

The

Florida

Historical

Quarterly

July 1979

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Palk County Bank

Parr

Parr
Parr Soap & Shuck Co
Circumvent

C O V E R

Delivery of a safe to the Polk County Bank, Bartow, in 1886. The ox-drawn flat car and temporary rails were designed especially to move the safe. The Disston Land Agency office is in the building in the background. Photograph courtesy of the *Polk County Historical Quarterly* and Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr.

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*



THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LVIII, Number 1

July 1979

(ISSN 0015-4113)

COPYRIGHT 1979
by the Florida Historical Society, Tampa, Florida. Second class postage paid
at Tampa and DeLeon Springs, Florida. Printed by E. O. Painter
Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, Florida.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Samuel Proctor, *Editor*

Donna Thomas, *Editorial Assistant*

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr.	University of Florida
Michael V. Gannon	University of Florida
John K. Mahon	University of Florida
Jerrell H. Shofner	University of Central Florida
Charlton W. Tebeau	University of Miami (Emeritus)
J. Leitch Wright, Jr.	Florida State University

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

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

Table of Contents

“HE HAS CARRIED HIS LIFE IN HIS HANDS”: THE “SARASOTA ASSASSINATION SOCIETY” OF 1884 <i>Janet Snyder Matthews</i>	1
THE SLY FOXES: HENRY FLAGLER, GEORGE MILES, AND FLORIDA’S PUBLIC DOMAIN <i>Edward N. Akin</i>	22
TRAIL INDIANS OF FLORIDA <i>James W. Covington</i>	37
GOVERNOR TONYN’S BROWN-WATER NAVY: EAST FLORIDA DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1775-1778 <i>George E. Buker and Richard Apley Martin</i>	58
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS:	
ST. PETERSBURG-TAMPA AIRBOAT LINE <i>Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr.</i>	72
FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS, 1978	78
BOOK REVIEWS	83
BOOK NOTES	114
HISTORY NEWS	121

BOOK REVIEWS

THE AWAKENING OF ST. AUGUSTINE: THE ANDERSON FAMILY AND THE OLDEST CITY, 1821-1924, by Thomas Graham
reviewed by Michael V. Gannon

SITUACION HISTORICA DE LAS FLORIDAS EN LA SEGUNDA MITAD DEL SIGLO XVIII, by Elena Sanchez-Fabres Mirat
reviewed by Charles W. Arnade

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FLORIDA: THE IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, edited by Samuel Proctor
reviewed by Robert R. Rea

THE FLORIDA WARS, by Virginia Bergman Peters
reviewed by John K. Mahon

SOURCES OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY, edited by Howard Peckham
reviewed by Gerard W. Gawalt

JOHN ROSS, CHEROKEE CHIEF, by Gary F. Moulton
reviewed by Carl Vipperman

MORAL CHOICES: MEMORY, DESIRE, AND IMAGINATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN ABOLITIONISM, by Peter Walker
reviewed by Phillip S. Paludan

THE SOUTH AND THE POLITICS OF SLAVERY, 1828-1856, by William J. Cooper, Jr.
reviewed by Holman Hamilton

MEDICINE AND SLAVERY: THE DISEASES AND HEALTH CARE OF BLACKS IN ANTEBELLUM VIRGINIA, by Todd L. Savitt
reviewed by James Harvey Young

LIFE AND LABOR ON ARGYLE ISLAND: LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS OF A SAVANNAH RIVER RICE PLANTATION, 1833-1867, edited by James M. Clifton
reviewed by Emory M. Thomas

AFTER SECESSION: JEFFERSON DAVIS AND THE FAILURE OF CONFEDERATE NATIONALISM, by Paul D. Escott
reviewed by Clement Eaton

FREEDMEN AND THE IDEOLOGY OF FREE LABOR: LOUISIANA, 1862-1865, by William F. Messner
reviewed by Mary F. Berry

AMELIA GAYLE GORGAS: A BIOGRAPHY, by Mary Tabb Johnston and Elizabeth Johnston Libscomb
reviewed by Richard M. McMurry

STRANGERS WITHIN THE GATE CITY: THE JEWS OF ATLANTA, 1845-1915, by Steven Hertzberg
reviewed by Louis E. Schmier

THE SACRED HARP: A TRADITION AND ITS MUSIC, by Buell E. Cobb, Jr.
reviewed by Dale A. Olsen

“HE HAS CARRIED HIS LIFE IN HIS HANDS”: THE “SARASOTA ASSASSINATION SOCIETY” OF 1884

by JANET SNYDER MATTHEWS *

A FRONT PAGE headline in the *New York Times* in February 1885, announced: “The Bloody Work of Band of Southern Murderers . . . the notorious Sarasota Assassination Society.” The *Times* story reported that Alfred B. Bidwell, formerly of Buffalo, had been arrested for vigilantism in Florida: “This organization is supposed to exist for the purpose of the secret murder of political opponents, and is composed of 20 members, bound together by terrible oaths to perform the bloody work of the band and to keep its secrets inviolate. Mr. Bidwell is charged with making his store the rendezvous of the gang . . . [and] with being a party to the murder of C. E. Abbe. . . . The information received makes this assassination society one of the most atrocious organizations ever heard of. . . . The murder of one Riley several months ago . . . [is] said to be the work of the assassins. The victims are supposed to have suffered for private as well as political causes.”¹

Two days after Christmas 1884, Charles Abbe was shot to death as he was walking from the Bayshore toward his home, a short distance away. His alleged murderers, Charles B. Willard and Joseph C. Anderson, were charged with dragging the body down to Bidwell’s wharf, sailing three miles out into the Gulf of Mexico, and then dumping the corpse overboard.²

For nearly two weeks after the murder, it was thought that the crime had been the work of only a very few criminals. Then, as a cloud of tension and fear descended over the community, indi-

* Mrs. Matthews is a director of the Florida Historical Society. Her article is from a manuscript in progress on the history of the Manatee-Sarasota region.

1. *New York Times*, February 2, 1885.
2. *Ibid.*; testimonies of Charles Morehouse and Sheriff A. S. Watson before Alden J. Adams, justice of the peace, preliminary examination into the murder of Charles E. Abbe, December 29, 1884-March 2, 1885, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton (hereinafter cited as J.P. in Abbe).

viduals began to reveal more and more facts about the case and the events leading up to the shooting. Reluctant settlers came forth to charge that Abbe's murder, as well as the earlier killing of Harrison T. Riley, had been perpetrated by a band of conspirators, a secret group called the "S.S.V.C." (Sara Sota Vigilance Committee). Henry L. Hawkins, a farmer and one of the men who had helped bury Riley the previous summer, stated, "I am putting my life in jeopardy and if this is made public I fear that I may share the fate that has befallen Riley and Abbe." Hawkins named the men who had been approached for membership in the vigilante group, but who had refused to join. Hawkins claimed there were others who would testify if they could be sure that they would be protected.³

From then on, increasing amounts of information became available. Others came forward, and the facts surrounding Riley's death, which had not yet been investigated, emerged. On the last morning of June 1884, according to this information, Riley left his home and was riding on a horse en route to the Sarasota post office. As he neared an "open pond," three vigilantes, concealed in the palmetto scrub adjacent to the road, fired at him. He fell from his horse, mortally wounded. After slitting Riley's throat, the murderers hurried toward Phillippe's Creek and Sarasota to report to Alfred Bidwell and Dr. Leonard Andrews, the S.S.V.C. leaders.⁴

Amid continued reports of additional threats and violence, citizens were summoned to a meeting in the small, rough frame courthouse at Pine Level, nearly the inland center of Manatee County. Florida Attorney General Charles M. Cooper praised "their cool and dispassionate conduct" and their ability to proceed judicially by preventing a lynching of the vigilantes. The testimony of numerous witnesses enabled the state to bring nine vigilantes to trial for the murders of Abbe and Riley in the mid-

3. Testimony and deposition of Dr. Adam Hunter, January 7, 1885, J.P. in Abbe; Hawkins affidavit and abstract of proceedings, January 14, 1885, before Alden J. Adams, preliminary examination into the murder of Harrison T. Riley, January 1885, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton (hereinafter cited as J.P. in Riley).

4. Statement by F. H. Tucker, Bidwell pardon file, Secretary of State Papers, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee (hereinafter cited as Pardon Papers); Bacon, Drymon, and Cato testimonies in Charles M. Cooper, *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Florida during the Year 1886* (Tallahassee, 1887), 52-76.

summer of 1885. The first trial lasted eleven days, and Charles Willard and Joseph Anderson were found guilty of the murder of Charles Abbe. Each was sentenced to “confinement in the State penitentiary at hard labor for the term of his natural life.”⁵

A month later, July 14, a second special session of the Sixth Judicial Circuit was held for a trial of the Riley murder defendants. Several were convicted. The leaders, Bidwell and Andrews, were found guilty as accessories before the fact and were sentenced to death.⁶ Ed Bacon, the only vigilante tried as an active participant in both murders, was also convicted and sentenced to be hanged. In all, eight men were tried; three were sentenced to death, four to life, and one was acquitted. Two men had turned state’s evidence. After a year in the Pine Level jail, Andrews and another of the convicted vigilantes grabbed double-barrelled shotguns and escaped. Later, Bidwell’s death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and he joined Anderson and Willard as lease-labor convicts in the state penitentiary labor camp near Live Oak.⁷ Jason Alford’s trial was delayed four years until January 1889.⁸

One young vigilante, Tom Drymon, who had been convicted of the Riley slaying, was pardoned as a result of the pleas of some 500 Manatee citizens. The appeals on behalf of Drymon, a twenty-three-year-old, crippled farm laborer, were strongly endorsed by the state’s attorneys and by the presiding judge, Henry L. Mitchell, who later became Florida’s sixteenth governor (1893-1897). Petitioners claimed that Drymon had been exploited, and that he was humble, illiterate, and honest. He had been “led into commission of the crime” by “fear and confidence in the parties at

-
5. Cooper assisted the prosecution. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 12, 26, June 11, July 2, 1885; “State of Florida vs. Charles B. Willard, Joseph C. Anderson, Edmond P. Bacon,” Sixth Judicial Circuit of Florida, June 1-11, 1885, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton (hereinafter cited as Sixth Circuit in Abbe).
 6. “State vs. Bacon, *et al.* in the Murder of Harrison T. Riley,” Sixth Judicial Circuit of Florida; Drymon, Bidwell, Anderson, and Willard files, Pardon Papers.
 7. *Ibid.*; Cooper, *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Florida during the Year 1886*, 52-76; Joseph Herman Simpson, “Sarasota Vigilance Committee,” chapter 25 of serial history, Braidentown *Herald*, beginning June 15, 1915; pardons for 1890 and 1892, *House Journal*, 1891, 1893, Florida State Archives; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 23, 1885; *Senate Journal for 1889*, Report of the State Prison, Department of Agriculture, 39.
 8. Trial of Jason Alford, January 1889, special term of Sixth Judicial Circuit, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton.

the head of the organization.“⁹ In the wake of this pardon in 1887, petitions on behalf of all the others convicted were circulated and regularly presented along with impassioned protests. The last of the convicted vigilantes was released in 1892, eight years after the two murders.¹⁰

During the sixty years following the murders of Charles Abbe and Harrison T. Riley, the matter seems to have been almost forgotten, and it received only minimal attention in any kind of published form. Sarasotans were generally reticent to discuss the subject. In part this was because members of the families of the vigilantes and their descendants were often the stable citizens in the community. The few writers who did mention the vigilante murders limited their discussion to a brief recounting of the facts, which they perceived to have been crimes perpetrated by a few men.¹¹ For most local authors, it was apparently more satisfying to write of less personal historical topics than to dwell on a sensitive subject, the facts of which, as a matter of record, had been adjudicated thoroughly.

Karl H. Grismer, a newspaperman writing in the 1940s, attempted to reexamine and analyze the matter of the Sarasota vigilantes. Departing from the extant facts, Grismer, in his book, *The Story of Sarasota*, produced a theory bolstered by miscon-

-
9. Exhibit A, Drymon file, Pardon Papers. A countercharge of conspiracy was leveled against young vigilantes by Goodman Bond, a convict, and it received some support, though it was contradicted in the record by John Fletcher. See deposition of Goodman Bond, June 21, 1886, Bidwell file, Pardon Papers; testimony of Fletcher, J.P. in Riley; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 26, 1885.
 10. Bidwell, Cato, Anderson, Willard files, Pardon Papers; Report of State's Prison, Secretary of State's Report, 1887-1888, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida Library, Tampa; pardons for 1890-1892, *House Journal*, 1891, 1893, Florida State Archives. Furman C. Whitaker, Abbe's son-in-law, objected strenuously to intervention in the court sentence, citing both the difficulties of the trials and those of protecting the vigilantes from retribution by angry neighbors: "We have suffered, been in danger of our lives and lost our friend and fellow citizen. . . . We ourselves, our wives and daughters were not only threatened as to our lives but attacked by slander, in our desire to see the law mete out justice to these men rather than that they be lynched." Whitaker to Governor Edward A. Perry, [n. d.], Whitaker daybook, A. K. Whitaker Collection, Bradenton; W. J. De Poincy to Governor Francis P. Fleming, June 24, 1889, Manatee County Historical Society Archives.
 11. McDuffee cited state archival sources to characterize the vigilantes as "young men of worthy families, who were inveigled into its folds without knowing its real purpose." Lillie B. McDuffee, *The Lures of Manatee* (Nashville, 1933; facsimile ed., Atlanta, 1961), 265-67. See also Simpson, "Sarasota Vigilance Committee."

ceptions and documentary distortions. It curiously pictured the victims, rather than the convicted murderers and their associates, as the guilty parties. Relying heavily upon this treatment for overall reader interest, the jacket cover announced the book as "the first time the true facts of the Vigilantes has [*sic*] appeared in print."¹² For more than three decades Grismer has influenced writers and readers of the history of Sarasota and Manatee County. His portrayal of the vigilantes has gone largely unchallenged. As a result, a significant historical figure, Charles Abbe, and Harrison Riley have been twice victimized.

Basic to Grismer's theory is a misinterpretation of the land acquisition procedures prevalent on the south Florida frontier in the 1880s. Beginning with a misconception of the "swamp land act," he proceeds to identify a fantastic "war" between the early settlers and land grabbers," culminating in a "drive to 'oust the squatters.'" Thereby is born a version of "fellow Sarasotans . . . inflamed with rage and indignation" who "thought, rightly or wrongly, that Riley and Abbe were working in the interests of the land grabbers."¹³

To support this conclusion, Grismer depends heavily upon the "narrative" of an elderly woman, whose uncle purportedly was a vigilante. Contradicting contemporary records, this unidentified source defends the vigilantes as a group of citizens who had "organized to prevent the community from being gobbled up by the speculators" and whose agents, with supposedly unavailable property descriptions, "began coming around to the pioneers' homes telling them to get out." Riley, the woman asserts, was murdered for measuring off settlers' boundary lines and turning the information over to land speculators. Abbe, she says, was targeted for doing the same thing.¹⁴ Ultimately, Grismer pronounces his theory of the vigilantes' motives as "plain and clear," as "viewed against the background of history and associated events."¹⁵

Grismer's aggressive "land-grabber" theories do not hold up in the light of contemporary evidence. Although the south Florida frontier *looked* like a vast, open area for American homesteaders to settle in, in fact, it had likely never fitted that

12. Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Sarasota* (Tampa, 1946), jacket, 79-91.

13. *Ibid.*, jacket, 80, 81, 83, 88.

14. *Ibid.*, 89.

15. *Ibid.*, 88.

description. Around 1850 the area that would become Sarasota County probably contained an unofficial population of no more than two dozen settlers, and, according to contemporary comments, it was largely underwater in the rainy seasons. It was a wild, unoccupied land. There were very few settlers. Seminoles routinely moved through the area without being molested. The Third Seminole War was still a few years in the future. By 1880, most of the land had been granted or sold. When Florida entered the Union in 1845, the federal government had transferred 500,000 acres to state ownership. Five years later, September 28, 1850, under the "swamp and overflowed" lands act, Florida received an additional 10,000,000 acres. Most of the desirable land in and around Sarasota was included in this conveyance. This congressional action had two major effects: it reduced dramatically the amount of land in Sarasota available for federal homestead claims, and it ended the possibility of settlers obtaining any of the conveyed land free of charge.

The purpose of the "swamp and overflowed" lands act was to provide the various wetland states with a significant source of revenue for reclaiming and improving their swamp lands. At first, the lands were more a fiscal category than a physical description, and the Florida legislature in 1851 created an administrative agency called the Board of Internal Improvement to supervise this resource. Funds were to be raised through sale of land, and not by giving the property away to settlers or to anyone else.¹⁶

In 1855 the Florida legislature, realizing that the sale of the lands could provide funds for the construction of transportation facilities, established the Internal Improvement Fund with a board of trustees to replace the Internal Improvements Board. In the decade prior to 1882, the sales of swamp lands by the Board had been halted by litigation. Florida's railroads, which

16. "An Act to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the 'Swamp Lands' within their limits." 31st Cong., 1 sess., 1850, in George Minot; ed., *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America from December 1, 1845 to March 3, 1851* (Boston, 1862), 519; "An Act to Secure the Swamp and Overflowed Lands lately granted to the State . . .", Fifth Session of the General Assembly of Florida, 1850, 93-94; Tract Books, Florida, South & East, LVIII, LX, General Land Office records, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland. Subsequent acts modified selection in some instances, typically recognizing pre-emptive rights of homesteaders and private claimants. See chapter 171, Act of June 9, 1880, in *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, April 1879 to March 1881* (Washington, 1881), XXI, 171-72.

had been built with state bond backing, went into bankruptcy after the Civil War, leaving the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund liable for their bonded indebtedness. Francis Vose and other bondholders forced the public land into receivership, and this acreage could no longer be disposed of without bondholders' approval. Because interest alone on the outstanding debt far exceeded proceeds from annual sales, and because the inability to dispose of the acreage was interfering with development, the state sought a purchaser willing to buy a large bloc of land. The money from this sale, it was thought, would be sufficient to retire the outstanding interest and debt.

In 1881 Governor William Bloxham found that purchaser in Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia, a steel manufacturer who had become intrigued with the idea of becoming a Florida developer. Disston agreed to buy 4,000,000 acres of land for a total price of \$1,000,000. Much of the state-owned land in Manatee County and around Sarasota was included in the Disston purchase.

For many citizens, the vastness of the Disston purchase was discomfiting. Too much had been sold too cheaply. It had been their plan to add to their own holdings, purchasing lands at a low price for their own speculative purposes. The capital for these investments would come from the meager profits they would realize from lands they already owned. Disston's giant acquisition must have made these planned land acquisitions seem lost forever.¹⁷ Grismer observed, “In the Disston deal, and those which followed in rapid succession, the Land of Sarasota was practically wiped off the map so far as Homesteaders were concerned.”¹⁸

In reality, Disston's purchase had no effect whatsoever on homesteaders. As noted, after 1856 public land in Sarasota was either federal or state, each requiring its own acquisition procedures. The land which Disston purchased was not federal land and was not, therefore, subject to homestead claims. The property turned over to Disston was state land; it was available only at a

17. William D. Bloxham, “The Disston Sale and the State Finances,” speech delivered at Park Theater, Jacksonville, on August 26, 1884, copy in the Florida Historical Society Library; Tampa *Sunland Tribune*, January 12, 1882; T. Frederick Davis, “The Disston Land Purchase,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (January 1939), 200-10; “Covenant between the State of Florida and Hamilton Disston, February 6, 1883,” records of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, Tallahassee.

18. Grismer, *Story of Sarasota*, 81.

price, whoever was the purchaser. There was also the matter of settler rights. As part of the arrangement with Disston all those residing on state lands at the time of purchase would be given two years to buy the land themselves before the final contract was signed.¹⁹

Disston's purchase had two salutary effects on land acquisition by individuals in Sarasota. By erasing the state bond debt, Florida was free to dispense of acreage without interference from the courts.²⁰ Furthermore, Disston at once offered to sell some of his property to settlers for the same price as the state was advertising -ninety cents to \$1.25 per acre.²¹

By the time the Sara Sota Vigilance Committee was being organized, Disston's lands had been selected and had been transferred to his ownership. Much of the land had also been divided for resale to the public. Surviving records do not indicate that any pioneers or newcomers were "squeezed out."²² Disston sold to anyone who wanted to buy-natives as well as newcomers-in parcels ranging from thirty to several thousand acres. Some of the vigilantes were among those who acquired land from Disston.²³

Not only is Karl Grismer's "land-grabber" theory at odds with the facts surrounding property acquisition procedures in the 1880s, it is not supported by contemporary records. Relying upon the statements of an unidentified elderly woman, Grismer constructed a single-faceted representation of Charles Abbe as a man who, if not actually deserving of assassination, certainly was portrayed as contributing to his own fate by betraying innocent settlers. The vigilante episode created ample contemporary material, including court records, news accounts, and private letters. These sources fail to support Grismer's theory that the victim was in some way responsible for his own attack.

19. Tampa *Sunland Tribune*, June 1, 1881, January 12, 19, March 30, July 13, 1882. See also Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 278.

20. Bloxham, "Disston Sale and the State Finances," 6-7.

21. Deed book E, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton.

22. *Ibid.*; Tract Books, Florida, South & East, National Archives, Suitland, Maryland; Letters Sent to Register and Receiver, Florida, II, V, division C, Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1882-1885, Certificates of Payment, division M, records of the Bureau of Land Management, record group 49, National Archives, Washington.

23. Disston to Andrews, Disston to Yonge, deed book E, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton.

Apart from the general frontier psyche, information on the Sara Sota Vigilance Committee and its leaders who supervised the membership drive suggests certain personal motives. The Abbe-Riley murders can best be understood as a culmination of efforts by the ringleaders for their own gain. Perhaps Riley may have known of the plot against Abbe. If so, then the conspirators might have felt that he needed to be silenced. Testimony regarding incidents in the Sarasota Bay neighborhood reveal growing resentment toward Abbe by Bidwell, Andrews, Alford, and Anderson. Their exploitation of the S.S.V.C. membership was apparently aimed at serving their own personal motives.

The interweaving of community alliances may have begun as early as 1876, when, in addition to local homesteaders and settlers, people from outside Florida also began purchasing land from the Internal Improvement Fund. Charles Abbe, formerly a successful salesman for Singer Sewing Machine Company working in Douglas County, Kansas, bought a forty-acre parcel in Manatee County. He would soon become a prominent figure there. Originally from Illinois, he traveled in Florida during the winters of 1875 and 1876, and later described Manatee County as "a Sportsman's paradise." He saw its commercial possibilities, and decided that it was where he wanted to make his home. In November 1877, he arrived with his wife, Charlotte, and their two daughters, Carrie and Nellie. Abbe, like other out-of-state purchasers, had secured land in the area along the mangrove shore and the waters of Sarasota Bay. The population inland was made up generally of Florida natives and Southerners who had emigrated from the Carolinas and Georgia.²⁴

Nearly a year after he arrived in Florida, Abbe applied for and received the first postal appointment at Sarasota Bay. He was a Republican, and he was named commissioner for the United States Circuit Court, Southern District of Florida. As postmaster, it was Abbe who named the postal location "Sarasota" from the

24. Deeds 7590 (May 17, 1876), 7956 (March 10, 1877), 8400 (January 9, 1878), records of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund; Nellie Abbe Whitaker, "An Early History of Manatee County, Florida" (1916), Whitaker Collection; Madison and Manatee counties, manuscript tracts, Florida special census of 1885, RG 29, NA.

historic name of the Bay, though he had considered calling it "Helena." ²⁵

In his seven years at Sarasota Bay, Abbe revealed himself to be a versatile and successful businessman. He planted fruit tree stock, citrus, and vegetable crops, exporting his yields; started a pineapple plantation; made small loans to other settlers; subcontracted clearing, fencing, and ditching jobs; farmed for absentee owners; promoted Florida products in northern fairs; occasionally boarded visitors in his home; and operated the post office and a general store. He also steadily added to his land holdings. ²⁶ Together with other local entrepreneurs, Abbe promoted Manatee County whenever possible. Railroads were under construction in Florida, and glowing descriptions of the area were being circulated throughout the North to encourage tourists and settlers and to boost the real estate sales index. Suitable accommodations would be needed for these expected visitors. Abbe had hoped to open a hotel, but the furniture which he had ordered was lost when the Mississippi River steamer carrying the cargo sank. ²⁷

In 1882, two years before his murder, a Tampa newspaper reported on Abbe's efforts on behalf of Manatee County: "Mr. C. E. Abbe. . . has probably done more than any other one individual in inducing immigration into his county and south Florida by going north annually and exhibiting at State and other Fairs from New York to Kansas, Florida products and curiosities. He has made three such annual trips north and gives ocular demonstration of the productions and curiosities of the 'Land of Flowers.'" ²⁸ The paper also reported Abbe's establishment of a pineapple plantation at Sarasota. His partner in this latter venture was William Whitaker, a resident since 1843 and first landowner in the area that would become Sarasota County. The two men had set out 30,000 plants. "Pines do well in Sarasota,"

25. "Geographical Site Location Report," July 19, 1878, Registers of Appointments of Postmasters, Manatee County, 94, RG 28, NA; appointment as United States Commissioner, December 11, 1882, *Official Register of the United States for 1883* (Washington, 1883).

26. Testimony of Charlotte R. Scofield Abbe, October 14, 1889, homestead claim of C. E. Abbe, final certificate 6731, RG 49, NA (hereinafter cited as Abbe homestead claim); Tampa *Sunland Tribune*, August 31, 1882; *New York Times*, January 13, 1885; Charles E. Abbe Papers in Whitaker Collection.

27. Adelaide L. Mills to Grace Whitaker, March 1943, Whitaker Collection.

28. Tampa *Sunland Tribune*, August 31, 1882.

reported the *Sunland Tribune*. Only days before his death, Abbe noted in a letter to his family in Illinois that his years of investment in lands and groves were "beginning to yield a good profit."²⁹

Yet, with all of these activities on behalf of the community, Abbe was still considered a newcomer by many. Some may have resented his success, although others admired him for his progressive ideas and his ability to get a job done. According to those who knew him, Abbe was a man who "always has said just what he thought."³⁰ He was "a man of strong convictions and did not hesitate to express them . . . he . . . was always interesting and a welcome guest-He was rather eccentric, but cordial and pleasant"; his outspokenness "no doubt made enemies."³¹

The Sarasota Bay neighborhood in which the Abbes lived was bounded on the north by Hudson Bayou and on the south by Phillippe's Creek. The largest owner in the area was Abbe. The tax rolls show his land acquisitions-almost 400 Bayfront acres purchased primarily from the Internal Improvement Fund within the first four years of his arrival.³² Other businessmen eventually began buying up parcels from earlier settlers, and at least one other citizen hoped to open a hotel. By 1884, the little neighborhood was being described as "quite a settlement."³³ It contained about a dozen families, Abbe's post office, and two stores; it was something of a commercial hub for inland pioneers. Except for one teacher, one sailor, a ditcher, and a calico printer, most households were headed by farmers. Abbe's daughter Carrie taught school children in Sarasota before securing a teaching position in Illinois. The neighboring teenage children often hired out as day laborers and domestics. At least one half the families were from northern states. Two family heads were immigrants from Ireland and England.³⁴

29. Abbe to his brother-in-law, quoted in *Chicago Daily News*, January 7, 1885.
30. Pliny Reasoner to his parents, December 28, 1884, E. S. Reasoner Collection, Manatee County.
31. Mills to Whitaker, March 1943, Whitaker Collection.
32. Abbe was taxed on 628 acres. Revenue for 1880 and Tax Rolls, Manatee County, 1872-1880, incomplete, Florida State Library, Tallahassee; real and personal property tax receipt, 1884, Abbe Papers, Whitaker Collection.
33. Eliza O. Webb to Sister Nell, 1879, Sarasota Historical Commission, Sarasota.
34. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, manuscript tracts for Manatee County, RG 29, NA.

Abbe's murder came without warning, and it sent shock waves throughout the community. He was gunned down on the main street in front of Bidwell's store. Immediately his daughter Nellie, who had married Furman Whitaker, telegraphed her sister Carrie and her uncle in Chicago: "Father was shot and killed this P.M. December twenty Seventh don't allow Carrie to come. Nellie Whitaker." ³⁵

The news was widely circulated throughout the country, telegraphed out of Tampa by the Associated Press. ³⁶ The *New York Times* and the Chicago papers gave it wide coverage. The *Times* reported: "Abbe was from Belvidere, Ill., where his aged father lives. His brother-in-law is J. N. Adams, of 119 South Water Street, Chicago and he has a daughter, Carrie, who is a teacher in a Chicago school. He . . . was well known in Chicago, Missouri, and Kansas. He came here about six or eight years ago and opened a general store and started an orange grove. He did remarkably well and attempted to colonize this part of Florida with Northerners. He was pushing and enterprising, and was well liked by the respectable element, but incurred the enmity of the disreputable and ignorant classes by his progressive ideas. He was a Republican, and as such was almost alone in town. His appointment as Postmaster intensified the feeling of the ignorant 'crackers' and his life was several times threatened." ³⁷

Among the residences in the Sarasota Bay neighborhood were those of Alfred Bidwell, Jason Alford, and Joseph Anderson. The Bidwells lived about a mile from the Abbe's house. The inlet, Hudson Bayou, formed a rough boundary between Abbe's property and Bidwell's acreage, which the latter's wife Mary had purchased from the Internal Improvement Fund in 1877. Five years later, she acquired a Bayfront piece next to Abbe's south boundary. Bidwell eventually opened a store there, probably in competition with Abbe's combination store and post office. ³⁸ Bidwell travelled, every day except Sunday, the mile and one-half

35. Abbe Papers, Whitaker Collection. See also archival negative 238A, Manatee County Historical Society, Manatee County Public Library, Bradenton.

36. Reasoner to his parents, December 30, 1884, Reasoner Collection.

37. *New York Times*, January 13, 1885.

38. Tax receipt, Abbe Papers, Whitaker Collection; deeds 8362 and 8013, granted to Mary B. Bidwell, records of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund; Tampa *Sunland Tribune*, September 14, 1882; trial exhibit map, Sixth Circuit in Abbe.



Charles Elliott Abbe. Photograph courtesy of A. K. Whitaker Collection.



Charlotte Scofield Abbe. Photograph courtesy of A. K. Whitaker Collection.

from his home to the Bayfront and to his store at the foot of the little main street which formed the southern border of Abbe's Bayfront holdings.

Jason Alford moved into the neighborhood sometime during 1882. He had been farming a tract at Bee Ridge, a small inland settlement. He was a man in his fifties, and apparently had married a young widow who owned the property directly behind Bidwell's store. Probably a fire at their inland home (later referred to as “the burnt place”), caused the Alford's to move to the Bay, where they planned to operate a boarding house.

Joe and Sarah Anderson and their three children also lived near Bidwell's store. They had moved from their inland home about the same time as the Alford's. Still at the Bee Ridge settlement was Dr. Leonard Andrews, a friend of Bidwell and a former neighbor of Jason Alford.³⁹ Bidwell, Alford, and Andrews were the men who organized the S.S.V.C. and became its first leaders.

After settling in the Bay area, Anderson and Bidwell were often heard to make threatening remarks against Abbe. Susan Alford, the neighbor living nearest the Bidwell store, noticed “a mutually unfriendly feeling.” She observed, “I don't know how long they have been unfriendly but I know that they have been on bad terms during my residence here.” Mrs. Alford also overheard Anderson say that he “had just as soon shoot Mr. Abbe as a snake or bear.”⁴⁰ Another neighbor repeated a similar comment once made by Dr. Andrews. Noting his unsuccessful effort to have Abbe removed as postmaster, Dr. Andrews thundered, “Damn him, we will show him about that.”⁴¹

Bidwell's store became the gathering place for the dissidents,

-
39. Lancaster to Bidwell, deed book D, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton, 130-32; Alford to Andrews, Staples to Anderson, Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund to Anderson, deed book E, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, manuscript tracts, Manatee County, Florida, RG 29, NA; J. C. Anderson homestead file, RG 49, NA; Edwin P. Staples tombstone, 1879, photograph in Ethel Wood Collection, Sarasota Historical Commission; statement of Miles Brown, “State vs. Bacon, *et al.*,” Pardon Papers; *The Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1884-1885* (Charleston, 1884), 433-34.
 40. Deposition and testimony of Susan Elizabeth Alford, J.P. in Abbe; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, manuscript tracts, Manatee County, Florida, RG 29, NA.
 41. Deposition of Peter Crocker, J.P. in Abbe.

and conversation often focused there against Abbe.⁴² Mrs. Alford later remembered that the animosity was of long standing. Perhaps it began when Abbe's Bayfront property began to increase in value. His postal appointment was also resented. Bidwell, Alford, Andrews, and, to a lesser extent, Anderson, were envious. It was about this time that Abbe began to be the victim of what looked like concerted vandalism. This harrassment would culminate, two years later, in his murder.

Mrs. Abbe claimed that during the two years prior to the assassination, "This neighborhood was annoyed by the presence and depredations of a gang of men whose lives and character were such as to make the life of an upright and honest man a continual reproach and matter for hatred with them;-my husband rested under the heavy displeasure of these men. . . . As a United States Commissioner he was not blind to some violations of law on their account . . . continual threats were being made against his person and his life; and continual depredations upon his property."⁴³

Pliny Reasoner, a nurseryman and a friend of Abbe, in a letter to his parents described the vandalism: "They burned one of Mr. Abbe's houses, girdled his orange trees, cut down his bananas, etc., and one night when Mrs. Abbe was alone at home, a shot was fired through the house, & in the morning she found a dirk-knife sticking in the table."⁴⁴ Abbe's son-in-law, Furman Whitaker, not only "expected attack on Mr. Abbe," but even feared for the lives of Abbe's friends and family.⁴⁵

In the spring of 1883 Abbe became the target of several "nuisance suits" in the Pine Level court. Like some of his contemporaries, including respected citizens of the community, he was being charged by the state with operating an unlicensed industry.⁴⁶ In one suit, he was prosecuted for conducting the "busi-

42. "State vs. Bacon, *et al*"; Drymon file, Pardon Papers.

43. Abbe homestead claim; Order Book 1, Circuit Court, 1881-1900, records of the United States Circuit Court, Southern District of Florida, Tampa, 20-50, which appears to indicate a possible land question involving some witnesses later involved in the vigilante episode as key participants, although corresponding sources do not reveal the specific issues of the dispute. W. F. Brunson homestead, May 1874, and Brunson correspondence, October 28, 1882, in Letters Sent to Register and Receiver, Florida, II, division C, Bureau of Land Management, RG 49, NA.

44. Reasoner to his parents, December 28, 1884, Reasoner Collection.

45. Whitaker daybook, Whitaker Collection.

46. Clerk's criminal docket, fall terms of 1883 and 1884, circuit court records, Manatee Village Historical Park, Bradenton; individual files, Abbe witness

ness of druggist without a license." Another charged him with "carrying on the business of a hotel keeper without a state license." The latter case continued into the fall term of 1884, a month before his death. In the confessions and statements made after Abbe's death, it was disclosed that there had been a plan to ambush him one day while he was traveling to the courthouse for these hearings.

In May 1884, at the same court session considering one of the no-license cases against Abbe, charges of adultery against Harrison T. Riley were being heard. Riley was represented by W. A. Bartholomew, brother-in-law of Dr. Andrews. Bartholomew was later identified as a vigilante. On his way to court at Pine Level, Riley encountered Dr. Andrews and Jason Alford, who were also planning to attend the court session.⁴⁷ Evidence recorded by Pliny Reasoner and by the *New York Times* suggests that Riley may have learned then of the ambush plot against Abbe. Both Reasoner and the *Times* correspondent believed that Abbe had been warned in time and that the plot against his life had failed.⁴⁸ According to the New York paper, the informant who allegedly had notified Abbe was found with his throat cut and his body peppered with "27 buckshot" founds.⁴⁹ If this version is reliable,

list and court costs, Abbe to clerk, circuit court records, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton.

47. Cooper, *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Florida during the Year 1886*, 68-69; ledger for November 1880-November 1892, Sixth-Judicial Circuit, spring term, 1884, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton.
48. *New York Times*, January 13, 1885; Reasoner to his parents, December 28, 1884, Reasoner Papers.
49. *New York Times*, January 13, 1885. The contrast between the community's image of Abbe and its image of Riley has long intrigued students of the vigilante episode. A possible factor connecting the two murders lies in the realization that Riley was a convenient victim. The *Fort Myers Press*, January 12, 1885, noted that the Riley murder was a test case for the vigilantes' future plans, since most residents of the area thought Riley "had acted rather badly and no one regretted his loss." Riley was generally regarded as a scoundrel because he had openly lived with Mary Surginer on her farm, with their children. The vigilantes were ordered against him on the basis of Dr. Andrews's assertion that Riley poisoned Surginer and intended "to steal her land from her orphans." Andrews repeated this story around the settlements. It is likely that the vigilante ringleaders used the rumors of Riley's personal life to cover up their more pressing reason to kill Riley—the need to silence him. Testimony of Leonard F. Andrews in "State vs. Bacon, *et al.*," Pardon Papers; testimonies of Andrews, Cato, and Drymon in Cooper, *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Florida during the Year 1886*, 60, 61, 65, 68-70.

it matches the description of Riley's murder, as well as the time frame when Harrison Riley could have learned from Andrews and Alford about the planned assassination.

Information which later emerged from the judicial proceedings notes that it was 1884, just before the spring term of court, that hostile talk on the part of a few men began developing into more organized action. The secret S.S.V.C. was established. It was first described as a "political and social club" or a "Democratic Club." Political interest was particularly high at this time. It was election year, and a group of dissidents, calling themselves Independent Democrats, was threatening the conservatives who had controlled state and local politics since 1876. The bitter controversy over calling a convention to write a new state constitution added to the agitation. There was also the whole tradition of violence and the use of force employed so frequently throughout Florida by the Ku Klux Klan and other vigilante groups in the post-Civil War years. The S.S.V.C. vigilantes implied that their members included "two-thirds of the best men in the State." They listed as supporters John Harlee, a merchant at Manatee; Garret Murphy, a cattleman; and "Gus" Wilson, a Myakka physician who also acted as postmaster in that community. In Harlee's store, Bidwell and Andrews were once heard to invite some possible adherents: "Come down and join [a] good thing."⁵⁰ A few young men were intrigued with the idea of a secret organization, and they joined up immediately. Others, more suspicious, asked questions, usually in the seclusion of Bidwell's warehouse. Once they became involved, members found many favors available to them. One man admitted that he began to enjoy unlimited credit at Bidwell's store.⁵¹

At first, meetings were held in different places: Bidwell's store, at the "burnt place," in the woods at Phillippe's Creek, at a shipyard, or in an empty building. The vigilantes met at night, and at first just "talked politics." Later, the talk began to take on a more specific and ominous focus. The group had adopted the name S.S.V.C. ("Sara Sota Vigilance Committee"), and Bidwell and Andrews were named "judges," Jason Alford, "captain,"

50. Affidavit of Henry Hawkins, January 14, 1885, depositions of Drymon, Fletcher, and Theodore W. Redd, J.P. in Riley; Whitaker daybook, Whitaker Collection; Florida special census of 1885, RG 29, NA.

51. *Ibid.*

and Louis Cato and Charlie Willard, “lieutenants.” There were twenty-two members.⁵² None were really part of the local or county power structure. The so-called community leaders who reputedly had joined the organization never materialized as members. As part of their initiation, the men were blindfolded and they swore oaths binding them to the common cause of brotherhood. Afterward they were “detailed” to do the society’s work, which eventually turned out to be murder. The main priority was to kill Abbe and Riley, but Furman Whitaker, Robert Greer, and an inland farmer named Steve Goins were also scheduled to be eliminated. Occasionally, there were references to others who needed to be “handled” in the name of “peace and harmony among the citizens.”⁵³ According to one witness, “We had that to do, the killing of Riley, to save our own lives. They, Dr. Andrews and Bidwell, Judges, said if we didn’t do it we would have to be done the same way.”⁵⁴

“Coop” Brown claimed that he had joined voluntarily, but then he had been ordered to commit a murder with a gun that he was directed to find in a small house in Dr. Andrews’s orange grove. Andrews had informed him that the gun would be “damn well-charged,” and directed that he should “take her and use her on Riley . . . my orders shall be obeyed and if they wasn’t obeyed, death was them boys’ portion.”⁵⁵

Brown’s brother, Miles, was the only member of the assassination squad who defied the S.S.V.C. leaders. “I did not go to the meeting of the detail. I said all the time I was sick. It was enough to make any man sick. I was taken sick on Saturday night going home from the meeting. I was sick until next Sunday night. On Monday I got on my pony and went three miles, in an opposite direction to where Riley was killed, to old man Blackburn’s. I suppose it made me feel better that I was relieved from that, though I was in danger of my life.”⁵⁶

-
52. Testimonies of Council Brown, Miles Brown, Louis Cato, Drymon, and Bacon, and statement by Andrews, in Cooper, *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Florida during the Year 1886*, 57-68.
53. *Ibid.*, 57-74; *Fort Myers Press*, January 21, 1885; Reasoner to his parents, December 28, 1884, Reasoner Collection; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, February 10, 1885.
54. Testimony of Cato, *Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Florida during the Year 1886*, 66.
55. Testimony of Council Brown, *ibid.*, 59.
56. Testimony of Miles Brown, *ibid.*, 60.

The murder plans seemed to be going along so well, and arousing so little suspicion, that the vigilantes became increasingly more confident. The members, already responsible for Riley's murder, were apprehensive about leaving the organization, fearing that the leaders might implicate them. Bidwell openly denounced Abbe as a "Damned Old Son of a Bitch always meddling in somebody else's business and ought to be killed."⁵⁷ According to Dr. Andrews, "The great Mogul has got to go and there will be no coroner's inquest over him."⁵⁸ According to a witness, Andrews, who had originally come from Iowa, announced that "if Mr. Abbe lived in the Country where he came from that some day he would go away from home and fail to return."⁵⁹ Joe Anderson was quoted as saying that "he did not believe that a jury could be gotten to do anything with anyone who might kill Abbe. . . . He believed that the Judge would assist a man . . . to get clear . . . with money and advice . . . he believed Judge Mitchell would do it."⁶⁰

Abbe was away from Florida during the summer of 1884. During his absence he received letters warning him of impending disaster if he returned. A friend, Robert Greer, realized that Abbe's life was being threatened from information that he picked up in Sarasota. He had once almost been a victim himself at Bidwell's store. Abbe refused to heed the warnings; he was apparently more concerned with disproving the license charges levelled against him than in protecting himself. When he returned for the fall term of the court at Pine Level, his friends were very concerned. Pliny Reasoner noted, "He has carried his life in his hands for a year."⁶¹

In the months between Riley's murder and Abbe's death, only one vigilante, Jason Alford, one of the organizers of the S.S.V.C., showed any remorse. He had also been at Pine Level with Riley just before his death.

57. Fragment of Peter Crocker's deposition, J.P. in Abbe.

58. Testimony of John A. Fletcher, *ibid.*

59. Deposition of Susan E. Alford, *ibid.*

60. Anderson's comments were repeated in testimony before Judge Henry L. Mitchell, who sentenced him to life in prison. Deposition of Peter Crocker, complete, J.P. in Abbe; testimony of Crocker, Sixth Circuit in Abbe.

61. Reasoner to his parents, December 28, 1884, Reasoner Collection; *New York Times*, January 13, 1885.

In November 1884, five months after Riley was killed, Alford appeared one day in the Abbe's front yard. Mr. Abbe was up on the roof, shingling. Alford told him that he wanted to "have a talk." Abbe continued working, saying that he could hear whatever Alford had to say. "I want Mrs. Abbe to be present too," insisted Alford. Abbe came down and escorted Alford inside so that Charlotte, who later recounted the incident, could hear his story.⁶²

Alford admitted that he had "treated Mr. Abbe badly" and now he wanted to apologize. He pledged his friendship, but Mrs. Abbe had doubts and charged, "When you get back with Anderson again you will be the same as before." Alford denied that allegation, and asked for Abbe's Winchester rifle "to shoot Anderson with." Abbe refused.⁶³

Alford returned on several occasions later to repeat his pledge and to talk with Abbe. Their conversations were not always quiet. Perhaps Abbe had begun a personal investigation to see what was actually happening. It is known that he received a communication from New York relating to a request for information relating to Bidwells's marriage.⁶⁴ A few days afterward, about the first of December 1884, Alford again came to Abbe's house. He and Abbe talked for a while, and then Alford rushed out of the house in a "very excited manner," saying, "he will draw it out of me yet."⁶⁵

Alford became the target for threats also. He was ordered to help in the killing of Abbe. In the presence of his fifteen-year-old daughter, he was warned by Joe Anderson and by Charles Willard that, "if he did not stick to them they would kill him or have him put in jail."⁶⁶ When she first heard the shots which killed Abbe, Alford's daughter thought that it was her father who had been hit.⁶⁷ Her testimony helped bring about Anderson's conviction. Outrage over Abbe's assassination affected the entire Manatee community. The investigations and judicial

62. Deposition of Charlotte Scofield Abbe, J.P. in Abbe.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Receipt 4845, October 24, 1884, Health Department of New York, Abbe Papers, Whitaker Collection.

65. Testimony of Charlotte Scofield Abbe, J.P. in Abbe.

66. *Ibid.*; testimony of January 6 and prior deposition and statement of Evalener Alford, and deposition of John Tatum, J.P. in Abbe; testimony of Evalener Alford Grantham, Sixth Circuit in Abbe.

67. *Ibid.*

proceedings forced temporary support and endorsement of law and order. This was needed so that settlers living in areas that were difficult to police would testify. Unless they felt that there would be no repercussions they would be hesitant to come forward. But they did testify, and their actions helped to reveal the elements within the community that had been protesting the S.S.V.C. Once these obstacles were removed there could be a needed investigation of the ambush murder of Tip Riley.

The origin of the S.S.V.C. should be viewed against the background of the Florida frontier in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. South Florida, sparsely populated with scattered settlements of struggling farmers, was served by limited commercial hubs such as the small one at Sarasota Bay. Manatee County was a vast unsettled area, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Okeechobee and from Tampa Bay to Charlotte Harbor. At Sarasota Bay, Abbe's neighborhood was far removed from the agencies charged with the responsibility of maintaining law and order. It was at least twenty miles to the sheriff's office at Manatee, forty miles to the county seat of Pine Level, and fifty miles from the judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit in Tampa. The judge's schedule included Manatee only a few days each spring and fall. There were instances on this isolated frontier of murders, robberies, rustlings, forgeries, and malicious mischief, such as "pulling down" a building. Without convenient police agencies or courts, residents frequently settled their differences in summary fashion. In a single year, 1886, judicial records listed five murders and assorted instances of ambushes and shotgun justice.⁶⁸

Within that socio-cultural framework evolved the specific elements of the Sarasota vigilante episode. Some gullible, some ignorant, and some knowing vigilantes were flattered or lured into an organization which they must have felt had some appeal. Some members eventually were even coerced into murdering their fellow settlers by men who were identified as leaders. It was only when these foul deeds came out into the open, particularly the assassination of Charles Abbe, that the community was shocked into action. Whether the criminals would ever have been brought to justice without community pressure is not known, but members

68. Unfinished Business of March 13, 1886, State of Florida vs. Durfee, records of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, Manatee County Courthouse, Bradenton.

of the power structure were among the first to sign affidavits and to join armed posses.

Judicial and legislative records document the premeditated victimization of Charles Abbe. The records also indicate that the motive for the crime emanated from the hostilities and/or jealousies of Bidwell, Andrews, Alford, and Anderson. The weight of historical evidence contradicts Karl Grismer’s portrayal of Abbe as an ally of the “land grabbers” and the vigilantes as righteous avengers. Grismer’s analysis of what happened and his explanation of the activities of the “Sarasota Assassination Society” of 1884 do not stand up against the facts of history. Dastardly crimes had been committed on the Florida frontier, and although the wheels of justice moved slowly, the guilty parties were tried and convicted.

THE SLY FOXES:
HENRY FLAGLER, GEORGE MILES,
AND FLORIDA'S PUBLIC DOMAIN

by EDWARD N. AKIN *

“**M**Y DOMAIN BEGINS at Jacksonville,” Henry M. Flagler asserted in an invitation extended in February 1898 to President William McKinley to visit him on Florida’s east coast. ¹ Flagler’s statement contained a great measure of truth. During the 1880s, Flagler, a close friend and associate of John D. Rockefeller in their Standard Oil Company empire, began a second career in Florida. Flagler had spent some time in Jacksonville in 1878 with his first wife in a vain effort to regain her health. He was delighted with Florida, and he honeymooned with his second wife in St. Augustine during the winter of 1883-1884. After that Flagler wasted little time in seizing the business possibilities of Florida and of St. Augustine. In 1885 he began construction of the Ponce de Leon Hotel which would become the flagship of a chain of luxury hotels along the east coast of Florida. These were designed to attract a wealthy winter clientele from the North.

During his years with Rockefeller and Standard Oil, Flagler had been primarily responsible for the transportation activities of their expanding empire. He realized the importance of transportation to any venture, especially to one located in an isolated frontier state like Florida. By capitalizing on the state’s need for transportation facilities and playing upon the greed of large land owners, Flagler was able to develop a few St. Augustine short-line railroads into a major transportation network. He also acquired a princely land empire. It was because of these activities, developed in a relatively short period of time, that Flagler was able to note in a letter to President McKinley’s private secretary in 1898, “If the East Coast of Florida belonged to any one else I should venture to say that it possesses very great attractions.” ²

* Mr. Akin is assistant professor of history at Mississippi College, Clinton.

1. Henry M. Flagler to John Addison Porter, McKinley’s private secretary, February 15, 1898, William McKinley Papers, Library of Congress.
2. Ibid. For a detailed account of Flagler’s Florida career, see Edward Nelson Akin, “Southern Reflection of the Gilded Age: Henry M. Flagler’s System, 1885-1913” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1975).

The east coast of Florida had once belonged to the people of Florida before Henry Flagler had appeared on the scene. How that transfer from public and private ownership occurred is a story of intrigue, manipulation, and political chicanery.

Flagler was not the first large railroad entrepreneur to receive Florida public lands, nor would he be the last. The process of depleting the public domain in the name of the "public good" began even before the Civil War. When Florida entered the Union as a state in 1845, the federal government turned over 500,000 acres of public lands. Five years later Washington granted another ten million acres to Florida as part of a general "swamp and overflowed" lands act. The state was to exercise stewardship by having these lands drained and made productive. The Florida legislature created the Internal Improvements Board in 1851 to administer its vast new domain. With railroad builders such as former United States Senator David L. Yulee of the Florida Railroad on the board, it was no surprise that in 1854 the original purpose of the federal act was already being thwarted. The board agreed that the public domain might be used as an inducement for railroad builders to construct two main cross-state roads, one connecting Jacksonville and Pensacola, and another to run between Fernandina and Tampa. In addition to the railroads, the board also proposed a canal to connect the St. Johns and Indian rivers. The board at this time could only make these suggestions; it did not yet have the power to make public land grants to transportation companies.³

To resolve this problem, the legislature in 1855 passed a comprehensive land act. An Internal Improvements Fund (IIF) was created with a board of trustees to replace the Internal Improvements Board. This act also conferred great power on the trustees. In addition to a 200-foot right of way, they could grant railroad companies alternate square miles on either side of the railroad six miles deep. This was equivalent to 3,840 acres for each mile of constructed road. The entire process took on the tone of a government-subsidized project since the trustees could also guarantee bonds issued by the transportation companies. Once a company had completed its roadbed and had laid crossties, the trustees could authorize it to issue bonds up to \$10,000 for each mile of

3. Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 189-90.

road constructed. Additional bonds could be sold for more expensive bridge and trestle work. The companies were to use proceeds from the bond sales to purchase rails and rolling stock. In some transactions, manufacturers accepted the bonds rather than cash. After all, sales from the remaining Florida public lands were being used to guarantee the bonds. This process collapsed during the post-Civil War era. Railroads went into bankruptcy, leaving the trustees of the IIF liable for the bonded indebtedness of the defunct railroads. One of the bondholders was Francis Vose, a manufacturer of railroad iron who had accepted Florida Railroad bonds in lieu of cash. In 1870 he requested, and received, a court order barring Florida from accepting anything but United States currency for land sales. What had happened was that during the late 1860s Florida had been selling public lands at very low rates, and at times taking depreciated script in payment. In spite of the court order Vose had obtained, sales continued. Finally, Vose and others had the public lands of Florida placed in receivership. Thereafter, the receiver could only sell IIF lands with the approval of the railroad bondholders.⁴

Although some land was sold by this process, the IIF was going further in debt due to high interest rates and large legal costs. In the spring of 1881, Governor William D. Bloxham solved this problem by arranging the sale of four million acres of public land to Hamilton A. Disston, a Philadelphia steel manufacturer, for one million dollars. The money from the sale allowed the IIF to clear its debt and to begin full-scale promotion and sale of public lands.⁵

Prior to 1881 only 1,700,000 acres of Florida public land had been disposed of. During the next year, 1881-1882, this increased to 12,200,000 acres. At one time almost sixty per cent of the state had been patented as public lands. During the years after 1876, the politicians of Florida granted millions of acres ostensibly to encourage railroad and canal companies to provide the sparsely settled areas of the state with transportation facilities. As of August 1904, the IIF reported 8,252,317.69 acres as having been deeded to railroads. In addition, approximately another 9,000,000

4. *Ibid.*, 190, 278.

5. J. E. Dovell, "The Railroads and the Public Lands of Florida, 1879-1902," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV (January 1956), 237-43.

acres had been deeded to other development concerns, such as canal and drainage companies.⁶

It was apparent why Florida's governing officials would become interested in a wealthy man like Flagler. He had the financial capacity to build a railroad system; all he needed was incentive. The state at first had promised Flagler the standard 3,840 acres of public land for each mile of road built. His four original lines (St. Johns Railway; Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Halifax River Railway; St. Augustine and Palatka Railway; and St. Johns and Halifax Railway) obtained over half of the public lands which the state had originally promised. By 1892 the state had deeded Flagler's railroad companies one quarter of a million acres, all in the northern part of Florida.⁷ With this admirable beginning, the future of Flagler's railroads in the area of land acquisition seemed favorable indeed.

Flagler received preferential treatment from Florida politicians. An example was the incorporation of the Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Indian River Railway in 1892, and the land grant the company received the following year. Although the legislation enacted in 1855 was still in effect, the legislature passed a special land grant law designed to encourage Flagler's activities in the area south of Daytona Beach. For each mile of constructed road the state would transfer 8,000 acres, rather than the standard 3,840 acres.⁸ Problems immediately arose, however, because not enough public land was available. The national administration proved to be not as cooperative as state officials in Florida. In 1885 the federal government, amid rumors that lands other than swamp areas were being given as public land grants, ceased its donations to Florida.⁹ This federal action did not affect Flagler's relationship with Florida. The Florida East Coast Railway, the name adopted by the company when all of Flagler's

-
6. Roland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, ed. by Francis P. Fleming, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 360; *Minutes of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund State of Florida*, VII (1907-1908), 532 (hereinafter referred to as *MIF*). According to Dovell, the IIF trustees had deeded all but 3,076,904.69 acres of their 20,133,837.41-acre obligation by August 1904. Dovell, "The Railroads and the Public Lands of Florida," 256.
 7. Lands granted by state to railroads incorporated in FEC Ry Co., MS Box 14, Flagler Papers, Henry Morrison Flagler Museum, Palm Beach, Florida.
 8. *Laws of Florida*, 1893, chapter 4260.
 9. *MIF*, IV (1889-1899), 273. Flagler to J. R. Parrott, June 28, 1902, Flagler letterbook 134, Flagler Papers.

railroad enterprises were consolidated, was extended into Miami. It reached that community in April 1896. For its part, the state reserved anticipated federal public land transfers in extreme southern Florida for Flagler.¹⁰ The validity of this reservation, of course, rested on the ability of the state to secure the land from the federal government.

The land grant situation was complicated in 1901 by a deterioration in the relationship between Flagler and Florida officials. William Sherman Jennings, the new governor, unlike his predecessors interpreted his role to be that of protector of the public domain rather than distributor. In spite of the fact that the federal government had finally granted three million acres of public land to Florida in April 1903, the IIF trustees supported Jennings in a series of decisions announced in 1904. When Florida East Coast officials applied for land grants "alleged to have been earned by it and its predecessor, the Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Indian River Railway Co., amounting to 2,040,000," the request was denied.¹¹ This decision reflected a new philosophy which included reforming the loose public land grant policy instituted by conservative Democrats who had held political power in the late nineteenth century.

In rejecting the Florida East Coast's application, Governor Jennings noted that the land grant to Florida in 1850 had related specifically to the reclamation of swamp lands. He sought to nullify a series of legislative acts which had authorized grants to canal and railroad companies, insisting that they did not meet the original intent of the law. In December 1904, the trustees revoked the 1882 resolution granting the Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Halifax River Railway alternate sections of land adjoining the railroad. The new political leadership in Florida continued their Progressive attitude toward Flagler's company and other railroads by repeatedly denying their petitions for land.¹²

When Napoleon Bonaparte Broward was inaugurated governor in 1905, he appointed his predecessor, Jennings, as general counsel for the IIF trustees. Jennings was still not satisfied with the effect of earlier directives aimed at the Florida East Coast. He argued that Flagler's original roads could not transfer their land

10. *MIF*, IV, 433.

11. *MIF*, V (1900-1904), 264-65.

12. *Ibid.*, 265-68, 281-82.

grant rights to the Florida East Coast.¹³ James E. Ingraham, vice-president in charge of Flagler's land development, strongly objected to this point of view and questioned its legality. In a letter to the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, a paper in which Flagler had a one-third interest, Ingraham reviewed the entire public land debate from his company's perspective. According to him, the railroads which Flagler had originally acquired during the 1880s were eligible for a total of 472,473 acres of public land, but had received only 251,000 acres. The state had failed to deed any of the property offered under the 1893 special land grant that was designed to encourage the building of a railroad south of Daytona.¹⁴ Ingraham failed to mention Jennings's original, and strongest, contention that the intent of the 1850 federal land grant to Florida was for reclamation of swamp lands only.

Flagler's efforts to obtain Florida public lands were more effective after Broward left office in 1909. The new governor, Albert Gilchrist, met with Ingraham, who then informed Flagler that the chief executive seemed receptive to the company's position concerning land grants. Jennings had not been successful in blocking all land transfers; on at least one occasion even he agreed that Flagler's claims should be honored. This occurred when Ingraham asked State Attorney General Park Trammell for a ruling on the validity of a land grant which had been made to the Palatka and Indian River Railway Company.¹⁵ Although Flagler had never owned this line, he had bought a half-interest in its land grant through the Florida Commercial Company.¹⁶ Trammell ruled that the 134,000-acre grant was legally binding on the IIF and that the Florida East Coast was entitled to one-half this amount under its quit-claim deed of March 30, 1896. With Jennings concurring in this opinion, the IIF trustees ordered 67,000 acres deeded to Flagler's company in 1910.¹⁷

13. *MIF*, VI (1905-1906), 114-15.

14. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 24, 1906; original draft of the letter in MS Box 14-F.9, Flagler Papers. Flagler and two other railroad owners, Henry B. Plant and H. R. Duval, bought the *Florida Times-Union* in 1891. William Beardsley to Flagler, April 8, 15, 1891, Beardsley to Parrott, April 17, 20, 1891, Flagler lb. 62. All Flagler letterbooks are located in Flagler Papers.

15. Flagler to J. E. Ingraham, July 19, 1909, Flagler lb. 174.

16. List of lands deeded by Florida Commercial Company to Florida East Coast Railway Company, March 30, 1896, #L8, Flagler Enterprises Papers, Robert M. Strozier Library, Florida State Library, Tallahassee, Florida.

17. *MIF*, VIII (1909-1910), 415-19.

This action by the state did not end its legal difficulties with Flagler. It was only a prelude to further company quests. The Florida East Coast brought two suits against the IIF for additional lands which were claimed by the Flagler road. The company agreed to drop the action and to relinquish all claims to public lands, however, if the IIF would agree to a deed of approximately 210,000 acres. This arrangement was accepted by the IIF. Some of the land, such as a seventy-four square mile tract in the area southwest of West Palm Beach, was valuable to the Flagler enterprises. However, the bulk of the grant was in the swampy southwestern tip of Florida near Cape Sable.¹⁸ Although this compromise was far less than ten per cent of the land Flagler had claimed, it was a practical victory for him. He now had clear title to important agricultural acreage in south Florida. Considering his previous battles with state officials, this compromise was as much as the beleaguered railroad executive could have expected.

There were other indirect avenues open for Flagler to tap the Florida public domain. For instance, he had more success acquiring property from large Florida landowners than he had with the IIF. These corporations, as with Flagler's, had received their original holdings either directly or indirectly from the state. Two of these companies proved to be especially good sources of land for Flagler. One, the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company, had been organized in 1881 to develop an inland waterway along Florida's east coast. It was supposed to receive 3,840 acres from the public domain for each mile of canal constructed. By the time the route was completed from St. Augustine to Biscayne Bay, the state had granted 516,480 acres.¹⁹ In order to develop settlement, and thus increase the value of its holdings, the canal company sold off large amounts of acreage to the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company. This company was headed by Albert P. Sawyer, an entrepreneur who was also president of the Domestic Electrical Manufacturing Company of Boston. In 1891 alone, he purchased 100,000 acres from the canal company.²⁰

18. *Ibid.*, IX (1911-1912), 598-619.

19. Ora L. Jones, comp., "Some Glimpses of Pompano History," unpub. Ms, MS Box 3-A, Flagler Papers.

20. General announcement of the incorporation of the Boston and Florida

Finding itself in financial difficulty, the canal company turned to Flagler in 1892 for assistance. George F. Miles, one of its directors and general manager of its Florida properties, negotiated an arrangement whereby Flagler would subsidize the company for \$100,000. In return, Flagler would receive debenture bonds and a note for the difference in the two amounts. He was also named titular head of the company, although he did not own any large block of its stock. This arrangement enabled the canal company to resume dredging with new equipment.²¹ The owners were elated at the prospects. Not only had Flagler solidified their financial position, but the possibility of his building a railroad into the area of their grant increased the opportunity for immense profits from land sales.²² Flagler's *Florida Times-Union* tried to focus attention on the philanthropic aspects of the venture: "The people along the east coast should bear in mind that Mr. Henry Flagler is at the head of the Florida East Coast Canal and Transportation Company, and every one knows that he is not after the lands; and they must know that, when he does complete the project, the lands are not likely to bring a paying price during his lifetime."²³

While the canal company owners were willing to use Flagler, they did not want to be manipulated by him. In 1895 Albert P. Sawyer and George L. Bradley, another Boston land company official with large holdings of canal company stock, were planning ways to prevent Flagler from taking over control of the canal company-unless they could make a profit from it. This was at the very time that Flagler was making additional subsidies to the company so that it could complete its waterway to Biscayne Bay. Bradley and Sawyer's plan was first to use their two blocks of stock to obtain control of the company, and then to force Flagler

Atlantic Coast Land Company, November 24, 1891, MS Box 1, Albert P. Sawyer Papers, State Library of Florida, R. A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, Florida. Officers of the company were: Sawyer, president; George L. Bradley, vice-president; George W. Piper, treasurer. The directors were: Sawyer, Bradley, Piper, George F. Miles and Thomas B. Bailey. From letterhead of A. P. Sawyer to George T. Mason, February 13, 1893, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

21. George L. Bradley to Flagler, August 12, 1892; George F. Miles to A. P. Sawyer, October 18, 24, 1892, January 31, 1893, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.
22. Bradley to A. P. Sawyer, January 23, 1893; Sawyer to G. T. Mason, February 13, 1893, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.
23. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 27, 1893.

to pay par for their stocks and bonds.²⁴ Flagler, a master at this type of paper manipulation, refused to accept the deal. However, he did express an interest in exchanging the subsidy note he held against the canal company for acreage of equal value. This note was exchanged for land at an inflated \$7.50-per-acre rate. Bradley and Sawyer had also hoped to include the bonds held by Flagler, but they were unsuccessful in this gambit. The arrangement enabled the canal company to complete its waterway and still have thousands of acres left which the owners predicted would increase in value from about twenty-five cents to two dollars an acre.²⁵

In his dealings with the canal and Boston companies, Flagler effectively used his most potent weapon, the availability of transportation. For the extension of the railroad from Daytona to Lake Worth, the canal company promised Flagler a donation of 76,500 acres.²⁶ But even before this acreage was deeded, Flagler's officials were requesting another grant. In the spring of 1895, J. R. Parrott, Flagler's vice-president in charge of the railroad, asked the canal company how much land it was willing to give Flagler to entice him to build south of Lake Worth. Parrott stated that the decision to construct this extension rested with the landowners of Dade and Monroe counties-intimating that land bequests to Flagler were in order.²⁷ The canal company responded with a pledge of 1,500 acres for each completed mile of the proposed seventy-mile extension from West Palm Beach, on Lake Worth, to Miami.²⁸ In January 1895, the canal company deeded almost 10,000 acres to Flagler as part of its donation for the extension to Lake Worth. Sales from this transfer netted Flagler \$93,902.01, or \$10.66 per acre.²⁹ Another grant from the canal company in 1897 added almost 100,000 acres to Flagler's burgeoning land empire.³⁰

Following the canal company's lead, the Boston company offered Flagler 10,000 acres for the Miami extension.³¹ But rather

24. Bradley to A. P. Sawyer, April 17, 18 and 19, 1895, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

25. *Ibid.*, July 17, 25, 27, May 9, 1895, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

26. Unsigned note dated July 20, 1895, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

27. Bradley to A. P. Sawyer, April 30, 1895, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

28. Flagler to A. P. Sawyer, June 5, 1895, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

29. List of lands deeded by Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company to Florida East Coast Railway Company, January 11, 1895, #L6, Flagler Enterprises Papers.

30. Ingraham to Parrott, June 30, 1897, MS Box 21-A.1, Flagler Papers.

31. Flagler to A. P. Sawyer, June 5, 1895, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

than a straight gift of this amount, George F. Miles suggested to Sawyer that Flagler take a one-half interest in the Boston company's planned immigrant communities in the area. This would profit both Flagler and Sawyer, Miles argued. The completion of the Florida East Coast would increase the value of the remaining Boston company properties before sales occurred. Of course, Flagler would benefit from the sales of the large amount of acreage that he was receiving. But Miles also had something else in mind. As he noted to Sawyer, the Boston company owners would be able "to prevent our lands from being discriminated against by such a powerful organization as the RR Company would be if they decided to offer advantages to settlers which we are not in a position to parallel."³²

The Boston company and the Florida East Coast began this joint venture in 1896. Early that year Ingraham informed Miles that the Flagler organization had an opportunity to locate 400 Danish families in a colony in south Dade County to be called Modelo. The site was twenty miles above Miami near the railroad.³³ Ingraham had contacted a group of Danes in the Chicago area. The Chicago organizers of the venture were to obtain 2,000 acres of the proposed colony, thereby enabling them to control the management personnel of Modelo.³⁴ At first, the venture moved along well. By the fall of 1896 Modelo and Hallandale, a Swedish cooperative agricultural colony nearby, were plotted and ready for sale. In order to attract settlers, the companies offered introductory prices of \$12.50 an acre for what they called pine and spruce lands, and \$27.50 an acre for muck land. On December 15, 1896, the prices were to increase to \$17.00 and \$50.00, respectively. But Ingraham's concept of the ideal colonist remained consistent throughout the period: "the understanding is the Agents are to get purchasers who have money, and are able to make their payments and improve the lands, so that the prospects are very good for getting two first class colonies in these two locations."³⁵

Problems, especially in the Hallandale colony, began to develop. Miles reported to Sawyer in January 1897 that sales were

32. Miles to A. P. Sawyer, October 23, 1896, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

33. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1896, with enclosure of copy of Ingraham to Miles letter of February 15, 1896, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

34. Ingraham to A. P. Sawyer, October 20, 1897, MS Box 2, Sawyer Papers.

35. Ingraham to Miles, September 18, 1896, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

moving slowly, partly because of the poor location of the colony.³⁶ Otto Zetterlund, general manager of the Halland Land Company, complained that the possibilities of freezes and yellow fever made the selling of Florida land more difficult than land in the West and Southwest.³⁷ But there may have been a much more human cause for the troubles. The Reverend Mr. F. Jacobson, pastor of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Church in New York City, reviewed some of the complaints of potential Swedish immigrants to Hallandale. He recommended that the pre-December prices remain in effect until June 1897 in order to encourage potential settlers. Although he thought most of the Hallandale operation was beneficial for the colonist, he was outraged at the freight rates being charged by the Florida East Coast. He stated that owners of first-class furniture costing only \$37.00 were being charged \$20.00 freight to ship from Jacksonville to Hallandale—"The same goods could have been sent to Kansas City and back again for less than \$20.00."³⁸

This raised the question of who was benefitting most from the settlement of south Florida. One area newspaper claimed that the railroad would greatly profit from the settlers' presence—but from high freight rates more than the selling of land. From a family's first year in the Miami area, the Florida East Coast, it was predicted, would earn at least \$400 in freight rates. The charges would include \$25.00 to \$100 for lumber and other necessities needed to build a house, \$25.00 for fertilizer and crates delivered for the tomato farmer, and \$300 for 1,000 crates of vegetables shipped north during the harvest season.³⁹

Modelo and Hallandale continued a slow but steady growth during the late 1890s. During the summer of 1897 eighty-four families purchased property in Modelo under the sponsorship of J. P. Paulsen.⁴⁰ That same summer Flagler advanced funds to the Boston company to conduct drainage operations at Modelo. The Boston company was to pay its portion of the debt as land was sold. Miles, now doubling as the Florida agent for the Boston company in addition to his canal company duties, estimated that

36. Miles to A. P. Sawyer, January 28, 1897, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

37. Otto Zetterlund to Ingraham, November 17, 1899, MS Box 21-A, Flagler Papers.

38. F. Jacobson to Ingraham, February 2, 1897, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

39. *Miami Metropolis*, July 2, 1897.

40. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1897.

the Boston company had 1,500 acres of land in the area which should net \$28,000 for the owners.⁴¹ By the end of September 1897, 600 acres in ten-acre tracts had been sold in Hallandale. The Boston company realized \$12,000 after commissions were paid.⁴²

Sawyer and his associates were well aware of the kind of partner they had in the Florida East Coast. Flagler and his employees had often demonstrated their power and shrewdness. In discussing a right-of-way matter, Frederick Morse, a Flagler land agent, warned Sawyer to cooperate with the railroad if he wished to profit from his speculative land venture.⁴³ If Sawyer ever forgot about Flagler's power, Miles was always there to remind him. Miles sought to act as the intermediary between Flagler and Sawyer: "I am very glad you [Sawyer] referred the matter to me as the East Coast officials are somewhat 'foxy' and they are not bashful about asking favors."⁴⁴ Miles later became paranoid concerning the railroad's power. In 1902 he was convinced that Flagler was suppressing the canal company financially in order to prevent the completion of a waterway along the east coast which would compete with the railroad.⁴⁵ Although there is no evidence of such an occurrence, Miles still urged Albert Sawyer's son Haydn not to appoint land agents jointly with the railroad.⁴⁶

At times Miles negotiated well from a relatively weak position. In 1898 he persuaded Flagler to accept canal company lands in southern Dade County at the rate of \$6.00 an acre in exchange for Flagler's interest in the canal company.⁴⁷ In 1905 Miles planned a canal company take-over of drainage operations in the area west of West Palm Beach. In this particular instance, Flagler proved to be dominant. Miles first tried to induce the Boston company to combine with the canal company to exert local pressure on Flagler to drain the lands. As part of his plan, Miles wanted the Boston organization to sell up to half of its lands in the area to the canal company at \$6.00 per acre. He indicated that if the Boston company had the Florida East Coast drain its land, the railroad would accept property valued at \$6,000 as pay-

41. Miles to A. P. Sawyer, June 11, 1897, MS Box 2, Sawyer Papers.

42. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1897, MS Box 2, Sawyer Papers.

43. Frederick S. Morse to A. P. Sawyer, November 30, 1895, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

44. Miles to A. P. Sawyer, November 11, 1896, MS Box 1, Sawyer Papers.

45. Miles to Bradley, January 17, 1902, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

46. Miles to Haydn Sawyer, October 26, 1904, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

47. Miles to A. P. Sawyer, September 15, 1898, MS Box 2, Sawyer Papers.

ment for the operation. Otherwise, it would cost the Boston firm \$75,000 to \$100,000 in drainage operations to enable its property to return \$25.00 per acre.⁴⁸ Miles wrote Haydn Sawyer that the Boston company, without drainage, could not realize fifty cents per acre for the submerged land. On the other hand, Miles was confident that a group of businessmen from Jacksonville could pressure Flagler into cooperating with a drainage operation.⁴⁹

Miles alternately coaxed and threatened the owners of the Boston company. He stated that his drainage scheme would enable the firm to pay its first dividend in its fifteen-year history. Admitting that in the past he had made mistakes in land sales, he threatened Sawyer by stating that if he failed to back a drainage canal scheme, he would not be able to maintain good relations with the Lake Worth area businessmen. Meanwhile, Miles had to dissuade W. I. Metcalf, Dade County Commission lawyer, from implementing the state charter that allowed the county to perform drainage operations in the interior.

While Miles was at work, Florida East Coast officials were moving independently in the same arena. In late 1905 the Florida East Coast began a public attack on the Dade County Commission drainage contract. Flagler officials claimed that an exorbitant tax would be levied by the commission on the landowners in the affected area of 30,000 acres. J. R. Parrott stated that the tax would be an unbearable \$60,000 burden on the Florida East Coast, and he expressed fears that the same type of tax might be implemented by other communities if a precedent were set.⁵⁰ Flagler officials also argued that their land would be assessed, and therefore taxed, at the same rate as other property more advantageously located near public roads.⁵¹ As a substitute for the county commission plan, a private venture did indeed emerge, but under the auspices of the Florida East Coast rather than Miles. Flagler, under this 1906 plan, agreed to cooperate with the Boston and canal companies in reclaiming 8,000 acres west of Lake Worth. In addition to reclamation, a wagon road several miles long would be built. The entire operation was to cost \$50,000.⁵²

48. Miles to Haydn Sawyer, March 22, 1905; Miles to Bradley, March 29, 1905, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

49. Miles to Haydn Sawyer, March 30, 1905, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

50. Miles to Bradley, April 17, 1905, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

51. West Palm Beach *Tropical Sun*, November 25, December 9, 1905.

52. Miles to Haydn Sawyer, April 30, May 13, 1906, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers; West Palm Beach *Tropical Sun*, May 12, 1906.

The financial burden of development did not rest entirely with these three companies. West Palm Beach merchants, wishing to attract settlers, pledged to purchase 1,000 acres of the drainage area at \$25.00 per acre.⁵³ At first the property in the Lake Worth area was held jointly by the three companies, as Miles preferred. But by September 1906, Ingraham was in the process of negotiating to purchase all the property in the area.⁵⁴ By the end of November, Flagler had bought his partners' interests in the area for \$40,000.⁵⁵

Immediately following the purchase, the scope of the drainage operation increased. The Florida East Coast announced a one-year reclamation project consisting of twelve miles of dykes to be three feet higher than Lake Clark, the inland lake near Lake Worth. Roads were built for \$20,000. The main drainage canal from Lake Clark to Lake Worth was to have a lock at the inland lake sixteen feet above sea level. The total cost, including the land purchased, was \$120,000. When the project was completed, the Florida East Coast was to offer the land at the rate of \$25.00 an acre.⁵⁶

In order to protect Flagler's interests, Ingraham led an effort in 1906, which ostensibly was an immigration association of the large land companies of the state. The five original companies owned an aggregate of 6,000,000 acres in Florida. Ingraham then invited the Boston and canal companies to join. The assessment was to be six mills per acre to implement the necessary promotion and development work.⁵⁷ In actuality, the purpose of the association was to thwart the land policies of the Broward administration, especially a proposed ten-cent-per-acre drainage tax. According to Miles, action before the May Democratic primary was imperative in order to elect conservatives to the legislature. The association would act as a lobbying agent to keep land company holdings "from practical confiscation by irresponsible politic-

53. Miles to Haydn Sawyer, June 3, 1906, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

54. West Palm Beach *Tropical Sun*, May 19, 1906; Haydn Sawyer to Miles, September 5, 1906, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

55. West Palm Beach *Tropical Sun*, November 24, 1906.

56. Ibid.

57. Ingraham to Miles, April 18, 1906, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers. The companies involved and the officers of the immigration association: Consolidated Land Company, Southern States Land Company, the Empire City (land company), the Mississippi Valley (land company), and the Florida East Coast Railway land department. W. E. Crummer, president; W. F. Coachman, treasurer; and Irving H. Welch, secretary.

ians.“⁵⁸ Defeat of the drainage tax did not need the help of the immigration association lobbyists since Flagler and the Boston company were successful in their court suit against the state over the drainage matter.⁵⁹ Therefore, even during the Progressive Era, Flagler seemed to win more battles than he lost.

There are really two stories concerning Henry Flagler and the public domain of Florida. The one with which most historians tend to accept has Flagler attempting to obtain land directly from the Internal Improvement Fund of Florida. In this area he was constantly thwarted, first by the federal government's freeze on donations in 1885, and then by Progressives within the Florida Democratic Party during the early years of the twentieth century. The other story has been buried in a maze of correspondence in various collections. That is the intriguing account of Flagler's indirect methods of securing Florida's public domain through other corporate entities, most importantly the Florida Coast Line Canal and Transportation Company and the Boston and Florida Atlantic Coast Land Company. Flagler's relations with these two companies provides an excellent view of land speculation and promotion during the Gilded Age. The owners of the canal company obtained their public land with relative ease. With a lack of liquid capital they turned to Flagler for the development of their speculative ventures. Due to their poor financial status, combined with their greed, Flagler was able to turn the situation to his own advantage. In this account there are two foxes, Henry Flagler and George Miles. Miles "induced" Flagler into joint operations such as colonization and land drainage schemes, but in the final analysis it was Flagler who forced his "partners" to follow his lead.

58. Miles to Haydn Sawyer, April 19, 1906, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

59. Ibid., January 11 and July 4, 1906, MS Box 3, Sawyer Papers.

TRAIL INDIANS OF FLORIDA

by JAMES W. COVINGTON *

THE STORY OF THE Trail Indians of Florida is the account of Seminoles who loved Florida as much as any group that ever lived here-Latins, crackers, or transplanted Yankees-and who fought the United States government to a virtual standstill in three nineteenth-century wars in a fierce determination to maintain their homes somewhere on the peninsula. In terms of religion, education, and their general life pattern, the Trail Indians have been among the most recalcitrant in the United States against the threats of the white man's civilization. In recent years one group of Seminoles, organized into the Miccosukee Tribe, launched a determined effort against federal and state authorities to be recognized as a separate entity and to receive land which it could call its own. After years of struggle, utilizing even "red power," the Miccosukee Tribe achieved both their goals. They were recognized as the Miccosukee Tribe, separate from the main body of Florida Indians, and they also received a tract of leased land.¹

All but a meager handful of the Indians who were living in Florida at the time of European contact had disappeared by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Most of them had died from disease or in battle; others had migrated elsewhere or had been taken off as slaves. Then gradually Indians from Georgia and Alabama began moving south into the relatively deserted area. Most of these migrants were from villages along the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Chattahoochee rivers. Those living along the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers were know as Upper Creeks; Indians from the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers area were Lower Creeks.²

* Mr. Covington is Dana Professor of History at the University of Tampa. Portions of this article were read at the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society meeting in Miami, April 1977, and at the annual meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory in Chicago, October 1977.

1. The spelling of Miccosukee is used to conform with the spelling used by the Trail Indians. The spelling Mikasuki has also been adopted as standard by anthropologists and linguists.
2. Robert Spencer and Jessie Jennings, eds., *The Native American* (New

The Creeks that moved into Florida, called Seminolies or Seminoles by whites during the British period, represented two distinct dialects. The two groups spoke "related, but not mutually intelligible, Muskogee (Creek) and Mikasuki (Hitchiti) languages."³ Because of intermarriage and the tribal custom of the couple living at or near the bride's village it was difficult to identify a person or even a band as being Muskogee or Miccosukee. The majority of personal names listed in books and documents in the 1703-1850 period was in Muskogee. It was the official language used in translating during negotiations between whites and Indians.⁴ By the early nineteenth century, more Florida Indians spoke Muskogee than Miccosukee.

After three conflicts with the Seminoles white officials realized that it was probably futile to try to force the few remaining Indians to sign a treaty and move to Indian territory in the West. Some 3,000 Seminoles had been captured or had surrendered during the Second and Third Seminole Wars. Perhaps as few as 200 had moved into the inner recesses of the Everglades. The Third Seminole War ended in 1858 without any verbal or written agreement regarding the status of the Indians who remained.⁵ These Indians, holding no title to the land, were able to maintain an independent status free of governmental controls for the next half century.

From the end of the Third Seminole War to about 1920 the Seminoles were scattered throughout southern Florida in perhaps as many as twenty-two small villages or family camp sites. They cultivated corn, pumpkins, squash, cow peas, and bananas, planted in small gardens on burned-over hammock land. Hogs and chickens were available, and there was a plentiful supply of venison, turkey, duck, and fish. The garden plots did not provide

York, 1965), 4-43; Muriel Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951), 131-34, 229; "U.S. vs. Seminole Indians of State of Florida and Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, Court of Claims, 1967," in Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., *The American Indian and the United States, a Documentary History*, 4 vols. (New York, 1973), IV, 2872; James W. Covington, "Migration of the Seminoles into Florida, 1700-1821," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVI (April 1968), 340-44.

3. John M. Goggin, "Source Materials for the Study of the Florida Seminoles," Laboratory Notes: 3 (Anthropology Laboratory, Gainesville, Florida, August 1959), 1-2.
4. William C. Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the 'Spanish Indians,'" *Tequesta*, XXIII (1953), 67-68.
5. *Harpers Weekly*, June 12, 1858, 376-78.

enough produce to sell in exchange for needed supplies from trading posts, so the Indians traded pelts, plumes, and hides for groceries, guns, ammunition, clothing, pots, and other commodities.⁶

During the period 1891-1914, there were two attempts to assist the Seminoles. One was sponsored by a religious group and the other by the federal government, but both were failures. In 1891, the government established an agency at present-day Immokalee under the supervision of Dr. Jacob Brecht, an industrial teacher. A store, school, and sawmill were erected for the Indians, but few used these facilities. When 23,040 acres were acquired to provide a reservation, none of the Indians would live on it, and the agency was abandoned in 1900.⁷ The Missionary Jurisdiction of Southern Florida, Protestant Episcopal Church, opened a mission and hospital in 1896. It was located in several different places, but it proved to be almost as much a failure as the agency, and it ceased operations in 1914.⁸

After 1920 the Seminoles found it even more difficult to sustain themselves. Because of white hunters and the development of canals, drainage operations, and highways, the supply of wildlife had been reduced to a point where deer, bear, and turkey were rarely found. Some food and virtually all other articles had to be purchased at the trading posts.⁹ Cash income came from the sale of furs, hides, dolls, baskets, and from occasional farm labor, and part-time work as hunting guides. A few Indians also worked in

6. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *Pelts, Plumes and Hides: White Traders Among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930* (Gainesville, 1975), 52-53.

7. James W. Covington, "Federal and State Relations with the Florida Seminoles, 1875-1901," *Tequesta*, XXXII (1972), 17-27.

8. For details of the mission, see James W. Covington, "Florida Seminoles: 1900-1920," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIII (October 1974), 181-97, and Harry A. Kersey and Donald E. Pullease, "Bishop William Crane Gary's Mission to the Seminole Indians in Florida: 1899-1914," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLII (September 1973), 257-73.

9. In 1950, the Indians living on reservations had the use of 183,715 acres, including 480 acres at Agency Headquarters, Dania-Hollywood (established 1911), 36,779 acres at Brighton (established 1935), 42,663 acres at Big Cypress (established 1937), and 104,800 acres of State Reservation land (established 1917) in western Broward County. Indians living away from the reservations as "squatters" were found in Collier, Dade, Okeechobee, and St. Lucie counties. *Termination of Federal Supervision Over Certain Tribes of Indians, Joint Hearing Before the Sub-Committees of the Committees of Interior and Insular Affairs on S2747 and H.R. 7321, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., pt. 2, "Seminole Indians, Florida"* (Washington, 1954), 1032-033 (hereinafter cited as *Termination*).

tourist-oriented exhibition villages in Miami.¹⁰ It was during this period, 1920-1930, that a reservation was established, and a few families began to settle there. Later, families also moved on to the Brighton Reservation. Such resettlement took a long time and was achieved only through the hard work and diplomatic skill of white friends of the Seminoles and government officials.¹¹

At first, the Miccosukee-speaking Indians living in the area from the southern shore of Lake Okeechobee to the tip of the Florida peninsula supported themselves by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants. They also maintained small gardens. In the years before World War II these Indians were living in scattered communities along U.S. Highway 41 between Naples and Miami where they sold crudely-made curios and collected fees for admission to their villages.¹² These Trail Indians were proud of the fact that they had not called upon the government for help. When Governor David W. Sholtz and the Florida cabinet met with 273 Seminoles on February 22, 1936, and asked Josie Billie and Cory Osceola what they wanted from the state of Florida, they were told: "Just let us alone."¹³

In 1937 the government established the Big Cypress Reservation and appointed W. Stanley Hanson, a Miccosukee-speaking white man, as employee there. There were some Miccosukees already living in the area, and Hanson was able to entice several families to move on to the reservation. Those Miccosukees who left their villages to live on the Big Cypress Reservation represented an element of the Indian population which was undergoing rapid change. With the conversion of Josie Billie, a Miccosukee-speaking medicine keeper of the Seminoles, in 1944 to Christianity, a number began to accept the Baptist faith, and they moved to the reservation where a center for the Christians could

10. See the Nash report concerning this period printed as a Senate document. Roy Nash, "Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida," Senate Document No. 314, 71st Cong., 3rd sess. (Washington 1931), 3-65.

11. James W. Covington, "Dania Reservation: 1911-1927," *Florida Anthropologist*, XXIX (December 1976), 140-42.

12. Gene Stirling, "Report on the Seminole Indians of Florida," Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior (Washington, 1936). Other Miccosukee-speaking Seminoles remained in the Big Cypress Swamp or at or near Miami.

13. Narrative Annual Report, 1936, Bureau of Indian Affairs. The State of Florida gives annually free of charge some 200 license tags marked "Florida Seminole Indian" or "Miccosukee Indian," but a few Indians prefer to purchase the tags.

be maintained.¹⁴ Perhaps another reason for interest in reservation life by some Trail Miccosukees was because they did not belong to clans which might inherit official position or status. By accepting Christianity and moving to the reservation these persons believed that they had a chance to obtain positions of some authority.¹⁵

By 1950 the Florida Indian population had increased to approximately 900 persons. Three reservations had been established, and on two of them a cattle husbandry program was showing progress. There were educational activities on the reservations, and advancement was being made in the field of public health. In August 1950, both the Muskogee-speaking and the Miccosukee-speaking Seminoles residing on the reservations engaged a Jacksonville law firm to represent them in a suit for a \$50,000,000 claim against the federal government.¹⁶ This suit became a major cause of controversy and division, leading eventually to the formation of separate Miccosukee and Seminole tribal governments.¹⁷

Officials in Washington and Florida believed that the Seminole situation was being handled satisfactorily through contact

14. James O. Buswell, III, "Florida Seminole Religious Ritual: Resistance and Change" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1972), 274-75.
15. Ethel Cutler Freeman, "Cultural Stability and Change Among the Seminoles of Florida," in International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, *Men and Cultures: Selected Papers, Edited Under the Chairmanship of Anthony F. C. Wallace* (Philadelphia, 1960), 251. The Big Cypress Reservation is the result of three separate acquisitions. The first was made between 1894 and 1899; the boundaries of the territory acquired in this purchase were stabilized by an executive order of June 28, 1911. The second was an exchange with the state of Florida. The final acquisition was a purchase made in September 1943. The total acreage of the reservation is 42,663.03. W. O. Roberts to Branch Chiefs, February 18, 1952, 053 Historical Data, record group 75, Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia.
16. Information on claims filed by Seminole Indians of Florida and Claims of Morton Silver to the Secretary of the Interior and to the President of the United States [n.d.], Bureau of Indian Affairs, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 18258, box 286, file 163050, record group 75, Federal Records Center, Suitland, Maryland (hereinafter cited as B/A, SM).
17. Even at this early date attorney O. B. White of Miami, who represented some non-reservation Indians for a considerable time, protested that the twelve Seminoles who had engaged John O. Jackson and Roger J. Waybright as attorneys were only trustees of the cattle program and did not represent the entire tribe. See Superintendent Kenneth A. Marmon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 26, 1949; Marmon to Jackson and Waybright, August 15, 1950, and O. B. White to John Jackson, August 17, 1950, *Distribution of Seminole Judgment Funds, Hearing before the United States Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, S2000 and S2188, 95th Cong., 2nd Sess.* (Washington, 1979), 206-26 (hereinafter cited as *Distribution*).

with the reservation Indians, but that was not the case. There were eight to ten small villages of Miccosukee-speaking Seminoles whose inhabitants lived without official authorization on private or state land along U.S. Highway 41 or along the border of and in Everglades National Park. They resented the fact that other Florida Indians, without consultation and with no authority, had authorized the Jacksonville law firm to represent them.

There were other problems also. Some livestock owners had begun fencing their land, thus interfering with Indian hunting operations. More serious was the dynamiting in the Everglades which were scaring game and killing large numbers of fish. Two oil derricks engaged in drilling operations had been set up within 100 yards of Jimmie Tiger's village on the Trail. The very fabric of Indian independence and self-sufficiency was being threatened.

The Trail Indians remained the principal guardians of the traditional Seminole way of life. Although secularization was apparent on all three reservations, these Indians had resisted such advances by instructing young people in local botany and cultural lore. The Green Corn Dance-the central religious, social, and political focus of tribal life-was still an event among both reservation Indians and those living along the Tamiami Trail. Although the medicine keepers had lost much of their former power, Ingraham Billie, one of the guardians of the Seminole sacred medicine bundles, exerted considerable influence as chairman of the Trail Indians General Council.¹⁸ At one meeting he and other non-reservation Miccosukee-speakers decided to make a stand for their land and way of life.¹⁹

The first step in the process in asserting Miccosukee rights

-
18. See Louis Capron, "The Medicine Bundles of the Florida Seminole and the Green Corn Dance," Bureau of American Ethnology, *Anthropological Papers*, 35 (Washington, 1953), 159-210, and Buswell, "Florida Seminole Religious Ritual," 67-69. Other members of the council included Jimmie Billie, Sam Jones, Frank Charlie, and Buffalo Tiger (secretary). Kenneth Marmon, superintendent Seminole Agency, to Paul Fickinger, area director, Muskogee, Oklahoma, May 2, 1955, 067 Business Committees, Indian, Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia.
 19. Ingraham Billie, son of Little Billie and Nancy Osceola, was born in 1890. His brother is Josie Billie, who became a medicine man, convert to the Christian faith, and assistant pastor of a Baptist church. Ingraham Billie and wife Effie Tiger Billie have five children. He is a member of the Panther Clan. "Seminole Tribe of Florida" (Hollywood, 1977).
 20. Morrill M. Tozier, "Report on the Florida Seminoles, December, 1954." Seminoles of Florida File 163-050, B/A, SM (hereinafter cited as Tozier Report).

came when Buffalo Tiger, a young Indian, then in his twenties, drove to Miami to seek legal advice from Morton Silver, an attorney, concerning a divorce from his non-Indian wife. Buffalo Tiger had earned some money by acting as interpreter in his brother Jimmie Tiger's combination tourist village and Indian home. Because he spoke English, he had been selected earlier by the council elders to serve as a spokesman and intermediary with the whites. After Buffalo Tiger had discussed the details of his pending divorce with Silver, he told the lawyer about the problems of the Miccosukees and invited him to visit the villages along the Trail and to consult with the General Council.²⁰ In 1952 Silver consented to represent the Indians.²¹

The first action came in October 1953 when Silver protested to the Secretary of the Interior the activities of the agency at (Dania) Hollywood and requested an investigation.²² In reply, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Orme Lewis provided information concerning a future meeting of a congressional committee which would deal with termination of federal control over the Florida Indians. The relationship of the General Council to the tribe, he noted, was not clear. Officials in Washington seemed to feel that the claims of the General Council to represent a sizable proportion of the Seminole population were false, or at least had been inflated by Silver.²³ Washington had not directed the Indian agent in Florida to investigate the matter, nor had the Bureau of American Ethnology been requested to do any research.

In March 1954, two separate groups of reservation Seminoles and non-reservation Indians came to Washington to testify against the termination of federal control of the reservations in Florida. Members from the non-reservation group wanted to plead their case directly to President Eisenhower. On March 1, George Osceola and Jimmy Billie delivered to Captain Earle Chesney, representative of President Eisenhower, on the Capitol grounds the "Buckskin Declaration" in which the Indians expressed a desire to retain their own way of life and to preserve their land. They claimed that the Florida Indian agent, the

21. Morton H. Silver, born in 1926, is a graduate of the University of Florida Law School and was admitted to the Florida Bar in 1950. *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*, 109th ed., 3 vols. (Summit, New Jersey, 1977), II, 150.

22. Tozier Report.

23. *Ibid.*

Secretary of Interior, and other federal officials did not understand their position. They wanted a special representative appointed by the President to meet with them.²⁴ The petition, written on buckskin and decorated with egret feathers, had been signed on February 26, 1954, by ten Indians. It argued that the suit filed before the Indian Claims Commission had been instituted without the council's consent and that the Indians wanted land, not money.²⁵ The same day that the Buckskin Declaration was being presented, Morton Silver, Buffalo Tiger and several reservation Indians, and some whites testified on Senate Bill 2747 and House Bill 7321, measures which could terminate federal supervision of Florida Indian matters within two years. Determined opposition by friends of the Florida Indians helped to defeat these bills in committee.²⁶

There were several other exchanges between federal officials and the Florida Indians during June and July 1954, but Washington seemed unable or unwilling to understand who the General Council represented and what their goals were. Even the correspondence from the Indians was not being answered promptly or in depth. One official admitted candidly that, "it was practically impossible to evaluate [their letters and appeals] without extensive and time consuming research into the past relations between the Florida Seminoles and the United States."²⁷

In June 1954, the Trail Seminoles, exasperated by the three-months delay and seemingly so little action on the part of Washington, dispatched a strong letter to President Eisenhower. Ingraham Billie, who signed the letter, stated that the "Miccosukee Seminoles" constituted an independent and unconquered nation, technically still at war with the United States. The Miccosukees did not consider themselves to be citizens of the United States and had no desire to assume the ways of the white

24. Miccosukee General Council to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, file 452B, Miccosukee Papers, National Anthropological Library, Smithsonian Institution, (hereafter cited as MP, NAL).

25. In reply to the declaration, Gerald D. Morgan, administrative assistant to the President, drafted a brief note of receipt and promised "thorough consideration." Morgan to Ingraham Billie, March 4, 1954, MP, NAL.

26. *Termination*, 1078-095. Reservation Indians who testified were selected by popular vote and their travel expenses were paid; the Miccosukees took care of their own expenses.

27. Tozier Report, 3.

man.²⁸ As late as October 1953, the Trail, or traditional, Seminoles had referred to themselves as the General Council of the Seminole Indians, but by March 1954, they were calling themselves, in the Buckskin Declaration, the General Council of the Mikasuki Tribe of Seminole Indians. They labeled the reservation Indians the Muskogee Tribe of Seminole Indians. Bernard Shanley, the President's special counsel, had the Bureau of Indian Affairs draft a letter which indicated the President would send Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn L. Emmons to meet with the Miccosukee General Council sometime during the fall. The Indians realized that by adopting a tougher line with Washington, their letters would be answered more promptly and that meetings could be arranged to examine the situation. The game plan followed by the Indians during this period seems to have carried much white input, probably Silver's.

Eisenhower dispatched Commissioner Emmons to Florida to investigate the status of Indian affairs there. At first it seemed that only one meeting would be needed, but, because the groups were so widely separated, it was necessary to schedule additional sessions. From December 16 to December 20, 1954, Emmons held a total of six meetings with different Indian groups in Florida, including the Ingraham Billie group at the Jimmie Tiger camp in the Everglades and sessions at the three reservations. As a result of these discussions, Information Officer Morrill M. Tozier noted, "from these many conversations there gradually emerged, for the first time, a reasonably coherent and comprehensive picture of the present situation among the Seminoles of Florida—a picture in many ways almost fantastically different from the badly distorted image which the Commissioner and the writer of this report took down to Florida with them."²⁹

To Emmons and Tozier the Trail Indians presented an interesting contrast to the reservation Indians. The gathering at Jimmie Tiger's village was the largest of the six sessions held in Florida. After this meeting, and one held in Silver's office, Emmons emphasized a salient point: "The Miccosukee General Council may not represent a majority of the Florida Indians, [but] it certainly speaks for or comprises of [*sic*] a very substantial

28. By now, the Trail Indians were calling themselves Miccosukees and Miccosukee Seminoles and not just Seminoles.

29. Tozier Report, 3.

minority . . . that should not be overlooked.”³⁰ In addition, the white observers concluded that the General Council was neither a “red power” activist group recently organized nor one arranged by Silver, but an organization which had existed for many years and that it had been the only forum available to present problems which concerned all of the Indians.

Not all non-reservation Indians united behind the General Council. A village headed by Mike Osceola which was white-oriented had not joined. The Cory Osceola group, led by two brothers and uncles of Mike, Cory and John Osceola, which included approximately fifteen to twenty adults, did not join with the General Council either, preferring to stay in the background most of the time. There were approximately 150 non-reservation Indians according to the reservation Indians’ attorney; Silver claimed that there were as many as 600.

As it turned out, Commissioner Emmons could not do very much about the conflict between reservation and non-reservation Indians, for the issue had now become a matter for the courts to settle. During 1954 and 1955, Silver tried to have the 1950 claim filed by the Seminole Tribe with the Indian Claims Commission dismissed on the grounds that the Miccosukee Seminole Nation had never authorized such a suit.³¹ The Indian Claims Commission, April 7, 1955, denied the General Council Indians a hearing by ruling that the ones who had filed the claims in 1950 represented all of the Indians living in Florida. On December 5, 1956, the Indian Claims Court dismissed Silver’s appeal.³²

Disputes continued to cloud the issues between 1956 and 1958. By 1956, the Trail group showed signs of splitting into several factions, but the land and money issues seemed to reunite them most of the time into a common cause. A group of younger Indians, led by Buffalo Tiger, Billy Doctor, and Jimmie Tiger, supported Silver, but Ingraham Billie and many older Indians wanted to sever relations with the Miami attorney. The clerk of the claims court read a letter from the conservative faction in court on October 5, 1958. The Indians insisted that they “don’t

30. Ibid.

31. Special appearance and motion to quash filed by Silver and Alpert on September 17, 1954, before the Indian Claims Commission, Distribution, 243-47; Silver to Edgar E. Witt, April 7, 1955, *ibid.*, 279-82.

32. Roger J. Waybright to Marmon, December 7, 1956, File 163-050, B/A, SM.

know about the claim and want no part of it, and we also don't want to ask this claim. . . . We have nothing to do with Morton Silver or Buffalo Tiger." ³³ If the non-reservation or traditional Indians were united in their opposition to money claims, the group associated with Cory Osceola refused to support the effort being made by Silver and Buffalo Tiger to secure independent recognition from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

At the same time this struggle for recognition was taking place, there was an equally determined battle to secure land. Since most of the 200,000 acres of land lying between the Tamiami Trail (U.S. Highway 41) and the southern edge of the Big Cypress Reservation desired by the Miccosukees as a reservation was owned by the state, the land conflict became more a state than a federal issue. Although Commissioner of Indian Affairs Emmons could have ignored the matter, he continued to meet with the reservation and non-reservation Indians in Washington and in Florida and with Florida officials. By 1955, the Trail Indians were making specific demands for certain tracts of land. ³⁴ At first they claimed the entire southwestern section of Florida, minus several large communities, but on October 31, 1955, at a meeting in Washington with Federal officials Buffalo Tiger and attorneys Morton Silver and George Miller demanded a smaller area, 1,500,000 acres which would include Florida Conservation Area Three, land in the Florida State Indian Reservation, and strips south and west about twelve to fifteen miles wide. They were not seeking title but exclusive and perpetual use of the land for hunting, fishing, grazing, and agricultural purposes. By March 1956, they were asking for exclusive hunting and fishing rights in the western part of Conservation Area Three (owned by the state); joint hunting and fishing rights in the remaining

-
33. *Ibid.* According to Waybright, this letter was signed by Ingraham Billie, Jimmie Billie, Willie Jim, Frank Osceola, Tom Buster, Jimmie Henry, Oscar Hoe, Frank Charlie, Jack Clay, Frank Jimmie, John Fewell, and Sam Jones Micco. If correct, these names represented twelve of the fifteen who had signed the first petition filed by Silver with the Indian Claims Commission. See also Superintendent Kenneth Marmon to Mrs. Leon Freeman, November 5, 1956, B/A, SM.
34. Members of the Everglades Miccosukee General Council in July 1957, included the following persons: Buffalo Tiger (chairman), Howard Osceola, Bill McKinley Osceola, Jr., Sam Willie, Little Doctor, John Osceola, John Poole, Henry Sam, John Willie, Tommie Tiger, and Jimmie Tiger. Minutes of Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, July 30, 1957.

portion of Conservation Area Three, to be shared with non-Indians during hunting and fishing seasons; the right to catch frogs in a specified portion of the Everglades National Park; and authority to cut cypress for the building of chickees and canoes from the area west and south of the Big Cypress reservation.³⁵

Florida, like most states having a small Indian population, was not really prepared to deal with this situation. Commissioner Emmons visited Florida during the spring of 1956 to help the Trail Indians in their quest for land. He conferred with Governor LeRoy Collins and the cabinet on March 20, 1956, and Collins suggested that Fred Elliott, engineer and secretary of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, be consulted since the Fund had jurisdiction over Conservation Area Three. Collins and Elliott agreed that the land question should be decided by the trustees. The Trail Indians pointed out that their lands were being taken from them without compensation, and the reservation Indians argued that money received by the state from oil and mineral leases was not being distributed among the Indians. An *ad hoc* committee, which included Comptroller Roy E. Green as chairman, Attorney General Richard Erwin, and State Treasurer J. Edwin Larson recommended the appointment of a fulltime Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the state.³⁶ The commissioner's salary was to come from the money held in escrow for all of the Indians of Florida.³⁷ On October 30, 1956, Max Denton was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs for Florida with the task of reviewing state laws and requests by the Indians and of making recommendations.³⁸ During the next several months Denton met with the reservation and Trail Indians and appeared to be working in harmony with them and attempting to solve their problems.

On July 30, 1957, the Florida Cabinet met with the Everglades Micosukee General Council to approve a tribal constitution. In

35. Information Officer to all Division Chiefs and Branch Chiefs, April 2, 1956 "Report on Florida Trip," B/A, SM.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Paul Fickinger, area director of Bureau of Indian Affairs, to W. Barton Greenwood, deputy commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, January 9, 1957, B/A, SM. Funds accumulated by the Seminoles included \$149,336.40 for the construction of the Florida Turnpike through the Hollywood Reservation and \$102,705.98 from the cattle program. Fickinger to Governor LeRoy Collins, January 8, 1957, B/A, SM.

38. *Florida Across the Threshold: The Administration of Governor LeRoy Collins, January 4, 1955-January 3, 1961* ([Tallahassee], [1960]), 285.

a session held in Governor Collins's office Buffalo Tiger as spokesman for the Indians claimed that of the 355 Trail Indians, 201 had signed the document, and Denton recommended that it be recognized by the Board of Commissioners. Opposing approval were Attorney O. B. White and several reservation Indian leaders. The cabinet unanimously approved the document, and all Indians and friends were invited to the governor's home for refreshments.³⁹ Actually, approval of this constitution did not mean very much for it involved neither authority nor use of funds.

Ingraham Billie was not one of the ten members of the council who had journeyed to Tallahassee, and it appears that Buffalo Tiger had assumed leadership of the group.⁴⁰ By 1959 Ingraham Billie seems to have split completely with the Trail Indians. He wrote to Commissioner Emmons: "I heard you visited the reservation group and Buffalo Tiger's group. We saw they are getting reservation funds. These two groups have no right to talk for us. I told you and Colonel Denton in January 1958, we don't want any part of the funds."⁴¹

By October 15, 1957, the Miccosukees were ready to present a formal application to the state for the desired tract of land. In addition to a legal description, their presentation included a four-page statement outlining their need for the acreage. The Trail Indians also wanted ten to twenty acres of state-owned land along U.S. Highway 27 to build a trading post. The land was to be appraised, and the value would be deducted from the settlement that, it was hoped, would eventually be awarded to all the Seminole Indians of Florida and Oklahoma. Thus, the state of Florida would receive the Trail Indians' share of that settlement.⁴²

Acting under the advice of Attorney General Richard W. Ervin, Governor Collins and the Florida Cabinet refused to re-

39. On August 21, 1957 the constitution and by-laws of the Seminole Tribe was approved by a vote of 241 for and five opposed to the constitution. Rex W. Quinn to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 27, 1957, B/A, SM. According to Bill Osceola a reservation group visited the Trail people to explain the constitution, but they showed little interest. "Seminole Tribe of Florida" (brochure issued by Seminole Tribe, August 1967), no page number.

40. Minutes of Board of State Institutions, July 30, 1957, MP, NAL.

41. Ingraham Billie to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 19, 1959, File 163-050, B/A, SM.

42. Max Denton, state commissioner of Seminole Indian Affairs, to Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, October 15, 1967, B/A, SM.

lease the 143,500 acres of land sought by the Trail Indians. On May 22, 1958, Erwin stated that agreement between the state and the Indians along the lines suggested by the Trail Indians would not be advantageous to Florida. If the state conceded that the Indians had a right to the land, "Florida would admit the monetary debt owed to the Indians for much more than the acreage actually being sought."⁴³ On November 7, 1958, the matter was referred to a committee of citizens appointed by the governor which held several meetings during December 1958 and January 1959.⁴⁴ The committee, in a report submitted February 16, 1959, concluded that the Seminole Tribe, organized in 1957, was the only existing Florida Indian tribe and that its claim was against the federal government, not Florida.⁴⁵ The committee argued that it "would be impracticable or impossible for the state to make any grants, gifts or leases of land to these Indians."⁴⁶ Governor Collins endorsed these findings.

The Trail Indians understandably were disturbed by the committee's and governor's action. The tribal council, in a letter to Congressman John Henderson of Pennsylvania, expressed its disappointment and its desire to negotiate further with the United States before appealing to the World Court and to foreign governments. The Trail Indians branded the whole affair as "another breach of faith by the whites."⁴⁷

On March 30, 1958, an agreement and letter of authority was signed between the Miccosukee Tribe of Seminole Indians and Morton Silver. Silver was directed to negotiate with John O. Jackson, attorney for the reservation Seminoles who was presenting a claim before the Indian Claims Commission.⁴⁸ It was be-

43. LaVerne Madigan, "A Most Independent People—a Field Report on Indians in Florida," *Indian Affairs* (April 1959), 5.

44. Gerald L. Crawford, chairman, Committee on Indian Affairs of the Governor of Florida to Governor LeRoy Collins, February 16, 1959, B/A, SM.

45. The Seminole Tribe was organized August 21, 1957, under the provisions of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 which provided for establishment of limited self-governing bodies. Charles H. Fairbanks, *The Florida Seminole People* (Phoenix, 1973), 53-56.

46. Crawford to Collins, February 16, 1959, B/A, SM.

47. Howard Osceola, *et al.*, to Congressman John E. Henderson, June 9, 1959, B/A, SM.

48. The 1952 agreement between Silver and the Miccosukees to contest the money claim and to protect the rights and property of the Indians was a verbal one, but a written one was signed on April 10, 1954, which stipulated that Silver should be paid a fee for legal services and reim-

lieved that "there was a possibility of Silver and Jackson assisting each other to accomplish the objectives of both tribes."⁴⁹ By April 21, former Governor Millard Caldwell of the firm of Caldwell, Parker, and Foster of Tallahassee, had written Chief Commissioner Edgar E. Wit of the Indian Claims Commission that his firm had withdrawn from the case because "we are not in accord with the methods and policies of Messrs Silver and Miller."⁵⁰ Three days later Jackson wrote Silver, stating, "because of lack of common interest[;] therefore, I request that there be an end to your efforts leading to an association between us."⁵¹ After Jackson and Governor Caldwell's law firm had in effect rejected cooperation with Silver and the Executive Council, Buffalo Tiger and members of the Miccosukee Tribe wrote several letters to Jackson and to the Indian Claims Commission castigating Jackson and expressing the hope that both reservation and Trail Indians could cooperate in other suits for federal funds.⁵²

Since their efforts aimed at a cooperative venture had failed, the General Council and Silver and Miller tried another approach. Letters were sent to President Eisenhower on September 20, and September 26, 1958, offering again to settle by compromise the dispute between the Indians and the federal government and Florida.⁵³ In reply, Commissioner Emmons took a rather tough stand. First, he emphasized the point that never had the United

bursment of costs and expenses. On July 3, 1955, this contract was amended, and three days later a contract was signed between Silver and George J. Miller representing the firm of Caldwell, Parker, Foster, Wigginton and Miller in which the firm would serve as counsel with Silver in any proceedings required to represent the "sovereign and independent Miccosukee Seminole Nation (Florida)." Annex K, MP, NAL. Of concern in the Miccosukee effort to secure tribal recognition was the matter of finances. One source alleged that contributions were solicited from the Indians to meet expenses. How much Morton Silver received for his years of service is not known, but it likely was minimal Roy Struble, who represented the Seminole Tribe of Florida throughout most of its claims case, stated in 1977 that he had invested \$50,000 of his own money in the case. It was reported at that time that he expected to receive \$400,000 as his share of the \$1,600,000 fee that would be divided among the various attorneys. *Tampa Tribune*, July 31, 1977.

49. *Ibid.*

50. Millard F. Caldwell to Edgar E. Wit, chief commissioner, Indian Claims Commission, April 21, 1958, *Distribution*, 356.

51. Jackson to Silver, April 24, 1958, *ibid.*, 357.

52. See Silver to Jackson, May 2, 1958, *ibid.*, 358-60, and Everglades Miccosukee Tribe of Seminole Indians to John Jackson, May 8, 1958, *ibid.*, 362-63.

53. Executive Council to Eisenhower, September 20, 1958, *ibid.*, 366, 406-07.

States government recognized that the Indians constituted a sovereign nation occupying its own territory within the confines of the United States. Second, he stressed the fact that the government was not obligated to provide services to people merely because they had Indian blood in their veins. It was the responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to serve as trustee for the lands of the three Florida reservations and to provide services for those who used these properties.⁵⁴

Once again the Trail Indians turned to national, and for the first time, international agencies for redress of their grievances. When the Miccosukees learned that the Iroquois had defeated the attempt by the State of New York Power Authority to acquire part of their reservation, they invited Mad Bear, the Iroquois leader, to help them plan a counter-attack. As a result of the meeting between Mad Bear and the Miccosukees, a conference was held in the Miccosukee-speaking village west of Miami on the Tamiami Trail. Thirty-six leaders representing 100,000 Indians were in attendance. There were delegates from such diverse tribes as the Utes, Tuscaroras, Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, Chippewas, and Delawares. The conference resolved that if all the tribes represented at the meeting approved, a united nation could be formed and membership in the United Nations would be sought.⁵⁵ Most of the tribes wanted more land rather than compensation. It was also agreed that Mad Bear and the Trail Indians would together send a "buckskin of recognition" to Fidel Castro who had just come to power in Cuba.⁵⁶

The attitude of the reservation Indians towards the Trail Indians had varied throughout the years, but in 1959 the two groups joined together in a council meeting held in Miami. Four years earlier, according to Seminole tribal attorney Edgar W. Waybright, the reservation Indians had resented the use of the name "Miccosukee Indian Nation" by the Trail Indians since seven of the twelve who had signed the 1949 claims attorney contract were Miccosukees.⁵⁷ Perhaps Waybright was mistaken or else the anger had ebbed by 1959. In June 1959, the Florida legislature voted to set aside 143,400 acres of Everglades land for

54. Emmons to Howard Osceola, October 17, 1958, 58-14773, B/A, SM.

55. *New York Times*, April 2, 1959.

56. Edmund Wilson, *Apologies to the Iroquois* (New York, 1960), 271.

57. Roger J. Waybright to Emmons, February 28, 1955, B/A, SM.

use of the Indians.⁵⁸ In a meeting arranged by Commissioner Emmons, representatives of the two factions met at the Everglades Hotel in Miami on November 15, 1959. The members of the board of directors of the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the Miccosukee Tribal Council who were present agreed that the reservation Indians would have full authority on the reservations and that the Miccosukees would control activities on the land reserved for the Indians by the recent legislature.⁵⁹ At first Collins refused to accept this decision, and referred the matter back to the advisory citizens committee for further study. Then, on April 5, 1960, the Florida Board of Commissioners of State Institutions voted to make available some 143,620 acres in Flood Control Area Three for use by the Indians in their traditional way.⁶⁰

In the 1960s Indian involvement in their own programs was stressed by federal administrators, and many objectives, previously believed to be unobtainable, were realized, both on national and state levels, by the various tribes in the United States.⁶¹ With the active cooperation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the clan leaders of the Miccosukees and Rex Quinn, from Washington, met at Jimmie Tiger's camp and drew up a constitution.⁶² Unlike the earlier constitution and the one drawn up by the Seminoles, this constitution was not subjected to a referendum by the entire tribe. Only the assembled leaders agreed to it. On January 11, 1962, the constitution and bylaws of the Trail Indians were certified by the Secretary of the Interior, and the Miccosukee Tribe was officially recognized as an independent entity, separate and distinct from the main body of the Seminoles.⁶³ At this point the

58. *Florida Statutes*, 1959, sections 285.14 and 285.15, 1492-494.

59. Minutes of Special Board of Directors Meeting, Everglades Hotel, Miami, Florida, November 15, 1959, B/A, SM. Virtually all of this land would be subject to flooding and was of little value except for hunting and fishing purposes.

60. Since the cabinet did not complete the necessary paper work, the attorney general of Florida ruled that this permission would not be valid. *Tampa Tribune*, July 31, 1977.

61. Theodore W. Waylor, *The States and Their Indian Citizens* (Washington, 1972), 66-70.

62. An earlier constitution had been written and the organization known as "the Everglades Miccosukee Tribe of Seminoles" had been recognized by Commissioner Emmons on January 27, 1958, as being "qualified to speak for and on behalf of those Indians who have affiliated with the organization by signing their names to the roll." Emmons to Executive Council, January 27, 1958, Annex G, MP, NAL. Such recognition really meant very little.

63. This constitution was written by a group of clan leaders in a meeting

group led by Buffalo Tiger became known officially as the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida. The Miccosukee General Council, which included the chairman, assistant chairman, secretary, treasurer, and lawmaker, was recognized as the governing body of these Florida Indians. It would be responsible for membership, tribal government, law and order, education, and fiscal disbursement.⁶⁴

With the tribe officially recognized by the federal government, certain benefits became available. The National Park Service gave its approval to the lease of a small portion of the Everglades National Park for use by the Indians. On this land a school was opened on December 19, 1962, with a teacher and instructional material provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A portable school house was made available by the Dade County school board. By 1965 the Bureau of Indian Affairs had erected a concrete block, stone, and wood building containing two classrooms, a kitchen, serving area, and an office.⁶⁵ For the younger children there was a Head Start Center. A bilingual program was inaugurated stressing use of books printed in Miccosukee, and pertinent books in English for the school library were secured. Besides facilities for tribal offices, there was an auditorium-gymnasium, clinic, and housing and business headquarters. An agent with offices in Homestead, Florida, was assigned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to assist the Miccosukees in their contacts and relations with the federal government. In addition to the educational and cultural center which was developed on the leased land along Highway 41, a home area containing twenty-three wooden frame buildings was erected as residences for families. Approximately one mile distant from this center, a restaurant, grocery store, and service station were opened in December 1964.

In 1970 the Miccosukees became one of the few Indian tribes

held at Jimmie Tiger's camp. Rex Quinn who had helped the Seminole Indians write their constitution in 1957 was present at the session assisting the Indians in their deliberations. R. T. King, "Clan Affiliation and Leadership among the Twentieth Century Florida Indians," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LV (October 1976), 149.

64. Miccosukee Tribe, "The Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida" (n.p., n.d.).
65. James C. Nicholas, *et al*, *Recommendations Concerning Employment, Income and Educational Opportunities for the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes in Florida*, Department of the Interior (Washington, 1974).

in the country to establish a contract relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Under terms of the agreement, a tribal non-profit corporation was established in which funds were transferred from the bureau to the corporation. Consequently, the Miccosukees were able to control the expenditures of funds and pay off the employees.⁶⁶ The tribe ran all their own programs, and the services of an agent were not needed.⁶⁷

In 1974, the Governor's Council on Criminal Justice, studying the problems of increasing crime on the reservations, concluded that the best means of providing proper law enforcement was to establish special improvement districts. After the legislature enacted the necessary laws, the Miccosukees were able to plan and govern their own law enforcement, public housing, health care, and other social services.⁶⁸ Enjoying this status, the Indians could police themselves and be eligible for LEAA and other federal grants.

By 1976 several new programs had been instituted. A Miccosukee Public Safety Department was set up in December 1976, and a new firehouse-police station was constructed. In September 1976, a senior high school program with thirty-two students was started with funds granted by an Upward Bound project. The Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida and the Seminoles worked out an agreement with the state for administration of the 104,000-acre Florida State Reservation-76,000 acres to be administered by the Miccosukee Tribe and 28,000 acres by the Seminoles. Since much of this land was under water it had little immediate value, but income derived from leases of productive land is being diverted for the benefit of the respective tribes. Negotiations with state and federal agencies, including the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, Everglades National Park, and the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control

66. In 1976 the Business and General Council of Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida included Buffalo Tiger (chairman), Billie Cypress (assistant chairman), Bobby Billie (secretary), and Henry Bert (lawmaker). Letterhead, Miccosukee Files.

67. By this time Buffalo Tiger was playing the major role in directing activities of the group, and Silver's activities had declined. In January 1968, a motion to intervene in the Seminole claims case was filed on behalf of the Miccosukee Tribe by Buffalo Tiger and Sonny Billie. Their attorney in the case was Arthur Lazarus, Jr., of the firm, Strasser, Spregelburg, Fried, Frank and Kampelman of Washington, D.C. In 1977, S. Bobo Dean of the same firm represented the Indians.

68. *Florida Statutes* 1974, sections 285.17 and 285.18, 277-78.

District, concerning the control of Conservation Area Three and establishment of a permanent reservation have not yet been resolved. So far, the Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission has consented to the reservation in return for permission for non-Indians to hunt and fish in the area, but the South Florida Water Management District refuses to give its consent until the Indians surrender their claims against the state. The district secured an easement through the state reservation without consultation with the Indians. The easement point is important for it allows the South Florida Water Management District to flood Conservation Area Three whenever it thinks it necessary.

Despite these gains by the Miccosukee Tribe, some Miccosukee-speaking Indians living near Naples have refused to join either with the recognized Miccosukee or Seminole leaders. Jimmy Wilson, Bobby Henry, O. B. White Osceola, Douglas Osceola, Bobby Clay, and others living in twelve villages near Naples were members of a group known as the Traditional Seminoles which would not cooperate in the land claims suit.⁶⁹ So far as can be ascertained, these Indians have little or no confirmed rights to land, education, or other benefits.⁷⁰ Just before the Indian Claims Commission was ready to make its final award and judgment on the Seminole land case which had been under consideration since 1950, Guy Osceola, son of Cory Osceola, a long-time Traditional leader, filed a suit on March 26, 1976, on behalf of the Traditional Seminoles to enjoin the commission from rendering judgment. Other Traditional Seminole leaders joined with Osceola as plaintiffs in the lawsuit. The District Court ruled against the motion by the lawyer for the Indians, but the case has been appealed. Since the Traditional Seminoles and the Miccosukees refuse to accept any money, they want their rights to land in Florida confirmed by state and federal officials.⁷¹ According to Guy Osceola, all of the Seminoles were once Traditional Seminoles, but one group broke away and formed the Seminole Tribe. Later, another group seceded and formed the

69. See affidavits of these Indians in *Distribution*, 443-53.

70. It was estimated that in 1977 there were approximately 400-450 Indians on each reservation, 400 members of the Miccosukees and forty persons in the group near Naples, 40 *Indian Claims Commission*, 107.

71. Resolution passed October 1, 1976, by the Miccosukee Business Council, S. Bobo Dean to Buffalo Tiger, May 3, 1977, with enclosure of Indian Claims Commission award and decision on Docket 73-A, Miccosukee Tribe Records, Miccosukee Office.

Miccosukees. The members of the tribe that have remained are the Traditionals—they never broke away.⁷²

It is still difficult to determine the full success achieved by the Trail Indians during the past fifteen to twenty years. Certainly they gained a victory in being accorded the right to manage their own reservation, plan their own business ventures, and be able to teach Indian culture and history and the Miccosukee language in their schools. Yet the Cuban-populated area of Miami, "Little Havana," is expanding westward, and the question has been raised as to whether the Indian children should not be learning Spanish rather than Miccosukee so that they will be able to obtain jobs in the rapidly-changing southeastern Florida environment. Furthermore, has the success of the Miccosukees hurt the opportunity of the Seminole Tribe of Florida to gain an equitable settlement in the Indian claims case? In addition, the chances of an Indian obtaining a respectable living seems not to be much brighter on the Miccosukee reservation than for those Seminoles living on the Hollywood, Brighton, and Big Cypress reservations.⁷³

72. *Distribution*, 52.

73. Nicholas, *et al*, *Recommendations Concerning Employment, Income and Educational Opportunities for the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes in Florida*, has an account of the tribal problems.

GOVERNOR TONYN'S BROWN-WATER NAVY: EAST FLORIDA DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1775-1778

by GEORGE E. BUKER AND RICHARD APLEY MARTIN *

Moses Kirkland left St. Augustine aboard the brigantine *Betsey* bound for British-held Boston with a packet of letters requesting an expedition to Charleston, South Carolina, so that the southern loyalists and Indians might be saved for the crown. East Florida's Royal Governor Patrick Tonyn's letters were among the bundle being forwarded to General Thomas Gage. On December 17, 1775, the Continental schooner *Lee* captured the *Betsey* off the New England coast and made for an American port. The next day the intercepted East Florida letters were taken to General George Washington's headquarters at Cambridge, Massachusetts, where they aroused considerable interest. Washington immediately wrote to John Hancock that the letters from St. Augustine indicated a quantity of ammunition in its forts and a weakness in its defenses. The information revealed by this mail was an invitation to attack the royal province. The packet was displayed next to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and Congress sanctioned the idea of an assault on East Florida, calling upon the Carolinas and Georgia to seize St. Augustine.¹

The Floridas, East and West, remained loyal to the British crown during the American Revolution. East Florida was separated from its northern neighbor Georgia by the wilderness of forest and swamp lands. There were three communication routes between the two: a sea voyage in the Atlantic, a boat trip down

* Mr. Buker is chairman of the Division of Social Sciences, Jacksonville University. Mr. Martin is a graduate student in public administration at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton.

1. Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785*, 2 vols. (DeLand, 1929), I, 28-29; George Washington to John Hancock, December 18, 1775, in William Bell Clark, ed., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, 7 vols. to date. (Washington, 1964-1976), III, 147 (hereinafter cited as *Naval Documents*); *Journal of the Continental Congress*, January 1, 1776, printed in *Naval Documents*, III, 560-61.

the inland coastal waterway, and the King's Road, which ran from Fort Barrington on the Altamaha River south to St. Augustine. The road was cut by the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers in the frontier zone between the two colonies. Thus, the easiest and most direct route was by water, and for armed intervention the inland waterways proved the most accessible. This fact caused Governor Tonyn to direct his energies toward creating naval defenses to protect his province from the Americans.

The discovery that his dispatches had miscarried was the third naval disaster Tonyn had suffered so far that year. Earlier, the merchant vessel *Phillipa*, loaded with ammunition, was seized in mid-July 1775 off the Georgia coast and taken to Savannah for unloading.² Gunpowder in St. Augustine was in short supply following this first incident. Early in August the second misfortune struck the governor when Captain Alvare Lofthouse brought the *Betsey*, heavily laden with ordnance stores, to the coast off St. Augustine. Captain Lofthouse, aware of the danger of attempting to cross the shallows at the harbor entrance while riding so low in the water, decided to wait and lighten ship before coming in. The lone vessel filled with gunpowder sitting unprotected outside the harbor made Governor Tonyn anxious. He wrote that "had His Majesty's Schooner Saint John been in port, it was my intention to have desired her to go out to protect the Brig."³ The next morning Lofthouse requested the governor to send out a provincial vessel to unload part of his cargo. Tonyn agreed, and 293 barrels of gunpowder were moved ashore. Thus lightened, the *Betsey* could cross the bar, except that weather and heavy seas again delayed Lofthouse.

Meanwhile, Captain Clement Lempriere of the rebel privateer Commerce, a sloop from South Carolina, arrived off the Matanzas Inlet, just south of St. Augustine. Getting underway on the morning of August 7, Lempriere headed north where he sighted and approached the *Betsey*. Lookouts on the *Betsey*, and also in the coastal watchtower near the harbor entrance, followed the Commerce as she drew near. Captain Lofthouse mistook the American for a "negro vessel," and allowed her to come

-
2. Patrick Tonyn to Lord George Germain, March 5, 1776, *Naval Documents*, IV, 187; Tonyn to William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth, July 21, 1775, *ibid.*, I, 802-03.
 3. Tonyn to Dartmouth, August 24, 1775, United Kingdom, Public Records Office, Colonial Office, 5/555:323 (hereinafter cited as CO).

alongside. To his dismay, twenty-six men from the American sloop boarded the *Betsey*.⁴ The rebels removed 111 barrels and thirty-seven kegs of gunpowder. The South Carolinians gave Captain Lofthouse a draught stating: "Ten days after delivery please pay to Alveric Laufthouse [*sic*] on order, the sum of One Thousand Pounds Sterling."⁵ It was drawn on a Charleston merchant and was authorized by Captain Lempriere.

A detail of unarmed soldiers had remained aboard the *Betsey* anticipating the eventual unloading. According to the *Commerce's* journal these soldiers had been bribed with 100 pounds sterling. Later the men reported that a bribe had been offered, but they did not say whether it had been accepted. Governor Tonym's account of the incident gives the troops credit for hastening the sloop's departure by their plotting to seize the rebels' arms: "the Pirates caught the alarm [and] evacuated the Brig with precipitation."⁶ In fact, they left the vessel so quickly that a fragment of the *Commerce's* sailing orders, signed by Henry Laurens, was left aboard the *Betsey*.

Governor Tonym reacted quickly to the news of the *Betsey's* plunder. The provincial vessel *Florida*, outfitted with eight small cannon and a crew augmented by an officer and thirty men from the 14th Regiment of Foot, was dispatched in pursuit. Several days later the *Commerce* crossed the Savannah bar with the *Florida* a few hours behind. The rebels had reached the safety of the inland passage to Beaufort, South Carolina, before the governor's sloop could catch up.⁷

When Governor Tonym wrote to Vice Admiral Samuel Graves about the affair of the *Betsey*, he blamed Royal Navy Lieutenant William Grant, of the schooner *St. John*, because Grant had failed to be at St. Augustine as the governor had requested. Normally the Royal Navy had two vessels, the *St. John* and the sloop *Savage*, sailing in the waters off East Florida

4. *Ibid.*, 5/555:324-25; journal of *Commerce*, August 7, 1775, *Naval Documents*, I, 1091-092.

5. Tonym to Dartmouth, August 24, 1775, CO 5/555:324-25, 333; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 22.

6. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 21; journal of *Commerce*, *Naval Documents*, I, 1091-092; Tonym to Dartmouth, August 24, 1775, CO 5/555:324-25, 333.

7. *Ibid.*; journal of *Commerce*, August 15, 1775, *Naval Documents*, I, 1156.

and the Bahamas, but Tonym accused both captains of hiding in the Bahamas "out of the way of action."⁸

In response, Admiral Graves ordered Lieutenant John Graves of the schooner *St. Lawrence* to proceed to St. Augustine to aid the King's troops, secure the city, and protect the vital trade links. Early in October the *St. Lawrence* arrived carrying a supply of ordnance and recruits for the garrison. Lieutenant Graves's reassuring presence at St. Augustine proved to be of short duration. On December 16 he departed to join the British flotilla at Charleston.⁹ Once again Governor Tonym was in need of a naval force.

All of these events caused the governor to appeal for adequate naval defense, for, in the absence of the Royal Navy, he was responsible for maritime matters affecting East Florida. He was concerned constantly with the inadequate assistance he felt he received from the navy. Thus Tonym diligently pursued the task of maintaining some armed ships to guard St. Augustine, to reconnoiter East Florida's riverine frontiers (the St. Johns and the St. Marys rivers), and to communicate with loyalist elements in the other colonies.

With the loss of the packet of letters in December 1775, Governor Tonym was convinced that he needed naval protection because the military weakness of his province was now apparent to the enemy. Admiral Graves agreed, and towards the end of the month he ordered the *Hinchenbrook* to East Florida to replace the *St. Lawrence*. However, it was two months before Lieutenant Alexander Ellis brought his ship to anchor at St. Augustine.¹⁰

Meanwhile, Martin Jollie sent word from the northern border that the Georgians were planning an attack.¹¹ Tonym was in a quandry; where was his naval protection? Without ships he would not be able to scout the St. Marys and the St. Johns rivers nor fend off the rebel supply vessels traveling south

-
8. Tonym to Samuel Graves, September 14, 1775, *Naval Documents*, II, 105; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 30.
 9. *Ibid.*; Samuel Graves to John Graves, September 15, 1775, *Naval Documents*, II, 107; Tonym to Samuel Graves, October 3, 1775, *ibid.*, II, 289; journal of HMS *St. Lawrence*, January 26, 1776, *ibid.*, III, 1003.
 10. Samuel Graves to Andrew Barkely, December 26, 1775, *ibid.*, III, 254-56; Tonym to Germaine, March 5, 1776, *ibid.*, IV, 187.
 11. Martin Jollie to Tonym, February 13, 1776, CO 5/556, duplicate 39.

along the inland waterways supporting the invasion. East Florida's defenses were weakened by the absence of naval ships.

Commodore Ezekiel Hopkins's raid on New Providence in the Bahamas in mid-February 1776 provided Governor Tonym with his naval defense. When the American squadron approached New Providence Lieutenant Grant loaded powder on the *St. John* and made sail for East Florida. He was anxious to unload his precious cargo at St. Augustine before the Americans arrived and overwhelmed his ship. The *St. John* and the *Hinchenbrook*, which had arrived two weeks earlier, gave Tonym his badly needed ships.¹²

An alarm from the St. Marys River reached Tonym on April Fools' Day. He sent the *St. John* and planter Jeremy Wright's sloop with a fifty-man infantry detachment to the northern border. This sudden show of force by the East Floridians drove back the Americans, but not before the *St. John* confiscated forty-three barrels of rice belonging to the rebels. A week later the enemy schooner *Neptune* was captured. Tonym's prompt response with adequate naval force ended the invasion for the time being.¹³

By the end of the month Governor Tonym was happy to report to Lord George Germaine, the British Colonial Secretary of State, that three companies of the 60th Regiment of Foot had arrived at St. Augustine. At the same time Tonym was upset over the abrupt and unannounced departure of the *Hinchenbrook*. Her commander, Lieutenant Ellis, became bored with drab St. Augustine and, loosely interpreting his orders, departed for the more exciting waters off North Carolina.¹⁴

When word reached Governor Tonym in May 1776, that the Georgians were planning to interrupt British cattle drives and stage guerrilla attacks on plantations along the north side of the St. Johns River, he advised the loyalist settlers to drive their cattle to the south side at the Cow Ford. He also ordered Lieutenant Grant to reconnoiter the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers again. On May 31, while on patrol, the *St. John* sighted and detained a small rebel sloop used for loading larger vessels. While

12. William Grant to Tonym, March 7, 1776, *Naval Documents*, IV, 225.

13. Journal of HMS *St. John*, April 1, 5, 12, 1776, *ibid.*, IV, 702-03, 825.

14. James Young to Phillip Stephen, January 9, 1776, *ibid.*, III, 706; Tonym to Germaine, April 22, 1776, *ibid.*, IV, 1210.

engaged in this endeavour, the *St. John* was attacked by a force of 200 Americans who almost succeeded in boarding her. A heated engagement ensued before the British sailors beat off the Georgians.¹⁵

Governor Tonym's objective during the latter half of 1776 was to secure the St. Johns River. Locally he commissioned several privateers while he pleaded with London and North American commands for naval assistance. His dispatches were answered temporarily by the arrival of several warships which anchored in St. Augustine's harbor. This show of force brought confidence to the East Floridians and caused the Americans to postpone their planned offensive until a later time.

The inhabitants of south Georgia were eyeing apprehensively the troop build-up in East Florida. They feared a British invasion. From their point of view, the schooner *St. John* would be the spearhead of any attack coming up the inland waterways. It was decided to send out an expedition for the express purpose of capturing the *St. John*. The force consisted of a schooner, a flat, an auxiliary vessel, and 240 men.¹⁶

On August 1, J. Kitching, collector of customs at Savannah, found out about the expedition. He hurried to Cockspur Island to tell Captain John Stanhope, commanding the sloop *Raven*, of the impending attack. Stanhope replied that he could do nothing about the matter because his provisions were low and he had to return to the fleet for supplies. In desperation Kitching decided to bring the news to Governor Tonym himself. He boarded a schooner bound for St. Augustine on August 4. It was a gallant but tardy effort. However, on August 5, when the American naval force passed Jekyll Island heading south, John Martin observed the operations, and he sent a messenger overland to warn Lieutenant Grant.¹⁷

Since the first of August Grant had been stationed on the St. Marys working with the *Florida* and the pilot boat *Pompey*.

-
15. Journal of HMS *St. John*, May 29, 31, 1776, *ibid.*, V, 328; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 39; Luis R. Arana, "A Bicentennial Calendar of British East Florida," [part 1], *El Escribano*, XIII (April 1976), 41-43.
 16. Luis R. Arana, "A Bicentennial Calendar of British East Florida" [part 2], *El Escribano*, XIII (July 1976), 71-78; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 39-40.
 17. Arana, "Bicentennial Calendar of British East Florida" [part 2], 71-72, 74-75.

All three vessels were cooperating with Captain Colin Graham's detachment of infantry. At the time Lieutenant Grant received Martin's warning the *St. John* was alone on the coast. Grant sent a message to Captain Graham suggesting that the *Florida* and *Pompey* join the *St. John*, and that Graham provide soldiers for the three ships. Graham visited the *St. John* that evening, then left saying that he would check on the situation. Grant heard no more from Graham.¹⁸

After Grant dispatched his message to Graham he spent the rest of the day drilling his crew in preparation for his meeting with the Americans. That evening he anchored just north of Amelia Island and set the watch. The next morning dawned clear and calm. Finally, Grant saw "a large flat resembling a Vessel cut down and made into a floating battery, with one mast and liberty colours flying."¹⁹ It was being towed south by a group of rowboats. He exchanged shots with the flat. When two more towed rebel ships appeared, Grant decided to go to open water to avoid being bottled up. He sent his boats ahead, "with oars double-manned, and was laboriously towed away," to sea and safety.²⁰ What had happened meanwhile to the other two loyalist vessels? The *Pompey* was captured, and the *Florida* was blown up by Captain Graham to prevent it from falling into enemy hands.

There was an indecisive skirmish between Lachlan McIntosh's raiding party and Captain Graham's men before both groups broke contact and headed for their respective bases. The incident ended without a clear-cut victory for either side. Later Colonel Augustine Prevost defended his forces retreating from the St. Marys by claiming that the river could not be held without naval support.²¹

Meanwhile, Governor Tonyn, anxious about the action on his northern frontier, requested that Captain Thomas Bishop,

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, 78; journal of HMS *St. John*, August 7, 1776, *Naval Documents*, VI, 108; Grant to Tonyn, August 7, 1776, CO 5/556:704-05, 731-34; Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 119.

20. Arana, "Bicentennial Calendar of British East Florida" [part 2], 78; Lewis Butler, *The Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, 5 vols. (London, 1913-1932), I, 299, appendix 2.

21. W. Calvin Smith, "Mermaids Riding Alligators," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIV (April 1976), 450.

HMS *Lively*, check the situation on the St. Marys River on his way north. The *Lively*, accompanied by the privateer *Governor Tonym*, sailed for the St. Marys, but they were too late to be of service. The skirmish had ended, and the *St. John* was en route to St. Augustine.²² Had the *Lively* and the sloop arrived earlier Colonel Prevost might have established his first line of defense at the St. Marys.

The increasing severity of the border incidents gave Governor Tonym much concern. He was aware of the importance of naval power along his northern frontier; therefore, he exercised his Admiralty commission to issue a letter of marque to the sloop *Rebecca*, commanded by Captain John Mowbray. Between the *St. John* and the *Rebecca*, the governor expected to maintain control of the St. Johns River. Accordingly, Tonym placed his two vessels on patrol on the river in September to discourage overland rebel raids.²³

At sea, the Americans harrassed British shipping in Florida waters whenever possible. For example, on August 28, 1776, a British transport carrying loyalist immigrants and their possessions stood off St. Augustine's harbor awaiting favorable tides and winds. The impatient settlers debarked finally in small boats. Meanwhile, the waiting transport was attacked and seized by a Charleston raider. At almost the same time a British transport brig *Fincastle*, was fired upon by a rebel schooner. The *Fincastle* was carrying eighty recruits for the St. Augustine garrison, and these men not only resisted the onslaught but carried the American ship in a boarding maneuver.²⁴

Toward the end of 1776 Tonym believed his defensive efforts were deterring the rebels from invading East Florida. He confidently wrote that "by means of the Sloop Rebecca whom I commissioned and stationed on the St. Johns River, the inland passage from Georgia is secured; . . . and this town . . . has its coast at last well defended."²⁵ When Tonym looked out on the

22. Thomas Bishop to Tonym, August 9, 1776, *Naval Documents*, VI, 134.

23. Tonym to Germaine, August 26, 1776, *ibid.*, VI, 313-14; Tonym to Grant, September 8, 1776, *ibid.*, VI, 717.

24. William Bull to John Pringle, August 13, 1776, *ibid.*, VI, 176; Tonym to Germaine, September 8, 1776, *ibid.*, VI, 749; journal of HMS *Otter*, September 10, 1776, *ibid.*, VI, 775; Butler, *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, I, 299, appendix 2.

25. Tonym to Germaine, October 30, 1776, *Naval Documents*, VI, 1468.

harbor in October he saw the HMS *Cherokee*, *Lively*, and *Haven*, the sloop *Otter*, and the schooners *St. John* and *St. Lawrence* riding at anchor. He was grateful for this show of force.²⁶

The naval defense of the East Florida province remained the major concern of Governor Tonyn throughout 1777. British naval vessels and merchant ships continued to come and go. Tonyn's waterborne defense devolved upon Captain John Mowbray and his sloop *Rebecca*, for the schooner *St. John* had been condemned as unfit for service and was left idle in St. Augustine harbor.²⁷ The *Rebecca* was busy patrolling and scouting the enemy's movements to the north. On one voyage, skirting the Georgia coast, Captain Mowbray succeeded in capturing an armed enemy galley.

Intelligence reports reaching Tonyn indicated that preparations were underway for a major American invasion. The governor sought additional ships, reporting that "we have now no armed vessel in the Province except Captain Mowbray of the *Rebeca* [*sic*]." ²⁸As a result, he extended the *Rebecca's* contract for another four months. For additional protection he enlarged his East Florida provincial navy by pressing into service the *Meredith*, a recent arrival from England mounting ten guns, and the transport *Hawke*. Captain Mowbray, a former Royal Navy officer, was placed in overall command.²⁹

Indeed, an American invasion by land and sea was underway. Colonel Samuel Elbert, the commander, intended to bypass the swamps south of Savannah by sailing to the St. Marys River and coming ashore. A smaller force of Georgia militia was led overland via the King's Road by Colonel John Baker to rendezvous with Elbert at Sawpit Bluff, Florida. Arriving first, Baker's men undertook a scouting mission, but met with an ambush and were routed on May 17 near Thomas Creek, a tributary of the Nassau River. Elbert's force, after learning of Baker's fate, soon returned to their ships and sailed back to Georgia.³⁰

26. Journal of HMS *Cherokee*, October 5, 1776, *ibid.*, VI, 1141.

27. Tonyn to Augustine Prevost, January 17, 1777, CO 5/557:278.

28. Tonyn to Germaine, April 2, 1777, CO 5/557:262.

29. Tonyn to Germaine, May 5, 1777, CO 5/557:405-06; Edgar L. Pennington, "East Florida in the American Revolution, 1775-1778," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, IX (July 1930), 32.

30. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 46-47; Tonyn to Germaine, June 16, 1777, CO 5/557:481-82; Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution* (Bailey's Cross Roads, Virginia, 1970), 6.

While the events near Thomas Creek were occurring, a lesser known but significant sea battle was underway off East Florida. Governor Tonyn intended to have the *Rebecca*, then on station up the St. Johns, lead the other provincial defense vessels into the St. Marys. Captain Mowbray brought the *Rebecca* and the *Hawke* to the mouth of the St. Johns and anchored just outside the bar. The *Meredith* and the other small vessels followed suit, though remaining slightly up river. Suddenly and unexpectedly a strong wind whipped up the sea, forcing the *Rebecca* and her escort to make for open water.

During the process of going to sea, Captain Mowbray's lookout spied a rebel brigantine, and the sturdy East Florida sloop prepared to engage her. The *Rebecca* mounted only ten carriage guns. Mowbray soon discovered his disadvantage against the more heavily armed American brig, but he pressed on, and as the distance between the ships decreased a running fight ensued. Both ships were aggressive. Finally, Captain Mowbray gained the upper hand as his fire silenced the rebels for about eight minutes. Mowbray then maneuvered to board. During this time the Americans resumed fire, and, as Tonyn later related, "an unlucky shot carried away the Sloop Topmast and rent the mainsail, which gave the Brigantine the advantage in sailing and the opportunity of flight."³¹ The damaged American vessel's decks were crowded with men. As she heeled over in the wind to flee northward, the *Rebecca's* detachment of British army riflemen began to fire upon them. Captain Mowbray observed many dead rebels lying on deck as the brig pulled away. The *Rebecca* suffered only one dead and nine wounded, but due to its damaged condition Captain Mowbray returned to St. Augustine. However, Colonel Elbert's loss of the brig, the remaining East Florida ships in his path, plus the defeat of Colonel Baker's men all led him to decide to return to Georgia. Governor Tonyn was delighted to hear of the *Rebecca's* triumph. He gave much of the credit to Captain Mowbray, lauding "his zeal, activity, and unwearied industry, on all different parts of service."³²

The tension between East Florida and her northern neighbor did not lessen, although the amount of activity declined through

31. Tonyn to Germaine, June 18, 1777, printed in Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 16.

32. *Ibid.*, 16-17.

the end of 1777. Tonym was so suspicious of this lull that he requested another detachment of infantry for the *Rebecca*, which was by then fully repaired and back guarding the inland water passage.³³

The climax of American efforts to subdue East Florida occurred in 1778. Once again naval matters remained a high priority; the *Rebecca*, joined by the schooner *Hinchenbrook* and the ship *Galatea*, the latter two of the Royal Navy, formed a powerful defense triad protecting the waterways approaching St. Augustine. By virtue of his Royal Navy rank, Captain Thomas Jordon of the *Galatea* assumed operational command of the East Florida vessels. On April 6, he decided to intercept the invading American ships at Frederica, on St. Simons Island, Georgia. His plan was to neutralize Frederica and then send the *Hinchenbrook* and the *Rebecca* to sea north to the Sapelo River. At this point they would enter the inland waterways and move south, flushing the Americans out to where the *Galatea* awaited them.³⁴

At the St. Marys River on his way north, Captain Mowbray picked up a lieutenant who had deserted from the American force. Mowbray took him to Captain Jordon, who was then off St. Simons Island. The lieutenant reported that the patriot squadron was vulnerable; the galleys were undermanned and in poor repair. Captain Jordon was encouraged by his report and decided to press on.

On March 13 the three ships crossed the bar of Frederica Sound. The *Hinchenbrook* and the *Rebecca* were dispatched to Frederica's harbor to secure the fortifications there and then to proceed to the Sapelo River. The *Galatea* remained near the harbor entrance.³⁵ Upon arriving at the Sapelo, around the first week in April, the *Hinchenbrook* made several attempts to cross the shallow bar but failed. When Captain Jordon heard of the trouble he brought the *Galatea* north to direct the activities. He ordered a scouting party to enter the river utilizing small boats. When the mission had been accomplished Lieutenant Ellis of the *Hinchenbrook* and Captain Mowbray returned to report

33. Tonym to Prevost, CO 5/558:35-36.

34. Thomas Jordon to Tonym, March 6, 1778, CO 5/558:255-56; Tonym to Germaine, March 20, 1778, CO 5/558:226-27.

35. Jordon to Tonym, March 17, 1778, CO 5/558:259-60.

their findings to Captain Jordon. En route their boat overturned in the heavy swells, and Lieutenant Ellis drowned. Captain Mowbray was barely able to save himself.³⁶

Some days later, Captain Jordon learned that the American ships *Washington*, *Lee*, and *Bulloch* were near a branch of the Altamaha River at a position on the inland waterway south of his vessels. Jordon ordered the *Hinchenbrook* and the *Rebecca* to intercept the enemy ships. En route they suddenly entered an area called Raccoongut where the channel seemed to end and the water became shallow. Both ships ran hard aground, and all attempts to maneuver the vessels failed. Colonel Elbert capitalized on the British vessels' predicament. He brought two artillery pieces close up to bombard the stricken ships. The tide began to ebb; the situation grew hopeless as the shallow water "laid their decks open to musquetry [*sic*] which Colonel Elbert took advantage of, the crews taking to their boats the vessels fell into the hands of the enemy."³⁷

Governor Tonym reported the loss of the ships to Lord Germaine on April 28, 1778. He questioned the circumstances, and he requested a formal investigation. Initially, Tonym had been suspicious of even Captain Mowbray's actions. Later he settled for testimony before the provincial council. In the end, he concluded that Mowbray was faultless and had been acting under orders. The governor further justified Mowbray's actions by saying that the captain had "attempted to destroy the vessel before he left her."³⁸ The loss of the *Hinchenbrook* and the *Rebecca* was a severe blow to the East Florida forces. Captain Jordon had hoped to seize the offensive, but the debacle at Raccoongut changed all that. The momentum had swung to the Americans, and Jordon would have to await their next move.

By the end of April 1778, East Florida was facing a critical situation regarding the lack of coastal and riverine defense. With haste, the governor was forced to purchase three vessels. Tonym named one of these, an armed ship carrying fourteen guns,

36. Jordon to Tonym, April 16, 1778, CO 5/558:263-65; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, II, 173.

37. Burton Barrs, *East Florida in the American Revolution* (Jacksonville, 1932), 29; Butler, *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, I, 303, appendix 2.

38. *Ibid.*; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, I, 56; Tonym to Germaine, April 28, 1778, CO 5/558:251-53.

the *Germaine*, possibly hoping to flatter Secretary of State Lord Germaine into sanctioning the expenditure. The *Germaine* was suited for her task; she had a shallow enough draft to cross all the local harbor entrances. Tonyn bargained with the crew by agreeing to split whatever profits were made with them. The *Germaine* and two other vessels, the brig *Dreadnought* and the galley *Thunderer*, were converted into warships. By the middle of May two floating batteries also were being readied with twenty-four-pound guns. Tonyn vowed his further intention of procuring as many privateers as could be had to protect river navigation.³⁹

On June 30, Governor Tonyn learned that "five Gallies, two flats, and two Pettugas carrying Cannon," laden with a considerable supply of provisions, were in Cumberland Sound awaiting an opportunity to enter Nassau Inlet.⁴⁰ His East Florida defense vessels were ready to challenge the American ships. He sent the *Germaine*, probably under the command of John Mowbray, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Thunderer* to patrol the St. Johns River. Twelve days later his flotilla was strengthened by the timely arrival of two Royal Navy vessels, the ship *Perseus* and the sloop *Otter*.⁴¹

Captain Keith Elphinstone of the *Perseus*, the senior naval officer, formulated plans to engage the rebels. However, before his operation could begin, the Americans learned of the increased naval power and fled. Led by the *Perseus* and the *Otter*, Governor Tonyn's navy made an effort to overtake them, but time and distance were on the side of the rebels.⁴²

Tonyn was ecstatic over the turn of events. He confidently predicted that "the check given to the Rebels [by] the floating Batteries and naval Armament in St. John's River, the dispositions in posting His Majesty's Forces and the Difficulties thrown in their way have made the Rebels from all present appearances relinquish their Design against this Province."⁴³

39. Ibid.; Tonyn to Germaine, March 15, 1778, CO 5/558:314; Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 114.

40. Alexander Shaw to Tonyn, July 1, 1778, printed in Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 35.

41. Tonyn to Germaine, July 3, 1778, CO 5/558:375; Butler, *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, I, 311, appendix 2.

42. Tonyn to Germaine, July 24, 1778, CO 5/558:412-14.

43. Pennington, "East Florida in the American Revolution," 45.

Through the remainder of the summer of 1778 ships from East Florida continued to patrol the coastal waters. The *Galatea*, *Perseus*, and others captured several vessels and delivered them to St. Augustine. A particularly interesting prize was the vessel carrying the Chevalier de Bretigny with 200 men from France bound for the American army. They were denied parole and were esconsed in the statehouse.⁴⁴ The sloop *Otter* and the armed ship *George* made sail from St. Augustine to intercept a patriot privateer, carrying thirty blacks, which had put in at New Smyrna. Both ships were lost off Cape Canaveral in a violent storm, and the crews barely escaped with their lives.⁴⁵

During the rest of 1778, and for that matter, the remainder of the war, what fighting East Florida forces did was away from the province on overland pushes against American strongholds in the rebellious southern colonies. After the capture of Savannah and the eventual British occupation of Charleston in May 1780, all military threat to East Florida had ended, and with it the Revolutionary War on the inland waters in and around British East Florida.

The armed incursions between Georgia and Florida were remote from the major struggles farther north, but Tonyn's recognition of the importance of naval power on his frontier waterways was crucial to the defense of the province. In this small corner of the war, Governor Tonyn's navy had been a factor keeping the Americans at bay.

44. Butler, *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, I, 303, appendix 2.

45. Tonyn to Germaine, August 20, 1778, printed in Pennington, "East Florida in the American Revolution," 46.

THE ST. PETERSBURG-TAMPA AIRBOAT LINE

by EUGENE F. PROVENZO, JR. *

THE ST. PETERSBURG-TAMPA Airboat Line operated between St. Petersburg and Tampa, Florida, for three months between January 1, 1914, and March 31, 1914. The Line is commonly recognized as the world's first regularly-scheduled passenger and commercial freight airline. The idea for the airline originated with the Florida engineer and businessman, P. E. Fansler. It was while experimenting with speed boat racing that he became interested in flying as a way of achieving even greater speed. When he heard about the record-breaking long distance flight made by Antony Jannus in a Benoist flying boat between Omaha and New Orleans in the fall of 1912, he became even more interested in flying.¹

Jannus was an instructor and pilot for the Benoist Air Craft Company of St. Louis. Begun in 1908 by Thomas W. Benoist, the company was an important early designer and manufacturer of aircraft and was responsible for a number of important firsts in aviation history. A Benoist biplane piloted by Jannus was used to make the first successful parachute jump from an airplane.²

Fansler contacted Benoist late in 1913 about the possibilities of buying an airplane. Then, after exchanging several letters with Benoist, he conceived of the idea of starting a commercial airline: "I wrote to Tom about the scheme, and he immediately became enthusiastic. He agreed to build and furnish two boats if I would work out the operating details, select a route and handle the

* Mr. Provenzo is associate professor of education at the University of Miami.

1. For biographical background on Jannus see: "Antony (Tony) H. Jannus: Early Benoist Instructor and Test Pilot," manuscript included under the title *The Flying Pioneers Biographies of Harold E. Morehouse*. Archival Collection of the National Air and Space Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
2. For information on Thomas Benoist, see Christy C. Magrath, "Tom Benoist-One of Flying's All Time Greats," *Aeronautics*, VI (April-September 1954), 4-10, and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., "Thomas W. Benoist-Early Pioneer Aviator (1874-1917)," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, XXXI (January 1975), 91-104.

business end. My experience all over Florida led me to conclude that a line could be operated between St. Petersburg and Tampa under favorable conditions.“³

Having convinced twelve businessmen from St. Petersburg to put up \$100 each to back the airline scheme, he then got the St. Petersburg Board of Trade to match the amount. Fansler's backers agreed to pay the airline company \$50.00 a day during January, and \$25.00 a day thereafter, minus passenger revenue, for every day on which four trips were made.⁴

St. Petersburg was an ideal location for running a passenger and freight service. The city at that time had a population of about 8,000. The nearest outlet for wholesale goods was Tampa. Although it was only about twenty-three miles across the bay, Tampa was a twelve-hour train ride, or three-hour boat ride away.⁵

On December 4, 1913, the airline was officially organized by Fansler as the St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line. A few weeks later, on December 17, 1913—exactly ten years after the Wright Brothers made their flight at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina—Benoist arrived in St. Petersburg and signed a contract with the city for the operation of the airline. The actual operation of the service was to begin at ten o'clock on the morning of January 1, 1914.⁶

Benoist had arranged for one of his planes to be shipped by train to St. Petersburg. Expecting it to arrive about Christmas, the shipment of the aircraft was delayed, however, and it did not arrive until December 31—the day before the airline was officially to begin operation. Antony Jannus and a mechanic, J. D. Smith, had come into St. Petersburg earlier, and they took over the assembly and testing of the plane. As Fansler recalled the event: “The boat had been flown before shipment, so, when it had been re-assembled, and just before the sun plunged into the Gulf of Mexico, Tony gave her the final inspection and told Smitty to ‘crank ‘er up.’ Willing hands laid hold of the wings and guided No. 43, as she was known, into the water. A short taxi to warm

3. P. E. Fansler, “The First Commercial Airline,” *Aero Digest*, XV (December 1929), 58.

4. *Ibid.*, 58-59.

5. H. M. DuBois, “Practical Developments in American Aeronautics,” *Flying*, III (February 1914), 20.

6. *Ibid.*, 59.

up and Tony took off. Ten minutes later he landed on the opposite side of the lagoon where a rough hanger had been erected and announced we were ready for the start on schedule next morning.“⁷

“Number 43” was a Type 14 Benoist Flying Boat. The plane was powered by a seventy-five horsepower Roberts engine located in the hull and connected to the propeller by a roller chain. A bi-plane design measuring thirty-two feet in length, the craft had a wing span of thirty-five feet. Constructed with a spruce frame covered by canvas, the plane was designed to carry two passengers. Fully loaded, the plane was capable of flying sixty-four miles per hour.⁸

A crowd of nearly 3,000 had assembled by 9:30 on the morning of January 1 to see the inauguration of the airline. After introducing Benoist and Jannus, Fansler formally declared the airline opened. The first ticket for the airline was auctioned off for \$400 to Mayor A. C. Phiel, who “explained that he had to buy some machinery in Tampa and had to hurry. . . . Mr. Phiel in a raincoat stepped gingerly into the boat, which had been pulled down until it was just awash. Smitty pulled down on the starting bar, and the little Roberts motor that was to prove so reliable began to roar. Tony settled down into his seat and tested his controls. The crowd looked on with interest. Many had never seen an airplane of any kind, and had little conception of what the plane could do. Tony yelled to me for the time, and I told him that he had a minute before ten o’clock. He speeded up the engine . . . with a wave of his hand, Tony gave her the gun, and the boat taxied out over the lagoon to the inshore side. Turning, Tony drove her straight for the harbor entrance, and before reaching it, pulled her off the water.“⁹ The first commercial airline flight in history had begun.

Jannus was sighted less than one half-hour later by a crowd waiting for his arrival in Tampa. Landing safely, Jannus returned almost immediately to St. Petersburg. Another round-trip was made that same afternoon. After this, regular operations were begun. Passengers for the airline were charged \$5.00 per flight,

7. Ibid.

8. For descriptions of the plane see: “The Benoist Flying Boat,” *Flight*, VI (February 28, 1914), 213; and “The Benoist Flying Boat,” *Aeronautics*, V (January 1913), 15-18.

9. Fansler, “First Commercial Airline,” 59.

and \$10.00 for the round trip between the two cities. Each passenger was allowed a total weight of 200 pounds, which included their own weight plus luggage. Four round trips were scheduled each day. Delivery and receipt of the materials being sent were the responsibility of the shipper.¹⁰ From the beginning, Benoist felt that the airboat line could be a practical operation: "We feel confident that we can show that passengers and freight can be carried at this rate at considerable profit. The price charged is just twice that asked of similar trips by automobile. That should be just about right. Certainly we would defeat the purpose of the first airboat line if we established what transportation men consider an extraordinary tariff."¹¹ Between January 1 and January 10, 1914, a total of twenty-six trips were made covering a distance of 682 miles.¹²

Within the first few weeks of the airline's operation a publicity stunt was undertaken that is credited to be the first commercial flight of goods in history. On the morning of January 13, 1914, a butcher in Tampa called Fansler asking him if he could send a fifty-pound shipment via the airboat. Fansler agreed.

Shortly afterward the following exchange of telegrams was published in an advertisement in *Aero* magazine:

Swift & Co. Tampa, Fla.	St. Petersburg, Fla. Jan. 13, 1914
Ship via first Benoist airboat express one case each premium hams and bacon. five cases ham to follow on evening boat.	
8:52 A.M.	Hefner Grocery Co.

Hefner Grocery Co. St. Petersburg, Fla.	Tampa, Fla. Jan. 13, 1914
Your wire for case each Premium hams, bacon, airship delivery, rec'd 9 A.M. Shipment left via Benoist airboat eleven-four and will reach you in twenty minutes. Answer when shipment rec'd and when this telegram rec'd.	
Paid day. Swift & Co.	Swift & Co. St. Petersburg, Fla.

-
10. "Air Liner Travels 682 Miles First Ten Days," *Aero and Hydro*, VII (January 24, 1914), 213.
 11. *Aero and Hydro*, VII (January 10, 1914), 178.
 12. Fansler, "First Commercial Airline," 264.

Received Premium hams and bacon via Benoist airboat
eleven twenty-five; you were rec'd twelve five.

Hefner Grocery Co. ¹³

Some weeks later, a similar advertisement was run in *Collier's* magazine. ¹⁴ Besides chronicling what was undoubtedly the first commercial flight of a ham in history, these advertisements provide an important record of the beginnings of commercial aviation.

Antony Jannus's brother Roger joined the airline as a pilot shortly after it had begun regular operation, and a second plane was shortly added to the airline. This was consistent with Fansler's desire to expand the operation and scope of the company as quickly as possible. A plan was put together by Fansler to fly railroad passengers on the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad from Tampa to St. Petersburg, rather than have them take the steamer across Tampa Bay. ¹⁵ He also tried to convince the postal authorities to establish an air post between St. Petersburg and Tampa. Both of these ideas, however, were finally rejected as being impractical. ¹⁶

A flying school was started by Benoist and Jannus in conjunction with the airline, as well as series of regular flights to Manatee, Bradenton, and Sarasota. By March 31, 1914, the end of the original three-month contract, a total of 1,204 passengers had been carried aloft. ¹⁷

With the end of the tourist season in March, the airboat line was discontinued, and it never resumed operation. Antony Jannus left the Benoist Company to start a passenger service in Sandusky, Ohio. The following year, he was sent to Russia by the Curtiss Aircraft Company to train Russian pilots. On October 12, 1916, he was killed in a flying accident near Sevastopol in the Crimea. ¹⁸

Benoist met a similar unfortunate fate. Shortly after returning from England, where he was negotiating with the British for the sale of his planes, he was killed in a streetcar accident. ¹⁹ Fansler lived until 1937, but failed to continue work in the field of com-

13. *Aero*, VII (March 21, 1914), inside cover advertisement.

14. *Collier's*, LI (March 12, 1913), inside cover advertisement.

15. Fansler, "First Commercial Airline," 265.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Magrath, "Tom Benoist," 9.

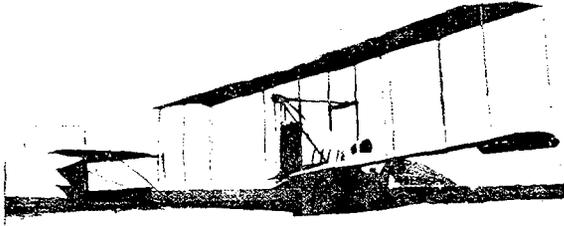
18. Morehouse, "Antony (Tony) H. Jannus," 11.

19. Provenzo, "Thomas W. Benoist," 104.

Announcement

¶ Beginning first day of January, 1914, the Benoist School of Aviation will be in operation on the north break-water of the yacht basin at St. Petersburg, Fla.

¶ The School will be under the personal supervision of Tom W. Benoist and Tony Jannus. There will be plenty of machines for each student to receive exhaustive and personal instruction in the operation of the airboat and as the weather in this part of Florida will permit 14 hours of flying a day and every day in the week during the months of January, February and March, students will experience no trouble in getting plenty of practice and will naturally come out of the school in the Spring expert flyers.



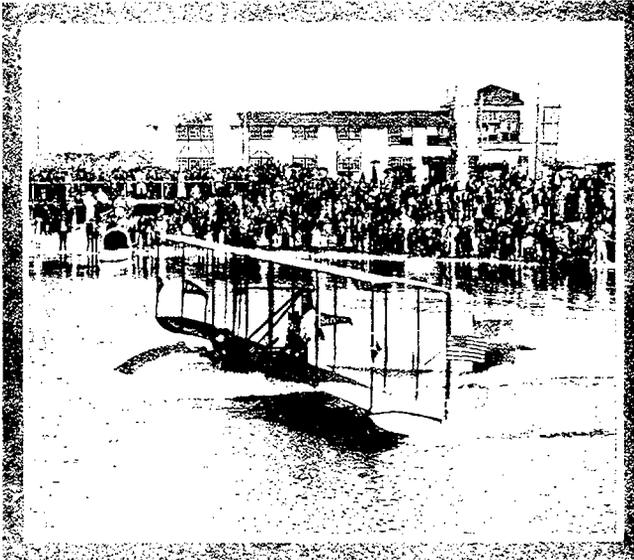
¶ Besides, St. Petersburg will be the very center of things aeronautical during the winter, as a regular passenger line will be maintained between St. Petersburg and Tampa, using as many as one-half dozen passenger-carrying machines, maintaining a regular schedule the same as railroads and steam boats. This will enable the student to obtain first hand information as to the practical operation of the new airboat in commercial business. It will also put the student in line for any positions and promotions that may come up at that time and will of course give him opportunities to meet many customers for airboats and prospective customers who will be there looking for personal information about the practicability of these machines.

¶ Motor boat and automobile dealers and others who are planning to take on a line of airboats to supplement their other business the coming year, will do well to spend a week's vacation in St. Petersburg to see just what the possibilities are in connection with these boats and to make arrangements for obtaining the agency in their territory before it has been taken by some one else.

Address **Benoist Aircraft Company**
6628 Delmar Boul., St. Louis, Mo.

The Benoist Aircraft Company advertised its school of aviation at St. Petersburg in the January 13, 1914 issue of *Aero and Hydro*. Advertisement reproduced through the courtesy of the National Air and Space Museum Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

What the Benoist Flying Boats Have Done



and what other flying boats have done last year is of some interest, but what flying boats are doing now-right now -today --is of actual interest to the prospective purchaser for 1914.

Compare the work that the Benoist Airboat is doing at St. Petersburg, Florida, this winter, with the work being done by other airboats and you will get an idea of the comparative efficiency of the Benoist and others.

For instance, the Benoist airboat is carrying on a regular up-to-the-minute, man's-job, passenger-carrying business. Hacking it across Old Tampa Bay twenty-two miles, four times a day, on regular schedule, as regular as clockwork and never missing a trip. Also this work is not being done by an immense organization, a great number of

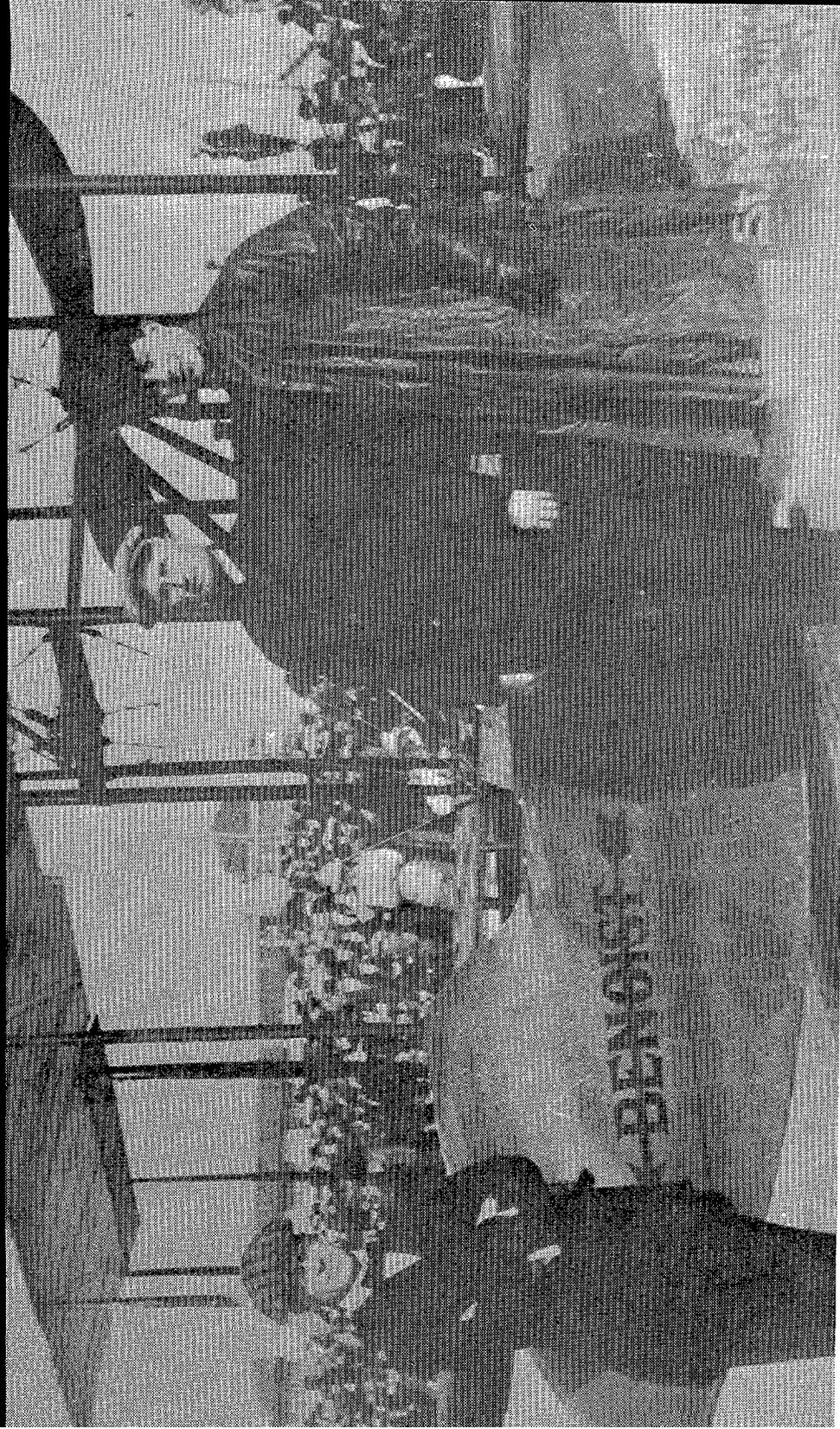
machines and fliers with equipment in reserve, representing an investment of thousands of dollars; but is simply being accomplished with one airboat, working every day like a taxicab or a businessman's automobile.

This consistent efficiency, compared with that of the performance of other air boats, stands not as the result of luck, but rather as the result of an endless search for perfection in material, workmanship and design. Any man who purchases a Benoist airboat is simply making himself profit sharer in this general plan. If further interested address

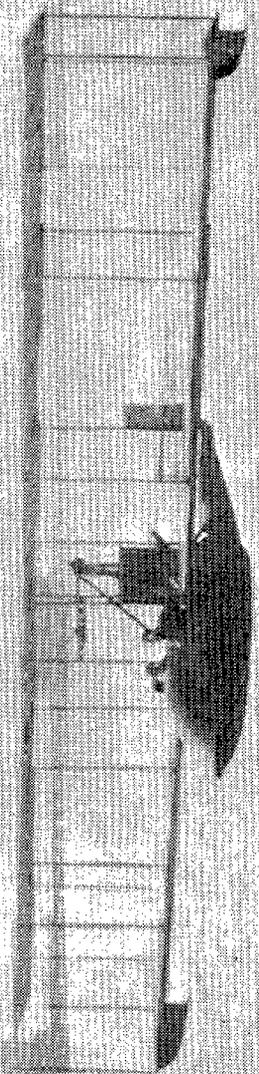
Winter Flying School, St. Petersburg, Fla.

Benoist Aircraft Company 6628 Delmar Blvd., **St. Louis, Mo.**

Advertisement for the Benoist Aircraft Company, published in *Aero and Hydro*, February 7, 1914. Reproduced through the courtesy of the National Air and Space Museum Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.



The crowd awaits the initial flight of the St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line. Posing by the airboat, left to right, are P. E. Fansler, A. C. Phici, and Antony Jannus, courtesy of the National Air and Space Museum Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.



Openline
St. Petersburg-Tampa
Airboat Line

The Benoist Air Boat in flight over Tampa Bay, 1914. Photograph courtesy of the National Air and Space Museum Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

mercial aviation.²⁰ His dream of the possibilities of commercial flight, while not sustained, were successfully realized in the three short months in 1914, during which the St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line was in operation.

70. Paul Fleming, "Wife of a Pioneer," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 29, 1953.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

This selected bibliography includes scholarly articles in the fields of Florida history, archeology, geography, and anthropology published in state, regional, and national periodicals in 1978. Articles, notes, and documents which have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are not included in this listing since they appear in the annual index of each volume.

- ADEDIBU, AFOLABI A., "Population Growth and Housing Density around the Jacksonville International Airport," *Florida Geographer* (August), 16-21.
- ALMY, MARION M., "The Archeological Potential of Soil Survey Reports [Sarasota County]," *Florida Anthropologist* (September), 75-91.
- AUSTIN, DANIEL F., "Spanish River," *Broward [County] Legacy* (March), 2-5.
- BEARDEN, JACQUELINE K., ed., "I Wish to Come Home Once More: The Letters of Nathaniel Sherburne [soldier in St. Augustine garrison, 1821-1822]," *El Escribano*, 37-48.
- BONAWIT, OBY, "History of Pinewood (Cocoplum) Cemetery [Dade County]," *Tequesta*, 63-71.
- BRADEN, WALDO W., AND RALPH T. EUBANKS, "Dallas C. Dickey: Pioneer of the Critical Study of Southern Public Address," *Southern Speech Communication Journal* (Winter), 119-46.
- BROWARD, ROBERT C., "Jacksonville: Southern Home for the Prairie School," *Historic Preservation* (January-March), 16-19.
- BULLEN, RIPLEY P., "Pre-Columbian Trade in Eastern United States as Viewed from Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* (September), 92-108.
- BULLEN, RIPLEY P., Walter Askew, Lee M. Feder, Richard L. McDonnell, and Jerald T. Milanich, ed., "The Canton Street Site, St. Petersburg, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* (June, part 2), 1-28.
- BUSHNELL, AMY, "The Expenses of *Hidalguia* in Seventeenth-Century St. Augustine," *El Escribano*, 23-26.
- , " 'That Demonic Game': The Campaign to Stop Indian

- Pelota Playing in Spanish Florida, 1675-1684," *Americas* (July), 1-19.
- CAMP, PAUL EUGEN, "Boredom, Brandy, and Bickering: Garrison Life at Fort Lauderdale, 1839-40," *Broward Legacy* (March), 7-12, 31-38.
- CATAU, JOHN C., "The Role of Distance in the Migration of Retirees to St. Petersburg, Florida," *Florida Geographer* (August), 8-15.
- COUTTS, BRIAN E., ed., "An Inventory of Sources in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University, for the History of Spanish Louisiana and Spanish West Florida," *Louisiana History* (Spring), 213-50.
- COVINGTON, JAMES W., "The Story of Davis Islands, 1924-1926," *Sunland Tribune* [Tampa Historical Society] (November), 16-28.
- DANCE, DARYL, "In the Beginning: A New View of Black American [including black Floridian] Etiological Tales," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* (1977), 53-64.
- DE BOE, MIZPAH OTTO, "Joseph Otto, M. D.," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* (August), 648-52.
- DEAGAN, KATHLEEN A., "The Archeology of First Spanish Period St. Augustine, 1972-1978," *El Escribano*, 1-22.
- DIN, GILBERT C., "Protecting the 'Barrera': Spain's Defenses in Louisiana, 1763-1779 [including Galvez expedition]," *Louisiana History* (Spring), 183-211.
- DUNN, HAMPTON, "Gordon Who? Gordon Keller [Tampa civic leader and businessman, 1883-1909]," *Sunland Tribune* (November), 2-5.
- ELLIOTT, HAROLD M., "The Geographic Expansion of National Airlines [in Florida and nationwide, 1934-1978]," *Florida Geographer* (August), 26-32.
- FILLMAN-RICHARDS, JEANNE, AND STORM L. RICHARDS, "Commercial Fishing at Cedar Key, Levy County, Florida," *Florida Geographer* (August), 22-25.
- FRADKIN, ARLENE, "Archeological Evidence of Snake Consumption among the Aborigines of Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* (June), 36-43.
- GETZLER, MICHAEL H., BRUCE S. CHAPPELL, AND D. LORNE MC-WATTERS, "New Access to the History of Spanish Florida: The Spanish Borderlands Project," *El Escribano*, 49-60.

- GIBSON, ARRELL MORGAN, "The St. Augustine [Indian] Prisoners," *Red River Valley Historical Review* (Spring), 259-70.
- GOODWIN, LARRY, JOLEE PEARSON, AND JOHN FIORONI, "Salvage Excavations at the Brothers Site, Sarasota, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* (September), 117-27.
- GORE, RICK, "A Bad Time to Be a Crocodile [includes Florida alligators and crocodiles]," *National Geographic* (January), 91-115.
- HIGGINBOTHAM, JAY, "Origins of the French-Alabama Conflict, 1703-1704, [including western Florida]," *Alabama Review* (April), 121-36.
- HOLMES, JACK D. L., "The Historiography of the American Revolution in Louisiana, [including West Florida]," *Louisiana History* (Summer), 309-26.
- HOSMER, JOHN H., AND JOSEPH FINEMAN, "Black Congressmen [Josiah Walls] in Reconstruction," *Phylon* (June), 97-107.
- INGRAM, JAMES M., "Dr. Howell Tyson Lykes, Founder of an Empire," *Sunland Tribune* (November), 30-35.
- KEMP, HAROLD W., "Preservation in Florida," *Historic Preservation*, (January-March 1978), 4-5.
- LEMIEUX, DONALD J., "The Mississippi Valley, New France, and French Colonial Policy [includes Florida]," *Southern Studies* (Spring), 39-56.
- LEONARD, MARSTON C., "Tampa Heights: Tampa's First Residential Suburb," *Sunland Tribune* (November), 6-10.
- MCCARTHY, KEVIN M., "Historical St. Augustine in Fiction," *El Escribano*, 61-72.
- MASON, JULIAN, "Black Writers of the South [including Florida authors]," *Mississippi Quarterly* (Spring), 169-83.
- MEGNA, RALPH J., AND PATRICK R. CURRIE, eds., "The Florida Fiber Company," *Broward Legacy* (March), 13-16.
- MERRITT, J. T., III, "William Bartram in America's Eden [Florida and Georgia]," *History Today* (November), 712-21.
- MILLER, KATHLEEN ATKINSON, "The Ladies and the Lynchers: A Look at the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching [Florida cited]," *Southern Studies* (Fall), 221-40.
- MONK, J. FLOYD, "Christmas Day in Florida, 1837," *Tequesta*, 5-38.

- MOORE, JAMES TICE, "Redeemers Reconsidered: Change and Continuity in the Democratic South 1870-1900 [Florida cited]," *Journal of Southern History* (August), 357-78.
- ORR-CAHALL, CHRISTINA, "Palm Beach: The Predicament of a Resort," *Historic Preservation* (January-March), 10-15.
- PAREDES, J. ANTHONY, "Hurricanes and Anthropologists in Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* (June), 44-51.
- PARKS, VIRGINIA, ALAN RICK, AND NORMAN SIMONS, "Pensacola in the Civil War," *Pensacola Historical Society Quarterly* (Spring), 1-44.
- PARTON, JOHN WILLIAM, "The Gold Coast Land Boom in the 1920's," *Broward Legacy* (March), 17-23.
- PEARSON, FRED LAMAR, JR., "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Chatahoochee Basin and West Florida, 1685-1704," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (January), 50-59.
- PETERS, THELMA, "The Log of the Biscayne House of Refuge," *Tequesta*, 39-62.
- PRATT, JOSEPH A., "Growth or a Clean Environment? Responses to Petroleum-Related Pollution in the Gulf Coast Refining Region [including Florida panhandle]," *Business History Review* (Spring), 1-29.
- SCHENE, MICHAEL G., "The Early Florida Salvage Industry," *American Neptune* (October), 262-71.
- SHOFNER, JERRELL H., "Andrew Johnson and the Fernandina Unionists," *Prologue* (Winter), 211-23.
- SLATTERY, BRIAN, "French Claims in North America, 1500-59 [including Ribault expedition]," *Canadian Historical Review* (June), 139-69.
- STEPHENS, JEAN B. "Zephaniah Kingsley and the Recaptured Africans," *El Escribano*, 73-78.
- STOCKDALE, MABEL K., AND SALLY E. BRYENTON, "Indian Plant Foods and the Florida Panhandle," *Florida Anthropologist* (September), 109-16.
- STRAIGHT, WILLIAM M., "Calomel, Quinine, and Laudanum: Army Medicine in the Seminole Wars," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* (August), 627-43.
- TEBEAU, CHARLTON W., ed., "From Tampa Bay to Biscayne Bay in 1799 [journal of Andrew Ellicott]," *Tequesta*, 72-82.
- THEISEN, LEE SCOTT, "A 'Fair Count' in Florida: General Lew Wallace and the Contested Presidential Election of 1876,"

Hayes Historical Journal (Spring), 21-32.

- VELLA, DREW, AND IRA SHESKIN, "The Influence of the Dade County Master Plan upon Development around the Florida Turnpike," *Florida Geographer* (August), 1-7.
- VENTURA REJA, JOSE, "Abastecimiento y poblamiento de Florida ["Provisioning and Peopling of Florida," first Spanish period]," *Actas del Congreso de Historia de los Estados Unidos* [Madrid] (1978), 113-29.
- WATSON, CHARLES S., "De Soto's Expedition: Contrasting Treatments in Pickett's *History of Alabama* and Simms's *Vasconcelos*," *Alabama Review* (July), 199-208.
- WILKINS, WOODROW W., "Coral Gables: 1920's New Town," *Historic Preservation* (January-March), 6-9.
- WILLIAMS, BRADFORD T., "Dr. Thomas P. Gary: Florida Frontier Physician, 1835-1891," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* (August), 644-47.
- YOUNG, GORDON, "The Gulfs Workaday Waterway [including Florida panhandle coastline]," *National Geographic* (February), 200-23.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Awakening of St. Augustine: The Anderson Family and the Oldest City, 1821-1924. By Thomas Graham. (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1978. ix, 289 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$8.00.)

This is both the story of the city and people of St. Augustine during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and an account of the Andrew Andersons, *pere et fils*. The elder Andrew, of Scottish ancestry and a native of New York, came to St. Augustine with his wife and two daughters in 1829. A physician, Anderson would devote his energies almost exclusively to agriculture and commerce until 1839 when, at fifty years of age, he died ministering to victims of a yellow fever epidemic. The younger Andrew, born in the same year as his father's death, studied in Paris, at Princeton, and at New York's College of Physicians and Surgeons, then returned to spend his life promoting the fortunes of both his family and St. Augustine until 1924 when, weighted with many honors and accomplishments, he died in Markland, the family home. The two Andersons depicted here were dominant personalities in St. Augustine during the time period rehearsed in this book. While other works have fastened on the political, military, and ecclesiastical leaders in St. Augustine during the nineteenth century-or on spectacular short-time residents such as Henry Flagler-Dr. Graham has enabled us to see the development of a community through the lives of its most significant family. One is reminded of certain citizens in the various cities of Florida today who, though they may not hold public office, command the respect of all, exercise a salutary leadership through wise counsel, and promote the general welfare by service in numerous civic activities. Such were the Andersons, father and son.

Not every undertaking of the elder Andrew succeeded, but to him must go credit for giving St. Augustine its first significant agricultural and commercial successes in the American period. Beginning with orange groves on twenty acres which he called Markland, Anderson branched out into figs, grapes, peanuts,

beehives, Chinese mulberry trees (in which for a time he greatly prospered); a railroad and canal; and a bank and shipping. All failed in the end, but for reasons that Graham emphasizes again and again: the continued general failure of St. Augustine's economy throughout the century as the result of epidemics, wars, freezes, inaccessibility to ocean-going vessels, other natural impediments to trade, and, it must be said, indolence of the local population.

The younger Andrew came to manhood at a time when St. Augustine was first attracting in large numbers what today are called "tourists" but then were called "strangers." Most of these crowded the town's hotels for health reasons, usually tuberculosis. Graham quotes one hotel resident of the 1850s: "You hear the funereal cough all over the house, and in the parlor they loll at full length on the sofas, and expectorate almost constantly." By the 1870s, however, the visiting winter population had changed, and many came to Florida to escape the northern winters. With the arrival of Flagler in the 1880s and his construction of the Ponce de Leon Hotel (now Flagler College), the winter visitors list represented yet another clientele, that of wealth and sophistication. Dr. Anderson and Flagler were close friends. Graham cites evidence to show that Anderson, as Flagler's personal agent, enjoyed not only the latter's professional confidence and esteem but also his warm friendship. Graham's pages on the Flagler period are, to this reviewer, the most interesting contribution to our knowledge of St. Augustine in the years covered by the volume. As for Anderson's contributions to the city he loved, they are memorialized in part by the bay front statue of Juan Ponce de Leon, which he arranged to have cast from the original in San Juan; the sculptored flagstaff base, which he commissioned, near the east end of the plaza; the two Carrera marble lions, copies from the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, which he commissioned and had placed at the east approach to the Bridge of Lions; and Markland, the impressive family home on King Street, which has been added to the National Register of Historic Places.

Much of the story of St. Augustine and Florida contained in these pages has been told elsewhere. The special merit of this book—and it has many merits—is that the writer was able to use the previously untouched Anderson family papers generously made available to him by Mrs. Clarissa Anderson Gibbs, daughter

of the second Andrew Anderson. The writer has skillfully used these papers as a lens through which to view a 100-year period that had not been pulled together before into a continuous narrative. The rich diversity of sources employed, the scholarly thoroughness of both the narrative and the citations, and the quality of the writing, editing, and production make this volume a significant addition to the shelf of Florida history, as they also mark out Thomas Graham as an important new talent in the field.

University of Florida

MICHAEL V. GANNON

Situacion historica de las Floridas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. By Elena Sanchez-Fabres Mirat. (Madrid: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1977. 330 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography.)

This scholarly study of Florida during the Second Spanish Period (1783-1819), was written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Madrid by Elena Sanchez-Fabres under the supervision of the eminent historian, Mario Hernandez Sanchez-Barba. It was published by the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as part of Spain's contribution to the American Bicentennial. Dr. Sanchez-Fabres of Barcelona is presently on the editorial staff of the Spanish edition of *Scientific American*.

The book deals with the various American efforts to absorb Florida after the Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolution and extended diplomatic recognition to the United States, was signed in 1783. The treaty returned Florida to Spanish control. The United States eventually succeeded in acquiring Florida as Dr. Sanchez-Fabres points out in her last chapter, "The Treaty of Cession of 1819." Florida became an American territory in 1821. Prior to the signing of the Adams-Onis Treaty in 1819, four sections of Spanish Florida had already been annexed by the United States. Except for Amelia Island, this retrenchment of Florida's boundaries occurred mainly in West Florida. A major portion of Dr. Sanchez-Fabres's study deals with the area west of the Suwannee and Apalachicola rivers. The author believes that England's duplicity in preparing two separate versions of the

peace treaty in 1783 set the stage for America's advance into Florida. One treaty would apply if the United States should come into possession of Florida; another, if the territory was to be retroceded to Spain, which indeed is what occurred. The American version would have given much more territory to the United States. As a result, according to Sanchez-Fabres, many Americans believed that they were justified in moving into the territory of a peaceful sovereign power, even one who had rendered invaluable aid to the American cause during the Revolution. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 accelerated the American hunger for more and more territory. Manifest Destiny had become a way of life for many Americans by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

While this study by Sanchez-Fabres does not add much to what Arthur Whitaker and Jack D. L. Holmes have already written, it does detail in excellent fashion the inept and fruitless actions of Spanish authorities who wanted to halt American expansion, or at least to slow it down. The author supplies information about the difficult and often confusing events associated with the Yazoo Strip controversy, that area of land from the thirty-first parallel north to 32° 26' which included the Natchez District. There were perhaps some 45,000 Indians living in Florida-Creeks, Cherokees, Chicachas, and Chapas-at the time. How Spain related to these Indians is explained, along with descriptions of the activities of Pantun, Leslie and Company officials, Alexander McGillivray, William Augustus Bolles, James Wilkinson, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Andrew Jackson, Aaron Burr, General George Matthews, and Gregor McGregor.

The book has many weaknesses. It includes much material and data, but not all of it has been as well synthesized as this reviewer had hoped. Organization is defective, and the style is a bit pedestrian. It is apparent that the author wrote a dissertation, and it was hurried into print so quickly that there was not enough time for proper revision and rewriting. The absence of an index is annoying. A major defect is the lack of maps. A book such as this needs maps for clarification. One should know where forts, military strongholds, Indian villages, etc., were located. With all of these deficiencies, Dr. Sanchez-Fabres has produced a new and vital work which adds to our knowledge and understanding of the

Second Spanish Period in Florida. She supports her writing with much original documentation from the great archives of Spain.

University of South Florida

CHARLES W. ARNADE

Eighteenth-Century Florida: The Impact of the American Revolution. Edited by Samuel Proctor. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1978. xvii, 149 pp. Introduction, symposium participants, notes, illustrations. \$9.00.)

The publication of the proceedings of the Fifth (and last) Annual Bicentennial Symposium sponsored by the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Florida marks the culmination of a celebratory undertaking of truly heroic proportions. The scholarly productivity inspired and supported by the Florida Bicentennial Commission, the reprints, monographs, and papers so efficiently guided from tentative project to final print by Dr. Samuel Proctor, all deserve the highest praise—and through such volumes as this their accomplishment will long be remembered by all who share an interest in the history of Florida.

The essays gathered here fully reflect “the impact of the American Revolution” on eighteenth-century Florida. Professors J. Leitch Wright and J. Barton Starr, whose recent books have thoroughly destroyed the myth that only thirteen American colonies were involved in the internecine conflict, summarize aspects of their larger works. Wright looks at the remarkably varied population of the “loyalist bastion” and remarks upon the benefits the Revolution brought to East Florida: increased numbers, prosperity, and representative government—all to be surrendered at the war’s end. Starr delineates the military fate of West Florida, a colony doomed to foreign conquest, loyal subjects of George III who went down fighting. George C. Rogers’s commentary goes far toward demonstrating the impact of the Bicentennial itself upon modern scholarship, for he discusses the contents of the James Grant papers and the exciting prospects they open for probing yet deeper into Florida colonial history. Robert A. Rutland provides an overview of “the Southern Contribution” to the War for Independence and notes that American

sectionalism was a very real-if unattractive-facet of the revolutionary impact.

Turning from politics to the people themselves, Theodore G. Corbett analyzes the complex structures of East Florida households in the second Spanish period-a fascinating piece of basic research in what might be termed human archeology. Albert Manucy and Thomas G. Ledford demonstrate what marvels of historical information architecture and the lowly potsherd can still disclose, and Anna C. Eberly delves into the intriguing question of "what our Southern frontier women wore." Michael V. Gannon reviews the sad state of religion in late colonial Florida, both British and Spanish, and Kenneth Coleman comments upon some parallels and dissimilarities between Florida and Georgia.

Apart from their particular content, these essays-and the previous four volumes of Symposium papers-possess considerable historiographic interest. They demonstrate that scholarship has advanced significantly in the generation since Cecil Johnson, Clinton Howard, and Charles L. Mowat virtually created the history of the British and Revolutionary period in the Floridas. That advance has penetrated deeply at certain points and widely across the whole long front from St. Augustine to Manchac. As a result, the history of the Floridas can never again be written as it was in the 1940s. Furthermore, these volumes prove that there is a new corps of scholar-enthusiasts at work, brought together in the comradeship of these Bicentennial Symposia, who are outlining the strategy and doing the spade-work for a better, more stimulating, and a far more enlightening history of the colonial period than our respected predecessors even dared dream of. Thanks to the American Revolution Bicentennial, its generals and its shock-troops, there is today new insight, new knowledge, and there are new sources yet to explore. Let us hasten, in the concluding words of Theodore Corbett, to "make the best of this new learning."

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

The Florida Wars. By Virginia Bergman Peters. (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1979. 331 pp. Preface, illustrations, abbreviations, notes, index. \$22.50.)

The author of this book has canvassed the literature of the Second Seminole War effectively. She devotes seventy-seven per cent of the text to retelling the story of that most important of the three Florida Indian wars. She has uncovered a great many interesting new details, and made some significant original generalizations. Her major contribution, in this reviewer's opinion, relates to the role of blacks in the events leading up to the conflict and during the war itself. It was not as much the blacks as the greed of slaveholders which was a primary cause of the war and a primary reason for its duration for seven long years from 1835 to 1842. Ms. Peters establishes this beyond dispute.

Not all of her generalizations concerning the blacks are beyond dispute. There is no evidence to substantiate the degree of miscegenation between red and black which she seems to believe existed. She makes the interesting point that the Battle of Okeechobee, fought on Christmas Day 1837, was the last action in which significant numbers of blacks stood beside their Indian allies. Up to that time Negro men had proved themselves to be as good warriors as the redmen. It has never been clear why the black fighters split away from their Indian allies and became the guides who led the white invaders to hideouts that they could never have found on their own. Peters adds little in that area.

Like every other book written about the Florida Indians in the last fifteen years, this one is sympathetic to the Indians. It is plain that the author regards the Indian fight for their homeland to be as gallant an epic as can be found in the history of the United States. Had the heroes of the conflict been white instead of red, history books would have made as much of this fight as they have, for example, of the battle waged by white Texans to free themselves from Mexican control. The nobility of the Indian's military stand is probably the reason why almost every year during the last decade, a new book has appeared on the subject, whereas for more than a century no historian or writer seemed concerned about this conflict.

The author's treatment of the combat narrative is interesting. Often it contains more detail than I think conveys meaning to an

informed reader. On the other hand she presents useful generalizations. For example, she notes that the Indians would sustain heavy losses, contrary to the slant of their culture, in order to protect their food supply. She ascribes more strategic planning to the red leaders than I think they ever formulated. Also she ascribes to those leaders virtually kingly power, which I do not believe they had. White men found it useful to think of their opponents as great men, so they did such things as fire a one hundred gun salute for Philip, or King Philip as he is known in American literature. This they did when he was being forced to leave his homeland to go west. He died en route to his new home.

Ms. Peters's sympathy for the United States Army is much less than what she shows for the Indians. On p. 119 she refers to the army as the Indians' secret weapon. Also on p. 189 she points out that more than one half of the redmen captured and shipped west were taken not in battle, but while conferring with the commanders, more than once under a flag of truce. She is, however, fair, for she traces the learning process by which the commanders gradually abandoned European forms of warfare and replaced them with methods which enabled them to seek out and destroy small parties of the foe. Also she makes it clear that the ranking officers regretted the plight of their enemy, and thoroughly disliked the task which duty had obliged them to carry out.

There is not much material in this book on the other Florida wars. There are forty-two pages, sixteen per cent of the text, devoted to the First Seminole War, and sixteen pages, seven per cent of the rest to the Third. Since no full history of the Third Seminole War has ever been printed, it is disappointing to find the treatment here so lean.

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON

Sources of American Independence: Selected Manuscripts From the Collections of the William L. Clements Library. Edited by Howard Peckham. 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978. vii, 622 pp. Preface, notes, editors, index. \$20.00.)

Howard Peckham has assembled a good cross-section of ma-

terial from the William L. Clements Library's revolutionary war collections in this two-volume set, which concludes the Clements Library Bicentennial Studies, published with the financial aid of the Lilly Endowment, Inc. *Sources of American Independence* contains eight selections built around particular issues, such as the Huddy-Lippincott affair, or individuals, such as Edmund Quincy or James Ferguson. Peckham, however, leaves the actual editing to individual scholars, and the result is a work of uneven quality, ranging from the exceptionally good to the barely acceptable.

L. Kinvin Wroth's treatment of the proceedings of the court-martial of Captain Richard Lippincott, a loyalist officer who was tried for the murder of New Jersey's Captain Joshua Huddy, is the most accomplished piece in either volume. Wroth provides penetrating analyses of the technical questions of law (especially the crucial one of jurisdiction) as well as of the difficult political and military problems associated with this case, which so clearly demonstrates the vicious nature of the partisan warfare waged in the New York-New Jersey environs.

Arlene Phillips Shy's compilation of the letters of Edmund Quincy, Boston patriot and father-in-law of John Hancock, is a valuable addition to the available knowledge of Massachusetts revolutionaries and highlights the peculiar melange of political radicalism, mercantilism, and Puritanism that marked notable New England patriot leaders. These well-edited letters reflect painstaking scholarship.

The harshness of the constant guerilla warfare is also demonstrated by Hugh Rankin's section on British Major Patrick Ferguson and Robert G. Mitchell's selection of Anthony Wayne and Nathanael Greene's correspondence. The Wayne-Greene letters for 1782 cover the successful American efforts to regain Georgia. Rankin sympathetically introduces selected 1778-1780 correspondence of Ferguson, an innovative officer who commanded regular and loyalist troops in New York and the Carolinas after the capture of Charleston, South Carolina, until his death at King's Mountain on October 7, 1780.

The war in the South receives further attention in William B. Willcox's presentation of the Clinton-Parker feud over British failures at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1776, and Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780. The exchanges between Sir Henry Clinton

and Sir Peter Parker expose the conflicting aims of the British navy and army in North America and their critical lapses of cooperation. The footnotes with General Clinton's marginalia speak volumes about why Britain was defeated in the war.

An anonymous but very informative journal of the Brunswick corps in Canada from November 7, 1776, to July 10, 1777, has been translated and edited by V. C. Hubbs. The journal provides a fascinating account of troop activities in Canada as the Europeans accommodated themselves to frontier duty. But a lack of biographical information limits its usefulness.

Thomas Gage's correspondence with Viscount Barrington, the British secretary at war, recounts the well-known story of British lack of insight into the revolutionary nature of the American rebellion. And John Shy's editorial deletions distort the perception even further by omitting "political trivia and administrative routine." (vol. I, p. 31, n. 1)

British misunderstandings and blundering programs are also quite visible in the policy papers written by William Knox, British undersecretary of state in the American Department, 1770-1782. Leland J. Bellot presents an informative view of Knox, a key person at a critical point in history. Knox's proposals, including his "Considerations on the Great Question, What is Fit to Be Done with America," should be carefully read by anyone seeking an understanding of British aims in the revolutionary era.

Despite the uneven quality of the introductions and the editorial work, Peckham's two volumes offer non-specialists a golden opportunity to appreciate the breadth of experiences during the rebellion, while reminding specialists of the wide range of revolutionary war collections at the Clements Library of the University of Michigan.

Library of Congress

GERARD W. GAWALT

John Ross, Cherokee Chief. By Gary F. Moulton. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978. ix, 282 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$12.00.)

John Ross, described by a Cherokee eulogist as "our greatest chieftain" (p. 195), was not cast in the heroic mold of a Tecumseh

or a Crazy Horse. Slight of build and of relatively small stature, the soft-spoken Ross was descended from the Scots who traded among the Cherokees. A full-blood great-grandmother gave him his only claim to Cherokee ancestry. Although he was born in the heart of the Cherokee Nation in 1790, and lived among them until his death in 1866, he never mastered their language sufficiently to address the Cherokee national councils other than in English. In his only military exploit, he served some months as a second lieutenant with the Cherokee contingent that fought alongside General Andrew Jackson in the Creek War of 1813-1814.

Nevertheless, the full-blood Cherokees came to trust John Ross as they did no other man during his lifetime. He began his political apprenticeship in 1816, was overwhelmingly elected principal chief in 1828, and never afterwards had a serious rival for the post, serving as the true spokesman of the Cherokee majority from the beginning of Andrew Jackson's presidency through that of Abraham Lincoln. The five decades of Ross's service in the Cherokee cause embraced the most famous epoch, and the most critical, in their tragic history, including their remarkable advances of the 1820s, their forced removal in the 1830s, their factional strife during the forties and fifties, and the tribal division during the Civil War.

Throughout his career Ross served his people in a dual capacity, attempting to preserve tribal unity at home on the one hand and to protect tribal interests in Washington on the other. He discovered early that in leading the struggle against removal his efforts were being frustrated as much by disunity among the Cherokee leadership as by the aggressive Georgians and an unrelenting federal government. The chronological narrative clearly reveals this dual role, tracing his movements back and forth between Washington and the Cherokee capital, but a critical breakdown in Cherokee unity was exploited by treaty commissioner John F. Schermerhorn to gain the removal treaty of 1835. The principal chief's strenuous efforts to overturn the treaty very nearly succeeded, keeping him in Washington even as his people were being herded along the Tennessee River for removal to the West. Ross succeeded in securing the contract to conduct the removal, which subsequently gave rise to charges that he profited personally from the Cherokee migration into western exile, but

his biographer could find no concrete evidence in the extant records to substantiate the charges.

Following the removal, the leadership of Ross, "often autocratic and rarely passive" (p. 206), was directed toward the restoration of Cherokee unity, but the depth of bitterness generated by the removal itself, and the factionalism that had contributed to it, precluded a genuine restoration of harmony. Instead, assassinations of pro-removal leaders Boudinot and Ridge widened the gulf between the two factions; internal conflict deepened to a point that approached open warfare, compounded by disputes between the "old settlers" and the more recent arrivals led by Ross; and finally, the opponents of Ross cooperated with the Confederacy during the Civil War, while the faction led by the slave-holding principal chief remained loyal to the Union. The failure of Ross to reunite his people during the post-removal decades was only the crowning disappointment of what was essentially a tragic political career.

The John Ross that emerges in this thoroughly researched and generally well-written political biography is a heroic figure nonetheless, a humane and all too human leader condemned to contend with forces, both from within and from without the Cherokee nation, that no Indian "chieftain," in the circumstances of that epoch could have controlled. The book is an important contribution to the growing body of literature on Indian affairs. Writing with admirable balance and restraint, Moulton displays a sympathy for his subject blended with a scholarly detachment that represents the very best tradition of historical scholarship. If the narrative is less impassioned than some might prefer from such a potentially volatile subject, the solid contribution it makes is more likely to be of enduring value.

University of Georgia

CARL VIPPERMAN

Moral Choices: Memory, Desire, and Imagination in Nineteenth Century American Abolitionism. By Peter Walker. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xxi, 387 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

This is the first draft of a potentially exciting book. Unfortunately, LSU Press determined to go ahead and publish it without requiring the revisions necessary to make the work fulfill its promise. The subject matter and the approach to it are admirable. Peter Walker provides here biographical sketches of six individuals who were involved in abolitionist activities: Moncure Conway, Jane Swisshelm, Frederick Douglass, Henry Wright, Salmon Chase, and Thomas M. Cooley. His stated goal is "answering the question of *why* these people became abolitionists" (p. xv). He believes that the answers will help to enlarge our understanding of the nature of abolitionism. And he properly believes, and occasionally demonstrates, the value of psychological assessments of private lives in revealing the commitments made to end slavery. He is quite successful here in the case of Conway and Swisshelm. His efforts with Wright are less good, but still intriguing. With Chase he skirts disaster and with Cooley he plummets into it. The essay on Douglass provides revealing insights but is more about the black reformer's encounter with what Walker believes was a white's reform movement.

Walker's methodology is imaginative. He subjects autobiographical material to careful literary analysis. He looks thoughtfully at Conway's autobiography and his attempts at fiction and sees in them dialogues with his parents which uncover the source of the young man's decision for abolition. He carefully and insightfully notes the differences between the three revisions of Douglass's autobiography and sees the changes as evidence of Douglass's growing self-understanding. Swisshelm is primarily revealed through the pages of the newspapers she wrote and edited. Wright and Chase are explored through public and private writings, while Cooley is seen through his work *Constitutional Limitations* and with the occasional help of secondary sources.

All these studies suggest that Walker has adopted a position not recently favored by students of abolition—that anyone who became an abolitionist has some serious explaining to do. The

decision to speak out against human bondage is not seen as a natural, normal response of moral people to an actual evil; some turmoil of conscience, some identity crisis, some unusual personal experiences are assumed necessary to provoke a public outcry. Walker's clinging to this view is useful with Conway and Swiss-helm and Wright, but it becomes rather strained with the others, especially Douglass. If an articulate and intelligent escaped slave wasn't a natural abolitionist, who could be?

While Walker's subject matter and approach are commendable, his execution is not. As a careful work of scholarship, this book is not persuasive. Walker's imagination and his writing skills make us want to believe him. His documentation and research efforts keep shouting, "Don't!" His argument too often rests on reading a sentence or two and then blandly asserting, "He as much as said" (p. 349) or "it may be made out to be" (p. 349), or "might be interpreted" (p. 308) or it "may be read" (pp. 260, 309, 339). This rhetorical style is so pervasive that when Walker says of Douglass that a certain piece of evidence "must not be abused in an effort to make it say too much" (p. 246) the reader is tempted to laugh. Also Walker is given to making sweeping statements about the condition of all of nineteenth-century society and then documenting it with two sources which assume but do not prove what Walker says they prove.

Furthermore, Walker's definition of abolitionism is too broad. To call Cooley an abolitionist because he was a Free Soiler, and "must have had abolition's message . . . drummed into his ears," and in 1884 applauded abolitionists is a triumph of imagination over evidence. But Walker is not overly interested in evidence. His research is so half-hearted that he admits to not having seen a 1967 *Journal of American History* article on Cooley until he had finished writing his chapter. He made no use of the Cooley papers or of Alan Jones's excellent dissertation on him. In a work so concerned with personality this is an unpardonable omission.

His footnoting is based on a non-formula known only to himself. Quoted statements stand unnoted, paragraphs pass, whole sections end without notes at times and with them at others. Perhaps some psychological rage, or split, is the explanation.

Walker himself has more explaining to do. The three sections which begin the book are the most extensive, dealing with Con-

way, Swisshelm, and Douglass. Yet we are consistently left feeling that Walker has dropped them too soon, has not carefully assessed the positions he takes, has failed to relate his discussions to his stated goal. The contrast between Conway's willingness to give up the Civil War if the South would give up slavery with Garrison's and Phillips's rejection of this idea assumes without proof, and without serious research, that the latter two were inconsistent. Swisshelm's "abolitionism" in Minnesota seems opportunistic, not moral, and her actual contributions to postwar struggle for equality are not related to her life, but stuck off in a separate chapter. The same fate is provided to public activities of Conway and Douglass in the postwar period. This material should have been incorporated in the earlier ones to reveal the actual dialogue that exists between public and private life. Walker promises to explain the relevance of Karl Polanyi to abolitionism in chapters on Chase and Cooley, but in fact never does so. He ends the book with a page and a half description of Holmes's *Lochner* dissent which Walker apparently believes will produce some epiphany in the reader. In fact, it produces only confusion linked with amazement that Walker has repeated with Holmes the shallow understanding of legal issues that he revealed in discussing Chase and Cooley.

Overall this book is both interesting and frustrating. Walker knows instinctively that the study of history requires imagination. He is venturing in a field where imagination-is imperative and Walker has plenty of it. His next assignment should be to consider carefully the relationship between acts of imagination and the historian's claim to be telling the truth about the past, a truth that is documentable. Then he should rewrite this book using both his fine imagination and his professional training to make his study an effort in imaginative history, not one in which the reader must choose between them. While I admire this book, too often I find that I cannot trust it.

University of Kansas

PHILLIP S. PALUDAN

The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856. By William J. Cooper, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xv, 401 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, prologue, notes, epilogue, appendices, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

For more than a decade, Mr. Cooper has had a place among historians of ability. His *The Conservative Regime: South Carolina, 1877-1890* (1968) is excellent. Now we have the pleasure of studying a more recent book. This time the Cooper range is much wider, the grip on his subject no less firm, and the insight of decided worth to everyone intrigued by the antebellum South.

The author goes into appreciable detail in discussing southern politics from the first triumphant Jackson election through the 1856 presidential contest. There is also some coverage of preliminaries to the 1828 canvass, and of 1856-1860 events; although briefer than other features in the volume, these too make contributions—mainly in connection with perspective. The principal Cooper conclusions are that “the battle for southern votes required the never-ending blaring of the slavery issue” (p. 373), and that southern politicians were “‘dedicated to guarding the interests of the South” (p. 374). If a cynic remarks “What’s new in that?” a justifiable answer is that Professor Cooper’s documentation is at least as thorough and representative as any previously offered.

Cooper, moreover, tells the story in a luminous way. His sentences are trenchant. His paragraphs march. His treatment of men and measures has all the immediacy of their times. On every page, and between the lines as well, there are proofs of months and years of hard digging plus the sandpapering and polishing which make the difference between readability on one hand and slovenly or wooden style on the other.

One of the assets I value most is the manner in which Cooper deals with the works of fellow scholars. Now in notes, now in the text, he refers to their points of view with smoothness and sound sense. Avery Craven, Carl N. Degler, Eugene D. Genovese, and Richard P. McCormick are some he discusses pro and con. Younger ones are likewise there—Chaplain W. Morrison for instance, and Eric Foner, William Freehling, Michael F. Holt, and Joel H. Silbey.

In a particularly useful footnote on p. 53, the author differ-

entiate between opinions of Richard H. Brown and Richard B. Latner on the degree of southern influence in Jackson's White House. Related examples could be mentioned. Cooper explains where he himself stands in controversial zones. And when he disagrees, he does so temperately. Thus specialists and non-specialists are enabled to see Cooper and his predecessors in what he regards as a correct historiographical relationship.

If a demur is in order, it is to the effect that Cooper might have been more careful in providing safeguards for a few statements. One exhibit in this respect appears on p. 88, where he says that after Jackson backed Richard M. Johnson for the vice-presidential nomination in 1836 "never again would southerners rely on assumptions." The context suggests that Cooper may have meant "southern Democrats" instead of "Southerners". Yet the assertion is there. As the author later demonstrates, Southerners did rely on 1848 assumptions *in re* Zachary Taylor.

The South and the Politics of Slavery is especially provocative respecting John Tyler who, Cooper says, "had more influence on southern politics than any other southern politician between Andrew Jackson and the demise of the second party system" (p. 176). While I am not entirely satisfied with two assertions concerning the Compromise of 1850, Cooper's coverage of the topic is far superior to most. Minor caveats are of little importance when a book has such overall quality. It is a delight to praise the Cooper achievement, and to recommend it with enthusiasm.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia. By Todd L. Savitt. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978. 332 pp. Preface, illustrations, graphs, notes, afterword, note on sources, index. \$15.00.)

Medicine and Slavery by Todd Savitt, a University of Florida professor, represents the broadest, deepest, and most perceptive study of its theme that has yet appeared. Earlier treatments have been brief, or localized, or intent on using slave health to prove either the institution's benign or its cruel character, or lacking in an adequate comprehension of antebellum disease and therapy

as understood in their own time or as evaluated from the perspective of current scientific knowledge. For example, the discussion of medicine in Fogel and Engerman's controversial quantitative study of slavery, *Time on the Cross*, Savitt terms (p. 312) "the least statistical part of the book" which "often simply repeats statements from traditional historical and literary sources."

In contrast, Savitt's work possesses many merits. Three perhaps stand out. Foremost is his mastery of setting. His three years of medical school training before shifting to the historical profession and his sophisticated immersion in the sources give Savitt the kind of understanding of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century medicine that prevents his blaming slave-owners invidiously for therapeutic inadequacies shared by everyone, considering the then state of the medical art. Moreover, his knowledge of recent medical research concerned with differences between black and white reactions to a few diseases permits insight from hindsight into slave health. Second, Savitt has exploited every conceivable kind of manuscript and printed primary source pertinent to his theme and region, in all a rich array. These include data from which Savitt seeks, when he can, to quantify trends, always cautioning of risks due to the amount and nature of the evidence. Third, Savitt's interpretive stance deserves commendation. While imbued with human compassion, he has no ideological axe to grind. He fulfills admirably his purpose of revealing, elucidating, explaining.

Except for the first chapter and afterword, where his focus is upon the entire South, Savitt concentrates on Virginia, though maintaining (p. 312) that the situation there "typified conditions throughout the pre-Civil War South." Since the nature of slavery in the frontier South came to differ from that of slavery in Virginia, one might suppose that differences in health dimensions may have developed. Indeed, Savitt recognizes some differences, as in the impact of epidemics. Overall, differences may not have been consequential; nonetheless, a similar study of a frontier South state would be worth making.

The harshness of slavery emerges from the facts presented in Savitt's dispassionate descriptive style. While the major point is that blacks and whites suffered principally from the same diseases, blacks suffered more because of an environment, whether rural or

urban, more conducive to contagion: crowded and dirty, with poor sanitary facilities and a superabundance of rodents and insects. Inadequate clothing led to pneumonia, a scarcity of shoes to worms, which afflicted half of Virginia's blacks at some time during their lives. Diet is hard to evaluate, though it was often inadequate, especially for industrial bondsmen in rural areas. Poor working conditions and punishment added hazards to health.

A few true differences between black and white immunity and susceptibility to diseases have come to be recognized by modern medicine. Perhaps twenty-two per cent of Africans brought to the United States possessed genetic blood defects which, while threatening sickle cell disease, provided protection from the most severe form of malaria. Blacks also possessed a higher tolerance to heat, preserving electrolytes better than whites, and a greater resistance to the yellow fever virus. On the other hand, blacks had less racial immunity than whites to miliary tuberculosis and had a greater tendency to lactase deficiency. Some of these differences were observed during slavery days. Observing them, slavery apologists "capitalized on these conditions to illustrate the inferiority of blacks to whites, to rationalize the use of this 'less fit' racial group as slaves, to justify subjecting Negro slaves to harsh working conditions in extreme dampness and heat in the malarious regions of the South, and to prove to their critics that they recognized the special medical weaknesses of blacks and took these failings into account when providing for their human chattel" (p. 17).

Slaveowners called the tune on treatment, although slaves sought to pursue an alternate therapeutic course by means of self-dosage and conjure doctors. Compassion, concern over cost, fear about the loss of valuable property were among the motives of slaveowners when deciding to give up on their own ministrations and call a doctor. Some contract practice occurred on plantations and in industries employing slaves and free blacks. Therapy differed little as between whites and blacks, although physicians felt freer to try bolder and more experimental procedures on blacks. Medical journal articles reporting such experiments often displayed a callous, flippant, racist tone. The most important medical experiment employing slaves conducted in Virginia was not carried out by a physician but by a President of

the United States, Thomas Jefferson. “. . . [F]ew people today,” says Savitt, “recognize the significant role that blacks played in the introduction and acceptance of vaccination in America” (p. 297).

Emory University

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

Life and Labor on Argyle Island: Letters and Documents of a Savannah River Rice Plantation, 1833-1867. Edited by James M. Clifton. (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1978. xlvii, 365 pp. Introduction, notes, illustrations, maps. \$30.00.)

Within the broad expanse of the South's Cotton Kingdom lay a relatively small province devoted to the culture of rice. Although limited in size, the southern rice region produced abundantly and supported some of the wealthiest and most influential families in the antebellum South. In *Life and Labor on Argyle Island*, editor James M. Clifton and The Beehive Press offer a case study in rice planting by presenting in print materials relating to Gowrie plantation.

Located on Argyle Island in the Savannah River, a short distance above the city of Savannah, Gowrie remained in control of the Manigault family of South Carolina for two generations. Charles Manigault purchased the plantation in 1833, and he and his son, Louis, operated it continuously, either directly or through overseers, through the Civil War era. Editor Clifton terms the records of Gowrie “the most complete surviving records for any rice plantation.” These records include plantation journals, letters, slave lists, overseer contracts and instructions—about 3,000 manuscript pages in all. From this raw material the reader may acquire a rather detailed understanding of the human and economic factors involved in rice planting.

Of interest, for example, are the contrasts between the culture of rice and that of other staple crops. For efficient production in volume, rice required warm climate and fresh water flooding. Because of these factors, rice planters were most successful when they located their fields along southern rivers with strong tidal flows at points near enough to the coast to take advantage of tidal movement, yet far enough from the coast to avoid salt water. The

rice-growing region was thus confined to a narrow strip of bottom land extending from the Cape Fear River southward. Rice flourished, but people fared less well in what was then an unhealthy human environment. Thus, rice planters were often absentee owners during most of the year, and the labor force of slaves required regular augmentation from outside the rice-growing region to maintain stable numbers. Rice demanded some of the hardest labor of any crop and also some of the most skillful attention. Consequently, overseers on rice plantations were severely challenged, and the regimen of slavery was often harsh in circumstances similar to those in sugar-producing regions.

Editor Clifton's thirty-nine page introduction is quite adequate. His research on Gowrie, rice, and the Manigaults is especially good. An index would have improved the book considerably. Nevertheless, for the publication of *Life and Labor on Argyle Island*, Beehive Press deserves thanks and praise from southern historians and interested regional readers.

University of Georgia

EMORY M. THOMAS

After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism. By Paul D. Escott. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978. xiv, 295 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Professor Escott has made a significant study of Confederate nationalism during the presidency of Jefferson Davis. In its scope it supersedes Owsley's *State Rights in the Confederacy*. After discussing Davis's very good preparation to serve as President, the author describes the forces before 1861 that made the attainment of Confederate unity very doubtful, among which was the existence of a large minority (possibly even a majority) of Southerners opposed to secession. Davis's task of achieving national unity, therefore, seems almost insuperable, and despite his superior intelligence, strong will, and devotion to the Confederacy he was not the man to do it. His task was rendered more difficult by the lack of a strong cabinet and, extremely important, the frustrations with a Congress composed predominantly of selfish men who placed their own interest and that of their states above the

national welfare. Unfortunately, he did not have the political art to lead them or the charisma to gain the enthusiastic support of the people in the last three years of the war. Escott thinks, and this reviewer agrees, that Davis's fatal error was his neglect of the home front, which led, he maintains, to "The Quiet Rebellion of the Common People." This view is certainly not new, but is forcibly expressed. Although this neglect was true, the author does not take sufficiently into account the theory of laissez-faire widely held in the South and by Davis himself. The President was so absorbed in the desperate task of defending the country, that he had little time or energy to devote to vital economic affairs. Moreover, it was his belief, and that of the leading members of the Confederacy, that it was the duty of the states and counties, and not of the central government, to provide relief for the needs of the people. Such relief as was provided was haphazard and poorly organized.

Davis has been too harshly blamed for many things that went wrong. Inexperienced in devising the first military draft in American history, he and Congress made serious errors in drafting skilled workers needed to keep the economy of the Confederacy going, and, even more so, in the exemption policy, especially in not exempting men needed on small farms to support dependent families. Davis cannot be faulted, however, for the failure of the Confederate Congress to adopt a realistic policy of taxation, but neither he nor Congress made any adequate effort to control inflation, so devastating to the common people. All these factors, fully as much as exaggerated state rights, tremendously lessened the morale of the people and militated against the development of a strong feeling of nationality.

The author makes a good point, in discussing the ideology of the Confederacy, that Davis at first stressed the likeness between the Confederate government and the United States, but later changed to differentiating the Confederates from the Northerners by emphasizing the northern atrocities. He describes the bitter opposition of the planters to following Davis's lead in a policy of drafting slaves. In his last chapter, the author's assessment of Davis as a political leader is intelligent and fair-minded, resisting the tendency of modern scholars to be over-critical of the Confederate President because he was a loser, while failing to take account of the enormous difficulties against which he had to

contend, without the loyal support of an able Congress, or of many of the governors, or the existence of a strong sentiment for nationality among the people. It is time to recognize the notable virtues as well as the faults of Jefferson Davis, even if he and his people were losers.

University of Kentucky

CLEMENT EATON

Freedmen and the Ideology of Free Labor: Louisiana, 1862-1865.

By William F. Messner. (Lafayette: Center For Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1978. xii, 206 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$6.00 paper.)

The author describes the influence of ideology on the implementation of projects for using blacks in aid of the Union Civil War effort. Specifically, he examines the contraband programs carried out by the Union army in Louisiana for evidence of the practical implementation, or lack thereof, of national policy. Messner explains that the military's use of freedmen for plantation labor and the efforts to educate them reflected not only the perception by whites of their needs but a consideration of what they believed was best for the freedmen. He also asserts that the evolution of the policy of using blacks for military service was a means of developing discipline and control in blacks which the Unionists believed was necessary if freedmen were to become productive free laborers. His concern is with the motivation and actions of whites toward blacks and not the actions or reactions of blacks.

Much of Messner's description of black labor policy instituted by the army and the treasury department has been examined elsewhere in Louis Gerteis's *From Contraband to Freedmen* and other works, but he extends the labor discussion with much useful detail. His discussion of the organization and use of the Native Guards and the Corps d'Afrique has been previously described by Peter Ripley in a recent book, by John Blassingame in a series of articles, and by the present reviewer and other students in a series of M.A. theses done at Howard University in the 1960s. None of the theses and only one of the Blassingame articles is cited in the footnotes or bibliography. But Messner has examined the ap-

propriate primary materials used by other scholars in Record Group 94 in the National Archives, as well as manuscript collections elsewhere, in elaborating the motives of policymakers in Louisiana.

The author asserts that historians have largely neglected the limitations imposed by the ideology of free labor in federal reconstruction efforts while complaining about the racism and conservatism of Union officials. He believes that "If these men failed to achieve an effective emancipation of Louisiana blacks, then, the primary reason for their failure lies not in their flawed character, but rather in the fact that the ideology of free labor limited even the most liberal of men to policies which were pathetically unsuited to meet the needs of a population held as a chattel for over two centuries" (p. 186). Messner believes that a publicly financed communitarian economic effort was the best possible option for blacks after the war. But neither federal officials nor their critics in Louisiana seriously considered such an unprecedented notion. He asserts that the ideology of free labor, reliance upon oneself and one's own labor, may have been valid in an earlier period, but social and economic mobility was not an avenue of advancement anymore for blacks or whites. But policymakers trapped by their own traditions, beliefs, and history insisted on this for blacks.

It is not altogether clear what Messner means by the invalidity of the ideology of free labor. Also, it is no more disingenuous intellectually for scholars to blame the absence of policies to advance blacks economically on racism than it is to blame the absence on support of a free labor ideology, especially when Messner's own research proves that policymakers did have negative racial attitudes toward blacks, and that policymakers did believe in the free labor ideology. Perhaps their failure to adopt communitarian solutions stemmed from racism *and* free labor ideology *and* something else, or perhaps from simply not thinking of communitarianism. He offers no evidence that anyone ever thought of such a solution. In any case, even without the overlay of a free labor ideology thesis, Messner has provided us with a carefully detailed history of Union policy implementation toward blacks in Louisiana.

Amelia Gayle Gorgas: A Biography. By Mary Tabb Johnston and Elizabeth Johnston Libscomb. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1978. xiv, 168 pp. Genealogy, preface, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$11.50.)

Amelia Gayle Gorgas was the daughter of John Gayle (1792-1859), who was governor of Alabama from 1831 to 1835. She was also the wife of Confederate General Josiah Gorgas (1818-1883), himself the subject of a 1952 biography by Frank Vandiver, and the mother of William Crawford Gorgas (1854-1920), famed as the eradicator of yellow fever in Cuba and Panama and surgeon-general of the United States Army during World War I.

It is perhaps unjust (and in these days possibly dangerous) to define a woman in terms of the men in her life, but, when all is said and done, Amelia Gayle Gorgas is hardly deserving of a biography in her own right. Born in 1826, she was too young to be involved with her father's terms as governor. When he went to Congress in 1847, she accompanied him to Washington where she was "kissed by the great Senator Clay" and then teasingly warned by John C. Calhoun, "Amelia, don't put your trust in that old man" (p. 16). In 1853 she married Josiah Gorgas, then a young army officer. For the next thirty years her life was swallowed up in his.

Until 1861 the couple moved from one military post to another. The Gorgases spent most of the Civil War in Richmond where Josiah was chief of ordnance for the Confederate Army. After the war he sought unsuccessfully to make a living in the iron business. In 1868 he secured a position at the University of the South where, in 1872, he became vice-chancellor. In 1877 he was forced out of this position, and in the following year he became president of the University of Alabama.

Failing health forced Gorgas to resign the presidency in 1879. The University trustees then appointed him librarian and named his wife hospital matron. As Gorgas's health continued to fail, Mrs. Gorgas assumed the duties of librarian. After his death in May 1883, she became the University librarian, a post she filled admirably until she retired in 1907. She died six years later. She became something of an institution among students in Tuscaloosa, and in 1925 the University library was named for her.

The Gayle and Gorgas families left a large collection of

manuscripts which became the basis for this book. It is clear from these documents that Amelia Gorgas was not the frail, fair, fragile flower of mythical southern womanhood, but a partner whose opinions and intelligence were respected by her husband. Mrs. Gorgas was, as the dust-jacket writers claim, "a most attractive and appealing person indeed," as well as a very intelligent observer of the world in which she lived.

Too much of the book, however, consists of excerpts from letters and diaries in which Mrs. Gorgas describes her world. One cannot escape a strong feeling that this book was published by the University of Alabama Press largely because of Mrs. Gorgas's association with the University. Many of the quoted letters contain fascinating glimpses of the world in which Mrs. Gorgas moved and of the people she knew. For this reason, it probably would have been far better to have edited and published her letters rather than stringing excerpts from them together and calling the result a biography.

Valdosta State College

RICHARD M. MCMURRY

Strangers Within the Gate City: The Jews of Atlanta, 1845-1915.

By Steven Hertzberg. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1978. 325 pp. Introduction, maps, tables, illustrations, epilogue, appendices, selected bibliography, notes, index. \$12.00.)

In his introduction, Steven Hertzberg promises the reader an in-depth analysis and description of the Jewish experience in Atlanta, beginning with the arrival of Jacob Haas and Henry Levi in the 1840s, and concluding with the lynching of Leo Frank in 1915. The reader, however, will be disappointed if he expects a stirring human drama of impoverished immigrants escaping from persecution and economic hardship in quest of a higher quality of life. Nor will he find a rich personal story of the immigrants' responses to the daily confrontation between the old world which they imported and the new world which they found, for Hertzberg's "new social history" is a quantitative account. He is far more concerned with statistical percentages and numbers of Jewish communal and economic growth and movement than he

is with the daily lives of the Jews themselves. We read about parameters of geographic persistence, structures of economic mobility, demographic patterns, and population cohorts. Little attention is paid to the human side of the Jews within the statistical tables and figure plates. Outside the tables the prominent Jews are little more than names associated with the institutional development of the Jewish community. As for the average Jew, he is ignored and remains anonymous.

Because the data utilized by Hertzberg is concentrated essentially in the 1870 and 1880 federal censuses, as well as in the 1896 Atlanta city census, the story of Atlanta's Jewry receives an uneven treatment. In the opening chapters, Hertzberg's rush to deal with his cache of census data caused him to treat the Jews in Atlanta between 1845 and 1870 in a cursory manner. Indeed, his discussions of Atlanta, Georgia, and the South for the period are given a preeminent position while the Jews are treated as little more than a string of paragraph-length biographical sketches. Never really trying to "flesh out" these pioneering Jews, his attempts to understand their activities and motives are, on two accounts, valiant but futile. First, Hertzberg offers up these Jews too frequently as perfect examples of conclusions reached in other communal, regional, and national studies, few of which took into account Atlanta's Jewry if they considered southern Jewry at all. It is a technique Hertzberg utilizes throughout the book with equally questionable results. Second, Hertzberg is so mesmerized by the data for the post-Civil War period that he ignores the vast document collections that would have provided vital information and penetrating insights into the social, economic, and personal lives of Atlanta's early Jewry.

It is in the period between 1870 and 1896 that Hertzberg concentrates his efforts. Unfortunately, his impressive and valuable statistical analysis of the Jewish community's social and economic profile is hurt by the periodic inundation of confusing and unnecessary verbalization of the statistical tables isolated at the end of the book. Equally important is Hertzberg's discussion of the institutional history of the Jewish community in which he describes Atlanta's reform movement, the establishment of the congregation, the development of Jewish service organizations, and the attitudes that appeared to influence the relationships among the Jews, blacks, and white gentiles. What could have been

an exciting tale, however, is marred by a dry and stiff prose void of color, dimension, sensitivity, and feeling for both the period and the people.

Hertzberg's story begins to fade rapidly after 1900 because of the thinning out of his cherished statistical data: thirty-five of the thirty-nine statistical tables and ten of the twelve figures plates deal with the pre-1900 era. The study concludes with a short "tag along" chapter on the Leo Frank case. It seems the chapter was included because it would have been sacrilege to have omitted Leo Frank in any study of Atlanta's Jewry. In any case, the chapter is little more than meaningless paraphrasing of Leonard Dinnerstein's study.

Hertzberg's book is hardly more than a dissertation hurriedly published. The organization is disjointed with ill-fitting chapters. The footnoting is confused, and the thirteen-page "selected" bibliography is padded. One can excuse Hertzberg for writing an uneven dissertation that took advantage of readily accessible material. One can even excuse his self-promotion by claiming to be using for the first time hitherto ignored records-census, city directories, naturalization papers, etc.-even though such a claim might raise a few eyebrows among historians who have been utilizing these types of records for some time. These technical flaws should have been eliminated in the transition from an imbalanced dissertation to a polished scholarly monograph. It is equally inexcusable that Hertzberg had ignored the 1900 federal census with its wealth of data which had become available for statistical use long before his study had entered the publication process. It would seem that professional considerations would have demanded that he incorporate this new data into his study as a strengthening complement to the admittedly inadequate 1896 Atlanta city census, even at the cost of delaying publication.

It is a shame that Hertzberg did not engage in the additional necessary research, extensive reorganization, and rewriting that would have combined the cold statistics of what the Jews did with the warm heritage of who they were. Hertzberg has at his fingertips the material to write a "southern" version of Irving Howe's *World of Our Fathers*. Such a book would indeed have been a pathbreaking model study. As the book is, Hertzberg provides a skeleton into which one can hope that someday someone will breathe life. Until that time, the Jews of Atlanta between

1845 and 1915 are strangers not only in the Gate City, but in Hertzberg's book as well.

Valdosta State College

LOUIS E. SCHMIER

The Sacred Harp: A Tradition and Its Music. By Buell E. Cobb, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978. ix, 245 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendices, selected bibliography, notes, index. \$10.00.)

Numerous singing schools developed in New England during the late eighteenth century and in the southern United States during the early nineteenth century. To aid the teaching and singing of this musical tradition, which was mostly sacred music, many music books were published, some using musical note heads of various shapes (called shape notes or "buckwheat" notes), thereby enabling musically illiterate peoples to read the notes. One of the most interesting of these early publications was entitled *The Sacred Harp*, compiled in 1844 by B. F. White, and E. J. King. This more recent study, by Professor Cobb, attempts to introduce this rich American musical tradition to those unfamiliar with it, as well as to pay tribute to those who were the creative sources, and those who have embellished and continued the tradition through the years. Mr. Cobb includes numerous anecdotes and comments from carriers of the tradition, both young and old, which make his book lively and enjoyable for those interested in southern folkways. He states that his "interest in the music is less with the printed form than with the music as rendered, the living tradition" (p. viii).

Although Cobb also states in his preface that a technical analysis of the music is not given in any depth, he does attempt to discuss it in Chapter 2, "The Music." Unfortunately, this chapter is weak. He begins, for example, by explaining how the Sacred Harp singers do not approve of the term "folk music" to describe their singing, yet he continues to apply it without really understanding the term (the *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, VII, p. 6, 1955, defines the term as follows: "Folk music is music that has been submitted to the process of oral transmission. It is the product of evolution and is de-

pendent on the circumstances of continuity, variation, and selection"). References are made to historical evidence for what he calls "dancelike melodies" (p. 31) in *The Sacred Harp*, yet no sources are given. In tracing historical sources, numerous song titles of old folk songs that are melodically similar to Sacred Harp songs are mentioned, yet no comparative melodic notations are provided, leaving the musically knowledgeable reader unconvinced. Although forty-one Sacred Harp songs are included in Appendix B, many of those discussed in detail in Chapter 2 are not included in the appendix. One tune, "Greenwich," is even mentioned as being included in the appendix, but is, in fact, not. The author's use of musical terminology is often wrong, such as his reference to "'gapped' modal scales (bare of chromaticism)" on p. 32. He also says that "gapped modal, scales" are "a recurring characteristic of primitive music." Such generalizations reveal Mr. Cobb's unfamiliarity with the music of preindustrial cultures. However, the author often quotes such famous music scholars as George Pullen Jackson, Charles Seeger, and Irving Lowens, who use their terms correctly.

Another shortcoming, especially for the nonmusician reader, is the lack of definitions throughout the book. The term "Sacred Harp," for example, is never really adequately defined. Definitions are also needed for such words as hymn, fusing song, and revival spiritual (p. 22), quartal (p. 35), pitcher, keyer, and leader (p. 55-are these interchangeable?), and many more. The musician would benefit by the inclusion of descriptive notations (notations of the music showing as precisely as possible how it was sung). On p. 43, for example, the author discusses how black singers create blue notes (a microtonal bending of a pitch). A descriptive transcription of a performance employing blue notes, compared to an original notation of the same passage from *The Sacred Harp*, would be much clearer than words (certainly the material in Chapter 2 is intended for readers with a knowledge of music, considering the many musical terms used, and descriptive musical notations would be appropriate), and a recording would be even better. In spite of these deficiencies in musical analysis, the singer's comments themselves are important in understanding the Sacred Harp tradition within its own cultural context.

The great value of the book is in its historical presentation. Much of the author's information is based on oral history, pro-

viding many new data concerning the Sacred Harp tradition. Of importance to the folklorist is Appendix A, which provides a list of performance of the *Sacred Harp* today in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, New Jersey, Tennessee, and Texas. Florida folklorists will be pleased and perhaps surprised to know that the *Sacred Harp* continues to be performed forty-one times a year in the Sunshine State.

This book is highly recommended for historians and others interested in southern traditions, with a great word of caution regarding Chapter 2. To understand the Sacred Harp tradition better, one should supplement this book with various chapters from Gilbert Chase's book *America's Music, From the Pilgrims to the Present*. The music, however, is best understood by carefully listening to live performances, or to recordings of the *Sacred Harp* (a discography would have been an appropriate inclusion in an appendix).

Florida State University

DALE A. OLSEN

BOOK NOTES

A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America by John Pope is the twenty-fifth volume and the last in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series published by the University of Florida Press under the sponsorship of the Bicentennial Commission of Florida. The series began in 1971, and it includes volumes covering all facets of the economic, political, military, and social history of Florida from the colonial period to the twentieth century. A group of distinguished Florida and American historians were selected by Dr. Samuel Proctor, general editor, to write an introduction to each volume. An index to the introduction and to the original volume, if it did not already include one, was also prepared. The editor of this final volume in the series, Pope's *Tour*, was J. Barton Starr of Troy State University at Fort Rucker, Alabama. Colonel John Pope of Virginia toured the "southern and western territories of the United States" in 1790, when the lands west of the mountains to the Mississippi were being opened for settlement. Pope went south from Pittsburgh and Louisville to New Orleans, and from there to West Florida. His journal, published in 1792, provides information on Pensacola and its inhabitants, the trading firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, and Alexander McGillivray, the Creek Indian chief. Pope also tried to visit East Florida, but the Spanish refused to allow his ship to enter the St. Johns River. Professor Starr's interpretive essay includes biographical data on Pope. This facsimile sells for \$6.50.

Catholics of Marion County is by Jane Quinn, also the author of a study of the Minorcans of St. Augustine. Catholic masses were recited in north-central Florida as early as the sixteenth century by the Spanish, but the formation of a Catholic congregation had to wait until the area was settled during the territorial period after 1821. A handful of Catholic settlers moved in before the Civil War, but Miss Quinn notes that it was not until 1883 that the chapel of St. Philip Neri was blessed. Ten years later there was a resident pastor in Ocala. Some 200 Italians were brought into Welshton in 1885 to grow grapes, and

they built a small wood chapel and started a congregation. An appendix lists the large number of Catholics now in Marion County. Many leading citizens of the community are registered in Blessed Trinity Parish. The book, which sells for \$5.00, may be ordered from Blessed Trinity Church, 5 S.E. 17th Street, Ocala, Florida 32670.

British West Florida, 1763-1783, by Cecil Johnson, was first published in 1942, and was long considered the best study of that area west of the Apalachicola River to the Mississippi, acquired by England after the French and Indian War. Professor Johnson used documents in the Public Record Office at London and in various American collections, particularly the state archives of Mississippi and Alabama, to develop his study. The Gage Papers, which had only recently been made available in the Clement Library at the University of Michigan, and the Carleton Papers, then in the possession of Colonial Williamsburg, provided the basis for his military sections. Somewhat outdated now as a result of more recent research and writing, it still stands as a very useful volume. Archon Books (Shoe String Press), Hamden, Connecticut, has reissued it; the price is \$8.00.

Fort Zachary Taylor is an illustrated history of this famous Key West fortification. Construction began in 1845, but because of hurricanes, yellow fever, labor problems, and a shortage of materials, the fort was still unfinished when the Civil War began in 1861. It was manned, however, by Federal forces throughout the war. It has been called "Osceola Battery" by Key Westers since 1898, when a two-gun battery of twelve-inch rifles was added. World War II brought anti-aircraft guns. There was no natural supply of fresh water in Key West, and cisterns were built at the fort to collect rain water. There was always the question of whether, during time of war, ships would be able to bring in additional water. In 1861 a small plant for distillation of seawater into drinking water, some 7,000 gallons of fresh water per day, was put into operation. *Fort Zachary Taylor* is by Howard S. England in collaboration with Ida Barron. It may be ordered from Mr. England, 2801 Flagler Avenue, Key West, Florida 33040, and the price is \$3.50.

The Fabulous Finn, the Autobiography of Victor Nurmi was written in collaboration with August Burghard of Fort Lauderdale. The latter is a well-known author whose books, including *Checked Sunshine: The History of Fort Lauderdale*, have been reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Mr. Nurmi, a native of Finland, lives on Fort Lauderdale's Nurmi Isles which he developed. He first started coming to Florida in 1929 as a winter visitor, and then began purchasing property in the Fort Lauderdale area in 1944. Many of the photographs in the book showing the early days are from Mr. Nurmi's personal collection. The book may be ordered from August Burghard, Box 1107, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33339. The price is \$2.00.

The Ghost Towns & Side Roads of Florida is the combined and updated edition of two earlier books by James R. Warnke. He describes different kinds of ghost towns: communities that once flourished but have now disappeared with hardly a trace to show where buildings once stood; once large and prosperous communities which have dwindled over the years into small crossroad settlements; and places which were never more than stops for railroads to take on water and firewood. Included are Magnolia on the St. Marks River, established in 1827 by settlers from Maine; Port Leon on Apalache Bay, which was completely destroyed by a hurricane and tidal wave in 1843; and Old Troy and New Troy on the Suwannee River. Confederate deserters in 1865 burned every building in Old Troy, and it was never rebuilt. Neither was the community on Indian Key, destroyed by the Indians during the Second Seminole War. Pine Level in the Manatee region once had a courthouse, jail, two churches, stores, saloons, and a number of homes, but all have disappeared as population shifted elsewhere. Many pictures, including several color photographs, are included. It was published by Roving Photographers & Assoc., Inc., Boynton Beach, Florida. This book sells for \$5.95.

Lost Treasure of Florida's Gulf Coast, by L. Frank Hudson and Gordon R. Prescott, is designed to meet the curiosity of treasure hunters. It includes some of the folklore and mythology that has grown up over the years relating to pirates and treasure

allegedly hidden in Florida. Published by Great Outdoors Publishing Company, St. Petersburg, it sells for \$1.95.

Many associate John Muir, the great naturalist, only with the western part of the United States. Details about his two Florida journeys have not been widely examined. Muir first came to Florida in 1867 as part of a thousand-mile journey that he was making from Louisville, Kentucky, to Florida. He walked along the railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Key and kept a journal that was later published under the title, *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf*. Muir returned to Florida in 1898, visiting some of the people and returning to places that he had seen on his first trip. The Florida visits are described in *Son of the Wilderness: The Life of John Muir* by Linnie Marsh Wolfe. First published in 1945, this study is republished by the University of Wisconsin Press, Madison. It sells for \$6.95. *Son of the Wilderness* received the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1946.

Florida Statistical Abstract 78 includes statistical data on population, education, income, geography, climate, agriculture, construction, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, tourism and recreation, education, cultural services, communication, power and energy, vital statistics and health, courts and law enforcement, government and elections, and other pertinent facts about Florida. There is a section dealing with the quality of life, with data on community living conditions, personal achievements, and environmental factors. A guide to the sources on statistics is provided, along with a detailed index and many maps. The *Abstract* was published by the University Presses of Florida for the Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of Florida. Ralph P. Thompson is editor. The paper edition sells for \$10.75.

Florida by Paddle and Pack, by Mike Toner and Pat Toner, includes a description of forty-five wilderness trails in central and south Florida with accompanying historical data. There is also practical information on how to treat blisters and ways to ward off mosquitos. Pictures and a number of maps add to the usefulness of this volume. Published by Banyan Books, Miami, this attractive paperback sells for \$5.95.

Directory of State and Local History Periodicals, compiled by Milton Crouch and Hans Raum, was published by the American Library Association, Chicago, Illinois. It sells for \$5.50. The Florida section lists twelve publications, including the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and notes that the *Quarterly* is indexed in *Writings of American History*, *Historical Abstracts*, and *America: History and Life*.

Bell Irvin Wiley's *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (published first in 1943), and *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (1952) have become Civil War classics. They were hailed when they first appeared as the best accounts of Civil War soldiers, and the reputations of these fine studies have not diminished. Professor Wiley used letters, diaries, newspaper accounts, and official records to tell the day-to-day lives of the men who suffered from homesickness, malnutrition, diarrhea, exposure, and wounds and illnesses for which there were often too few remedies or none at all. These two volumes have been reissued by Louisiana State University Press, and they sell for \$7.95 each.

The Gulf Specimen Company of Panacea, Florida, has published its Number Five catalogue which lists fish and marinelife of the Gulf of Mexico. The guide sells for \$2.00, and may be ordered from the Company, Box 237, Panacea, 32346.

The American Association for State and Local History publishes books relating to all aspects of historical preservation, conservation, and interpretation. A recent study, *Re-creating the Historic House Interior*, by William Seale, discusses the restoration of older house interiors to authentic period environments. It covers many topics, from making architectural decisions to judgments about lighting, floors, walls, windows, textiles, upholstery, and furnishings. There are more than 100 photos of recreated settings, many of which are in color. The book sells for \$20.00, \$16.00 to AASLH members.

Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings, by Rudy J. Favretti and Joy Putman Favretti, is another of the American Association for State and Local History publications. It is de-

scribed as a handbook for reproducing and recreating authentic landscape settings, and it is directed primarily to house museums and other buildings of historical significance. There is also information for private homeowners, horticulturalists, and others interested in creating period garden settings. Besides drawings, prints, and photographs, there is a list of more than 2,100 plants and flowers grown in early American gardens. There is also a useful bibliography. *Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings* is a paperback, and it sells for \$10.00, \$7.50 to AASLH members.

A number of children's books about Florida have recently appeared. These include *Shark Lady, The Adventures of Eugenie Clark*, by Ann McGovern (Four Winds Press, New York City. \$6.95). *Alligators and Crocodiles* (revised edition) is by Herbert S. Zim with illustrations by Gene Zallinger (William Morrow and Company, New York. \$5.71). *Dolly the Dolphin*, by Margaret Gay Malone, is illustrated with photographs (Julian Messner, New York. \$7.29). *Wonders of Crows* is by Wyatt Blassingame of Anna Maria, Florida, one of our best-known writers of books for young readers (Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, \$5.95). *Florida: The New Enchantment of America*, by Allan Carpenter, is an updated edition of the book first published in 1965. (Childrens Press, Chicago. \$7.95). *Time for the White Egret* is by Natalie Savage Carlson and was illustrated by Charles Robinson (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$7.95).

Since so many of the early Florida settlers came from South Carolina, there has been a special attachment among the citizens of the two states. The relationship was spawned in the bloody battles between the Spanish in Florida and the British in South Carolina and between the Indians living in the two areas. During the American Revolution, St. Augustine became a haven of refuge for South Carolina loyalists, and a group of captured American patriots were imprisoned there. Many of the settlers who moved into territorial Florida after 1821 were South Carolinians. *South Carolina: A Synoptic History for Laymen* is based upon a series of lectures made by Dr. Lewis P. Jones. First published in 1971, the revised edition is now available from the Sandlapper Store, Inc., Box 841, Lexington, South Carolina 29072. The price is \$7.95.

The Rise of Rawlins Lowndes, 1721-1800, by Carl J. Vipperman, is a "rags-to-riches" story of one of South Carolina's important eighteenth-century personalities. He served as governing officer of South Carolina during the American Revolution, and later became the state's leading opponent of the ratification of the Constitution. This volume was published by the University of South Carolina Press for its *Tricentennial Studies* series. It sells for \$14.95.

Blues from the Delta, a study of southern black music by William Farris, was written first as a dissertation and parts were published in 1970. An enlarged and illustrated edition, which sells for \$4.95, is now available from Anchor Press/Doubleday, Garden City, New York.

To a Dark Moon is a collection of poems by Michael O'Brien of Tampa. He is the namesake and great-nephew of one of Henry B. Plant's associates in the development of the Plant System. The volume was published by Valkyrie Press, Inc., St. Petersburg 33712, and it sells for \$3.95.

HISTORY NEWS

1980 Annual Meeting

Dr. Thomas Graham, Flagler College (Box 1027, St. Augustine, Florida 32084), and Dr. Glenn Westfall (Hillsborough Community College, Box 22127, Tampa, Florida 33622), are program chairmen for the seventy-eighth meeting of the Florida Historical Society to be held in Winter Park, May 2-3, 1980. They invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them immediately. Papers dealing with any aspect of the political, economic, social, intellectual, and military history of Florida will be considered. The program chairmen are particularly interested in papers dealing with women, blacks, and ethnic groups in Florida history, preservation, tourism, and Florida's economic and business history.

The Langford Hotel has been selected as the convention hotel. Dr. Paul W. Wehr, University of Central Florida, and Jean Yothers, Orange County Historical Museum, are in charge of local arrangements. The Orange County Historical Society, the University of Central Florida, Rollins College, Seminole Community College, and Valencia Community College will be the host organizations. The Florida Confederation of Historical Societies will be holding a workshop on Wednesday evening, April 30, and Thursday, May 1, 1980, at the time of the annual meeting. The workshop participants will also be meeting at the Langford. Dr. Robert C. Harris, Pinellas County Historical Museum (Heritage Park, Largo, Florida 33540), is in charge of workshop planning.

Awards

Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, professor of history and chairman of the Department of History, University of Central Florida, received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1978-1979 for his article, "Florida and the Black Migration," which appeared in the January 1979 number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The prize is given annually for the best article ap-

pearing in the *Quarterly* and is presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. Dr. Shofner, president of the Florida Historical Society, also received the Thompson Prize in 1967, 1969, and 1977. The judges for this year's award were Arva Moore Parks, Coral Gables; Dr. George Pearce, University of West Florida; and Dr. Thomas Graham, Flagler College. The award honors the late Dr. Arthur W. Thompson, professor of history at the University of Florida and a recognized scholar in Florida, Southern, and American history. The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville.

Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography, published by the University of Illinois Press, was selected as the best book published in 1978 on a Florida subject. Its author, Dr. Robert Hemenway, Department of English, University of Kentucky, received the Rembert W. Patrick Book Award. Dr. Hemenway, whose articles have appeared in scholarly and professional journals, was present at the Florida Historical Society banquet in West Palm Beach, May 5, 1978, to receive the award. Judges were Dr. John H. Moore, Florida State University; Dr. David Colburn, University of Florida; and Dr. Edward C. Williamson, Auburn University. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and secretary of the Florida Historical Society.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Award for 1978 was presented to Dr. George E. Gifford, Jr., of Watertown, Massachusetts, for his book *Dear Jeffie*, published by the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. The award honors Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, professor emeritus, University of Miami, editor of *Tequesta*, and former president of the Florida Historical Society. It is given each year to the author of the best book for young readers on a Florida subject. The judges were Marcia Kanner, Coral Gables; Marinus Latour, University of Florida; and Nancy Dobson, Historical Tallahassee Preservation Board. The presentation was made at the Florida Historical Society meeting at West Palm Beach.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

A check for \$1,000 was received by the Florida Historical Society from William M. Goza of Clearwater and Madison, former president of the Society, on behalf of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., at the annual meeting of the Society in West Palm Beach. These annual gifts from the Foundation are designated for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The late Filmore Wentworth of Clearwater established the Foundation to help educate worthy young people and to support philanthropic, educational, and historical activities and projects. More than fifty Wentworth Scholars are studying at the University of Florida, Florida State University, and other Florida universities and community colleges. The Foundation has provided grants to the Florida Anthropological Society, the Florida State Museum, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. It is supporting the project of calendaring the Spanish documents and manuscripts in the P. K. Yonge Library.

Florida Historical Society Library

The Florida Historical Society Library, which is housed in the library at the University of South Florida, Tampa, is one of the most important research libraries in the state. It is interested in acquiring deeds, diaries, documents, receipt and account books, manuscripts, maps, letters, organizational minute books, church records, marriage certificates, pamphlets, scrapbooks, Bible records, photographs, programs, and similar items. Books dealing with any aspect of Florida history and copies of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Florida newspapers are desired. For information, write to the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620, or call (813) 974-2731.

Jacksonville Historical Society

The Jacksonville Historical Society is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary with a series of events. The first was an open house at its historical archives in the Swisher Library, Jacksonville University, on May 6, 1979. Manuscripts, books, pictures, and artifacts were displayed. On Wednesday evening, May 9, a special

meeting was held honoring the founders of the organization which has been instrumental in all activities aimed at preserving and interpreting the history of Jacksonville and northeast Florida. Mrs. Sydney Parsons served as chairwoman for this meeting. On November 14, there will be a program honoring the descendants of charter members. Miss Audrey Broward is in charge of the anniversary celebration program.

The Jacksonville Historical Society was organized by a group of prominent local citizens at a meeting held on the evening of May 3, 1929, at the Carling (later the Roosevelt) Hotel. Over 200 charter members had already been enrolled when the meeting was called to order. Mr. Telfair Stockton, a resident of Jacksonville since 1870, gave the main address, and Carita Doggett Corse read a paper, "St. Johns Town, 1878." H. H. Buckman was the first president of the Society.

Announcements and Activities

The Peace River Valley Historical Society presented its annual Florida History Award for 1978 to Dr. Gordon Henry McSwain at a dinner, March 23, 1979, at the Arcadia Country Club, Arcadia. This award, which was established in 1964, recognizes outstanding contributions to Florida history. Father Jerome of St. Leo's Abby received the first award. Other recipients have been Albert DeVane, Jr., Dr. Samuel Proctor, Colonel Read B. Harding, William M. Goza, Dr. James W. Covington, Vernon E. Peebles, Dr. Charlton Tebeau, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, Hampton Dunn, Lawrence E. Will, Park T. DeVane, Dr. Frank G. Slaughter, and Richard M. Livingston.

The Tampa Historical Society, in cooperation with the Tampa Ministers' Association, dedicated a historical marker on March 19, 1979, to commemorate the launching by Billy Graham of his Christian Evangelistic Crusade on the streets of downtown Tampa. Dr. Graham attended Florida Bible Institute at Temple Terrace, graduating in 1940. The marker was unveiled on the grounds of the new State of Florida Office Building, which was once the site of early street meetings by Dr. Graham.

The Southern Jewish Historical Society has been organized under the auspices of the American Jewish Historical Society. Jack Coleman of Jacksonville is president and Dr. Samuel Proctor is a trustee. Regional meetings were held in 1978 in Raleigh, North Carolina, and in Savannah, Georgia. Papers presented at these meetings are being edited for publication. A conference will be held in Charleston, South Carolina, November 1979. The Society publishes a newsletter. Write to Dr. Louis Schmier, Secretary, Valdosta State College, Box 179, Valdosta, Georgia 31601, for information about the 1979 conference and membership in the organization.

A bibliography of the works of the late Dr. Ripley P. Bullen, curator emeritus at the Florida State Museum, University of Florida, was published as part of the *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles*. The bibliography, subtitled *Source References and New World Archaeology*, was compiled by Adelaide D. Bullen, adjunct curator of anthropology, Florida State Museum. It contains a list of over 200 articles, many pertaining to Florida. Copies of this publication are available on request to Mrs. Bullen, Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611.

Dr. Richard Bardolph, professor of history, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, delivered the 1979 Rembert W. Patrick History Lecture at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina. His topic was "The Faltering Faith of Our Fathers: The Decline of Theology in the Ante-Bellum South." Dr. Bardolph's book, *The Negro Vanguard*, received the Mayflower Award in 1960.

The Oral History Association will hold its fourteenth national workshop and colloquium on October 25-28, 1979, at the Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. For information regarding registration and fees, speakers, program content, and hotel registration forms, write Dr. Ronald E. Marcello, executive secretary, Box 13734, North Texas State University, Denton, Texas 76203.

The Florida Anthropological Society held its thirty-first annual meeting on April 21, 1979, at the University of Miami. The banquet speaker was Dr. Larry Atten, deputy chief of the Inter-agency Archaeological Services, Washington, D. C. The Archaeological Society of the Museum of Science-Miami was the host organization.

The Florida Trust for Historic Preservation held its first annual preservation conference in Tallahassee, March 8-11. More than 200 people attended the sessions and workshops. Some thirty speakers discussed documentation of historic and archeological sites for the National Register, funding and financing for preservation, historic archeology, local government planning, architectural history of Florida, and the 1902 Capitol restoration project. There was a tour of the facilities of the Division of Archives, History, and Records Management and of historic places in Tallahassee. There were also trips to Wakulla Springs, Monticello, and Gadsden County. The first annual award recognizing outstanding contributions to historic preservation in Florida was made to Esther Hale Connolly of Monticello. Malcolm Johnson, former editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat* was the main speaker at the banquet. He was introduced by former Governor LeRoy Collins. Nancy Dobson of Tallahassee and Phil Werndli of Tampa coordinated the meeting. The Florida Trust is an organization for all persons interested in Florida history and the preservation of historic sites in the state. For information, write the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation, Inc., Box 10368, Tampa, Florida 33679.

In 1978 the Historical Society of Okaloosa and Walton Counties received a \$2,500 Youth Projects Planning Award from the National Endowment for the Humanities to build a portable mini-museum or "history gazebo." Using photographs, drawings, and artifacts, it highlights the rich history of the area. It is designed for elementary school children in grades four to six. The gazebo will be exhibited in school and public libraries and in other public locations.

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society has received a grant of \$9,312 from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities to

support the work on the James L. Glenn Seminole History Collection. The Society had produced a slide/tape presentation, "James L. Glenn's Work with the Seminoles, 1924-1936," cooperatively with the Division of Continuing Education, Florida Atlantic University. Another slide/tape show, "Florida Seminoles in the Depression Era," and the scripting and editing of a book on Dr. Glenn and his work are underway. Dr. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., of Florida Atlantic University is historian and manuscript editor, and Henry A. Schubert, Jr., is responsible for illustration, media, and technical production. Mrs. Marjory D. Patterson, executive director, serves as project director. The January 1979 issue of *New River News*, the publication of the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society describes the Stranahan House, which was purchased by the Society in 1975. Plans are being developed to restore this historic property.

Luis R. Arana, historian for Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas National Monuments, has been awarded the Silver Medal of the Spanish Association of Friends of the Castles (Asociacion Espanola de Amigos de los Castillos) in recognition of his research and writings on Spanish fortifications in North America. Mr. Arana is a former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society and serves as librarian for the St. Augustine Historical Society. He is the author of eighty-four works on the military history of Spanish Florida. His most recent study, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, was co-authored with Albert Manucy, former president of the Florida Historical Society. Mr. Arana was presented with the Silver Medal at ceremonies on May 15 at Cordoba, Spain.

"Mizner Meets the Orient" will be the theme of a show at the Polk Public Museum, 800 East Palmetto, Lakeland, Florida, September 6-28, 1979. It will feature cast-stone architectural elements, such as columns and sculptures, used by Addison Mizner on the houses and buildings that he designed and constructed in Florida, mainly along the lower east coast. The exhibition will include many of his original molds, new works produced from those molds, and photographs of the Mizner factory. For information, write to the director of the museum.

A special exhibit of portraits and memorabilia relating to the establishment of the Confederate States of America opened at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D. C., on May 28, 1979. It will be on view through October 7. In addition to portraits of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Edmund Ruffin, Alexander Stephens, and other Confederate political and military leaders, the Confederate flags, Great Seal, and the working draft of the Constitution are displayed. There are also recruiting posters, sheet music, military uniforms, political cartoons, and Confederate currency. "They Have Made a Nation" is the theme of the exhibit.

The Southern Labor History Conference is seeking proposals for papers to be presented at its 1980 meeting. For complete details, contact Dr. Leslie S. Hough, Urban Life 1028, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia 30303. Completed proposals are due on September 15, 1979.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1979

Aug. 30-31	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies- Oral History Workshop	Heritage Park, Clearwater
Sept. 18-21	American Association for State and Local History	Tucson, Arizona
Sept. 25-28	Society of American Archivists	Chicago
Oct. 3-7	National Trust for Historic Preservation	San Francisco
Oct. 25-28	Oral History Association Workshop and Colloquium	East Lansing, Michigan
Nov 14-17	Southern Historical Association	Atlanta
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	New York City

1980

Feb. 22-23	Round Table for Jacksonville History, 4th Conference	Jacksonville University
Apr. 9-12	Organization of American Historians	San Francisco
Apr. 30- May 1	Florida Confederation of Historical Societies- Workshop	Winter Park
May 2-3	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 78th ANNUAL MEETING	Winter Park

A GIFT OF HISTORY

A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

A one-year membership costs only \$10.00, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the Executive Secretary of the Society will notify the recipient of your gift of your generosity and consideration. Convey your respect for that special person's dignity and uniqueness. What better way to express your faith in the lessons of the past and to celebrate old friendships?

Send to: Florida Historical Society
University of South Florida Library
Tampa, Florida 33620

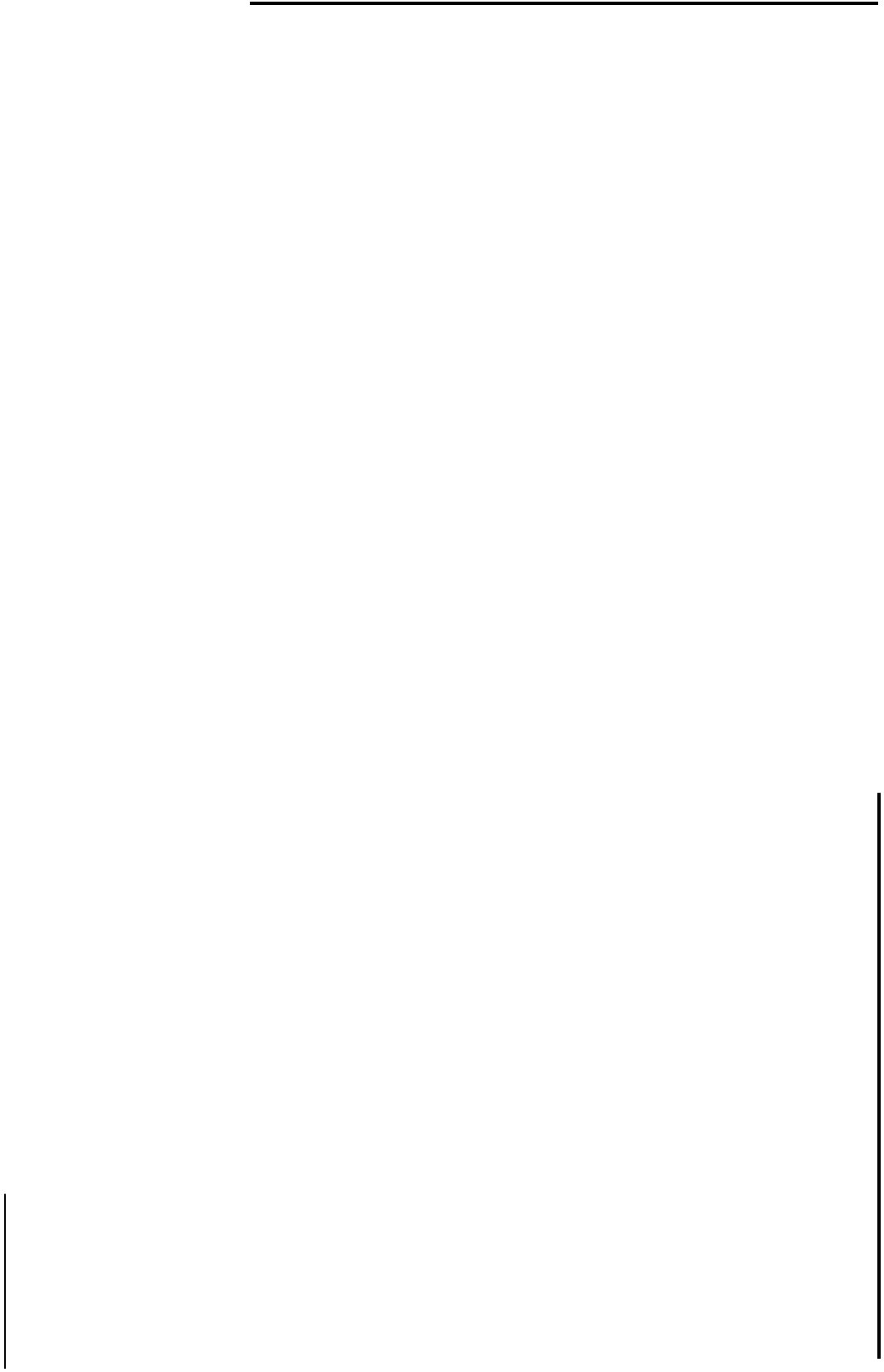
Please send as a special gift:

- Annual membership-\$10
- Family membership-\$15
- Fellow membership-\$20
- Special membership-\$50, \$75, \$150
- Life membership-\$350
- Memorial membership-\$350
- Check or money order enclosed
- Cash enclosed

TO

FROM

Detach Along This Line



1

2

3

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 <i>Tallahassee</i>	MRS. CHRISTIAN LAROCHE <i>Valparaiso</i>
HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR. <i>Gainesville</i>	JANET SNYDER MATTHEWS <i>Sarasota</i>
LUCIUS F. ELLSWORTH <i>Pensacola</i>	THOMAS MICKLER <i>Chulouta</i>
PAUL S. GEORGE <i>Miami</i>	VERNON PEEPLES <i>Punta Gorda</i>
THOMAS GRAHAM <i>St. Augustine</i>	O. C. PETERSON <i>Fort Pierce</i>
E. A. HAMMOND <i>Gainesville</i>	PAUL W. WEHR <i>Orlando</i>
HAYES L. KENNEDY <i>Clearwater</i>	LINDA K. WILLIAMS <i>Miami</i>
WRIGHT LANGLEY <i>Key West</i>	THELMA PETERS, <i>ex-officio</i> <i>Coral Gables</i>

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

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

