, I'll only be dead." Letters from Georgia Soldiers in the Civil War. Edited by Mills Lane. (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1977. xxxiv, 353 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliographical note, illustrations. $25.00.)

The Civil War still intrigues Americans. More than 600,000 men died in that holocaust which marked a great turning point in the nation's history. Now, more than a century later, the ordinary rebel soldiers who fought and lost a war to destroy the Union and preserve slavery remain a fascinating host.

What made these obscure fellows tick? What were they really like and what really motivated them to fight so hard in a lost cause? Years ago Professor Bell I. Wiley waded through voluminous collections of soldiers' letters to the folks at home and

other primary sources, and then in 1943 published *The Life of Johnny Reb* which presented a clear, relatively complete picture of the ordinary Confederate soldier. Now Mills Lane, editor of the Beehive Press in Savannah, has repeated some of Wiley's research and selected 300 letters from Georgians in the rebel army to paint a similar picture.

Johnny Reb from Georgia was a semi-literate but provincial country boy, optimistic, aggressive, closely bound to family and friends, tough and lethal in combat. Some were stern, fundamentalist Protestants, but others were incurable hell-raisers; virtually all chafed under army discipline but were stirred by martial music and military comradeship and the overall challenge of war. Most were not very political but fought to defend their old homes and new homeland from "vandal" invasion. At first stunned by the hardships and horrified by the slaughter, they soon became hardened and professional in their new calling. Best in headlong attack, hating the enemy and yet fraternizing with him too, Georgia Johnny Rebs were very much like their comrades from other southern states and, for that matter, very much like their blue-coated opponents.

Lane brings all this out effectively by a judicious selection of soldiers' letters in manuscript collections at Emory University, the University of North Carolina, Duke University, the University of Georgia, the Georgia Historical Society, the Atlanta Historical Society, and especially the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta. In his own words he "transcribed each letter as if it had been spoken rather than written." This procedure increases the readibility of the letters but also reduces their authenticity.

This volume is strengthened by numerous illustrations, but an additional bit of artificiality could have been avoided by omitting the stiff, unnatural Currier and Ives lithographs and mixing more actual photographs in with the contemporary drawings by A. R. Waud, Arthur Vizetelly, and others. Lane did use a few of the photographs he first employed so skillfully to illustrate his *The People of Georgia* in 1975, but he could have used more photographs which so relentlessly "tell it like it was." Especially effective would have been photographs of young Georgians like Edwin Jennison and Thomas Jefferson Rushin who never returned from the Virginia front.

The twenty-page introduction could have been written a little more smoothly and precisely, and the editor's transitional entries could have been a little more lively and less statistical, but overall this volume is well-done and worthwhile. Even better, the Beehive Press continues its fruitful collaboration with the Stinehour Press in Vermont, and this book is beautifully printed. In an age of increasingly shoddy printing this volume was made to last, and it is definitely worth keeping.

University of Georgia F. N. BONEY

The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor After Slavery. By Daniel A. Novak. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978. xvii, 126 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliographical note, index. $9.50.)

The reader expecting a history of black forced labor will be badly disappointed in this slim volume. The author decries the lack of a definitive study of peonage, but his own survey is brief and superficial. He has done no primary research except in court records and seems unfamiliar with many useful secondary works. He condemns the Freedmen's Bureau without consulting the vast collection of Bureau records. Even the secondary studies may have been read too hastily. He describes Professor George Bentley's history of the Freedmen's Bureau as "merely a restatement of Paul Pierce's 1904 work. . . ." Had he studied Reconstruction literature more thoroughly he might have gained a greater understanding of how and why contract and crop lien systems developed.

While Professor Novak failed to fill the need for a "definitive" study of peonage, his book is not without merit. His research is weak in some areas, but he poses some searching questions. For example, why has there been much less concern with economic freedom than with civil rights? Why did the Freedmen's Bureau which often protected former slaves issue labor regulations that were sometimes little better than the black codes? Why did the Republicans in the South, many of whom were black, do so little to destroy the peonage system? The Republicans emphasized suffrage, education, and desegregation, but their "legislation on

labor was essentially conservative, if any positive action was taken at all."

The second half, and stronger portion of the book, is essentially a legal study detailing the laws which supported and which should have ended forced labor. The federal government did not become concerned with the southern peon until the twentieth century and even then, the author believes, "it was the horrendous idea of white peonage which provided the final spur to federal interest in the area." Federal interest proved of little value to those in peonage since the "whole array of the federal legal machinery" was impotent. Even at times when the Justice Department was committed to ending peonage its sectional aspect, local opposition, difficulty of prosecuting peon masters, and racism made its eradication difficult. Moreover, peonage victims were seldom articulate protesters, especially when local officials cooperated with their "masters."

In 1969 the *New Republic* printed an article on peonage in Florida with descriptions of the peon's status similar to reports made during Reconstruction. Peonage still exists in the South, though on a smaller scale and, the author contends, actually seems to be spreading with the use of immigrant Mexican laborers in the West. Peonage obviously violates fundamental human rights and, in Professor Novak's words, "Its continued occurrence, however sporadic and illegal, . . . reflects shamefully on the American system of justice."

Florida State University JOE M. RICHARDSON

Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890. By Howard N. Rabinowitz. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, maps, notes, a note on sources, index. $17.95.)

As part of *The Urban Life in America Series,* which now numbers some two dozen titles, *Race Relations in the South, 1865-1890* is, in a way, two books, but not two books of equal merit. First and best, it is the story of the urban life of blacks in five representative southern cities-Atlanta, Montgomery, Nashville, Raleigh, and Richmond-so that the deep South, the upper

South, and the border South are all represented. Nearly all facets of black life in these cities are treated: from migration into the urban environment to housing and making a living; from justice to education and religious life; and from health and welfare services to public accommodations and politics. Of course black life was not always the same; it was not equal, in these five representative cities. For instance, and in general, blacks in Atlanta and Montgomery were less well-off than those in Nashville, Raleigh, and Richmond. But then not only were racial relationships generally less amicable and amiable in the deep South states of Georgia and Alabama than they were in the border and upper South states of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, for in Atlanta and Montgomery Negroes ceased to be a meaningful political force as early as the mid-1870s. And without political power, powerlessness in other areas followed. This part of Rabinowitz's book is well done and useful, while it does not have to be convincing, because there is no thesis involved.

The "other" book included here is more controversial, since it represents the culmination of a thesis that Professor Rabinowitz has earlier put forth in scholarly articles: namely, that the "forgotten alternatives" of C. Vann Woodward to the world of segregation that marked the whole South by the very early twentieth century were not those of frequent integration and generally more amicable and amiable racial relationships, but rather outright exclusion. If this is so, then the coming of segregation, whether de facto or de jure, represented an improvement in the lot of southern blacks, even if the equal part of "separate but equal" did somehow almost invariably get lost along the way, whether on the trains, in the theatre, or in the public schools. Rabinowitz writes: ". . . before the resort to widespread *de jure* segregation, *de facto* segregation had replaced exclusion as the norm in Southern race relations" (p. 332). He concedes, however, that, "Race relations in public accommodations were relatively fluid. Unlike welfare and education, *de jure* segregation was not widespread until after 1890," which, of course, is true. But, he continues: "Nevertheless, *de facto* segregation generally prevailed," if not outright exclusion. That claim is a good deal less demonstrably true, as is the one that generally blacks were confined to the smoking and second-class cars, and occasionally to separate first-class accommodations. It is also Rabinowitz's con-

tention that when integration did occur in public accommodations, it was "at the initiation of whites, and was confined as a rule to the least desirable facilities-cheap inferior restaurants, second-class and smoking cars on trains" (p. 197). Contemporary sources cited for these claims are chiefly newspapers.

Rabinowitz rides his thesis that exclusion was the "forgotten alternative" to segregation too hard, not that the thesis does not have some merit in a world where *inconsistency* - not integration, not segregation, not exclusion - was the chief hallmark of racial relationships. Of course southern blacks often met a wall of exclusion, just as they also frequently came up against the humiliations of segregation, but one should not dismiss such contemporary observations as those of Orra Gray Langhorne, an upper-class white Virginian who wrote in 1890: "Colored people move about *a* great deal these days, and so far *as* those seen in my frequent trips through Virginia, they travel in cars occupied by the general public without regard to 'race, color or previous condition of servitude.'" And scarcely being one to frequent the "cheap, inferior" establishments, where, Rabinowitz says that whites sometimes initiated integration, Mrs. Langhorne wrote in 1881 that while in Staunton, Virginia, she stayed at the Virginia House, which had accommodated Frederick Douglass just a few months earlier.

In truth, it is high time that scholars stop trying to prove or disprove the "forgotten alternatives" thesis of C. Vann Woodward, which is now twenty-four years old, because we all tend to select our evidence, depending upon whether it supports our contentions or not. To this reviewer, the word "inconsistency" is the most credible description of the world of southern racial relationships prior to the enactment of de jure segregation. Aside, therefore, from pushing his exclusion thesis beyond the bounds of tenability, Rabinowitz has produced a fine book, one of thoroughness, perceptiveness, and sensitivity.

University of Georgia CHARLES E. WYNES

Essays in Southern Labor History: Selected Papers, Southern Labor History Conference, 1976. Edited by Gary M. Fink and Merl E. Reed. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977. xv, 275 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, comments, tables, appendix, index. $19.95.)

The twelve essays presented in this volume were selected from papers delivered before the Southern Labor History Conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, in the spring of 1976. This conference was the outgrowth of the establishment of the Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University. During the conference it was also decided to organize a Southern Labor History Association "to encourage the study and understanding of the rise and development of organized labor in the South and to promote the dissemination of that knowledge."

In line with that philosophy the essays are a good contribution. Melton A. McLaurin's "The Knights of Labor: Discord and Accommodation" dealt with the internal dissentions faced by the Southern Knights. Lack of effective leaders, McLaurin finds, was one of the union's most serious problems in the South. Some, such as C. B. Pendleton of Florida, used the Knights primarily to advance political careers while others who were not native Southerners encountered problems of acceptance in southern states. The race issue presented another dimension to the problems of the Knights in the South.

In dealing with the participation of black mine workers in the West Virginia coal industry in the period 1880-1894 Stephen Brier found that black workers used union organization as the vehicle through which they tried to better both their economic and social positions. Bruce Raynor presented an interesting analysis of the recent controversy between the J. P. Stevens Corporation and the Textile Workers Union of America and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. Raynor's objectivity might have been influenced by the union positions he held as well as his direction of a boycott during a strike in Andrews, South Carolina. Daniel P. Jordan presented an excellent and well-written appraisal of the "Mingo War," a strike fraught with violence in the coal fields of Mingo County, West Virginia, in 1919-1922. Jordan holds that union recognition and the right of

collective bargaining was a stronger issue during the strike than salary considerations.

In dealing with the New Orleans street railway strike of 1929-1930 Gerald Carpenter found that there was considerable public support for the workers which greatly assisted them in the final determination of the strike and challenges the position that Southerners were always hostile to labor unions. James W. May's essay covered the transit strike in Atlanta in 1949 which saw considerable hostility toward the strikers from both business interests and the public. James C. Maroney analyzed the 1917 strike in the Texas-Louisiana oil fields which witnessed the oil producers successfully resisting union organization even though the dispute was mediated by the Wilson Administration. The strike's failure caused Gulf Coast oil workers to join with their counterpart in California and form a national union. Clyde Johnson, a retired union business agent wrote on unionization of oil workers during World War II.

The essays are not, nor were they intended to be, a history of organized labor in the South. They do offer worthwhile information to the historian of southern labor and will be consulted in future studies. More information from the editors would have been useful but as the work stands it is a good job. It is fortunate that the quality of scholarship represented in the book is higher than the quality of labor represented in its construction. The review copy, which bore an Atlanta union printing trades label, fell apart while being read.

Florida State University EDWARD F. KEUCHEL

South Atlantic Urban Studies, Volume 2. Edited by Jack R. Censer, N. Steven Steinert, and Amy M. McCandless. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1978. xi, 319 pp. Introduction, notes, contributors, index. $14.95.)

The second volume of *South Atlantic Urban Studies* is divided into three separate parts: South Carolina Society and Culture; Essays and Articles [on various urban-related topics]; and Book Reviews. By far the strongest of the three parts is the one devoted to South Carolina society and culture. The articles were orig-

inally papers presented in March 1976 at a conference sponsored by the College of Charleston's Urban Studies Program.

"Women in a Plantation Culture: Or What I Wish I Knew about Southern Women" by Anne Firor Scott is a call for an examination of the role of women in southern society. In so doing she poses intriguing questions about the influence of women in the twentieth-century South-particularly during the segregation crises of the 1950s. George M. Frederickson's "Masters and Mudsills: The Role of Race in the Planter Ideology of South Carolina" argues vehemently that Carolinians' Negrophobia led directly to secession. The effectiveness of his argument is diminished by the grandiloquence found in the opening paragraph, "Here [in the South Carolina lowcountry] one could find great houses to rival the country seats of the English gentry, slave quarters large enough to be villages." It is ironic that he begins his neoabolitionist treatise with a strong dose of moonlight and magnolias.

In "Education for Life: The Penn School Experience" Elizabeth Jacoway convincingly concludes that the Penn School experience "was a missionary program of 'uplift,' designed primarily to calm Northern fears. It was not an accommodation to Southern needs and demands." Nineteenth-century "industrial education" really should be defined as "industrious" in the best old New England Yankee tradition. The Penn School followed in the pattern set at Hampton Institute in Virginia. Northern philanthropy funded Penn School. Although the motives behind "industrial education" might not have been the most enlightened, they were worthy. Herbert Gutman's "Slave Culture and Slave Family and Kin Network: The Importance of Time" is a brillant methodological essay. One should not stop with this appetizer but go immediately to his monograph *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925.*

In "Patterns of Colonial Society: Latin America and the Caribbean, 1492-1804," Franklin Knight notes the difference between "settler colonies" and "exploitation colonies." Settlers intended to remain and reproduce their European culture in an alien environment while exploiters were money-seeking transients. The plantation economists of Latin America and the Caribbean were exploitive in nature. In contrasting the mainland colonies with those in the Caribbean Professor Knight places the former in the "settler"

column. However, the South Carolina lowcountry might better be examined as a possible entry in the "exploitation" column. Peter Wood's "Taking Care of Business' in Revolutionary South Carolina: Republicanism and the Slave Society" has appeared elsewhere in print. Suffice it to say that Professor Wood is continuing to mine the rich though spotty vein of blacks in eighteenth-century South Carolina.

As good as Gutman and Wood's essays were they need not have appeared here. They point up the only major criticism of this work-its tardiness. Even given the normal time lapse for the publishing process, the book is about twelve months overdue. Despite this flaw, Professors Censer, Steinert, and McCandless have produced a sound volume of high quality.

University of South Carolina WALTER B. EDGAR

BOOK NOTES

Back Home: A History of Citrus County, Florida is by Hampton Dunn, a native of the county (Flora City). Mr. Dunn is also the author of histories of St. Petersburg, Clearwater, Tallahassee, Tampa, as well as a number of other Florida books. When Europeans first arrived along the Gulf coast in the sixteenth century they encountered the original inhabitants, the Indians. The first permanent white settler was William Turner who called his place Cedar Grove. It was located between Crystal River and the Withlacoochee. Homosassa had its beginnings in 1835, and the first land survey in this section was made that same year. Growth was steady throughout the nineteenth century, but the major population and economic development has been a phenomenon of the twentieth century. In 1887 the legislature created Citrus County, along with Pasco, from Hernando County. Four years later, 1891, Inverness was selected as the county seat of Citrus. Phosphate and citrus have played important roles in the county's economic and agricultural history. Fortunately there were good rail connections, first the Plant System and then the Atlantic Coast Line, by the end of the nineteenth century. Mr. Dunn develops his history in chronological order, but he in-

cludes material on weather, business, schools, civil and fraternal organizations, buildings, politics, and social and cultural activities. We even learn that Elvis Presley once made a movie in Inverness. Family histories, a large number of pictures, and an index add to the value of this volume. *Back Home* sells for $23.50, including mailing. It may be ordered from the author, 10610 Carrollwood Drive, Tampa, Florida 33618, or from the Citrus County Micentennial Steering Committee, *Citrus County Chronicle,* Box 65, Inverness, Florida 32650.

Our Worthy Commander: The Life and Times of Benjamin Pierce in Whose Honor Fort Pierce Is Named is by Louis H. Burbey. Fort Pierce came into existence as a military supply depot in January 1838. Pierce, for whom the community was named, came from a very distinguished family. His father was a Revolutionary War soldier, and his brother Franklin was United States Senator and later President of the United States. Benjamin Pierce served in Florida on three occasions. In 1821, shortly after Florida was acquired by the United States, the Fourth Regiment, with Pierce commanding Company D, was assigned to Pensacola. He returned twice during the Seminole War, and his third Florida assignment took him into the Indian River inlet area. Our *Worthy Commander* was published by the Indian River Community College Historical Data Center, Fort Pierce, Florida 33450.

Harriet Beecher Stowe and American Literature, by Helen Moers, was originally presented as a paper to the Friends of the Harriet Beecher Stowe House and Research Library in Connecticut. It is mainly an analysis of Mrs. Stowe's famous book *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* There is also a short piece included on Mrs. Stowe and Mark Twain, who first met in 1868 in Hartford, Connecticut. This was about the time that Mrs. Stowe and her family were establishing a winter home at Mandarin on the St. Johns River. This monograph, which sells for $4.00, may be ordered from the Stowe-Day Foundation, 77 Forest Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06105.

Ernest F. Dibble has published two pamphlets. One, *War Averters: Seward, Mallory, and Fort Pickens,* was published

originally as an article in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (Vol. XLIV, No. 3, 1971). The second pamphlet is titled *William H. Chase, Gulf Coast Fort Builder.* Chase, who commanded Confederate troops in Pensacola in 1861, had come into that community in 1829 when he was put in charge of military construction at Santa Rosa Island. Each of Dr. Dibble's pamphlets, which include a number of pictures, sells for $1.50. They may be ordered from Old Book Specialties Shoppe, 102 East 40th Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19802.

Mules and Men has long been considered one of Zora Neale Hurston's best works. Miss Hurston is recognized as one of America's great collectors of folklore of the twentieth century, and this book provides the basis for that reputation. It was published first in 1935, with a short introduction by Franz Boas with whom Miss Hurston studied. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, has now published a paper edition of *Mules and Men* with an introduction by Robert E. Hemenway, author of the recent biography of Miss Hurston (reviewed, *Florida Historical Quarterly,* April 1978). *Mules and Men* sells for $4.95.

The Little Deer of the Florida Keys is a photographic record of the Key deer, the smallest of its kind in North America. The photographs, both black and white and color, were taken by Hope Ryden who has also provided an interesting narrative. Just a few years ago, when the Key deer were threatened with extinction, members of the Audubon Society and other conservation groups geared up for action. The results were the creation of the National Key Deer Refuge, a 7,000 acre refuge that includes all or parts of eighteen keys. There were no more than twenty-five deer in the area a decade ago; now more than 2,500 can be counted. *The Little Deer of the Florida Keys* is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, and the price is $7.95.

Dear Jeffie are the letters from Jeffries Wyman, Sr., first director of the Peabody Museum, to his young son and namesake. Many of the fifty-nine letters, which were edited by George E. Gifford, Jr., were written from Florida in the period from 1867 to 1874. The letters are delightful, and they describe a way of life in Palatka, Enterprise, Jacksonville, Fernandina, Old Town,

Hibernia, and Blue Springs which has long since disappeared. They also include many of Wyman's sketches. The book was published by the Peabody Museum, 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, Massachuetts 02138, and it sells for $7.50.

The Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis, California, in cooperation with the Agricultural History Group, Economic Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture, has published an index to *Agricultural History*, covering the period from 1927 through 1976. It is a three-part catalogue index, listing the table of contents by years and volumes, all articles by author, and a subject index based upon the titles of the articles. There are a number of Florida entries. It is another in the series of agricultural references and lists being published by the Agricultural History Center. This index and the others which are still in print are available upon request.

Stanley F. Horn, Editor and Publisher is the published oral history interview with the long-time editor and publisher of *Southern Lumbermen*, one of oldest lumber trade journals of the United States. The interview was conducted by Charles W. Crawford, director of the University Oral History Research Office at Memphis State University, for the Forest History Society. Mr. Horn is currently state historian of Tennessee. He was one of the strongest early advocates of progressive changes in American forestry and lumbering. His work has had a major influence on Florida, the South, and the nation. He opposed the common southern practice of burning the underbrush which devastated huge tracks of woodlands, and he supported reforestation and farming. Through organizations like the Southern Cypress Manufacturers Association, National Hardwood Lumber Association, and the Hardwood Manuafacturers Association, he has many Florida connections. Mr. Horn has visited this state freqquently. *Stanley F. Horn* may be ordered from Forest History Society, Box 1581, Santa Cruz, California 95061. The price is $17.50, plus 75 cents for postage.

Into the Deep by Robert F. Marx is the history of man's underwater exploration beginning in Mesopotamia 6,500 years ago. Marx traces the history of diving to modern times, and he

describes the origin of the equipment that is being used. His chapter, "Sunken Treasure," narrates the efforts to find and recover the Spanish treasure galleons that were lost off the Florida coast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The pictures include one of a diver at the Miami Seaquarium. The book was published by Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York, and the price is $9.95.

Since his graduation from the University of Florida, Sterling Watson has been a teacher. One of his positions was at a Florida state prison. It was this experience that spurred him to write this novel, *Weep No More My Brother*. The setting for it is the state penitentiary at Raiford. Published by William Morrow and Company, New York, the book sells for $8.95.

Once a Runner is also a novel. It was written by John L. Parker, Jr., and is the story of distance runners attending the University of Florida (thinly disguised as Southeastern University). It was published by Cedarwinds Publishing Company, Cedar Mountain, North Carolina 28718. It sells for $4.95.

Among the ever increasing number of oral history books being published, *Our Appalachia* is one of the best. It is edited by Laurel Shackelford and Bill Weinberg under the auspices of the Appalachian Oral History Project at Alice Lloyd College. It is a collection of interviews with the mountain people and develops an important folk history of a special American subculture. The editors allowed the actual participants to tell about life as they experienced it in the early years of this century and how mountain people and life are changing as a result of industrialization, tourism, television, unions, and pressures from other powerful forces. There is a desperate effort being waged to preserve the land and the old ways, but there seems to be doubt in the minds of *Our Appalachia* narrators that this will be possible. The photographs are by Donald R. Anderson. The book was published by Hill and Wang, New York, and it sells for $12.95.

The Three Kentucky Presidents (Abraham Lincoln, Zachary Taylor, and Jefferson Davis), by Holman Hamilton, is one of the volumes in the Kentucky Bicentennial Bookshelf. All of the

Presidents were contemporaries, and all were caught up in the tragic events of the antebellum period of American history. Professor Hamilton's usual careful research and his fine writing style make this volume one of the best in a quality series that has already proved its worth, particularly for the schools.

HISTORY NEWS

Florida Confederation of Historical Societies

The Florida Confederation of Historical Societies, Museums, and Historical Agencies will hold a two-day workshop at Heritage Park in Largo, November 3-4, 1978. Genealogy, archeology, and museum security are among the topics that will be discussed. There will also be an audio-visual presentation of slides and photographs supplied by Confederation members, which will show their museum and historical projects. All members of historical societies, museums, and agencies in Florida are invited to participate in the workshop. For information write Bob Harris, Pinellas County Historical Museum, Heritage Park, 11909 125th Street North, Largo, Florida 33540.

Glenn H. Curtiss Memorial Dedication

The city of Opa-Locka, on May 21, 1978, in cooperation with the cities of Hialeah and Miami Springs, celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Glenn H. Curtiss with the dedication of the Glenn H. Curtiss Memorial Garden in the Opa-Locka city hall courtyard. Mr. Curtiss played a major role in the development of American aviation. He was also an important developer in Florida during the 1920s. He was the founder of Opa-Locka, Miami Springs, and Brighton, Florida, and co-founder with James H. Bright of Hialeah. Secretary of State Brue A. Smathers was the main speaker at the dedication. A plaque was unveiled by Mrs. Glenn H. Curtiss, Jr., Opa-Locka Mayor W. L. Young, and Frank Fitzgerald-Bush, author of *A Dream of Araby, Glenn H. Curtiss and the Founding of Opa-Locka.* Dr. Thelma Peters represented the Florida Historical Society at the ceremonies.

Announcements and Activities

The Florida State Genealogy Society will hold its second annual conference at the Langford Hotel, Winter Park, November 17-18, 1978. William Lind of the National Archives and Gill Bodziony of the Florida State Library, Division of Archives, His-

tory and Records Management, will be keynote speakers. Local and family genealogical societies are encouraged to have displays. Conference chairperson is Barbara M. Dalby, 204 Willowick Avenue, Temple Terrace, Florida 22671, and inquires should be addressed to her. The Society publishes the *Florida Genealogist*, a quarterly devoted to Florida genealogy and the needs of genealogists in this state. It is also compiling a file of pioneer Florida lineages, and is helping to develop the genealogy section of the Florida State Library in Tallahassee. For information on membership, write the Society at 1660 Harmony Drive, Clearwater, Florida 33516.

The East Florida Gazette, the title of Florida's oldest newspaper, is the name of the new history journal being published by the St. Augustine Historical Society. It replaces *El Escribano* as the Society's news organ. *El Escribano* is now an annual scholarly publication. Mark E. Fretwell is editor, and the editorial board includes Luis R. Arana, Charles S. Coomes, Thomas S. Graham, J. Carver Harris, Albert C. Manucy, and W. W. Wilson.

The American Association for State and Local History provides a consultant service for any museum with an active program requiring general assistance. This service is available to any museum regardless of its size or its budget. Consultants will advise on varied problems, including conservation, exhibit planning and fabrication, record keeping, and general admission. Museums which have an operating budget of less than $50,000 per year will only have to pay lodging and meal expenses for consultants; institutions with operating budgets larger than $50,000 will be asked to assume one-half of the transportation expenses in addition to local expenses. Consultation will take place over a one- or two-day time span, depending on the nature of the problems or the needs of the museum. Consultants are selected by the AASLH, 1400 8th Avenue South, Nashville, Tennessee 37203.

The Association for Gravestone Studies proposes to promote the study and preservation of early gravestones and cemetery markers. The first issue of their newsletter solicited membership from "amateurs" and professional students of archeology, anthropology, history, genealogy, art history, iconography, and other

fields who share an appreciation of the importance of gravestones and a concern for their preservation in the face of the many forces that threaten them today. Inquiries should be addressed to the Association for Gravestone Studies, Dublin School, Dublin, New Hampshire 03444.

Plans are underway for compiling a dictionary of American military biographies which will include 300 to 400 biographies of important figures in American military history from the colonial period to the present. Professor T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University is the consulting editor for the project. Those interested in contributing biographies to the dictionary should write to the editor, Roger J. Spiller, Department of History, Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas 78666, and indicate fields of interest.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTY-SIXTH MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1978

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 4

MEETING OF THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS
Sheraton Inn, Madrid Room
Pensacola
8:00 P.M.

Friday, May 6

REGISTRATION: Lobby, Sheraton Inn, 8:00 A.M.

Morning Session - *Nineteenth-Century Political Encounters*

Chairperson: Charleton W. Tebeau, Professor Emeritus, *University of Miami*

"We Should Have Sent the Old Barbarian to the Hermitage: Joseph M. White, Anti-Jacksonian,"
Ernest F. Dibble, *University of Miami*

"John Willis Menard: Florida's Black Politician, Editor and Poet, 1871-1893,"
Bess Beatty, *Shorter College*

Commentator: Edward C. Williamson, *Auburn University*

Afternoon Session - *Women in Twentieth-Century Florida*

Chairperson: Arva Moore Parks, Coral Gables

"May Mann Jennings and the Art of Genteel Politics in Florida During the Progressive Era, 1900-1920,"
Linda Vance, *University of Florida*

"More Than Tea and Symphonies: Florida Women in the 1920s and 1930s,"
James R. McGovern, *University of West Florida*

Commentator: Jean C. Hales,
Florida State University

Evening Session-Receptions

Dorothy Walton House, 221 East Zaragosa Street
Pensacola Historical Museum in Old Christ Church,
405 South Adams Street
West Florida Museum of History,
200-201 East Zaragosa Street
5:00-6:30 P.M.

Saturday, May 6

Morning Session - *Spain in the Floridas*

Chairperson: William M. Goza, Madison

"Spanish Espionage in the British Floridas, 1763-1775,"
Light T. Cummins, *Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College*

"Spain's Recapture of Fort San Marcos de Apalachee in 1800,"
Jack D. L. Holmes, *University of Alabama at Birmingham*

"John Forbes & Co. and the War of 1812 in the Spanish Floridas,"
William S. Coker, *University of West Florida*

Luncheon and Business Meeting
Mustin Beach Officer's Club,
Pensacola Naval Air Station
12:30 P.M.

Invocation: Rabbi N. William Schwartz
Temple Beth-El, Pensacola

Chairperson: Dr. Thelma Peters, *President of the Society*

Business Meeting: Immediately following luncheon

Tour of Naval Aviation Museum, Fort Barrancas,
and Fort Redoubt
2:15-5:15 P.M.

Reception and Annual Banquet
6:30 P.M.

Chairperson: Dr. Thelma Peters

Invocation: Reverend Richard J. Bowles
St. Michael's Catholic Church, Pensacola

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History
Presented by Samuel Proctor to Dr. Robert P. Ingalls
University of South Florida

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award
Presented by James W. Moody, Jr., to Dr. Eugene Lyon

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award
Presented by Charlton W. Tebeau to Mrs. George Walton
on behalf of the late Colonel George Walton

American Association for State and Local History Awards
Presented by James W. Moody, Jr., to
Marjory Stoneman Douglas, Coconut Grove
Dr. Alfred Jackson Hanna, Winter Park
Dr. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *Florida Atlantic University*
WRUF Radio Center, *University of Florida*

Speaker: Marjory Stoneman Douglas
Author and Conservationist
Address: "My Sixty Years With Florida History"

MINUTES

President Thelma Peters called to order the meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society at 8:20 p.m. on Thursday, May 4, 1978, in the Madrid Room, Sheraton Inn, Pensacola, Florida. Present were Marian Godown, Janet Snyder Matthews, John K. Mahon, Harry A. Kersey, Jr., Peter D. Klingman, Arva Moore Parks, Marcia Kanner, William S. Coker, J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Chris LaRoche, O. C. Peterson, Robert W. Williams, Nancy Dobson, Samuel Proctor, Milton D. Jones, Linda V. Ellsworth, and Jerrell H. Shofner. Jay Dobkin and Margaret Burgess of the Society staff and Tom Greenhaw, editor of the Society's *Newsletter*, were also present. Sue Goldman, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., and Frederic G. Winter were absent.

Mrs. Godown asked that the minutes from the board meeting

of December 10, 1977, which were published in the April 1978 number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (p. 548), be corrected to read:

> Dr. Michael Gannon of the University of Florida served as judge, Marian Godown and Frederic G. Winter served as co-chairpersons, and the Fort Myers *News-Press* provided brass plaques. According to the executive director of the Florida Press Association, "the competition was a great success." Awards went to . . . .

The minutes were approved with these corrections.

Mr. Jay Dobkin, executive secretary, presented the financial report for the Society, showing a net worth of $60,414.61 as of March 31, 1978. The value of back volumes of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and copies of the *Quarterly Index* is not included in this figure. The report shows an increase of almost $5,000 over last year. Mr. Dobkin reported that use of the Society's library collection has doubled in the past five years. The staff is beginning work on the Society's biographical files. The directors approved Dobkin's request for an additional $500 to purchase new publications and to pay for binding. Dr. Proctor recommended that the staff prepare an estimate for purchasing all available Florida books in print not presently in the Society's collection. This report is to be presented to the board in December 1978.

The Society received during the fiscal year 1977-1978 books and gifts from the following: Dr. Frederick Eberson, Eula Mae Smith, Jay B. Dobkin, Marian Godown, Mrs. Q. G. Bruton, David E. Bailey, Glenn Dill, Lewis Bunker Rohrbaugh, Milton D. Jones, Ralph Potter, Donald Kemmerer, Moral Re-Armament, Inc., Lillian Wilson, Dr. Harold Myer, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, McHenry County (Illinois) Historical Society, National Archives, University Presses of Florida, Florida Bicentennial Commission, Waukesha County (Wisconsin) Museum, and Jean Stephens. Louise Dahr Wark, William Patrick Vogtle, Marian Godown, and Jean DuBois contributed to the Father Jerome Fund. Thirty-two volumes and nineteen issues of various serials were added to the Society's holdings this past year, and fifteen books were purchased from the income from the Father Jerome Fund.

Dr. Proctor reported that the current volume of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is one of the largest (576 pages) in its history and includes many photographs. A total of nineteen articles, sixty-three book reviews, book notes, history news, and an index was published. Dr. Proctor thanked his editorial board and his graduate assistants, Stephen Kerber and Donna Thomas, for their support and advice. Dr. Peters thanked Dr. Proctor for his fine work on the *Quarterly*.

The Confederation of Florida Historical Societies report showed that membership has increased from twelve to almost fifty in the past year. Thomas Greenhaw, editor, *The Florida History Newsletter*, noted that it will now be published three times a year and that it will continue as a six-page publication.

Dr. Coker announced that the first volume of the narrative history of the Panton-Leslie Papers should be ready for editing shortly, with publication projected for 1979. The microfilm edition is scheduled for 1980.

Copies of the *Index* are available for sale at the meeting, and Mrs. Burgess reported that copies of the *Index* are being ordered from her office.

Membership for the society decreased from 1,745 to 1,715 during the past year. Dr. Wright, acting membership chairman, reported that Nancy Dobson, Arva Parks, Janet Matthews, and O. C. Peterson will act as district membership coordinators. Each coordinator will seek volunteers in his or her district to help with the job of locating new members and in contacting high schools to urge them to subscribe to the *Quarterly*. Dr. Peters asked Dr. Wright to make an appeal for volunteers at the business meeting on May 6.

Robert Williams gave a report on efforts to save the Historic Capitol in Tallahassee. Nancy Dobson furnished additional information.

Dr. Proctor recommended that the amount awarded for the Rembert W. Patrick, Arthur W. Thompson, and Charlton W. Tebeau awards be increased from $100 to $150 annually. The motion was approved.

The 1979 annual meeting will be held in West Palm Beach, and in 1980 in Winter Park. An invitation was received from Clearwater to hold the 1981 meeting there, and this was approved by the board.

The nominating committee for 1978-1979, which will make its report in May 1978, will include Nancy Dobson, Tallahassee; Marcia Kanner, Coral Gables; William Goza, Clearwater; William Adams, St. Augustine; and George Pearce, Pensacola.

Dr. Peters read a letter concerning a historical marker on Indian Mound in Pompano Beach. The request for information was referred to Dr. Shofner.

Dr. Peters thanked retiring board members Arva Moore Parks, Marian Godown, Frederic Winter, Harry Kersey, and William Coker for their assistance during their terms of office. She thanked the full board and all the officers for their help and support during her administration.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:40 p.m.

Minutes of the Business Meeting

The annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society was called to order by President Thelma Peters at 1:15 p.m., May 6, 1978, in the ballroom of the Mustin Beach Officers' Club, Pensacola Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida. Approximately 100 people were present.

Jay Dobkin, executive secretary and librarian, gave the Society's financial report, which showed that as of March 31, 1978, there were cash assets of $60,088.71, and fixed assets of $326, for a total of $60,414.71. He also announced the gifts to the Society's library. Dr. Proctor reported that the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is the largest in pages of any historical society publication in the Southeast. While the *Quarterly* has increased the number of published pages, the per-page cost has remained steady and Dr. Proctor expressed his thanks to E. O. Painter Printing Co., and particularly to Mr. Dick Johnston, for their continuing cooperation. He also thanked his editorial board: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida; Michael V. Gannon, University of Florida; John K. Mahon, University of Florida; Jerrell H. Shofner, Florida Technological University; Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami (Emeritus); and J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University. He thanked his editorial assistants, Stephen Kerber and Donna Thomas, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, for their cooperation and help.

Dr. Proctor announced that the following awards would be presented at the banquet:

Arthur W. Thompson Award to Robert P. Ingalls, for his article, "The Tampa Flogging Case, Urban Vigilantism," which appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (July 1977). The award committee included Louis Perez, Jr., University of South Florida; James Ward, Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union;* and Lucius F. Ellsworth, University of West Florida.

Rembert W. Patrick Award to Eugene Lyon for his *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menendez de Aviles and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568,* published by the University of Florida Press with support from the Florida Bicentennial Commission. The selection committee included Peter D. Klingman, Daytona Beach Community College; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University; and Dorothy Dodd, former Florida State Librarian.

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award to the late George Walton for his book *Fearless and Free: The Seminole Indian War,* published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company. The selection committee was composed of Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville; Henry B. Watson, Daytona Beach; and Overton C. Ganong, South Carolina Museum Commission, Columbia, South Carolina. Mrs. Walton of Statesboro, Georgia, will accept the award on behalf of her husband.

The following awards from the American Association for State and Local History will also be presented at the banquet: Awards of Merit to Alfred Jackson Hanna and Marjory Stoneman Douglas, and Certificates of Commendation to Harry Kersey and the Radio Center of the University of Florida.

Mr. William Goza on behalf of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented a check for $1,000 to be used for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. In thanking Mr. Goza, Dr. Proctor presented him with a specially-bound first copy of the facsimile edition of Daniel G. Brinton's *A Guide-Book of Florida and the South,* published by the University of Florida Press. The introduction

for the facsimile, one of the volumes in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series, was written by Mr. Goza.

Dr. J. Leitch Wright, acting membership chairman, reported that the Society has 1,715 members. He asked for volunteers to assist district coordinators in recruiting new members for the Society.

Mrs. Nancy Dobson discussed efforts to save Florida's Historic Capitol. She urged members to contact their legislators and ask them "to save the Capitol with the dome," not the 1845 Capitol. She also informed members of the availability of records ("Save that Grand Old Lady on the Hill" and "Toby's Shoe Shine Stand") and Save-Florida's-Historic-Capitol tee-shirts.

The Confederation of Florida Historical Societies has forty-five member organizations, according to the report of its chairperson, Elizabeth Ehrbar. Two successful workshops, one in Tallahassee and one in Pensacola, were held in 1978, and two others are planned, one in Clearwater in November 1978, and another in West Palm Beach at the time of the annual meeting. *The Florida History Newsletter,* edited by Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, will be published three times a year henceforth. The Confederation's executive committee for 1978-1979 will include: Dr. Robert C. Harris, chairman, Pinellas County Historical Museum; John Opdyke, Alachua County Historical Society; Norman Simons, Pensacola Historical Museum; Marjorie Patterson, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Fort Lauderdale; and Margaret Ann Lane, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Department of State, Tallahassee.

Dr. Peters announced that the Society's 1979 annual meeting will be in West Palm Beach. The 1980 meeting will be in Winter Park, and the Society will meet in Clearwater in 1981. Program co-chairpersons for the 1979 meeting are Arva Moore Parks and John Hebron Moore.

The nominating committee, chaired by Milton D. Jones of Clearwater, presented the following slate for officers and directors:

President: Jerrell Shofner, Orlando

President-elect: John K. Mahon, Gainesville

Vice-president: Olive Peterson, Fort Pierce

Recording secretary: Linda V. Ellsworth, Pensacola

District 2: Hayes L. Kennedy, Clearwater, and Vernon Peeples, Punta Gorda, replacing Frederic Winter of Naples and

Marian Godown of Fort Myers.

District 3: Wright Langley, Key West, replacing Arva Moore Parks, Coral Gables.

District 4: Thomas Mickler, Chuluota, replacing Harry Kersey, Boca Raton.

At-large: E. A. Hammond, Gainesville, replacing William S. Coker, Pensacola.

There were no nominations from the floor, and the slate was unanimously approved.

Mr. William Goza presented to the Society on behalf of Jose Fernandez of Colorado Springs, Colorado, and Pose Ignatio Prieto Vasquez, Royal Spanish Air Force, a replica of the flag used in 1778 by the Navarro Regiment when it participated in the Galvez expedition against West Florida.

Dr. Peters announced that the annual banquet will be held at 6:30 p.m,, Saturday, May 6, 1978, at the Pensacola Country Club. Mrs. Marjory Stoneman Douglas will speak on "My Sixty Years with Florida History."

William Goza, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, presented the following:

BE IT RESOLVED, that special thanks be extended to Dr. Lucius Ellsworth of the University of West Florida and Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University, the program committee, and to the participants for a most interesting and diversified program;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that an expression of appreciation is extended to Elizabeth Ehrbar, executive chairperson, and the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Florida Historical Societies, Museums, and Agencies, their program committee, and the participants for an outstanding workshop session preceding the convention;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society extends its grateful appreciation to the host committee, James W. Moody, Jr., chairperson, and Linda V. Ellsworth, co-chairperson; the sponsors, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola Historic Preservation Society, Gulf Islands National Seashore of the National Park Service, the University of West Florida, Barnett Bank of Pensacola, and Seville Square Settlers;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the members of the Florida Historical Society express their sorrow and sense of loss in the deaths of those members who have died since the last annual meeting, including:

Mrs. Oliver L. Austin, Gainesville
Richmond I. Barge, Winter Park
Mrs. Nelson Boice, Miami Beach
James T. Campbell, Orlando
George W. Coleman, Palm Beach
Herbert J. Drew, Live Oak
Charles A. Gauld, Miami
A. J. Hanna, Winter Park
Mrs. Charles P. Kinery, Tampa
Martin LaGodna, Tampa
George A. McMillan, St. Petersburg
George W. Simons, Jr., Jacksonville
Ms. Louise K. Stewart, Orlando
Miss Broome Stringfellow, Tampa
Gaines R. Wilson, Miami

The resolutions were adopted as presented.

Mr. James Moody, local arrangements chairman, explained details about the afternoon tour of the Naval Aviation Museum and the fortifications. Dr. Peters and Mrs. Helen Ellerbe described the wild flower centerpiece arranged with magnolia, sweet bay, yucca, saracenea, and other flowers which were noted by William Bartram, the colonial naturalist, in his *Travels.*

The meeting was adjourned at 2:15 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Linda V. Ellsworth
Recording Secretary

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

Donations were made to the Father Jerome Book Fund by Louise Dahr Wark, William Patrick Vogtle, Marian Godown, and Mrs. John DuBois. The Wentworth Foundation, Inc. made a substantial contribution to the support of the *Florida Historical Quarterly.*

Books, broadsides, manuscripts, photographs, postcards, and annotations of the Florida Territorial Papers were received from Dr. Frederick Eberson, Eula Mae Smith, J. B. Dobkin, Marian Godown, Mrs. Q. G. Bruton, David E. Bailey, Glenn Dill, Lewis Bunker Rohrbaugh, Milton Jones, Ralph Potter, Donald Kemmerer, Moral Re-Armament Inc., Lillian Wilson, Dr. Harold Myer, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, McHenry County (Illinois) Historical Society, National Archives, University Presses of Florida, Florida Bicentennial Commission, and Waukesha County (Wisconsin) Museum. Storage boxes for the annotations were donated by Jean Stephens.

NEW MEMBERS

1977-1978

Daniel G. Alderman, Belleair Bluffs
Claude W. Allred, Jacksonville
Phil Ashler, Tallahassee
Tim Baer, West Palm Beach
Mr. and Mrs. Edward S. Barclay, Largo
Mrs. Richmond Barge, Winter Park
Manuel E. Benitez, Ormond Beach
Mr. and Mrs. William F. Betts, Cedar Key
W. P. Bivins, Maitland
Alvin Bobroff, Gainesville
** J. William Bonaccorse, Ocala
Janice Bowersox, Fort Lauderdale
Fred Bozard, St. Augustine
Mrs. James M. Brown, Coral Gables
Jan M. Brown, Fort Myers
Mrs. Linus Brown, Nokomis
Ronald James Buchanan, York, Pa.
Mr. and Mrs. Ellis Bullock, Sr., Pensacola
John C. Camp, Jasper
Floyd A. Cardell, Jacksonville
Bruce L. Carpenter, Hawthorne
Ralph E. Carr, Sebring
Ricks Carson, Decatur
Mrs. M. H. E. Casey, Miami
Daniel G. Cassidy, Jacksonville
Richard E. Castor, Lake Worth
Frank M. Cellon, Alachua
R. W. Cellon, Gainesville
James F. Chesnutt, Orlando
* Mr. and Mrs. Deryck M. Clark, Jr., Miami
U. S. Cleveland, Punta Gorda
Mrs. James M. Coe, Pensacola
Mrs. Jack L. Cogan, Okron, Oh.
Michael R. Collard, Boulder, Co.
Albert P. Connelly, Jr., Orlando
Doyle Conner, Tallahassee
Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Constand, Dunedin
Theodore J. Conway, St. Petersburg

R. T. Cullar, Tallahassee
Dr. Light T. Cummins, Tifton, Ga.
Doris A. Davis, Sarasota
Mrs. George Deen, Coral Gables
George A. Dietz, Sarasota
Lawrence Dimmitt III, Clearwater
Henry Dobyns, Gainesville
Leonard R. Dubin, Los Angeles, Ca.
**** Roselawn Farms, John G. DuPuis, Jr., Miami
Polly Anne Earl, Palm Beach
Alice M. English, Alva
Phyllis A. Farina, Tequesta
Robert F. Finley, Orlando
Col. Robert G. Fleet, USA Ret., Santa Rosa Beach
Letty Flewellen, Monticello
Mrs. Warrene Gaspard, Niceville
Joseph L. Geiger, Gainesville
Rev. Lee Graham, Jr., Tallahassee
Tierney de Guzman, Palm Beach
Ralph V. Hadley, Winter Park
Chancellor I. Hannon, Haines City
Gregory J. Harris, Fort Lauderdale
Isabella H. Hawkins, St. Augustine
Mr. and Mrs. George A. Herbert, Altamonte Springs
Dr. Sharon Lee Hiett, Orlando
Dr. Ronald Higel, Venice
Daniel L. Hightower, Ocala
Nancy Hoffman, Miami
Ethel Holt, Miami
Edward Hotaling, Maitland
R. S. Ingwersen, Palm Bay
Fred M. Johns, Ormond Beach
Guy Johnson, Tampa
Joseph B. and Elizabeth A. Jones, Tampa
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Jackson Karow, Arlington, Va.
James Keel, Ft. Lauderdale
Carla M. Kemp, Tallahassee
Edward P. King, Dayton, Oh.
Dr. Robert E. King, Bradenton
Robert E. Langford, Winter Park
Cindy Lapp, Riviera Beach
Dr. Harry G. Lee, Jacksonville
Norma C. Lehman, Birmingham, Al.
Dennis R. Lindeman, Tampa
Charles Lykes, Jr., Okeechobee
Mary P. Lynch, Land O'Lakes
James MacBeth, Tallahassee
James C. McKay, New Port Richey
Jean McMillan, St. Petersburg
Mary O. McRory, Tallahassee
Mrs. Dewey Vick Mathews, Oakland
Dr. and Mrs. Robert Mead, Pensacola
Carmen Mesa, St. Augustine
Stephen A. Michelini, Tampa
Marilyn Mlazovsky, Miami Beach
Herman Monroe, Lake Wales
Dr. Gary Mormino, Temple Terrace
Sylvia Mull, Tampa
Larry Murphy, Tallahassee

Mr. and Mrs. C. Harrison Newman, Delray Beach
L. Scott Nidy, Winter Park
Ralph M. Nygard, Lantana
Mr. and Mrs. Dean Odom, Miami
Lowell O'Hara, Gainesville
Howard Paris, Sebastian
Mrs. A. L. Patterson, Ft. Lauderdale
Charles E. Pattillo, Jacksonville
Henry Lee Paul, Tampa
Brian Peterson, Miami
Julian M. Pleasants, Gainesville
Hugh O. Potter, Sarasota
Lynn C. Puleo, Gainesville
Juanita G. Ragan, Bradenton
Philip M. Reed, Winter Park
Kenneth Rex, Fall River, Ma.
Daniel J. J. Ross, Gainesville
Mr. and Mrs. Hubert E. Rother, St. Louis, Mo.
Marjorie D. Russell, Jacksonville
Barbara Sakuma, Gerton, NC
Col. and Mrs. H. M. Sally, Tarpon Springs
Michael L. Sanders, Largo
Gordon Sayers, Pierson
David Schumaker, West Palm Beach
Martha Condray Searcy, New Orleans, La.
Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Selbee, Crescent Beach
D. V. Shaw, Sebring
Dr. Shearlock and Dr. Mead, Pensacola
Winifred B. Shepard, Tampa
D. M. Shofner, Carrollton, Tx.
Mrs. George W. Simons, Jr., Jacksonville
Michael Slicker, St. Petersburg
C. Alexander C. Smith, Greenville
Catherine F. Smith, Crystal River
* Janice L. Smith, East Palatka
Michael A. Smith, Clearwater
Sybella Snyder, Lake Worth
* Jean B. Stephens, Center Berlin, NY
Gerhard Sterling, Palos Heights, Il.
K. M. Stewart, Gainesville
Clyde E. Story, Kissimmee
* Bruce Strayhorn, Ft. Myers
Jack W. Strickland, St. Cloud
*** W. Frank Suddeth, St. Augustine
James and Thelma Sunderman, Palm Harbor
Ronald A. Sweetapple, Miami Springs
R. J. Taylor, Sr., Bradenton
Terry G. Townsend, Lantana
Thomas E. Townsend, Dunnellon
Ralph D. Turlington, Tallahassee
Davis Upchurch, Macon, Ga.
Tracy Upchurch, Tallahassee
Phillip W. Ware, Tallahassee
Jay and Mrs. Dahr Wark, New Smyrna Beach
Joe Warner, Bradenton
Judge Edward P. Westberry, Jacksonville
Frank Whitaker, Orlando
F. E. Williams III, St. Augustine
John Woods, West Palm Beach

Cynthia Woolery, Palm Beach Shores
Dr. Ione S. Wright, Miami Shores
Mark Yanez, Tampa

Alva Museum, Fort Myers
Archives and Minutes Division, Fort Lauderdale
Calusa Valley Historical Society, Clewiston
Collier County Historical Museum, Naples
Gadsden County Historical Commission, Quincy
Historical Archives and Research, Sarasota
Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society, Tarpon Springs
Boynton Beach City Library, Boynton Beach
Buchholz High School, Gainesville
Discovery Center, Fort Lauderdale
Fort Myers Beach Public Library, Fort Myers
Fort Myers Public Library, Fort Myers
Howard Middle School, Monticello
Key Largo Branch Library, Key Largo
Miami Central High School, Miami
Trenton High School Library, Trenton
U. S. Forest Service, Tallahassee
University of Tsukuba Library, Japan

*Fellow
**Contributing
***Life
****Institutional

TREASURER'S REPORT

April 1, 1977-March 31, 1978

Net Worth, March 31, 1978		$60,414.71
Current Assets:		
University State Bank (Tampa) checking	$ 4,646.90	
University of South Florida Account 91802	454.14	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville)	17,124.34	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville)	3,173.22	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn.	4,056.96	
University State Bank (Tampa)	2,297.96	
Freedom Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Tampa)	8,458.24	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn. (Gainesville)	19,876.95	
Pennzoil United (thirty shares)	200.00	
Middle South Utilities (six shares)	126.00	$60,414.71
Receipts:		
Memberships:		
Annual	$10,560.00	
Fellow	1,040.00	
Historical Societies	535.00	
Contributing	550.00	
Life	350.00	
Libraries	3,780.50	
Institutional	100.00	$16,915.50
Contributions:		
Wentworth Foundation, Inc.	$1,000.00	
Jerome Book Fund	66.00	$ 1,066.00
Other Receipts:		
Quarterly Sales	$ 4,523.74	
Postage	39.08	
Duplicating	127.36	
Annual Meeting (1977)	2,801.70	
Interest:		
First Federal	$ 825.32	
Guaranty Federal	162.45	
Tampa Federal	205.30	
University State Bank	432.57	
Freedom Federal	112.82	
Jerome Book Fund Expense Account refund	4.40	
Transfer of funds to checking:		
Thompson Memorial Fund (Award)	$ 100.00	
Father Jerome Book Fund	202.73	$ 9,537.47
Julian C. Yonge Publication Fund:		
Guaranty Federal interest	$ 1,020.98	
Royalties (University Presses of Florida)	24.38	
Pennzoil United dividends	40.00	
Middle South Utilities dividend	8.37	$ 1,093.73
Disbursements:		
Florida Historical Quarterly		
Printing and mailing	$15,078.14	
Mailer labels	179.95	

Copyrights	44.00		
University of Florida Teaching Resources Center (photographs)	42.37		
Editor's expenses	1,000.00		
Stationary and envelopes	20.59		
P.O. Box rent, Gainesville	16.00	$16,381.05	
Annual Convention:			
Program, Tickets, and refund	$ 218.40		
Motel	1,803.76		
Plaques	44.43		
Flagler - luncheon	585.00		
Executive Secretary expense	110.01		
Speaker's expenses	195.00		
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize	100.00		
Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Award	100.00	$ 3,156.60	
Other Expenses:			
Duplicating	$ 146.63		
Postage and telephone	974.98		
Florida History Newsletter	877.16		
President's expense account	59.64		
Executive Secretary office expenses	717.82		
Father Jerome Book expenses	421.10		
Microfilm	441.55		
Corporate tax	10.00		
Bookbinding expenses	414.75		
C.P.A. (income tax preparation)	45.00		
Transfer to Father Jerome Book Fund expense account	202.73	$ 4,311.36	
			$23,849.01
Balance, March 31, 1978			$60,414.61

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1978		
Oct. 3-6	Society of American Archivists	Nashville, Tennessee
Oct. 5-6	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola
Oct. 11-15	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Chicago
Oct. 19-22	Oral History Association Annual Workshop and Colloquium	Savannah
Nov. 8-11	Southern Historical Association	St. Louis
Nov. 15-18	Society for the History of Discoveries	University of Florida
Nov. 17-19	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Savannah
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	San Francisco
1979		
May 3	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies-Workshop	West Palm Beach
May 4-5	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY - 77th ANNUAL MEETING	West Palm Beach

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

OFFICERS

JERRELL H. SHOFNER, *president*
JOHN K. MAHON, *president-elect*
OLIVE PETERSON, *vice-president*
LINDA V. ELLSWORTH, *recording secretary*
JAY B. DOBKIN, *executive secretary and librarian*
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

DIRECTORS

NANCY DOBSON
Tallahassee
HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.
Gainesville
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