

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

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COVER

Touring along the Halifax River around the turn of the century. This was a popular pastime for wealthy winter visitors in the Daytona Beach-Ormond area. The car is probably a steam driven 1900 Locomobile, built by a firm that bought the Stanley brothers' business in 1899. Photograph courtesy of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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CHARLES H. JONES: FLORIDA'S GILDED AGE EDITOR-POLITICIAN

by THOMAS GRAHAM *

FOR MUCH of the nineteenth century American newspapermen played important roles in political parties. Most papers were affiliated with or were supported by a particular party, and the editor of the party newspaper was usually treated as one of the ranking officers in the organization. Sometimes editors held public office, but more often they served as advisors, ideologues, and mouthpieces of the party line. Nineteenth-century Florida had several newspapermen of this type. Preeminent among these was Charles Dyke of the Tallahassee *Floridian*, who guided the Democratic party's chief journal from early statehood days through the tumultuous era of Reconstruction. Dyke's retirement in 1882 ended a long and illustrious career, but by then another journalist, Charles Henry Jones, had arrived on the scene to claim the title of newspaper spokesman for Florida Democrats.¹

Jones had come to Florida by a circuitous route which led him from his native home in Talbotton, Georgia, to New York City, and then to Jacksonville. Born March 7, 1848, the son of George W. and Susan Jones, he was recognized as an accomplished childhood scholar. Just old enough to join the Confederate army during the closing months of the war, he fought with Georgia home defense forces, and then, believing that the defeated South held few opportunities for him, he left for the North and began his rise in the publishing world. By the age of twenty-one he was editor of the *Eclectic* magazine. Soon he was co-editor of *Appleton's Journal*, an editor for Henry Holt Company, and a writer of tourist guide books for Appleton Company. It was his role

* Mr. Graham is associate professor of history at Flagler College, St. Augustine.

1. Thomas S. Graham, "Charles H. Jones, 1848-1913: Editor and Progressive Democrat" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1973). The best published account of Jones's career in Jacksonville is Richard A. Martin, *The City Makers* (Jacksonville, 1972), 132-37, passim.

as ghost writer for George M. Barbour's *Florida for Tourists, Invalids and Settlers* that turned Jones's attention to Florida and led to his decision to move to Jacksonville.²

In June 1881, Jones visited Jacksonville and, in partnership with Barbour, negotiated with Hugh B. McCallum for the purchase of the *Daily Florida Union*. This paper had been established by Republicans during the war, but it now became the local Democratic organ. Although McCallum was suffering from a long bout with tuberculosis, he refused the offer to purchase the Union even in the face of Jones's threat to launch a rival newspaper.³ Determined to follow through with their plans, Jones and Barbour brought out the first edition of the *Florida Daily Times* on November 29, 1881. Within a few years this little four-page sheet would absorb the *Union* and grow to become the most successful newspaper in the state. However, Jones aspired to political power as well as business success.

Florida politics were in a fluid, transitional stage between the two more clearly defined periods of Reconstruction and the Populist-Progressive era. Even though Reconstruction had ended, Republicans still held offices in state and local government, and blacks continued to vote in relatively large numbers. Some questions which seemed to pit "the people" against "the interests" had arisen, but the issues of the Populist period had not been clearly drawn. In the absence of a popular direct primary, the nominating process was controlled by the various "court house gangs" in each county. This, along with the support which certain strong politicians attracted, led to frequent complaints of "ring rule." Both political parties were in shambles. The Democrats were divided, both by personalities and by the first stirrings of populist discontent. The blacks, who constituted the bulk of the Republican party, were unhappy with the shoddy treatment they were receiving at the hands of the white office-holding leadership, while a few Republicans hoped to wrest control of the party away from the "ring bosses."⁴

2. Thomas Graham, "Who Wrote 'Barbour's Florida'?", *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (April 1973), 431-35.

3. Jacksonville *Florida Daily Times*, October 20, 1882.

4. The best general treatment of Florida politics in this period is Edward C. Williamson, "The Era of the Democratic County Leader: Florida Politics, 1877-1893" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsyl-

When Jones first arrived in Florida he proceeded cautiously in this confused political arena. The *Union* was the recognized organ of the Democrats, and Jones knew that he would gain little by declaring that his own paper was also straightout Democratic in its sympathies. A Republican sheet was unthinkable; Jones was a Democrat by conviction. Also, during the course of an interview with former Republican Governor Harrison Reed, he had perceived that the disharmonious Republicans had little future in Florida. Therefore the *Times* was born as an "independent" newspaper, beholden to neither party.⁵ As such it was not exactly a novelty. Independent journalism had been growing since the Civil War, but the newspaper without a declared political affiliation was still rare, especially in the South.

Whether an independent course could be negotiated successfully was problematical, especially since Jones fully intended to influence the course of political affairs. Looking toward his first campaign, the congressional election of 1882, Jones privately described his task as "an extremely difficult and delicate one. We shall probably decide the election, but, on the other hand, any blundering would wreck our enterprise, which has now become too valuable to imperil."⁶

During the campaign, which matched incumbent Republican Horatio Bisbee against ex-Confederate General Jesse J. Finley, the *Times's* news columns favored Bisbee, and his paid advertisements were run on the editorial page where they might be mistaken as an endorsement. This favoritism led to charges by the Democrats that the *Times* was secretly a Republican paper or that a large sum of money (usually described as "one thousand dollars, lump amount") had been paid Jones to boost the Republican candidate.⁷ Jones gave two obvious-perhaps

vania, 1954); Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, 1976).

5. Jacksonville *Florida Daily Times*, November 29, 1881; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 2, 1884.
6. Charles H. Jones to Julian Abernethy, July 23, 1882, Charles H. Jones Papers. The Jones Papers are in the possession of his granddaughter Mrs. Carl G. Freeman of Bat Cave, North Carolina. Copies of most of the papers are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
7. Jacksonville *Florida Daily Times*, August 18, 24, September 24, October 17, 1882; Gainesville *Weekly Bee*, June 30, 1882; *Pensacola Semi-Weekly Commercial*, October 17, 1882; *Jacksonville Morning News*, July 14, 1886.

adequate-answers to the critics: the Republicans patronized the *Times* because they had no newspaper of their own, and the Democrats shied away from the *Times* because of suspicion.⁸ Yet Jones may well have allowed the paper to lean to the Republican side simply to demonstrate that the *Times* could decide election results. Perhaps it could, for Bisbee won the race. Commenting on his course during the election, Jones remarked to a friend, "I am shooting the rapids all the time."⁹

When Jones purchased the *Union* and merged it with the *Times*, he announced that the *Times-Union* would remain independent, but would ordinarily support the Democratic party since that was the party of respectable citizens in the South. He added, however, that party leaders would not dictate editorial policy, although he invited them to work with him.¹⁰ In a larger sense, though, the *Times-Union* was not independent, for it served Jones's own political ambitions. It was not a party paper, but the personal organ of its editor.

Jones's first open attempt to direct Democratic party affairs was a failure, but it was an enlightening experience for him. He had remained neutral in the city election of 1882, but in the spring of the following year he labored for the candidacy of John Q. Burbridge, a prominent grocer and real estate broker, who was representative of the progressive element in Jacksonville. During the winter tourist season the way for Burbridge's campaign was prepared through a free-wheeling crusade against the incumbent administration's failure to enforce the laws against gambling and Sunday liquor sales.¹¹ Jones followed this up with an attempt to organize support for Burbridge at the ward primaries and convention, but the nomination went to party regular William L. Dancy, a man who believed that a resort town needed sundry distractions to entertain its winter guests. Refusing to accept Dancy, Jones put together his own "Citizens" ticket, selected from the nominees of both parties, but the Democratic

8. Jacksonville *Florida Daily Times*, July 9, October 25, 1882.

9. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1882; Jones to Abernethy, December 31, 1882, Jones Papers.

10. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 4, 1883.

11. *Ibid.*, March 3, 6, 1883.

slate swept the election, in part through the purchase of Negro votes.¹²

When Dancy ran for re-election the following year against a supposed "reform" ticket, Jones endorsed him and the regular Democratic ticket with scarcely a grumble. Jones justified this course by declaring that the opposition did not represent a step toward good government, and-more importantly-it was vital that the Democrats avoid internal disputes during the 1884 state and national elections.¹³ His concern was warranted, for the party was threatened with a factional split between two party leaders, Governor William D. Bloxham and former Governor George F. Drew, as well as by a major defection to "Independence."

The Independent movements in the South during the 1870s and 1880s can be interpreted as the first rumblings of the coming Populist movement. In Florida they denounced the sale of state lands at low prices to large developers such as Hamilton Disston, special favors given to railroads and corporations, and the failure to enact a railroad regulatory commission. The Independents also opposed what they called "ring rule" and demanded that the state constitution of 1868 be revised to restore popular election of local officials. Under the constitution, drafted by moderate Republicans during Reconstruction, the governor was given the power to appoint county officers. Originally intended to keep Democrats and blacks out of office, it now served as the chief means by which the so-called "Tallahassee ring" dominated the party and the state government.¹⁴

Jones recognized that this desire to return to normal local elections was behind much of the Independent movement, and he sympathized with those who felt they had been unfairly shut out of the democratic process. Nevertheless, he turned adamantly against the movement when Independent leaders negotiated an alliance with the Republicans in the hope of carrying the 1884 election. Without the votes of black Republicans the Independents could not hope to win, but fusion with them raised

12. *Ibid.*, March 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, April 1, 2, 1883; Martin, *City Makers*, 185.

13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 19, 28, April 3, 6, 8, 1884.

14. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1883, June 24, 1884; Jerrell H. Shofner, "The Constitution of 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLI (April 1963), 356-74.

the threat of "Negro rule" which was anathema both to Bourbon Democrats and to "good government" advocates such as Jones.¹⁵

For Florida's blacks the Independent movement was almost their last hope of political survival. Abandoned by the national Republican party, they turned to the Independents for support. The union was consummated in June 1884, when the Independent convention meeting at Live Oak nominated Independent Frank Pope for governor and Republican Jonathan C. Greeley for lieutenant governor.¹⁶

One group in the Republican party which did not favor the Independent-Republican alliance were the white office holders who received their appointments from Washington and had no desire to see the Negro rank and file assert their will. Jones played upon this division in Republican lines by publishing interviews with white Republican functionaries denouncing Independentism, followed by interviews with Negro Republicans denouncing the office-holding clique. He also pointed out that there was little in the past histories of white men in the Independent movement which would indicate that they held any sincere regard for the rights and welfare of black people.¹⁷

While spreading confusion in the ranks of the enemy, Jones was at the same time struggling to forestall a second major split in the Democratic party between the friends of Governor Bloxham and the supporters of his predecessor, Governor Drew. Each man was determined to prevent the other from receiving the nomination. Drew had been proposed for governor by the Democrats in 1876, the final year of Reconstruction, because he had been a Whig before the war and seemed more likely to attract moderate Republican votes than a staunch Democrat. Drew had hoped to succeed himself in 1880, but the Democrats no longer needed a compromise candidate, and the nomination went to Bloxham, the hero of Democratic "Redemption." Since that

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15. Jacksonville *Florida Daily Times*, August 17, November 11, 1882; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 30, November 1, 1883, June 24, July 29, 1884.
 16. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 19, 1884; see also Edward C. Williamson, "Independentism: A Challenge to the Florida Democracy of 1884," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (October 1948), 131-56.
 17. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 10, November 2, 1883, July 18, September 4, 1884.

time Drew had harbored a grudge against Bloxham for denying him renomination.

Bloxham would ordinarily have been the clear choice for governor again in 1884, except that he had negotiated the giant Disston land sale and had vigorously supported railroad growth and government handouts to the developers. Since the Independents had turned these controversial actions into campaign issues, many Democrats felt Bloxham's nomination would play into the opposition's hands.¹⁸

In April Jones traveled to Tallahassee to discuss the situation with Governor Bloxham. Jones had already suggested in the columns of his newspaper that Bloxham should step aside in favor of a man who could bring party harmony, and Bloxham now assured him that he was willing to do so. It is likely that they considered who the nominee should be, for shortly after Jones's interview with Bloxham the *Times-Union* endorsed Pensacola as the site of the state convention.¹⁹ Pensacola, as it happened, was the hometown of Edward A. Perry, who would eventually receive the nomination and the support both of Bloxham and Jones.

Although Bloxham had announced that he would not seek renomination, he did not quite close the door to a possible draft. He even encouraged some friends to think that he might wish to be drafted.²⁰ It is fairly certain that he maintained this stance in order to prevent support from building for Drew.²¹ Thus, as the convention approached, both Bloxham and Drew remained as possible nominees, and the threat of a rending battle within the party grew more imminent.

Two weeks before the convention the path was cleared for the nomination of Perry when Jones dropped a bombshell which eliminated Drew and Bloxham as candidates. On June 11 the *Times-Union* published a long interview with Drew in which

18. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1883; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 253.

19. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 22, 23, 1883, February 22, April 29, 1884; William D. Bloxham to Jones, June 11, 1884, Letterbook 2, William D. Bloxham Papers, Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

20. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 15, 1884; Bloxham to W. H. Sebring, May 20, 1884; Bloxham to Philip Thompson, May 29, 1884, Letterbook 2, Bloxham Papers.

21. Bloxham to Jones, June 16, 17, 1884, Bloxham Papers.

he released his pent-up hostility toward Bloxham. He detailed how Bloxham had allegedly duped him out of the nomination in 1880, and expressed the opinion that he was playing the same false game again of announcing noncandidacy while covertly maneuvering for the nomination. Bloxham was obliged to reply to Drew's charges, making it clear that the nomination of either man would split the party and insure an Independent-Republican victory in November.

Bloxham, probably chagrined by the role he had been forced to play in the episode, wrote Jones that he feared the interview had "created some very bitter feelings and may damage the Democratic party."²² However, on the contrary, many Democrats were relieved that the impasse had been resolved, and newspapers across the state followed the *Times-Union* in calling for party unity around a new man.²³ Perry's nomination was assured.

A week after the state convention, Jones and other east Florida Democrats traveled to Fry's Opera House in Palatka to nominate a candidate for Congress from the second district. The convention was marred by an incident when Charles Fildes, brother-in-law of Independent nominee Frank Pope, threatened to shoot Jones for challenging his right to sit in the convention. Fildes was forced out of the hall by convention marshals, and the subsequent nomination of Volusia County citrus farmer Charles Dougherty was anti-climactic.²⁴

Two days later Jones was off by train for Chicago and the Democratic party national convention, for his political ambitions exceeded the parochial bounds of Florida. He had wanted to attend as a delegate, but some members from middle Florida on the selection committee at Pensacola had objected, and his name was dropped from the delegation.²⁵ In Chicago Jones spent much of his time attending meetings of the platform committee, gaining an education for the role of platform draftsman which he would fill in three later national conventions.

22. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1884.

23. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 12, 15, 1884; Tallahassee *Land of Flowers*, June 21, 1884; *Palatka Daily News*, June 13, 19, 1884.

24. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 1, 2, 3, 1884; *Palatka Daily News*, July 2, 3, 1884.

25. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 26, 27, 1884.

Grover Cleveland's nomination pleased Jones, for like most Southerners he sensed that the Democrats had an opportunity to capture the White House for the first time in more than a quarter of a century. The day after Cleveland's election as governor of New York two years earlier, Jones had printed a prediction that he would be the next president. He liked to boast that he had been the first editor in the South to back Cleveland, although, in fact, in 1884 Jones had started out supporting Samuel Tilden until a stroke eliminated him from consideration.²⁶ While in Chicago Jones established contact with Cleveland's managers, and a few weeks later received a note from Cleveland inviting him to act as his representative in Florida. In September Jones was invited to Albany to consult with campaign director Arthur P. Gorman and Cleveland's secretary Daniel Lamont, as well as pay a brief call on Cleveland.²⁷

Cleveland was concerned about the Florida campaign. Recalling how the Republicans had "stolen" Florida's crucial electoral votes in the disputed Hayes-Tilden election of 1876, Cleveland had already written Jones, "I hope that the work will be so well done, and the result so decisive, that there will be no temptation to our opponents to attempt to steal the State."²⁸

Jones turned the Florida campaign into a crusade to preserve the state for "civilization" from the supposed horrors of Negro domination and to save the nation from the "nefarious gang of political freebooters" commanded by Republican nominee James G. Blaine. This was not entirely crass newspaper sensationalism, for Jones had a remarkable ability to convince himself that what he published in his paper was true. Each morning he was up at dawn and off to the *Times-Union* building on Bay Street. At midnight he would still be writing at his desk, his clothes saturated with perspiration from the humidity and heat which the gas lights of the editorial rooms intensified. In the days prior to the election Jones ran a daily tabulation of white and black voters in Jacksonville to encourage white registration,

26. Jacksonville *Florida Daily Times*, November 9, 1882; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 9, 1884.

27. Jones to Abernethy, August 10, 1884, Jones Papers; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 12, September 27, 1884; *New York Times*, September 24, 1884.

28. Grover Cleveland to Jones, quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 9, 1884.

and he warned Democratic poll watchers that "thousands" of Georgia Negroes would be brought in by train in an attempt to swing the state to the Republicans.²⁹

There was a wild scene on Bay Street election night as a crowd watched the returns projected on a large screen in front of the *Times-Union* building. Democrats vied with Republicans, white with black, cheering for their favorites as pictures of the candidates were flashed on the screen (along with advertisements for local merchants). As the returns came in by wire it was evident that Perry had been elected governor, but the narrowness of his margin of victory demonstrated the depth of Independent disaffection from the party. Surprisingly, Dougherty unseated Bisbee in the race for Congress. Cleveland's election remained uncertain for three days because the Associated Press in New York was suppressing the returns. When word finally arrived at the *Times-Union* late Friday night, Jacksonville learned the news through the boom of a cannon.³⁰

For Jones, victory had been so complete and satisfying that he could indulge in that curious self-flattery which shaped his perception of himself and his place in the world at large. In a long thoughtful letter to his northern confidant Julian Abernethy he wrote: "For myself personally the campaign has wrought results that would open up large possibilities if I were an ambitious man. I am now recognized both inside and outside the State as the head of the Democratic party in the state, and as having contributed most to the brilliant victory we have won all along the line. The homage and gratulation offered me is somewhat overpowering, but it does not elate me in the least. I accept it as vindication of my past course, but it does not tempt me to reach out for more. I have no taste for politics."³¹

The disclaimer of political interest was typical of the times, and it cannot be taken seriously; Jones was in his element when immersed in politics. Although 1885 was not an election year, there was much to engage the attention of public men in Florida since the Democrats had promised during the campaign to overthrow the Constitution of 1868. This pledge had helped to defeat

29. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 23, 24, 25, November 2, 1884.

30. *Ibid.*, November 5, 6, 7, 1884; William T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1936), 78.

31. Jones to Abernethy, November 16, 1884, Jones Papers.

Independentism and would have to be honored or the Independent movement would surge to greater strength. The major obstacle to revision was that it would return local offices to popular election, and that was unacceptable in middle Florida and to Jones's own Duval County where blacks outnumbered whites two to one. Some means had to be found to satisfy those disaffected Democrats who wanted to break the governor's appointment power, yet at the same time afford "protection" to whites in black-belt counties.³²

A poll tax which would effectively eliminate Negro voting was the most commonly discussed device for resolving this dilemma, but Jones was not sure at first that this was the solution. However, as the time for convening the constitutional convention in Tallahassee neared, Jones announced the *Times-Union's* program: election of all state and local officers except for judges, combined with enactment of a poll tax.³³

During the convention some Democrats who wanted to "elect everybody" and who opposed the poll tax because it would disfranchise poor whites along with blacks combined on a few votes with the Republicans. Jones denounced these Democrats and traveled to Tallahassee to find out if the party regulars were in danger of losing control of the convention to the Republicans and insurgent Democrats. A resolution condemning the *Times-Union* for denouncing those Democrats who had voted with the Republicans was quashed by Austin S. Mann, a leader of the "elect everybody" Democrats but also a friend of Jones. Jones returned to Jacksonville satisfied that an acceptable constitution would be drafted.³⁴

The finished constitution of 1885 made more offices elective to placate the Democratic malcontents, while many remained appointive to insure white government in counties with black majorities. Jones approved of its provisions for increased support

32. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 15, 1885; Eldridge R. Collins, "The Florida Constitution of 1885" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1939), 15, 26.

33. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 30, June 18, 19, 23, July 19, 1885.

34. *Ibid.*, July 17, 18, 21, 22, 1885; Edward C. Williamson, "The Constitutional Convention of 1885," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLI (October 1962), 121; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1885), 375-77.

of public education, a reorganization of the court system, and the greater freedom given to municipalities. He also approved the poll tax provision which placed Florida in the vanguard of southern states that used legal devices to exclude blacks from the political system.³⁵

Yet Jones was no Negrophobe. Like many men of wealth and social position in the South, he would not have the black man as a voter, but he wanted him treated fairly and hoped that future developments would improve his status in society. The *Times-Union* consistently opposed federal "force bills" and anti-lynching laws, while at the same time vigorously denouncing lynchings in the South. Back in 1882 Jones had been condemned across the state for publishing an account by a black witness of the lynching of Charles Savage and Howard James in the town of Madison. Many Southerners opposed the Blair education bill because it would serve to promote Negro education. Jones supported it for that very reason. He protested the maltreatment of Negro contract laborers who were typically employed in railroad building. When J. Willis Menard organized a protest movement among Jacksonville's vocal and still politically potent blacks to bring pressure on the railroads for forcing blacks into the second class smoking car, Jones endorsed their demand for separate and equal treatment. If that was not feasible, Jones urged discrimination on the basis of neatness and orderliness instead of color.³⁶

One young Jacksonville Negro who worked for Jones at the *Times-Union*, and later remembered him favorably, was James Weldon Johnson, the noted author and civil rights leader. When the newspaper hired Jim and several other Negroes to work as carriers for \$2.50 a week, he was proud to be a part of the "greatest newspaper in Florida," knowing that by faithfully rising at four each morning he was exhibiting the *esprit de corps* expected of the newspaper's employees. He later moved inside to work in the mail room and to hold copy for the proofreaders,

35. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 10, August 4, 1885.

36. *Ibid.*, February 21, 1884, January 22, 1885, February 24, March 2, 6, June 25, December 5, 1886, April 18, May 23, 1887; Jacksonville *Florida Daily Times*, August 26, 27, 28, September 8, 13, October 13, 14, 1882; Edward C. Williamson, "Black Belt Political Crisis: The Savage-James Lynching, 1882," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLV (April 1967), 402-09.



Charles H. Jones. Photograph courtesy of the author.



The Florida Times-Union building, southwest corner of Laura and West Bay streets. Photograph from the 1902 report of the *Jacksonville Board of Trade*, prepared by Charles H. Smith.

and he sometimes acted as office boy for "C. H." himself. Fascinated by newspaper work, Johnson established one of the first Negro dailies in the United States, the Jacksonville *Daily American*, in 1895.³⁷

In 1885 Jones became involved in a personal vendetta with Senator Wilkinson Call over a relatively insignificant issue. Call was the son of territorial Governor Richard Keith Call and seemed to be the heir to the Bourbon tradition in Florida, but during the 1880s he was emerging as a leader of the popular reform wing of the Democratic party.³⁸ Jones would soon embark on the same path, yet the two men remained implacable foes as long as Jones remained in Florida. The wrangle began over patronage. Call was an open enemy of civil service reform, having voted against the Pendleton Act in 1881. Jones believed that the spoils system led to inefficient government and spawned corrupt political machines.

Although Jones had vowed to refrain from interfering with federal appointments, he felt obliged to concern himself directly when Call and members of the party machine in Jacksonville put forward Noble A. Hull for postmaster. Jones did not want one of "the boys" from the city faction with which he had so frequently clashed to occupy the most important patronage position in the state.

Jones prevailed upon his friend Austin Mann to send a letter to President Cleveland reminding him of the prominent role Jones had taken in the recent campaign and warning the President that the reactionary "office holding clique" represented in the state congressional delegation did not reflect the true feelings of the progressive majority in Florida whose aspirations were voiced by the *Times-Union*.³⁹ Having used Mann's letter to prepare the way, Jones himself wrote to Cleveland: "Under date of August 4th last I received a letter from you expressing your friendly appreciation of the work I was doing in the campaign. That letter is my excuse for writing now. I have not written before, nor sought a personal interview, because I knew that

37. James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way, The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (New York, 1933), 55-56.

38. Williamson, "Era of the Democratic County Leader," 4, 88, 210-14.

39. A. S. Mann to Cleveland, April 24, 1885, Grover Cleveland Papers (Library of Congress, 1958), microfilm series 2, reel 11.

during the opening weeks of the Administration your attention would necessarily be fully occupied by large questions of State. I will reassure you by saying at once that I am not after any office either for myself, or for any relative, friend, or henchman. I am a Civil Service Reformer in the most literal sense of the term, and not only *profess* it but conform my *practice* to it. I write simply to ask that when you reach Florida appointments you will consider one or two points which I will now briefly submit. In Florida as in other Southern States-but more markedly in Florida than in the rest, because of the large infusion of Northern immigration-there is a division and a struggle between the 'old timers' and the 'new comers.' This division is not political; nearly all the whites are Democrats, no matter where they came from. It is the last retreat of sectional feeling. The 'old timers' consider themselves lords of the soil, and as having a divine right to rule, and are arrogant, proscriptive, reactionary, and unprogressive. They are willing to share the prosperity caused by the infusion of new blood and outside capital, but there is a tacit understanding among them that that no 'new comer' shall have any political place or preferment, and on this they stand together as one man."⁴⁰

Jones's letter continued, explaining that the "old timers" had opposed Cleveland's nomination; yet now claimed the rewards of victory. He warned that Florida's congressional delegation would recommend unfit men for office, and he asked that he be consulted when the Jacksonville postmaster was taken up. The letter was, of course, aimed primarily at Call, whom Jones considered a chief "old timer."

Cleveland received Mann's note, but Jones's letter was lost among a stack of patronage requests handled by an assistant secretary and was sent to the Post Office Department.⁴¹ Later when Call realized that an objection had been raised to Hull's appointment, he examined the post office files and discovered Jones's letter. Call copied the letter and had it circulated in Florida to discredit Jones with the conservative wing of the

40. Jones to Cleveland, April 27, 1885, quoted in clipping from Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* enclosed in Jones to Daniel Lamont, July 18, 1886, Cleveland Papers, ser. 2, reel 37.

41. Octavius L. Pruden to Jones, May 2, 1885, Cleveland Papers, ser. 4, reel 146.

Democratic party. Eventually President Cleveland accepted Call's second nominee for the postmaster's position, Harrison Clark, a solid Call supporter. It was a defeat for Jones and for Congressman Dougherty who had backed Jones.⁴²

However, the *Times-Union* maintained a relentless fire upon Call, publishing article after article critical of the senator. It was said that the President held Call in low esteem because of his opposition to civil service reform and because he had abused his senatorial privileges in obtaining the "old timer's" letter. Privately Jones boasted that he had "prepared public opinion" against Call.⁴³

Provoked by such treatment and desiring to protect himself from Jones's charges of misusing power, Call sent a letter to President Cleveland's private secretary Daniel Lamont. Call declared that Jones was claiming to have "more influence with President Cleveland than any ten men in Florida," and that Jones had quoted the President as asking: "Jones, who is this man Call, anyway? Has he got any friends in Florida, or standing? Has he got any home? If so, why don't he go there and stay, for he is not doing himself, or the people any good up here?" Call wanted the President to disavow the alleged statement so that Jones's false character might be revealed to the public. He then turned to the letter Jones had written regarding the Jacksonville post office, explaining that he felt he had done nothing improper in making copies of what he considered "a gross libel upon the people of Florida, and the Democratic party of the State."⁴⁴

Lamont returned a formal response, committing himself to nothing more than a denial of the conversation attributed to Cleveland and declaring that the President had never knowingly slighted Call. Lamont was silent on the "old timer's" letter.⁴⁵ In Florida, the 1886 congressional election was approaching and copies of the notorious, but still unpublished "old timer's" letter began to circulate more broadly among people who could make capital use of it against Jones.

42. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 4, August 14, October 7, 1885.

43. *Ibid.*, December 24, 1885, February 2, 5, 6, 11, 1886; Jones to Charles Dougherty, February 8, 1887, Jones Papers.

44. Wilkinson Call to Lamont, March 22, 1886, Cleveland Papers, ser. 2, reel 31.

45. Lamont to Call, March 23, 1886, Cleveland Papers, ser. 4, reel 148.

Perceiving the damage that had been done to his relations with a large part of the party in the state, Jones tried to divert attention to the question of how Call had obtained his letter. He published an editorial on the "stolen letter," and at the same time wrote Cleveland demanding to know who had violated his private correspondence: "I understand, of course, that a private citizen, comparatively a stranger, can have no private correspondence with the President of the United States in the strict sense of the term. Yet if it be true that a letter written and addressed to you, marked 'personal and private' is liable to turn up in the shape of 'sworn copies' in the hands of the writer's political opponents or personal enemies, it is time that fact was clearly and generally understood."⁴⁶

When Cleveland did not reply, Jones sent a letter to Lamont, saying that Florida newspapers were claiming that the President had refused to accept a communication from him and that Lamont had amused himself by showing it to Call and others. Jones avowed that he did not believe these stories, but "no citizen of a free Republic is so low that he is not entitled to an explanation of such an outrage as the use made of this letter involves."⁴⁷

President Cleveland decided to reply to this second letter, and after searching through his files found Jones's "old timer's" letter which the Postmaster General has sent back to the White House the previous year. Never a tactful man, Cleveland penned a blunt letter to Jones, saying in part: "I confess to some surprise at the tenor of your last letter to me and a later one to Colonel Lamont. There are several millions of people in the United States who have much more time to write letters to the President than he can possibly find to reply. . . . I am surprised that newspaper talk should be so annoying to you, who ought so well to understand the utter and complete recklessness and falsification in which they so generally indulge."⁴⁸

Cleveland's message was a rebuke to Jones, but he published it in full in the *Times-Union* to refute the stories that the President had refused to accept his letter. Privately he wrote Cleve-

46. Jones to Cleveland, July 6, 1886, Cleveland Papers, ser. 2, reel 36; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 7, 1886.

47. Jones to Lamont, July 18, 1886, Cleveland Papers, ser. 2, reel 37.

48. Cleveland to Jones, July 25, 1886, quoted in Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 1, 1886.

land a humble note of thanks, expressing his "warm admiration" for the President.⁴⁹

Meanwhile the "old timer's" letter had finally found its way into print, and it set the entire state press into a furor. The *Palatka Daily News* expressed a common sentiment in declaring that the letter had "dug the editor's political grave in Florida."⁵⁰ This was precisely the hope of Jones's enemies, for he had become the leader of the effort to re-elect Congressman Dougherty. Jones and Dougherty were strange allies. Dougherty's cowboy affections—he wore his Stetson cocked to one side and tucked his pants into his boot-tops—contrasted markedly with Jones's impeccable dress. Dougherty had no sympathy for civil service reformers; yet he agreed with Jones on the need for federal internal improvement projects in Florida. While Dougherty remained in Washington, Jones set about organizing support in the district for his renomination.

The Duval County ward primaries were warmly contested, with Jacksonville's favorite son, Albert W. Owens, drawing fully as much support as Dougherty.⁵¹ Prior to the county convention, Jones caucused with the Dougherty delegates, and the Owens supporters came prepared to expect some sort of trickery from the "budding new ring of politicians" headed by Jones. Because both sides were almost evenly divided, the convention turned into a fight over credentials and then into a shouting match when a Dougherty delegation from a rural ward was denied seats. In the confusion, Jones picked up the convention's papers and walked out with Dougherty's delegates to a nearby hotel where they proceeded to nominate their candidate. The rump of the convention meanwhile remained behind and nominated Owens. Both factions would send delegations to the district convention in Ocala.⁵²

In August, east Florida's Democrats assembled at the Ocala House in Marion County. Dougherty had a majority of the delegates, but not the two-thirds necessary for renomination.

49. Jones to Cleveland, August 1, 1886, Cleveland Papers, ser. 2, reel 37.

50. Tallahassee *Weekly Tallahassee and Land of Flowers*, July 14, 1886; *Palatka Daily News*, July 15, 1886.

51. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 17, July 15, August 15, 1886; *Ocala Banner*, August 13, 1886.

52. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 1, 4, 11, 1886; *Jacksonville Morning News*, July 7, 17, 1886.

While the credentials committee struggled over the seating of Duval's two rival delegations, the other members listened to speeches throughout the day. Frank Harris, editor of the *Ocala Banner*, observed that, "Charles H. Jones, editor of the *Times-Union*, was, of course, one of the leading spirits of the occasion, and the individual on whom all eyes rested as he marched among the throng."⁵³

Little real business could be accomplished until the deadlock over the Duval delegation was broken. Finally, late at night, the committee reported that by a vote of nine to eight it was recommending the exclusion of both delegations from Duval. The minority had wanted to seat Owens's supporters. When the convention accepted this recommendation, Owens announced that he was willing to withdraw in favor of Dougherty. The nomination was then made by acclamation, the band struck up "Dixie," and Jones had gained what his fellow journalist Harris proclaimed was "the most remarkable [result] ever achieved in a political contest in Florida." Harris noted that Jones had surmounted the difficulties raised by the "old timer's" letter, that he had stolen the Duval delegation from Owens, and he had overcome the opposition of Senator Call, much of the party leadership, and most of the region's newspapers including Harris's own *Ocala Banner*.⁵⁴

Jones treated the fall general election contest with sedate, bewhiskered Republican Jonathan Greeley as a joke. Greeley toured the district leisurely, reading speeches from a typed script and attempting to attract Democratic votes by quoting the "old timer's" letter. One *Times-Union* account of a Greeley speech began: "The first thing I want to talk to you about is the Tariff ('hurrah for Mr. TARIFF'). In dealing with this subject I ought to inform you that Tariff is not a man ('hurrah for Mrs. TARIFF')." When Greeley brought suit against Jones for this satire, Jones changed his tone and printed insinuations that the Republican candidate was a selfish banker who cohabited with a Negro woman. Greeley sued again, but on election day he was overwhelmed at the polls.⁵⁵

53. *Ocala Banner*, August 6, 1886; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 5, 6, 7, 1886.

54. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 8, 15, 1886.

55. *Ibid.*, September 25, October 6, 8, 11, 23, 24, 1886; Jacksonville *Morning News*, September 24, 1886.

In the city election the following spring Jones finally saw an opportunity to overthrow the domination of municipal government by the local Democratic ring. In the two previous annual elections Jones had helped to organize support for anti-ring candidates, but the party regulars had successfully outmaneuvered the reformers. The situation changed when the Young Men's Burbridge Club was organized in February 1887, to support veteran reform candidate John Q. Burbridge and clean up abuses in party operations which permitted ring dictation. The president of the new club was lawyer Duncan U. Fletcher, a fresh face in local politics who was destined to become a four-term United States Senator.

When the local Democratic executive committee rejected the reform club's proposals for open and fair ward primaries, Burbridge's supporters bolted the party and drafted their own slate of candidates, drawing upon Republicans, labor union representatives, and assorted Democrats. It was a heterogeneous ticket, one whose membership did not inspire complete confidence in the hearts of reform idealists, but the *Times-Union* turned its support behind the "Citizens" slate regardless.⁵⁶

The election was one of the most corrupt in a long history of sordid municipal campaigns. Deciding to "fight the Devil with fire," the Burbridge reformers openly purchased the votes of indigent blacks, deliberately bidding up the price of a bought vote to exhaust the ring's funds set aside for this purpose. When victory was finally in their grasp, the Burbridge Democrats paraded in the streets, stopping outside the *Times-Union* building to hear Jones speak from a balcony in praise of what he deemed a triumph of respectable citizens and "genuine young Democracy."⁵⁷

Burbridge's administration was cut short when the city was granted a revised city charter and a new election was mandated for the fall. Since the new charter expanded the city limits to include the predominantly Negro suburbs, Republicans won most of the city offices. Jones was content to abide by this de-

56. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 5, March 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 1887; Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, 1971), 10-11.

57. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 5, 6, 1887; Martin, *City Makers*, 185-87.

cision, for the alternative was government under a special commission appointed by the governor which would be dominated by the Democratic regulars. Nevertheless, the following year the commission device was resorted to so that Jacksonville would be spared from "Negro rule."⁵⁸ The end result of a half-decade of reform agitation was the abolition of home rule and the imposition of the most powerful "ring" government yet.

Simultaneously with the Jacksonville spring election of 1887, Jones had become enmeshed in the most remarkable senatorial election in Florida history. The chain of circumstances leading up to the election began in the summer of 1885 when incumbent United States Senator Charles W. Jones left Washington for Detroit without explaining his departure. His failure to return after many months was a mystery. A hint of the explanation for his actions is found in a cryptic note which he sent to President Cleveland from Detroit: "It may seem strange to you that a Southern Senator should write to you in this way from hiding," he informed the President.⁵⁹ Indeed, there was something strange about his behavior. Charles H. Jones of the *Times-Union* wrote to an editorial friend in Detroit asking him to look into the matter, and he learned that Senator Jones was engaged in a hopeless courtship of one Miss Clotilde Palms. In fact, Senator Jones, it soon became apparent, had lost his sanity. He would spend the rest of his life in the Dearborn asylum.⁶⁰

Although Senator Jones's misfortune was unknown at the time, there was no chance for his re-election. In Florida, Governor Perry and former Governor Bloxham had emerged as the two leading contenders for Jones's vacant seat. On February 13 the *Times-Union* published an editorial endorsing Bloxham as the most popular candidate and suggesting that Perry should not enter the race since he was the incumbent governor. This stand

58. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 14, 15, 25, 1887; Jacksonville *News-Herald*, December 14, 1887; Martin, *City Makers*, 188-90; Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950), 48.

59. Charles W. Jones to Cleveland, July 16, 1885, Cleveland Papers, ser. 2, reel 16.

60. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 24, 1886, November 27, 1887, October 13, 1897; Williamson, "Era of the Democratic County Leader," 253; Judy Nicholas Etemudi, " 'A Love-Mad Man': Senator Charles W. Jones of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVI (October 1977), 123-37.

surprised many, for since the publication of the "old timer's" letter Jones had been gravitating toward the progressive wing of the party which held Bloxham to be the very incarnation of Bourbonism. In fact, at the time of the senatorial contest, the *Times-Union* was the most vocal advocate of a Florida railroad regulatory commission, placing Jones alongside Senator Call as a chief enemy of the conservative "interests" in the state.

In March an explanation of the *Times-Union's* endorsement of Bloxham appeared in the form of a rumor circulating in south Florida to the effect that Jones and Bloxham had made a deal. The gist of the supposed compact was that Jones would back Bloxham in the present contest in exchange for Bloxham's patronage influence and support for Jones's candidate when Call's Senate term expired in 1891.⁶¹ Jones denied the story of a "corrupt bargain," and when nothing more developed, dismissed it as a "three days' sensation." Then, late in April, the *Tampa Journal* picked up the issue and forced a confrontation by naming former Governor Drew and Austin Mann as the persons who had originated the charges of a deal.⁶² Drew and Mann, who were in Tallahassee for the convening of the legislature, issued nearly identical sworn affidavits saying that Jones told them personally that Bloxham would agree to support the progressive wing of the party because the "old timers" had coalesced around Perry and that Jones claimed to have an agreement with Bloxham "in black and white."⁶³

Jones and Bloxham both issued denials, and Drew and Mann's testimony is suspect since they were involved in the Senate race, yet it is clear that Jones and Bloxham had come to an understanding between themselves. The evidence is found in a letter from Jones to Congressman Dougherty written in early February 1887, reporting, "The combination we discussed when I saw you is about perfected. I shall come out for Bloxham this week, after seeing Henderson who is to see me next Friday." Who was Henderson? A search of the hotel registers published in the newspapers reveals that on the Friday mentioned in Jones's letter, just three days before the *Times-*

61. *Palatka Daily News*, March 17, 1887.

62. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 27, 1887; *Tampa Weekly Journal*, March 31, April 7, 1887.

63. *Tampa Weekly Journal*, April 14, 1887.

Union's endorsement, one John A. Henderson of Tallahassee was registered at the Everett Hotel in Jacksonville. Henderson was a railroad lawyer and Bloxham's confidential agent in political matters.⁶⁴ Presumably he kept his appointment with Jones.

Almost a decade later Jones would claim privately: "When I left Florida I had the U. S. Senatorship in my grasp as completely as is the pen with which I now write."⁶⁵ While this statement is an admission by Jones that he had made a deal regarding the Senate race, it could hardly be true. No one controlled the nomination. The Democrats in 1887 were more divided than ever. Drew was in Tallahassee to stir up trouble and to insure that Bloxham was not elected. For nearly 100 ballots the Democratic caucus was unable to decide on the election of Perry, Bloxham, or even a dark horse. Finally after five weeks of effort, Samuel Pasco, a Harvard-educated lawyer from Jefferson County with little personal following, won the election.⁶⁶ Jones had not succeeded in controlling the party's selection of a senator; he had only further disorganized the Democrats.

Jones's influence in Florida politics came to an abrupt end in March 1888, when he sold the *Times-Union* to J. J. Daniels's Florida Publishing Company and departed for St. Louis to assume editorial control of the *Republic*, one of the leading Democratic newspapers in the Midwest. Jones would continue his own personal style of politics while in Missouri, trying to manipulate elections and politicians and becoming fully as controversial as he had ever been in Florida. He was the chief writer of Cleveland's national platform in the 1892 election, and, after breaking with Cleveland, helped draft William Jennings Bryan's 1896 and 1900 platforms. For a time he edited Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, but he was too strong-willed to work with Pulitzer.⁶⁷ By the late 1890s, Jones had literally worn himself out, and poor health forced his retirement. He lived

64. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, February 10, 1887; *Tampa Weekly Journal*, April 14, 1887; Jones to Dougherty, February 8, 1887, Jones Papers.

65. Jones, "Sketch of Life-1895," Jones Papers, 4.

66. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 14, May 18, 19, 22, 1887; S. S. Harvey to Call, January 2, 1888, Cleveland Papers, ser. 2, reel 118.

67. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1888; Thomas Graham, "Charles H. Jones of the *Post-Dispatch*: Pulitzer's Prize Headache," *Journalism Quarterly*, LVI (Winter 1979), 788-93.

most of the remainder of his life in Europe, where he died in 1913.

Jones's career in Florida had been like an erratic streak of lightning in an afternoon thunderstorm. He would be remembered in the state as an editor, "the like of which was seldom seen," although his presence in Florida was too brief to give him a large place in Florida history. As a promoter of Florida development and a practitioner of the politics of factionalism he was typical of the times, and his activities had touched almost every important event of the decade. Many of the state's editors were glad to see him depart, but some gave him credit for contributing to the good of society. Frank Harris, whose instinctive dislike of Jones had been changed to grudging admiration, wrote in his *Ocala Banner*: "If Mr. Jones ever returns to Florida he will be held in much higher esteem as his great service to the state was only realized when his removal to St. Louis was announced."⁶⁸

John Temple Graves, one of Jones's most persistent antagonists and later a noted columnist for the Hearst newspapers, wrote an exaggerated testimonial to Jones's prowess, but it was the sort of exaggeration that seemed to befit the man. Graves recalled his first meeting in 1881 with Jones: "a dapper little fellow, with a pale, scholarly face, resolute mouth, quick energetic movements, and plenty of confidence in himself." Graves continued: "From that day to this, he has been the most marked man in Florida, more talked of, more criticized, better hated, and by a few better followed than any one man in the State. . . . Lacking in physical courage, he was simply unconquerable in spirit, and inexhaustible in resources, and although paper after paper was started to down him, and combination after combination formed to crush him, he managed somehow to come out of every encounter smiling, confident, and stronger than ever."⁶⁹

68. John Pendleton Gaines, Jr., "A Century in Florida Journalism" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 69; *Ocala Banner*, June 22, 1888.

69. *Ocala Banner*, May 18, 1888.

PENSACOLA, FLORIDA: A MILITARY CITY IN THE NEW SOUTH

by JAMES R. MCGOVERN *

WHEN Henry Grady extolled the emergence of the "New South," he was primarily referring to the advent of an urban industrial civilization in that region; his conception of the "New South" did not foresee the possibility that urbanism in many southern communities would occur without industrialization. While urban history is more than a bookshelf of analyses of individual cities, localized studies of the widely divergent types of cities that make up the "New South" in the twentieth century would enrich our knowledge of the concept. Pensacola, Florida, emerged as a city in the "New South" in the period 1900 to 1945. This is evident from a marked population increase, as well as the manifestation of typical urban attitudes and social problems.¹ Between 1900 and 1945 Pensacola evolved from a provincial city (17,747) with low mobility for its citizens, defined community and family sanctions, and close neighborhood association, to a metropolitan city of 80,000, with patent heterogeneity, population turnover, and problems of social disorder.² Pensa-

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1. An essay defining the city as a place of dense, permanent population, as well as a way of life characterized by transitoriness, secondary contacts, heterogeneity, and a specialization in function, is Louis Wirth's "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July 1938), 1-24. Max Weber has emphasized the nationalizing impact of city life. See Don Martindale, introduction to Max Weber, *The City* (New York, 1958), 62. On social disorganization as typical of cities, see Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, *The Study of Urbanization* (New York, 1966), 20-21. See also John Sirjamaki, *The Sociology of Cities* (New York, 1964), 265, 294-307, which supports analyses of cities as heterogeneous communities dominated by national rather than local influences and as places of fluidity in social relationships. For a similar view, see Scott Greer, *The Emerging Metropolis* (New York, 1961), 86.
2. *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900. Population, Part 1* (Washington, 1901), 612. On metro population of 76,686, see R. L. Polk and Co., *Polk's Pensacola City Directory, 1946* (Richmond, 1946), 15.

cola's urbanization reflects the effects of a military rather than industrial-based local economy.

Because of its port, Pensacola, even in 1900, was more sophisticated than most southern cities of comparable size, yet it still remained basically a traditional southern community.³ Most of its inhabitants were born in rural Florida or Alabama, and they were not comfortable with the colorful and rather boisterous figures who abounded near the city's waterfront.⁴ Pensacola's relative isolation from cosmopolitan cities reinforced the localism and sectionalism of its residents.⁵

Local newspapers were filled with homespun and country fair sorts of trivia. Advertisements, classified ads, and information of a local nature comprised over fifty per cent of the content of the *Pensacola Journal* in 1905, with explicit local news, editorials, and comments largely about Pensacola contributing another twenty per cent.⁶ The Civil War and the way of life

3. Pensacola's population included many descendants of European colonialism. In 1971, as part of the sesquicentennial of Florida becoming an American territory, a Jackson Day Committee in Pensacola traced the ancestry of French and Spanish families from colonial times to the present. See James R. McGovern, ed., *Andrew Jackson and Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1974), 110. In 1900 there were 1,370 foreign-born persons in Escambia County out of 17,747 residents. Of these, 122 were born in Italy, 235 in Germany, and 260 were from Scandinavian countries. *Twelfth Census*, 742. There were probably about 200 Jews in Pensacola. Jacob R. Marcus, archivist for the American Jewish Archives, documents that there were seventy-three members of the Temple Beth-El in 1900. Jacob R. Marcus to author, January 14, 1975.
4. The 1870 census for Escambia County, with Pensacola as its principal community, reveals that forty-seven per cent of the white residents of the county (5,041) were born in Florida and the total southern-born population was nearly eighty-seven per cent of the county's white population. Among Negroes, ninety-nine per cent came from the South. *Escambia County Census, 1870, Population Schedules, Florida, Alachua to Jefferson County* (Washington, D.C.), microfilm, reel 33. An investigation of the place of birth of parents having children in Pensacola for the years 1900, 1905, and 1910 shows that approximately ninety-five per cent were born in the deep South. Birth Records, 1890-1900, 1901-1910, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Escambia County Health Department.
5. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad supplied the only railroad connection with the rest of the country. Maury Klein, *History of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad* (New York, 1972), 157. Brent Road, the major thoroughfare leading out of the city, was often impassible. *Pensacola Journal*, July 12, 1905; and J. Osgood Bellah, "Reminiscences from Pensacola Back to Pensacola, 1903-1935" (unpublished ms, Pensacola Historical Museum, 1953), 5.
6. Horrace G. Davis, Jr., "Pensacola Newspapers, 1821-1900," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII (January-April, 1959), 443-44. Estimates of percentages are based on samplings of the *Pensacola Journal*, January 5, April 5, and August 5, 1903.

for which Southerners had fought that war were still vivid recollections in the early years of the twentieth century. A speaker on Confederate Memorial Day in Pensacola in 1905 declared that the South had "fought because equal rights were denied equal states."⁷ One of the "largest audiences" of the season in 1908 gathered in Armory Hall to attend services commemorating Jefferson Davis.⁸ The example of the town's gentry still dictated norms of social propriety and child-raising. Women were especially prized for their gentleness, sensibilities, and sexual innocence in the best traditions of the "Southern Lady." Pensacola's upper class women prided themselves on the good form which characterized the old southern aristocracy. They had cooks, maids, and yardmen. They presided over dinner in grand style; linens and forks in the right place, and food served from the left side.⁹ Local men kept all "respectable women" from the "coarse appetites" of objectionable blacks and away from the vicinity of the city's notorious red-light district.¹⁰ While Pensacola in 1900 was not so much the typical small southern community just serving an agricultural region, the town's leaders had not yet committed themselves to modernization.

Pensacola's physical appearance was hardly modern either. The business district was made up mostly of two or three-story buildings. Merchandise was still hawked on the sidewalks.¹¹ The city was redolent with offensive odors from fish and turpentine on the waterfront, horse dung on the streets, and the prevailing smell of privies almost everywhere.¹² Ships moving in and out of port and the buzzing of lumber saws dominated sounds on the

7. *Pensacola Journal*, April 27, 1905.

8. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1908.

9. Interviews with Florence Marple, April 10, 1975, and with Mrs. Edward P. Nickinson, February 13, 1973. Both women were conversant with norms of women's behavior in the area in that period. See also the reference to the "good and gracious influences of a mother or a wife or both," in the *Pensacola Journal*, December 3, 1911, and the text of a sermon, "Man is known better by his public life, woman by her private life." *ibid.*, May 28, 1916.

10. The Board of Public Safety ordered saloons, particularly those patronized by Negroes, to be cleared of all pictures and statues of nude women. *Pensacola Journal*, October 9, 1906.

11. Bellah, "Reminiscences from Pensacola," 3-8.

12. In 1899, city inspectors reported that only one in six houses had sewer connections; 3,778 houses had privies; and there were twenty-nine urinals in the city. *Minutes of City Council*, July 5, 1899 (City Hall, Pensacola), 97.

waterfront. Pensacola lacked adequate public services; garbage, for example, was deposited just outside the city limits west of Pensacola. Mayor James M. Hilliard reported to the City Council in 1899 that Pensacola's streets were in "deplorable condition" and that "in many places there are no lights . . . and more than half our city is without drainage of any kind."¹³ Ferdinand Plaza, the city's principal park, he declared, "has more the appearance of dumping grounds for garbage carts than anything else." The wooden sidewalks were "pestholes for vermin." The city's drainage facilities consisted of two large sandy bottom ditches which carried run-off from North Hill by circuitous routes to Pensacola Bay. One councilman described them as so miserable as "to profit only doctors, druggists and undertakers."¹⁴

In the late 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century, progressive attitudes began to transform the city.¹⁵ The Chamber of Commerce, real estate promoters, the editors of the *Pensacola Journal* and the *Bliss Quarterly*, and the manager of Pensacola's new San Carlos Hotel gave special impetus to the "New Pensacola." The *Journal's* editor, Frank L. Mayes, asserted that Pensacola only needed more of the "Atlanta spirit."¹⁶ His editorial, "Wanted A Few First Class Funerals in Pensacola," described his most straight-forward feelings about people who blocked progress.¹⁷ Progressives believed that Pensacola's proximity to the Panama Canal assured a brilliant economic future.¹⁸ Anticipated increases in shipping would lead to the development of manufacturing, and Pensacola might even become the premier industrial city of the Gulf. The city did experience moderate growth in population and income in the decade 1900-1910 as Pensacolians speculated on their city's future prosperity and constructed office buildings and a modern hotel, paved roads, installed sewers, and laid out several attractive new suburbs.¹⁹

13. Mayor James M. Hilliard reports to the council, Minutes of City Council, June 14, 1899, 56-63.

14. Minutes of City Council, March 21, 1908, 395.

15. Mayor W. E. Anderson made this point in a talk at a Chamber of Commerce dinner in 1897. Draft of speech, P. K. Yonge scrapbook, 1875-1917, Ledger 48 (P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville).

16. *Pensacola Journal*, May 21, 1908.

17. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1906.

18. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1913; *Pensacolian*, II (June 1910), 11; and *Bliss Quarterly* magazine, II (March 1904), 48.

19. Pensacola grew in population from 17,747 in 1900, to 22,982 in 1910, a

The city's industrial development did not occur, however, with the opening of the Canal in 1914. Community leaders had overestimated prospects of Pensacola's enrichment from the Panama Canal since Mobile and New Orleans, the latter with outstanding railroad connections, were not much farther from Panama than was their own city. Since Mobile was linked with Birmingham by an extensive river system which facilitated trade in its direction, it also pre-empted Pensacola's exports. Besides, the state of Alabama protected its port by exploiting the advantages of intrastate commerce and by appropriating large sums of money to modernize its facilities under a state port authority.²⁰ Pensacola failed to become an industrial city primarily because of inherent geographic and economic disadvantages. Timber and naval stores, the city's principal industries, were declining by 1910, and the city could not attract new industries.²¹ Conditions for industrialization were not present. While raw materials declined, markets were restricted because of the city's waterlocked position between the Perdido and Escambia rivers to poor areas in southern Alabama.

Optimism prevailed, however, among Pensacola's leaders. They called for "new politics," through an efficient and honest

gain of thirty per cent in one decade, impressive, though less than Mobile's seventy-four per cent increase over the same period. *Fourteenth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1920, I, Population, 1920* (Washington, D.C. 1921), 82. Pensacola experienced a major building boom between 1906 and 1910. Several new office buildings, including the ten-story American National Bank building, the Citizen's and People's Bank, the City Hall, and the San Carlos Hotel, were completed in this period. *Pensacola Journal*, January 14, September 23, 1906, March 6, December 23, 1908, January 8, 1909, and April 19, 1910. Meanwhile, new residential areas developed on the west, north, and east of the city. *Ibid.*, April 17, 18, 1910.

20. For example, the Alabama Railroad Commission cut rates on fish shipped from Mobile to Birmingham below rates from Pensacola to Birmingham though the distances were similar. Edward L. Ullman, "Mobile: Industrial Seaport and Trade Center" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1943), 64-65, 70.
21. The *Pensacola Journal*, July 13, 1909, expresses concern that forests were "fast passing away." The Pensacola Chamber of Commerce acknowledged the passing of the lumber industry as well. *Progressing Pensacola and West Florida* (Pensacola, 1908), 11. On naval stores see *Pensacola Journal*, September 19, 1915, and *Savannah Weekly Naval Stores Review and Journal of Trade*, (April 7, 1923), 6 (Rare Book Room, University of West Florida, Pensacola). One new industry that did come into Pensacola was the Newport Company (1916), a manufacturer of naval stores which employed about 200 workers. Janice Croft, *A Twin Success Story: Pensacola and Newport* (typescript, June 30, 1968, Pensacola Historical Museum), 6.

local government which would foster urban services commensurate with Pensacola's future as a major port and manufacturing center. The city adopted a commission form of government in 1913, largely because the business and professional classes believed it would help fulfill cherished objectives.²² The new government, in keeping with typical processes of urbanization in America during the period, responded to the desire of public-spirited citizens and initiated changes leading to a better-lighted, healthier, cleaner city with adequate urban police and fire protection and improved educational opportunities.²³ The city budget nearly tripled between 1900 and 1914 despite only a moderate increase in population.²⁴ Local progressives, buoyed by the prospects of economic betterment and facts of civic improvement, prophesied a great future for Pensacola.

It is doubtful if they reflected on the impact that urbanism and industrialization would have on traditional patterns of behavior or thought. If they did, they had little to fear in the period 1900 to 1920 when Pensacola was still governed by community sanctions of class, race, and role. North Hill was the elite area and provided the city's acknowledged social and cultural leaders who lived for the most part in its Queen Anne and Greek Revival-style houses.²⁵ Its leading citizens-lumbermen, bankers, lawyers, doctors, and merchants-were usually Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Catholic.²⁶ East Hill was inhabited

22. Members of Pensacola's Progressive League, the principal organization which endorsed the commission form of government, came mostly from the city's professional and business classes. *Pensacola Journal*, July 1, 1910, lists the charter members of the League. See also *R. L. Polk and Co.'s, Pensacola City Directory, 1913* (Jacksonville, 1913).
23. See Blake McKelvey, *The Urbanization of America, [1860-1905]* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1963), 73-126. Pensacola expanded its sewer system (Minutes of the City Council, September 14, 1910, 313), removed health hazards from garbage disposal (*Pensacola Journal*, November 13, 1913), and introduced efficient lighting and fire and police protection (*Pensacola Journal*, June 14, 1916). For police and fire departments, see Minutes of City Council, November 20, 1910, 29-30, and compare with Ordinances of the City of Pensacola, 1916, 343-45, when twice as much money was spent for these urban services. On innovations in education, see Yonge Papers, folders 35-37 (Special Collections, University of West Florida Archives).
24. Compare Minutes of City Council, November 20, 1910, 29-30, in which the budget was nearly \$100,000 and the Ordinances of the City, 1913, 214, when it was \$280,000.
25. Norman Simons and James R. McGovern, *Pensacola in Pictures and Prints* (Pensacola, 1974), 77-82, illustrates the styles of the period.
26. Interviews with J. McHenry Jones, July 25, 1973; Richard H. Merritt, April 17, 1974; Mrs. E. P. Nickinson and Anna Switzer, April 15, 1973.

mostly by middle class residents and artisans, who for the most part were Methodists and Baptists. They were on speaking, but not social, terms with people from North Hill, and did not belong to their elite clubs or share in their sumptuous marriages. Immigrants also occupied a distinct niche, mostly as servicers of the more established population. Both the Jews and the Greeks, comprising together about two per cent of the population in 1920, were generally well received in Pensacola because they aspired to the "good citizen" image. Reform Jews from Germany were successful because of their middle class values, important servicing role as merchants, and because they were careful to avoid the risk of community censure. Where they were different in religious and social customs, they kept those differences to themselves. Even this accommodation did not win them admission into North Hill social circles however, and they themselves shunned later-arriving Orthodox Jews, partly for fear that identification with them might jeopardize their own status.²⁷ The position of Greeks, who worked mostly with the fishing fleet or in the restaurant or grocery businesses, was socially, politically, and economically inferior to the reform Jews. They lived mostly in working class areas on the southside and socialized almost exclusively among themselves, with the church serving as nucleus for their group activities.²⁸

The city's blacks, representing over fifty per cent of the population in 1900, lost ground economically and politically during early decades of the twentieth century. They experienced the full effects of the Jim Crow system and suffered serious economic decline. Indigenous blacks who were familiar with the ways of the dominant white population lost status and income because they came to be identified with large numbers of blacks migrating from Alabama and rural Florida. The latter were often ignorant or contemptuous of the prevailing social norms established by whites and produced a negative impression of the race as a whole. Whereas marginal Greek and Jewish residents accommodated to their new society and thereby succeeded, the

27. A membership list of the Temple Beth-El in 1931 reveals that forty of 100 persons of known occupations were in clothing, grocery, or jewelry businesses. List supplied by Amelia Wagenheim, historian of the Temple. See also interview with Irvin Greenhut, December 3, 1974.

28. Mrs. C. N. Frenkel to author, October 4, 1974; and Abe Levin to author, November 17, 1974.

failure of sufficient blacks to do so provided whites with a rationale to stereotype them negatively. For whites, Pensacola's progress seemingly depended on the continued subordination and segregation of its black population.²⁹ Even Creoles, who lost their special status and were listed as colored in the official city directories as Pensacola became more segregationist, tried to escape the onus of socializing with Negroes by employing severely discriminatory policies in clubs and churches against blacks whom they regarded as inferior.³⁰

Women from all classes of society, while not segregated as a sex during the early days of Pensacola's modernization, lived according to rigid definitions of role. They were enveloped in a climate of family and church. Those from the middle and upper classes devoted whatever other time they had to ladies' societies, to philanthropy, and the arts. There was another group of women in Pensacola who lived completely outside the role of polite society. Prostitutes were segregated in Pensacola's unofficially sanctioned red-light district which accommodated the port city's large number of free-lancing males.³¹ They were ghettoized on the "Line," and paid the price for the lifestyle of their more virtuous sisters.

The "flapper" phenomenon especially demonstrated the increasing complex role of Pensacola's new women. Those pictured in the *Journal* wore short hair, bare arms, and low necklines.³² The local flapper also smoked, went without stockings, and wore the popular one-piece bathing suit.³³ "Necking parties," while not socially approved, became a fact of life in Pensacola, as elsewhere in America. Indeed, one such party took place in the early afternoon in Pensacola's downtown Plaza. According to

29. Interviews with Corinne Jones, September 18, 1975; Rosebud Robinson and Rex Harvey, April 15, 1973. Donald H. Bragaw, "Status of Negroes in a Southern Progressive Era: Pensacola, 1896-1920," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (January 1973), 281-302.

30. Linda V. Ellsworth, "Remnant of a Culture: Creoles In Pensacola" (unpublished ms, West Florida Museum, Pensacola); interview with T. H. McVoy, April 13, 1973; and Donald H. Bragaw, "Loss of Identity on Pensacola's Past: A Creole Footnote," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, L (April 1972), 414-18.

31. On the relationship of the city's ladies to the red-light district, see James R. McGovern, " 'Sporting Life on the Line': Prostitution in Progressive Era Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIV (October 1975), 131-44.

32. *Pensacola Journal*, April 1, 1923, January 15, 1928.

33. Interview with Anna L. Switzer.

the newspaper report, "The couple made love in ardent fashion, oblivious of their surroundings and audience-until police officers interfered. They were taken to the police station but not held when Sgt. Johnson ordered them to go 'out in the woods.'" ³⁴ Young married women from the better classes indulged in prohibited liquor on occasion, and dancing parties became increasingly popular.

The new freedom between the sexes sometimes led to tragic consequences as in the case of two separate incidents of shootings in "lovers' lanes" in the vicinity of Bayview Park and Scenic Highway in 1931. ³⁵ Illegitimate births also increased dramatically during the 1920s as compared with the pre-war period. Records in the Bureau of Vital Statistics reveal only fifteen illegitimate births among the 503 recorded births in 1910 (three per cent), but in 1925 there were sixty-three in 1,814 recorded births, nearly eight per cent. ³⁶ That abortion was being practiced at this time might be inferred from the death of a white, unmarried woman from alleged "post operative complications" in a hospital operated by a black midwife. ³⁷

The Navy's presence assisted the social emancipation of Pensacola's young females. Generally speaking, women from middle and upper class families looked to naval officers as excellent catches. ³⁸ As each graduating class at the Naval Air Station (N.A.S.) wound up its assignment in Pensacola, young women seemed to think that there might never be another group like them. Fliers escorted them to dances at the San Carlos Hotel and the country club, especially the gala New Year's Ball given by naval officers. There were also the "solo parties," given after members of a class had completed their first solo flight. Officers also kept an open house on Saturday nights at Barrachoville (Spanish meaning, "drunkville"), where they served corn liquor to local belles. ³⁹

34. *Pensacola Journal*, July 18, 1929.

35. *Ibid.*, February 1, October 24, 1931.

36. Bernard Skinner, "Legitimate and Illegitimate Births in Escambia County, Florida" (unpublished research paper in author's file).

37. *Pensacola Journal*, August 12, 1927.

38. Interviews with Anna L. Switzer; J. McHenry Jones; Francis P. Taylor, October 17, 1974; and Mrs. E. P. Nickinson. By 1930, over 100 local women were married to naval officers. *Pensacola Journal*, October 25, 1931.

39. Interviews with Anna L. Switzer and Francis P. Taylor.

The local economy in the 1920s was increasingly forced to depend on the Naval Air Station, as hopes of attracting outside capital evaporated with the collapse of the Florida land boom. The older industries-lumbering and naval stores-continued their decline and thus precipitated a further decrease in the city's export trade. Perhaps the coming of the Frisco Railroad in 1928, and the area's road and bridge building programs in the late 1920s, might have produced salutary results if the Depression had not paralyzed trade and confidence so soon after their completion.⁴⁰ Pensacola's relatively poor performance in industries, real estate promotion, and transportation prompted an observer in the local paper to describe the Naval Air Station in 1928 as "the city's greatest industrial plant."⁴¹ As a result, Pensacola's business leaders turned increasingly to the Navy, which by 1930 was probably supplying one-fourth of the total salaries in Pensacola, for economic growth.⁴² They conducted business relations with the Navy with great entrepreneurial skill.⁴³ While the decision to cultivate the growth of the Naval Air Station was beneficial as well as inevitable, this pact with the government welfare

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40. Pensacola's Scenic Highway was completed in 1929 with the opening of the Pensacola Bay Bridge (1931) and the bridge linking the city with Santa Rosa Island. *Pensacola Journal*, June 12, June 14, 1931. The Lillian Highway Bridge across the Perdido River was completed in 1931.
41. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1928. There were 437 civilians employed on a per diem basis at the Naval Air Station in 1922; 628 in 1927; and 853 in 1932. "History of Naval Training Bases, Pensacola, Florida" (U. S. Navy Operational Archives, Washington Naval Shipyard, Washington, D. C., n.d.), Supply and Accounting 1, part 12, appendix 15. The station reportedly employed 670 permanent enlisted personnel in 1923 before its major expansion in 1927-28. *Pensacola Journal*, June 20, 1923. The entering class of fliers in July 1925, was reportedly 100. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1925. Disbursements to military and civilian personnel augmented from \$2,301,000 in 1921 to \$4,233,000 in 1930. "Naval Air Training Bases," appendix 3.
42. According to the 1934 *Pensacola City Directory*, total salaries for wholesale and retail businesses in Pensacola, excluding the military, was \$13,500,000. R. L. Polk, *Pensacola City Directory* (Jacksonville, 1934), 13-14. In 1930, N.A.S. was disbursing \$4,233,000 to its military and civilian personnel. "Naval Air Training Bases," Volume I, part 12; "History of Supply Corps Activities" (United States Navy Operational Archives, Washington Naval Shipyard, Washington, D.C., n.d.), appendix 7.
43. For example, local business and fraternal organizations donated land to the Navy to facilitate the expansion of its fixed wing training program. *Pensacola Journal*, May 28, 1920; F. M. Blount to Duncan W. Fletcher, February 2, 1927 (Special Collections, University of West Florida); and *Pensacola Journal*, February 8, 1927.

might have had negative effects because prosperity linked to the Navy may have throttled local initiative.⁴⁴

Until 1920, Pensacola's identity as a city in the New South was chiefly characterized by its commission form of government and elaboration of urban services. Its modernization and urbanization proceeded rapidly thereafter. The Naval Air Station, which opened January 13, 1914, provided an increasing number of jobs. Federal economic supports during the Depression era and the augmenting impact of modern technology were also responsible for the accelerating effect. Formidable challenges to the old orders developed in the late 1920s. Automobiles, movies, improved news coverage through international news services, and an increasing complement of naval personnel all threatened loyalties of locality.

Automobiles provided many Pensacolians with unprecedented opportunities for new experiences and personal freedom. While the exact number of cars sold in Pensacola and Escambia County in the early 1920s is unknown, a boom in automobile purchases followed World War I. The *Pensacola Journal* reported that 1919 was "the most active [year] in the history of the automobile business" as "all classes had machines."⁴⁵ A local auto dealer's association was organized in 1920 and a great variety of cars were purchased from throughout the area.⁴⁶ One Chevrolet dealer recalls selling over twenty new and used cars each month during the period.⁴⁷ The *Journal* noted in 1925 that for the first time the New Year's Eve celebration turned Palafox Street into a "veritable race track filled with cars from Wright Street to Zarragossa"; the cars' occupants were yelling and blowing their horns as if from a scene in a wild movie of the period.⁴⁸

44. Interview with James Pace, March 14, 1973. Pace alleged that the reason Pensacola did not obtain a paper mill in the mid-1930s was because the Navy opposed it. Thomas Kennedy believes that Pensacola lost Ingall's Shipyard to Pascagoula because of the Navy's opposition. Thomas Kennedy to author, March 30, 1974. See also *Pensacola Journal*, April 6, 1934.

45. *Pensacola Journal*, January 4, 1920. The Pensacola Electric Company, which operated the street car system, experienced a loss of revenue in the early 1920s attributed to the popularity of automobiles. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1923. In the later 1920s, over 20,000 automobiles were registered in Escambia County. Jerome Tyre (chief of Registration Service, Division of Motor Vehicles), to author, December 2, 1974.

46. *Pensacola Journal*, January 15, 1920.

47. Interview, Bradley Bean with Filo H. Turner, January 12, 1973.

48. *Pensacola Journal*, January 1, 1925.

Like most American cities in the early 1930s, Pensacola could not cope with the hard times of its residents through voluntary social welfare organizations. The city welcomed New Deal emergency programs which were especially generous as a consequence of President Roosevelt's decision to allocate large amounts of relief dollars into projects for national defense such as the Naval Air Station. Expenditures for facilities were matched by a striking growth in numbers of naval officers, trainees, and enlisted men, as well as civilian employees at the Naval Air Station. Yearly disbursements at N.A.S. grew from \$2,408,000 in 1933, to \$6,017,000 in 1936.⁴⁹ While Escambia County received only about \$3,000,000 in FERA, CWA, and WPA monies for non-Naval projects between 1932 and 1936, the federal government dispensed \$15,200,000 in salaries of Naval and civilian employees at N.A.S., \$3,000,000 in WPA and PWA money for the station, and probably more than \$2,000,000 for purchase of supplies and maintenance equipment in Pensacola, a total of \$23,000,000 in a four-year period.⁵⁰ The Navy expended even more money in Pensacola in the late 1930s as the threat of war in Europe grew. The number of cadets expanded rapidly, and several new flying fields were purchased and made operational.⁵¹ As a consequence, even as the city's own industries remained relatively unchanged,

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49. "Naval Air Training Bases," Part 2, appendix 4. Federal disbursements at Ft. Barrancas near Pensacola to members of the Civilian Conservation Corps stationed in several nearby states aggregated \$600,000 per month in 1934. *Pensacola Journal*, April 6, 1934.
 50. Estimate of federal expenditures to Escambia County is taken from the *Final Statistical Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration* (Washington, D.C., 1942), 255, which shows an appropriation of \$1,519,431. The Civil Works Administration contributed \$721,489 to Pensacola. On WPA monies, approximately \$600,000, see *Pensacola Journal*, November 22, 1935. Estimates of PWA and WPA monies diverted to the Naval Air Station are taken from *ibid.* President Roosevelt's inclination to divert funds from relief to military buildup is established in William D. Reeves, "PWA and Competitive Administration in the New Deal," *Journal of American History*, LX (September 1973). Monies dispensed to civilians and military personnel employed at N.A.S. is taken from "Naval Air Training Bases," part 12, appendix 4.
 51. "Naval Air Training Bases," part 12, appendix 4; "History of Supply Corps Activities," appendix 7. Disbursements from 1939 to 1941 were approximately four, eight, and fourteen million dollars. On the doubling of the numbers of aviators trained at Pensacola, see Bureau of Aeronautics, General Correspondence (National Archives, Washington, D.C., n.d.), Vol. 8, Commandant N.A.S. to Chief of Bureau of Aeronautics, August 23, 1937; *ibid.*, Vol. 19, January 11, 1939; and *ibid.*, Vol. 20, September 13, 1939.

Pensacola experienced economic gains, rapid population growth, and significant urbanizing influences.⁵²

By the 1930s Pensacola had clearly become an important center in the New South. Its metro population probably reached 50,000 in the late 1930s and increased to at least 80,000 during World War II. Pensacola's urbanism was characterized by growth in sophistication as well. The presence of an expanded military, together with the interlacing consequences of technology and culture disseminated from the nation's great cities, developed urban mentalities as well as urban dwellers. In general, Pensacola became a more open and tolerant community typical of urbanized areas.⁵³ Ethnic enclaves disappeared. The older, rigid basis of socialization founded on residence, religion, ethnic grouping, and quality of sexual moral life virtually disintegrated in the face of urbanizing forces. While many North Hill residents still adopted superior attitudes toward people from other areas, their friendships with acceptable people from East Hill were now more common. Select sororities such as the Welakas and Entre-Nous had memberships from each area, though these groups did not include members from poorer areas such as West Hill. Dating and double-dating patterns illustrated the same changes. The rules governing ladylike behavior which had kept North Hill girls several notches above their peers became outmoded. Social friendships developed between Christian and Jewish girls and young men on North Hill, and a number of inter-marriages between local Jews and Gentiles occurred-which was unthinkable in an earlier period. Even the relationship between Reform and Orthodox Jews became more equal; rapid economic strides made by the Orthodox Jews during World War II would further close this gap. A rotational system of inviting rabbis and Christian clergymen to deliver the commencement sermon at Pensacola High School was another sign of growing understanding, as was the school board's decision to hire Catholic and married women

52. *Pensacola Journal*, December 11, 1939. *Forbes* magazine listed Pensacola as a "good area" for business sales in early 1940. *Forbes* magazine, XLV (January 15, 1940), 30. Pensacola's population grew from approximately 31,579 in 1930, to 37,449 in 1940, a gain of fifteen per cent. *Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population*, Vol. II, Part 2, 124. Metro population for 1940 was estimated to be approximately 50,000. *Pensacola City Directory, 1942* (Richmond, 1942), 13.

53. *Pensacola Journal*, August 13, November 12, 1939.

as teachers.⁵⁴ Greeks also participated more in the social affairs of the community, and by the 1930s many of them had become prosperous owners of the city's principal restaurants.

A major consequence of the expanded federal presence was to weaken local and sectional identifications among area residents. The Navy sponsored some of the city's most distinctive social affairs, and "town society" was delighted to be entertained at receptions at the commandant's quarters on the station or at cocktail parties sponsored by officers at their homes.⁵⁵ Navy contingents also participated in the local horse shows esteemed by the town's elite. Some Navy wives with professional skills conducted classes in portraiture in the Federal Art Gallery on a voluntary basis, directed and participated in the Pensacola Little Theatre, and sponsored art exhibits.⁵⁶

As Pensacola became more of an urban community, the impact of rural people moving in was not as great as in earlier years. The best index on the number in this sizable group in the local population comes from birth records which show an increase in the number of Pensacola parents who were born in the rural areas of Alabama and northwest Florida.⁵⁷ In 1940, for example, when the local economy was experiencing rapid growth through large military expenditures, only 590 of Pensacola's 2,786 parents were themselves natives of Pensacola, while 616 were born in other areas of Florida and 789 in Alabama. Yet, those in-migrants too felt the effects of the increasingly secular, mobile, heterogeneous, business-oriented, cosmopolitan society in which they lived.

World War II produced greater national influence on the community than at any previous time in its history. The city grew enormously through expansion of the military and its civilian employees and secondarily through industries directly associated with the war effort. Though the city's population increased from 37,449 in 1940, to 43,304 in 1945, Pensacola and

54. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1939.

55. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1938.

56. Interviews with Osgood Anson, July 23, 1975, and Thomas M. Kennedy, April 17, 1974; Irvin Greenhut to author, March 17, 1974; George Wagenheim to author, May 17, 1975; and Mae Partridge to author, April 10, 1975.

57. Birth Records, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Escambia County Health Department, 1935-1940 (Pensacola, Florida).

its vicinity housed at least an additional 100,000 people during those years.⁵⁸ Expenditures through the main disbursing office for N.A.S. (known after 1942 as the Naval Air Training Command in Pensacola) from 1942 to 1945 indicate that the Navy paid civilians approximately \$50,000,000: \$30,000,000 for officers, and \$20,000,000 to the "crew."⁵⁹ Whereas federal spending of more than \$20,000,000 in the 1930s was responsible for Pensacola's relative prosperity during the Depression period, the infusion of at least \$160,000,000 from 1942 to 1945 generated unprecedented income and savings.

There were many indicators of this unparalleled surge in the local economy and progressive urbanization. Bank deposits in Pensacola's three major banks between 1940 and 1945 grew from \$11,000,000 to over \$30,000,000.⁶⁰ Bank clearings simultaneously rose from \$122,000,000 to \$328,000,000.⁶¹ Pensacola reportedly ranked high among American cities in per capita income.⁶² Five years of rapid economic growth produced results which nearly tripled Pensacola's economic achievements between 1900 and 1940. Frantic calls for labor and chronic shortages of housing, despite remedial efforts by the government in setting up a free vocational school for 100 students and building 744 housing units in the Navy Point area, were other barometers of the "boom."⁶³ The San Carlos, a tribute to the golden days of hotel building in 1910, paid off its debts and made plans to modernize and add a new floor costing \$500,000-identical to the original cost of the hotel.⁶⁴ In the fiscal year ending September 30, 1944, the city of

58. *Florida State Census, Seventh Census of the State of Florida, 1945* (Tallahassee, 1945), 72. There were, for example, 28,562 fliers designated at Pensacola during World War II. *Gosport*, August 24, 1945. Their friends and wives, trainees who did not finish the program, and additional workers for the Navy would justify an estimated population of 100,000 additional residents at some time during the war.

59. "Naval Air Training Bases," Vol. I, Part 12, Supply and Accounting, A-16, appendix A. Pensacola experienced modest industrial growth in the 1930s with the opening of St. Regis Paper Company sixteen miles north of the city. *Pensacola Journal*, September 14, 1939; *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Manufacturers 1939*, III, 191.

60. *Rand McNally International Banker's Directory* (Chicago, 1940), 441; *ibid.*, 1945, 447-48.

61. "Bank Debits to Deposit Accounts" (Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta), 2-3.

62. *Pensacola Journal*, November 23, 1942.

63. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1943.

Pensacola first operated on a \$1,000,000 budget, a hallmark of urban development.⁶⁵

World War II promoted cosmopolitan attitudes among Pensacolians as well as urban growth. As all values and attitudes had to withstand the scrutiny of national goals, petty divisions among religious groups or neighborhoods dissolved. Members of the Catholic Daughters worked side-by-side with the Beth-El Sisterhood and with Protestant women's groups at the U.S.O. and military canteens. Social differences between North Hill and East Hill, already minimized in the 1930s, did not deter the city's ability to sustain six successful war bond drives.⁶⁶

The war promoted Pensacola's urbanization by accelerating a dissolution of community and family controls over individual behavior. Military men typified the transitory, heterogeneous residents of the modern city. Arrests of military men for drunk and disorderly behavior were fairly common occurrences. Other types of social disorder were closely related to the military presence in the area. Pensacola attracted a disproportionate number of unmarried women. Some hoped to find employment as clerks or machinists; others worked outside the former zone for prostitution at all class levels and in all sorts of establishments from back alleys and mobile trailers to plush rooms at the San Carlos Hotel.⁶⁷ Vice and venereal disease in Pensacola distressed Navy and local officials alike.⁶⁸ An article in *Time* magazine, "Red Light for Red Lights," may have contributed to the military's concern when it singled out Pensacola as "one bad spot" in Florida and as being "near the top of the War Department's black list."⁶⁹

Crime, especially among juveniles, also escalated. Knifings, petty thievery, and grand larceny involving youths were frequently reported. In July 1945, approximately half of the 118 court cases awaiting trial involved persons under twenty-one

64. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1944.

65. City of Pensacola Ordinance No. 18-43, August 27, 1943, 12.

66. *Pensacola Journal*, December 2, 17, 1944.

67. Interview, George Crain with John Cordell, May 15, 1975.

68. Minutes of the Council, 1931-43, November 7, 1941, 512. Note approval of action by city authorities on part of commander of N.A.S., Admiral G. D. Murray, in *ibid.*, 596.

69. *Time* magazine, XXXIX (April 27, 1942), 55-56. See also Commissioner's Court Records, 10, 1938-42, 526 (Escambia County Courthouse), which relates to the efforts by the county commissioners to eradicate V.D.

years of age.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, a survey in the local paper suggested that illegitimate births were increasing because young women were being left alone by working parents.⁷¹ The local community also lost influence in determining the marital prospects for its young people. About one in seven servicemen who married in Escambia County during the war wed a Pensacola girl.⁷²

Although Pensacola's blacks, of all groups, were least affected by urbanizing and nationalizing pressures during World War II, they too benefited in several ways. The number of blacks registered to vote increased from 289 in 1941, to 1,066 in 1943.⁷³ The need for skilled fliers, regardless of color, exploded myths of racial inferiority of blacks. Three Pensacola blacks became officers and fliers in the Army Air Force: Lieutenant James R. Polkinghorne, Jr., Lieutenant Scott C. Jones, Jr., and Lieutenant Daniel (Chappie) James, Jr.⁷⁴ All had been trained to fly the P-38 in the 96th Pursuit Squadron at Tuskegee Institute. Both Polkinghorne and Jones died in action in Italy, and their remarkable dedication to their country won local commendation.⁷⁵ General Daniel James would later become the highest ranking black officer in the history of the American military. (The state office building in Pensacola is named in his honor.) Thus, the social dislocations prompted by the national emergency began to change the white image of some blacks, though they still basically constituted a sub-community similar to urban groupings of blacks in other American cities of the period.

Pensacola's urbanization occurred without significant industrialization primarily because of expansion in the area's naval facilities and personnel. Technology and media culture supplemented the impact of the military in contributing to cosmopolitan and secular views and dissolution of neighborhood and com-

70. The City Council described a "noteworthy increase" in "child delinquency" in 1943. Police were ordered to enforce curfew laws requiring "children" under sixteen off the streets after 9 p.m. *Minutes of the City Council*, 1943-47, January 7, 1943.

71. *Pensacola Journal*, November 16, 1943.

72. William Adams, "Pensacola During World War II," Appendix A, 82-88, Colonel Adams researched marriage applications at the Escambia County License Bureau.

73. *Pensacola Journal*, April 4, 1943.

74. Interview with General Daniel (Chappie) James, April 20, 1974; and *Pensacola Journal*, April 4, 1943.

75. Interview with Mrs. Corinne Jones.

munity standards, typical of urban areas. While Pensacola became urban in the size and attitudes of its middle class, the large rural population attracted to the city during World War II by employment opportunities with the Navy and military-related occupations created cultural dichotomies. Their in-migration diluted, to some extent, the federal presence and slowed the breakdown of the distinctive organizational and cultural forms of the old locality, hence the impact of urbanization. Pensacola's evolution suggests a model for the numerous military-based southern cities that contribute to the mosaic conveniently described under the rubric "New South."

FLORIDA'S RELATIONS WITH CUBA DURING THE CIVIL WAR

by JAMES W. CORTADA *

THE GEOGRAPHICAL proximity of Spain's colony of Cuba to Florida has insured, throughout the nineteenth century, that they would share a unique relationship. Political pundits, military strategists, international businessmen, and later, historians, continually recognized that geography, history, and politics influenced Cuba and Florida, intertwining their affairs. Geography by itself, although an important element in their relations, remained less significant than the much broader political struggle that existed between the United States and Spain over control first of North America, and later over the Caribbean. Florida and Cuba were pawns in this much larger international game of chess that throughout the past century involved France, Great Britain, Spain, and the United States in the New World. These nations, therefore, looked upon Florida and Cuba as fundamental elements in their rivalry for control and influence over the developing American hemisphere.

The center piece of this rivalry between Europe and the Americas was the struggle for control over specific pieces of land between the United States and Spain. In the early part of the nineteenth century, their subject of concern was Florida. By the late 1840s, attention focused on Cuba. No true appreciation of their continuing rivalry can be gained without understanding the special relationship of Florida to Cuba. Although much has been written on the subject, a little-studied period in those relations was that of the American Civil War. The decade of the 1860s illustrated many of the tensions between Spain and the United States, while once again carefully drawing the significance of Florida's geo-political position toward the Caribbean.

For decades prior to the start of the Civil War, the United States had threatened Spain's influence in the New World. In the

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late eighteenth century and during the early years of the nineteenth, the United States had expanded westward across the Blue Ridge mountains of Virginia into the valleys of the Ohio to the Rocky mountains and south across the one-time Spanish colonies of Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, the entire Southwest, and eventually into the far western lands of California up to old Spanish colonial sites in the present-day state of Washington. At various moments, war nearly developed between the two nations, and groups of soldiers and pioneers had often shot at one another. Yet, as early as the 1820s, Spain had been pushed off the North American continent, reducing tensions in the northern hemisphere. Florida came under American control, and by the late 1840s, some citizens were casting a hungry look southward at Cuba and the Caribbean. The logic for focusing on Cuba is understood by historians who have outlined the key details of the slave issue, the rise of cotton economics, and the geographical attractiveness of Cuba to the United States.¹ Emphasis in this article will be placed on some of the geo-political and international issues that defined the special relationship of Florida to Cuba; less attention will therefore be paid to the domestic American concerns.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, many Americans felt that Florida's military security was being threatened by Spain's presence in Cuba. Each passing crisis with Spain generated talk of war in the two countries; both felt the other threatened their interests. There were arguments that Florida could not be protected if the captain-general in Havana decided to send his well-armed military units and ships northward. With the acquisition of California and the discovery of gold there, communications between the eastern United States and the West by ship dictated that sea lanes in the Caribbean be secure.²

1. James W. Cortada, *Two Nations Over Time: Spain and the United States, 1776-1977* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 52-71, 284-93; Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817-1886* (Austin, 1967), *passim*; R. Olivar Bertrand, *España y los españoles: cien años atras* (Madrid, 1970), 50-75.
2. A. C. Wilgus, "Official Expression of Manifest Destiny Sentiment Concerning Hispanic-America, 1848-1871," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 15 (July 1932), 486-506; C. Stanley Urban, "The Ideology of Southern Imperialism: New Orleans and the Caribbean, 1845-1860," *ibid.*, 39 (January 1956), 48-73; David M. Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Annexation: Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican War* (Columbia, Missouri, 1973), *passim*.

Spain, for its part, increasingly sought to reassert its influence in the New World. Official and public policy dictated that the challenge posed by the United States to Cuba be met with increased military preparedness in Cuba and in Puerto Rico, and by expanded cultural, economic, and political ties to Latin America. Aggressive policies led to more Spanish involvement in the internal affairs of Mexico and Santo Domingo, thereby augmenting the concern that all parties shared about Cuba, Spain, and the United States. Expanding economic opportunities in Spain, a successfully fought war in North Africa, and a period of relative stability in the early 1860s in the Iberian peninsula allowed Spain to consider more assertive measures to protect its diminished empire, efforts which included an expanded military presence in the Caribbean, negotiation of treaties with Latin American governments, and a search for an international alliance with European governments to block American expansion into the Caribbean.³

Changing political and military fortunes suggested that, as the Civil War grew closer, discussions were needed among Americans and Spaniards about the relative importance of Cuba. Some Americans feared that the acquisition of the colony would draw slaves out of southern states (such as Virginia and other border areas), possibly making Cuban plantations more competitive than those on the North American continent. It might also upset the delicate balance-of-power between free and slave states in the Congress. Louisiana sugar plantations could suffer if there were no longer tariff protection to bar importation of Cuban sugar, some of which likely was shipped into this country through the ports of Pensacola and Tampa.

Thus not all Americans were enthusiastic about acquiring Cuba. There was much dialogue regarding slavery at the same time as part of the overall assessment of Cuban-Floridian and Cuban-American contacts. Yet there is little evidence that it was a major issue in Cuban-Florida relations, despite the fact that the slavery controversy was becoming a matter of grave political concern in the United States. There were many reasons for this

3. Jerónimo Becker, *Historia de las relaciones exteriores de España durante el siglo XIX*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1924-1927), II, 200-400; see also his *Historia política y diplomática desde la independencia de los Estados Unidos hasta nuestros días, 1776-1895* (Madrid, 1897), *passim*.

relative unimportance. Traffic in slaves between the two areas had been limited for several decades by law and economics. International agreements and national laws forbade the general exportation or importation of Africans or slaves from other nations. Cuba imported increasing numbers of slaves in the 1840s and 1850s from Puerto Rico, where both the agricultural economy and an active abolition movement curtailed the demand for a bondage labor pool. Some slaves were smuggled out of North America to Cuba by way of New Orleans and Mobile rather than from Florida during the 1840s and 1850s. Slave trading between Cuba and Florida had, by the 1840s, become an illegal minor traffic.⁴

The outbreak of the Civil War dramatically drew the attention of the Union, Confederacy, and Spain to Florida's geopolitical ties to Cuba. Spain, following the lead of France and Great Britain, acted quickly in declaring its neutrality. Commercial ships of either side could call on Spain while naval vessels would be treated by a different, more stringent set of rules. Spain allowed both sides to call at Cuban ports during the Civil War. At the same time, Spain retained its consulate at Pensacola, instructing its local representative to report on what was happening in the area, while avoiding any official contact with Confederate officials appointed by the government in Richmond, but serving the local Spanish community in normal consular ways.⁵

The Confederacy sought to circumvent the European diplomatic conventions by encouraging the sale of military supplies by Spanish merchants to its armies. Relying at first on New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, Confederate officials sought to import from Cuba European products which it could no longer obtain from the North. These included medical supplies, food, machinery, weapons, and clothing for its soldiers. The Spanish resisted selling the Confederates ammunition and weapons, al-

4. James W. Cortada, "Economic Issues in Caribbean Politics: Rivalry Between Spain and the United States in Cuba, 1848-1898," *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 86 (Julio-Diciembre, 1978), 233-67.

5. Minister of State to Garcia Tassara, January 18, 1861, Spain, Archive of the Foreign Ministry, politica, U.S.A., legajo 2403 (hereinafter cited Sp/file type/country/legajo number); copies of Spanish instructions to all consuls are in Charleston Consular Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

though some small supplies were smuggled out of Cuba by way of Florida into the South. Confederate officials also wanted to use Cuba as a point of contact for convincing the Spanish government to favor their cause. Charles Helm, once an American consul in Havana, represented the Confederacy in Cuba. Although politely acknowledged by the captain-generals, he accomplished little. New Orleans and Mobile in time were either captured or blockaded by Union forces, making Pensacola a major port for commercial relations until Federal naval forces finally closed off most of Florida's coastline.

The Spanish in Havana tolerated trade with the Confederacy on a low-key basis as a means of preserving normal, yet delicate, ties to the South, while not disrupting the Cuban economy any more than was necessary. They feared rousing local dissidents who were already upset with the lack of economic and political reforms on the island. Furthermore, throughout the Civil War, Spanish officials tempered their actions on the chance that the Confederacy might eventually triumph. If that occurred, a new southern government might pose a threat to Spain's control over Cuba; military action could be launched from Louisiana or Florida. It would be important to have the record show that Spain had helped the Confederacy by allowing commercial ties to continue with Havana.⁶

Most of the southern trade was cotton exported to Havana and then to Europe, via Florida ports. Confederate officials traveling to Europe occasionally passed through Florida first on the way to Cuba and the continent. Coming into the Confederacy were supplies of food, cigars, shoes (Spanish army surplus), some medical supplies, and clothing. Much of it was brought in by way of Florida throughout the conflict. Unfortunately, no specific records showing the volume of business have been revealed either in American or Spanish archives. Most trade circumvented normal official channels, and cannot be quantified. Moreover, Spanish officials avoided acknowledging the trade through any systematic tabulation of its activities. However, impressionistic evidence drawn from United States consular reports and colonial records from Havana, now housed in Madrid's *Archivo Histórico*

6. Clifford L. Egan, "Cuba, Spain and the American Civil War," *The Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal*, 5 (October 1968), 58-63.

Nacional, suggest that the traffic was considerable, although sporadic.

The American consulate constantly monitored this traffic as best it could. Every time a transaction was revealed, Federal officials would protest to the colonial government and to the foreign ministry at Madrid. The United States established a maritime blockade around the coastline of the Confederate South during the early months of the Civil War in an attempt to halt Confederate traffic to the outside world and to keep foreign supplies out. At first, the blockade was a "paper" one since there were no Federal ships involved. The Spanish, following normal international practice, argued that the blockade had to be "effective" for any nation to honor it. Spain refused to order traffic from such ports as Pensacola and Tampa turned back at Havana.⁷

Maritime incidents became an important topic of conversation among the involved governments throughout the Civil War. The pattern remained constant. A Confederate ship would leave a Florida, Georgia, or Louisiana port bound for Havana; if it was seized by a Union vessel, possibly in Cuban waters, the Spanish would protest a violation of territorial waters. Other incidents involved Spanish or Cuban ships leaving a southern port only to be boarded by Union naval personnel on the open seas. The Confederates would complain that their ships were not being accorded international protection by the Spanish who allowed Union ships to violate Cuban waters. The Union navy continually expanded its real blockade of southern ports and stationed dozens of ships off Florida, particularly in that band of water south of the Keys and north of Cuba. They also patrolled other widely-used Florida ports. As the Civil War proceeded, the pressure by the Federal navy to occupy important coastal communities in Florida was a logical outgrowth of the Union's strategy of blockading all points of entry for supplies to the Confederacy. Cedar Key on the Gulf coast was attacked in January 1862, and a section of the only cross-state railroad in Florida was destroyed. Shortly afterwards, a Federal flotilla moved against Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine. Jacksonville was

7. James W. Cortada, "Relaciones diplomáticas entre los Estados Unidos y España, 1861-1865," *Cuadernos de Historia Económica de Cataluña*, no. 4 (1969-1970), 107-23.

taken four times during the war by the Federals, and they occupied St. Augustine and Fernandina throughout the conflict. The capture of Pensacola and Apalachicola, and the occupation of the fort at Key West, a Union stronghold until the end of the war, gave the Federals virtual control of Florida's east and west coasts. The Federal blockade began to have a major deterrent effect on maritime traffic between Cuba and Florida by the middle of 1863, if not earlier.⁸

Throughout 1861 and 1862, Europe watched to see who would win the Civil War. During this time the governments waited and read battlefield reports, Confederate ships were calling at Cuban ports. The American consulate in Havana, in January 1862, complained that several dozen Confederate ships were in port, some having come from Florida.⁹ Meanwhile, the Union navy was increasing its vigilance off Florida to the point of irritating so many governments through violations of international or Cuban waters that President Lincoln had to order the Navy Department to be more circumspect in its actions.¹⁰ Throughout 1862, Spanish and American diplomats criticized each others' policies regarding maritime traffic. The Spanish concern was summarized by one Spanish foreign office official, Antonio González, who wrote to the foreign minister that, "the defense and security of our interests, the navigation of our ships and the commerce of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo will be restrained if the Northern ships repeat such aggressions."¹¹ By 1864, the Union blockade of Florida had just about sealed off maritime traffic between that state and Cuba. The American consul in Havana noted, in February 1864, that Cuban merchants "have realized the fact that the blockade . . . is very stringent and becoming still more so every day."¹²

8. For details on the Union blockades and their impact on maritime policies and practices see Stuart L. Bernath, *Squall across the Atlantic: American Civil War Prize Cases and Diplomacy* (Berkeley, 1970).

9. Shufeld to William Seward, No. 3, January 13, 1862, United States, Department of Archives, National Archives, Dispatches, Havana, vol. 45 (hereinafter cited US/disp/group/vol), Washington, D.C.

10. Bernath, *Squall across the Atlantic*, 118; Crawford to Russell in a series, No. 11, March 14, 1862; No. 15, April 12, 1862; No. 16, April 18, 1862; Great Britain, Foreign Office Archive, Public Records Office, 72, vol. 1041, London.

11. Antonio González to Minister of State, No. 287, November 14, 1862, Sp/pol/USA/2407.

12. Savage to Seward, No. 120, February 3, 1864, US/disp/Havana/47.

An important byproduct of the maritime relations between Florida and Cuba was a round of discussions between Union and Spanish diplomats regarding the extent of Cuba's territorial waters, and the interpretation of what limits could be placed on United States claims to control over coastal zones. Spain claimed it controlled a belt six miles wide around Cuba, while the United States only acknowledged a three-mile band. Each relied on international law to develop a series of arguments to support their respective cases. Such legalistic exercises were grounded in practical considerations. For instance, in 1862, with an eye cast on Florida, Secretary of State William H. Seward sought the advice of the Navy Department regarding their preferences on international water rights before opening talks with the Spanish. Seward wanted to know what the Navy Department needed in order to patrol Florida's coastline effectively. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, argued that a three-mile limit was essential, but he acknowledged privately that Seward might have to accede to Spain's demands for a six-mile limit which would follow the normal international practice of the day.¹³

Discussions continued throughout the war without any resolution. Union ships continued to violate Cuban waters, chasing commercial vessels that left Florida's ports, and stopping others before they could reach Confederate ports. The Spanish sought to curb the Union Navy by having their own naval vessels patrol Cuban waters. They were not successful. There even were instances when Union ships ran blockade runners aground on Cuba's shore, generating diplomatic protests, few results, and additional work for diplomatic historians.

Of more long-term significance than maritime incidents was the issue of slavery and how it impacted relations between Spain and the United States and Cuba and Florida. Slavery ended in Florida with its occupation by Union forces. However, in Cuba, slavery continued until the 1880s. In the weeks immediately following the end of the American Civil War, reports filtered into various Union Army and Spanish colonial offices regarding the export of slaves from the former Confederacy to Cuba.

13. Seward to Gideon Welles, October 10, 1862, US/domestic letters/58; Gideon Welles, *Lincoln and Seward* (New York, 1874), 167-73; Gideon Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles*, 3 vols. (New York, 1960), I, 170; Tassara to Minister of State, No. 203, October 13, 1862, Sp/pol/USA/2408.

Throughout 1865 and 1866 persistent reports and rumors about blacks being sent from Florida to Cuba caused officials to worry. Delivery of slaves would violate the laws both of the United States and of Spain, and it would embarrass Cuban colonial officials who were under orders to reduce the slave population on the island. Rumors pointed to Pensacola as being a point from which ex-slaves were being shipped to Cuban plantations. By the spring of 1866, reports of such traffic were so creditable that the State Department and Spain's envoy to Washington, Gabriel Garcia Tassara, discussed the issue and then notified local officials in Florida and Cuba to stop the exportation of blacks. The actual number of former slaves sent to Cuba in the months following the Civil War may never be known; however, it appears that between forty and 200 left Florida for Cuban plantations.¹⁴

A byproduct of these episodes was increased United States pressure on Spain to abolish slavery in Cuba and in Puerto Rico. Spanish officials were extremely sensitive to this American attitude since dissident elements on both islands at that time were advocating independence from Spain, and it was known that within their ranks were many abolitionists. Thus the Spanish always linked United States concerns about slavery to political motives that suggested Washington might want to expand its control over the Caribbean just as it had before the Civil War. Thus the exportation of slaves from Florida was more than just a parochial or humanitarian problem to be solved.

Cuba's revolution which began in the fall of 1868 was the result, in part, of an active abolitionist movement which had some American support. The main thrust of this revolution however, was for political and administrative reforms. It was not predicated on any hope that the United States would support in any major way-although it did mildly-a bid for freedom and the abolition of slavery. The Spanish government proved able to retain its control over the island after many bloody military actions. Most of the rebel leaders fled the island, many emigrating to the United States by way of Mobile, New York, and Pensacola. After the first round of fighting ended at the end of

14. United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers* (Washington, 1867 -), 1866, I, 615-17, 624; Tassara to Pons, May 11, 1866, Charleston Consular Papers.

1868, a number of Cuban rebels passed through Florida en route to the North in search of refuge, money, support, and supplies. Spanish officials tried to keep a close watch on Florida ports, but were not very successful. Pensacola and Tampa operated as ports of entry for Cuban rebels throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century. There were very active Cuban communities in both cities.¹⁵

Thus, in examining the period of the 1850s and 1860s, several conclusions may be drawn about the role Florida played in United States-Cuban relations. Her geographical proximity to Cuba made it necessary for officials in Washington to contain any Spanish military strength in the colony out of fear that Florida might be threatened, as she had been in earlier years. Closely tied to Florida's security, but of more immediate and realistic concern was the need to keep the sea lanes open regardless of any international situation. This task was made more difficult with a hostile government managing Cuba and its excellent ports.

Every captain-general in Havana during this era feared that the United States, or the Confederacy, would use Florida as a base of operations for seizing Havana and the whole island. Each Spanish official assigned to the United States was constantly admonished by Madrid to be wary of Florida's role in Cuban security.¹⁶

During the Civil War, the Confederacy found it possible to trade with Cuba by way of Florida. Cuban officials were reluctant to irritate the Confederacy until they were reasonably sure of the outcome of the conflict—something that was delayed until the battles of 1863 were fought. Thus, they allowed food, clothing, and medicine to come into Pensacola from Havana in exchange for limited supplies of cotton. The colonial government banned the sale of weapons, however, since such exchanges violated the decree of neutrality and international law. It maintained tight control over all Cuban military supplies since they were needed for the military campaign in progress against rebels in Santo

15. An overview of developments in the post-Civil War period is Philip S. Foner, *A History of Cuba and its relations with the United States*, 2 vols. (New York, 1962-63), II.

16. For a detailed example of Spanish concerns see Minister of State to Tassara, December 7, 1856, Sp/correspondencia/USA/1468.

Domingo and to support naval operations against Chile and Peru.

Spain's concerns about Florida's possible role in threatening Cuba's security remained alive for decades and was not limited to the period of the Civil War or to the late 1890s. For example, on December 11, 1889, Florida Senator Wilkinson Call spoke in the Senate suggesting that the government "institute negotiations for the independence of Cuba," recommending its purchase from Spain. Spanish officials once again noted the "Florida problem" and its threat to Cuba. Emilio de Muruaga, Spanish envoy to the United States, informed the foreign minister that Call's proposal had wide popular backing in the United States, particularly in Florida, where there were economic ties to the island's cattle ranches and orange groves.¹⁷ And, as in the 1850s, Spanish officials in Havana reported that rebels were being outfitted in Florida before landing on the island. Officials in Madrid followed the example of authorities of earlier decades by instructing their envoy in Washington to protest these activities.¹⁸

Florida throughout the nineteenth century contributed to the tradition of rivalry and conflict between Spain and the United States. Florida irritated these contacts and insured the continuation of an agitated state of affairs amongst Spain, the United States, and Cuba regarding the influence of European and American governments in the Caribbean. If the events of the 1890s leading directly to the Spanish-American War of 1898 seem more dramatic and popular to study, those of an earlier year are also. The pattern of behavior established before and during the Civil War contributed to the final removal of Spain from the Caribbean by the beginning of the twentieth century.

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17. Congressional Record, Senate, 51st cong., 51st sess., xxi, Part I, 143; Emilio de Muruaga to Minister of State, December 14, 1889, Sp/pol/USA/2414; New York *Las Novedades*, December 12, 13, 14, 1889 clippings, *ibid*.
 18. (Unreadable) to Minister of State, January 8, 1893, Sp/pol/USA/2414; Unsigned to Minister of the Colonies, February 9, 1893, *ibid*.

FLORIDA, "OUR OWN ITALY":
JAMES F. B. MARSHALL'S POST-CIVIL WAR
LETTERS TO EDWARD EVERETT HALE

by PATRICIA P. CLARK*

WHILE touring Florida during the winter of 1867 as agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Company, which hoped to revitalize its pre-war colonizing efforts, James F. B. Marshall regularly corresponded with company officers: Thomas B. Forbush, secretary, and Edward Everett Hale, vice-president. His letters to Forbush were shared with prospective emigrants and used in the secretary's publication, *Florida: The Advantages and Inducements Which It Offers to Immigrants*. In writing to Hale, Marshall offered more confidential observations relating to people he contacted, especially politicians, businessmen, government land agents, large property owners, and speculators, in short, anyone who might be able to offer land, or other inducements, be willing to invest in the company enterprise, or be interested in aiding northern colonists to help bring about radical social and political change in the tropical paradise.¹

Hale, chief publicist for the company and a prime mover in its Kansas settlements, was also one of the principal architects of the Florida emigration plan. A Unitarian minister, perhaps best known as the author of the patriotic piece, *The Man Without a Country*, Hale was also an idealistic reformer and a zealous

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1. See Patricia P. Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall: A New England Emigrant Aid Company Agent in Postwar Florida, 1867," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LIV (July 1975), 39-60; Clark, "A New England Emigrant Aid Company Agent in Postwar Florida: Selected Letters of James F. B. Marshall, 1867," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LV (April 1977), 457-77. For additional information on the company's Florida enterprise, see Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence, 1954), 272-86.

patriot who used his family's newspaper, the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, for publishing war slogans, tracts, and verses, and his pulpit at the South Congregational Church in Boston for recruiting sermons. He was active in the Sanitary Commission and in its successor, the Soldiers' Memorial Society, although confining himself, as he termed it, to a subordinate role as a "high private" in the organization. His commitments to the war effort included not only the welfare of the fighting man, but also the welfare of the freedman, as he published, lectured, and preached on behalf of the liberated black's education and economic advancement. The first two teachers at Port Royal, South Carolina, were from Hale's congregation, encouraged, if not actually motivated, by his sermons. He was vice-president of the Freedmen's Aid Society and, after the war, was actively involved in the promotion of Hampton Institute for blacks and Indians in Virginia. However, his interest in southern education did not stop with the Negro; he also raised money for industrial schools for poor whites in Richmond, Virginia, and Wilmington, North Carolina.²

In publications and private letters, Hale envisioned a "new civilization," rather than a reconstruction of the old, which would arise in the South after the war and ultimately spread to the rest of the country with the aid of the three agencies nearest and dearest to him: the liberal Unitarian church, the Freedmen's Aid Society, and the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Writing to his brother Charles on the eve of the second national conference of the Unitarian Church in July 1866, of which Hale would serve as secretary, he shared his hopes that the church, if its factions would "pull in harness" together, could be "destined to [have] a very large influence as a Church and as individuals in the reconstruction and new civilization of this country." His concern was that "Schools at the South, emigration, order out of chaos," would require a commitment by "people with whom religion is a reality."³

But Florida became his immediate focal point. Smitten by Florida fever when the war was yet in its infancy, he had been

2. Jean Holloway, *Edward Everett Hale: A Biography* (Austin, 1956), 143-45; Edward E. Hale, Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1917), I, 362-63; II, 11-12, 21, 25-26.

3. Hale, *Life and Letters*, I, 386-88; II, 4-7, 12, 18.

chairman of the Emigrant Aid Company's committee to study the feasibility of a colonization movement. During his visits to Washington on Sanitary Commission business, he had sought out those knowledgeable on the subject of Florida and the war. In an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1864, with typical New England prejudice, he moralized on the beneficial aspects of "northern invasions" on southern neighbors and drew a parallel between the new birth of Italy after the invasion of the Goths and Lombards and the prospects of making out of Florida "our own Italy."⁴

Although the colonization scheme ultimately failed, Hale, who outlived all his contemporaries, served as trustee of the company's papers, keeping them intact until donating them early in the twentieth century to the Kansas State Historical Society. The letters in this article have been transcribed from the microfilm edition of the company papers published by the Kansas State Historical Society and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. Only six of Marshall's eight letters to Hale survive, and five appear here.⁵

During the latter part of his tour, from mid-January through February 1867 (he returned to Boston in early March) Marshall left his Jacksonville base to visit Enterprise and the St. Johns area, New Smyrna, Fernandina, Palatka, Silver Spring, Ocala, and Gainesville, and although he flirted with the idea of seeing the new land development at Miami, he never reached south Florida, as he scouted for suitable land along the major transportation routes. His letters to Hale are dated January 16, 27, February 9, 13, and 23. At the same time, he was also reporting to Forbush on January 16, 26, 27, February 9, 17, 21, 23, and March 4.⁶ Although Marshall's hand is quite legible, transcribing was made somewhat difficult by considerable blurring of a number of words and even of whole paragraphs. Brackets, however, have been employed sparingly for either corrections or addi-

4. E. E. Hale, "Northern Invasions," *Atlantic Monthly*, XIII (February 1864), 245-500.

5. The first two of Marshall's letters to Hale are missing; the third was printed in Clark, "Selected Letters," 472-77.

6. These letters are found in New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, 1854-1909, microfilm edition, Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society, rolls 4 and 5 (hereinafter cited NEEACP and appropriate roll number).

tions. Where omitted, capital letters, for beginning sentences, and end punctuation, the number in each case is small, have been supplied, and Marshall's encircled "a" has been transcribed "at" or "to" as the occasion warrants.

No. 4

[Marshall to Hale, written from Jacksonville, January 16, 1867.]

My dear Sir,

I sent to you some days since, a printed letter from Wm. H. Gleason to Gov Walker giving information concerning South Florida. ⁷ Mr. G. passed through Jacksonville on his way to Tallahassee, and I spent last evening with him. He has obtained from the State a conditional grant of all the State lands south of a certain line. ⁸ I think it is $27\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude. As all the "Swamp lands" and "overflowed lands" belong to the state by acts of Congress, most of this territory belongs to the State, and is included in the grant to Gleason. ⁹ Mr. Gleason is an intelligent clear-headed man who is no novice in his present business, having done much to develop [sic] Wisconsin. He has founded a settlement called Miami near the mouth of the Miami river which he thinks will eventually become one of the most important towns in Florida. Mr. Gleason has negotiated with the N.Y. Em. Aid & Homestead Co. for the sale of 500,000 acres of these lands at $12\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ per acre, the Company agreeing to send out a certain number of Colonists. ¹⁰ Much of the stock of this

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7. Gleason's letter to Governor David Walker has not been found. Gleason came to south Florida shortly after the Civil War as a Freedman's Bureau official. He was elected lieutenant governor of Florida in 1868. He spent seventeen years in Miami before moving to Eau Gallie where he became a land speculator. Arva Moore Parks, "Miami in 1876," *Tequesta*, XXXV (1975), 102-09.
 8. In April 1866 the trustees of the Florida Internal Improvement Fund, acting favorably on Gleason's proposal to salvage land, agreed to sell tracts of 640 acres at \$40 each for every 50,000 cubic feet of land he excavated, drained, and reclaimed. J. E. Dovell, "The Everglades Before Reclamation," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (July 1947), 40.
 9. In 1850 Congress had granted to the states the right of reclaiming swamp and overflowed lands within their borders. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX, 519-20.
 10. The New York Emigrant Aid and Homestead Company, founded by government officials and originally based in Washington, D. C., was unsuccessful in its emigration efforts. In March 1867, the company president, Colonel Charles A. Stevens, contacted the New England Aid Company proposing a joint undertaking. Minutes, March 6, 20, 1867, of the Records of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees [Directors],

Co. is owned in Denmark, and most of the Colonists will be Danes.¹¹ A line of steamers he says is to put on between Copenhagen & N.Y. & the settlers will be brought to Florida in sailing vessels. Mr. Gleason is enthusiastic over the advantages of South Florida. He does not seem to be a visionary man, but clear headed & practical-Has examined the country thoroughly for himself, and has established himself with his family at Miami. I learn that he was engaged in banking in Wisconsin & New York at the out break of the rebellion. He thinks he can offer greater inducements to Colonists & Em. Aid Associations than can be found in any other part of Florida. He is very positive that in point of healthfulness Tropical Florida is not surpassed or even equalled, by any other part of the state. Key West affords a good market for fruits & vegetables, and in Biscayenne [*sic*] Bay is he thinks the finest harbor south of Fernandina. The passage to New York, is little if any longer than from Jacksonville owing to the current of the Gulf Stream which runs close to the Coast from Key West to Cape Carnaveral [*sic*]. Communication is regular and frequent between Key West and New York and Mr G. says his speediest & cheapest route from this place to Miami would be to go to N.Y. & thence to Key West. The cultivation of sugar can be carried on in Tropical Florida with more advantage than in Louisiana or Texas. The cane tassels in that region, (i.e. matures) which it has not time to do elsewhere in the U. S: Mr G, will sell land to settlers or Companies at a very low rate. He says he will sell choice locations to a Co for townships at 75¢ per acre or if he can retain alternate lots, at a less rate. His statements as to the healthfulness of that region are corroborated by the testimony of others who are familiar with that section. He says it will be less of an undertaking to open communication between Indian River & Biscayenne [*sic*] Bay

July 24, 1854, to April 20, 1868, NEEACP roll 7; C. A. Stevens to R. P. Waters, March 5, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

11. There is no evidence of any colonization by Danes at this time. The 1870 census fails to show any sizable number in Florida, and immigration figures printed in New York in the summer of 1867 indicate that most foreigners bypassed the South, preferring to settle in the North or West. Only four out of 23,376 immigrants gave Florida as their destination. *New York Times*, August 4, 1867. Not until the early 1890s did substantial numbers of Danes immigrate to Florida. George E. Pozzetta, "Foreign Colonies in South Florida, 1865-1910," *Tequesta*, XXIV (1974), 47-51.

than with the St Johns; that both are feasible, & will be accomplished. He speaks highly of the lands on the other or West side, bordering upon, & communicating with Charlotte Harbor. I was favorably impressed by Mr. G & his statements, & have no doubt that Tropical Florida offers a most attractive & profitable field for new Settlers. Dr. Stonelake says there are very fine lands mostly State & Govt in Sumter and Hernando Counties on the Withlacoochee River, healthy & rich, suited for oranges or Cane growing.¹²

I leave this P. M. for Enterprise & shall touch at all available points, and get what information I can, bearing upon the objects of the Co.¹³ On my return to Jacksonville I shall hope to receive advices from the Soc as to my future movements, and the plans of the Directors. I have no doubt of the success of the colonization project if well conducted. Florida offers great inducements to settlers & to enterprise in various directions. It will not take a large emigration of loyal men to regenerate & redeem the state. The last vote cast was a little over six thousand, and it has been stated that there are 3000 loyal men in the State of whom 1500 enlisted in the Union armies.¹⁴ I hear of native Floridians in Orange & neighboring Counties who were loyal through the war, and who are now extreme radicals, inveighing against the *North* for its *Conservatism*. One of the most important agencies in the creation of a healthy loyal sentiment is the press, and a first class newspaper ought at once to be established and supported until it becomes self sustaining, as it would soon be if managed with ability. The Florida Times the only loyal paper in the state is

12. A. B. Stonelake was United States Land Register at Tallahassee.

13. Marshall, returning to Jacksonville on January 26, reported to Forbush on the hotels at Green Cove Springs, and at Enterprise and on 240 acres available for \$30,000 at Enterprise, but he also expressed disappointment in finding so "Few locations on the St. Johns river suitable for a Colony" for sale at reasonable prices. On Indian River he visited the Liverpool Company, a preserved meat business making its own cans "on the spot" and procuring its fish and game locally. The final product was shipped to England. Marshall to Forbush, January 26, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

14. In the last election, held in October 1865, to select delegates to a constitutional convention, 6,707 had voted, and in 1861 it was estimated that 4,000 of the 78,679 population held Union sentiments while 1,200 white Floridians fought for the Union. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 19, 38, 39; John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 153, 154.

dragging along a feeble existence, and unless new life is infused into it, will soon be defunct.¹⁵ It was purchased by a few loyal men here to prevent it from becoming a disloyal sheet, but they find it a heavier task than they feel able to bear. Besides what the establishment has cost them, the paper is now in debt about \$800. The proprietors would dispose of the whole concern for that sum \$800, with a proviso that if the paper became self sustaining, a further sum of \$800. should be paid them, or less than 25% of their investment, which I understand has been about \$3500. The paper has about 300 paying subscribers at \$3. pr ann. besides its advertisements. If this paper should be put under good management & made a live paper that should be worthy of the cause it advocates, it would have a wide influence and be a potent engine for good.

If the Em Aid Soc were to secure a good tract of land at reasonable rates, erect a hotel, & dispose of lots to settlers at a small advance upon cost, I see no reason why the enterprise should not prove successful for all parties. If there was a desirable tract of Govt land for such purpose would there be any difficulty in obtaining it, an Act of Congress for the Company, whose operations in Kansas have proved of so much value to the Union?¹⁶ Rail road lands can be had of the R. R. Cos. at very low rates for such a purpose. Gleason will offer great inducements in his section. The inevitable increase in population and consequent value of lands, will ensure success of any such enterprises against everything but poor choice & bad management, & the Directors should provide as far as possible against these contingencies.¹⁷

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15. For the company's interest in the *Times*, see Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall," 51. The purchase of a newspaper was one of Hale's primary concerns.
 16. The company was seeking indemnification from Congress for the destruction in 1856 of its Free State Hotel by a United States deputy marshal and a territorial sheriff during the sack of Lawrence. In February 1863 the company had petitioned for a payment of \$25,000, plus interest, and this claim, resubmitted on January 4, 1867, died in committee. Marshall may have had this claim in mind when making his proposal. See Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall," 42-43; Board Minutes, January 2, 9, 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 7.
 17. Marshall wrote Forbush the same day, enclosing a description of farms for sale near Sanderson. According to a "Mr. Brown," a Unionist, his neighbors were willing to "sell & migrate farther South where they will hope to get out of the reach of civilization & Yankees." Marshall to Forbush, January 16, 1867, NEEACP roll 4.

No. 5

[Marshall to Hale, written from Jacksonville, January 27, 1867.]

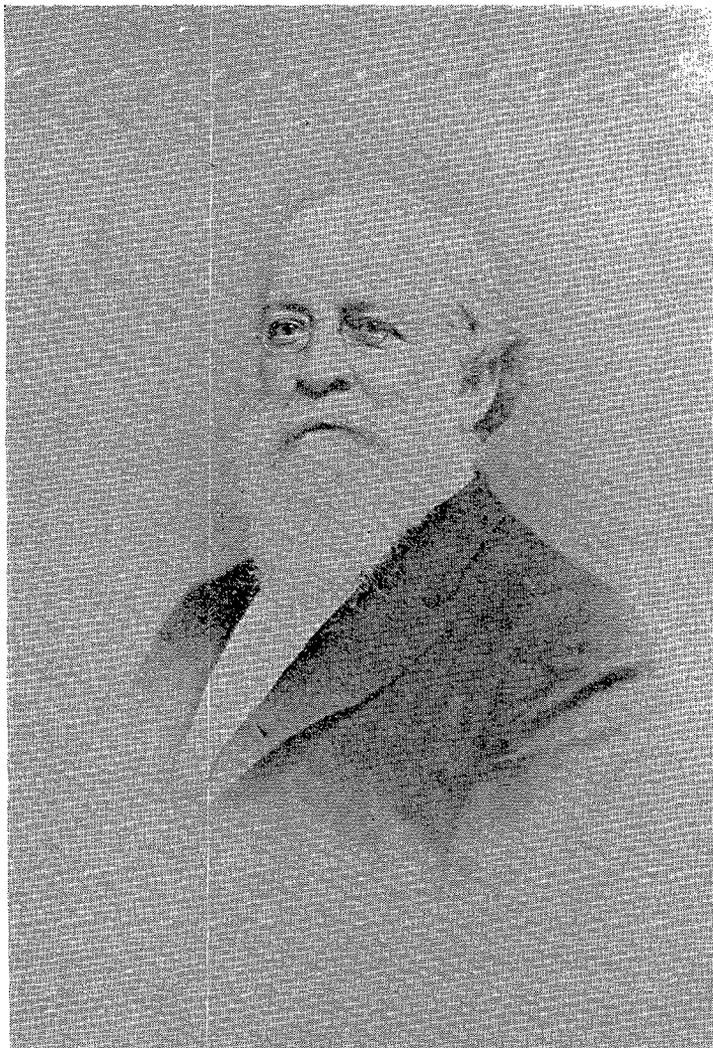
My dear Mr. Hale,

I have been hoping to receive ere this definite instructions from the Directors as to my movements, and advices as to the plans of the Company. Without such advice I am somewhat in doubt as to the course I ought to pursue. I am today obtaining all the information I can of the Country, and the lands which are for sale, the comparative advantages or disadvantages of different sections etc. To visit & personally examine all the localities would entail an expenditure of time & money which I do not feel authorized to incur without special instructions to that effect. The current of emigration to Florida is rapidly increasing. The hotels here are full of Northerners from every state who have come down either to locate, or to look at the prospects & inducements for settlers, and by every boat or train, and by private conveyance, emigrants are coming in from the Carolinas & Georgia, with [Negro laborers] & their household & plantation effects. There can be no doubt that the state is destined to fill up rapidly, and that the price of lands will be increased. Capital is very much needed and can be profitably used increasing the means of communication in various directions, with a reasonable certainty of success.

The Canal project, for opening communication with Indian River, if it is as feasible as its projectors declare, would open up a valuable section of Country, and afford a good opportunity for obtaining excellent lands for settlement.¹⁸ Judge Stickney of Fernandina is admitted by all parties here who know him, to be an able & farseeing man, but at the same time unprincipled and unreliable. I can not learn that any very careful surveys of this route have been made but am informed by Col O. B. Hart of whom I have previously written you,¹⁹ that he is well acquainted

18. For the Florida Canal and Island Transportation Company and Lyman Stickney's project, see Clark, "Selected Letters," 476-77; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 118. Stickney appealed for aid and outlined his plans for hiring 1,000 freedmen who would receive government transportation, three months' rations from the Freedmen's Bureau, and homesteads in lieu of wages. Besides financial assistance, he wanted the directors of the Emigrant Aid Company to use their influence with Congress in procuring a \$200,000 grant to support the project. L. D. Stickney Memo, February 14, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

19. See Marshall to Hale, January 12, 1867, Clark, "Selected Letters," 473-74.



James F. B. Marshall. Photographs courtesy of Collis P. Huntington Memorial Library Archives, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia.



with the land between Pellissier [Pellicers] Creek south of Matanzas [Mantanzas] inlet, and Smiths Creek (which empties into Halifax river) and that the distance is *twelve* miles instead of three or four, as stated by Judge Stickney. He thinks favorably of the scheme, as a feasible one & one that could be profitably accomplished. I think it would be well for the Secretary to write to Judge Stickney at Fernandina for information as to this project.

By a paragraph in the Florida Union which I sent to Mr. Forbush, you will observe that Governor Walker has been assured by the Florida Rail Road Co. of their intention to go to work at once upon the road from Waldo to Tampa as soon as the road from Fernandina is opened.²⁰ This route from Fernandina to Tampa is the *main* road; the *branch* is from Waldo to Cedar Keys & was built first. The road has been graded as far as Ocala. By building this road, the Company will secure valuable tracts of lands in some of the richest sections in the state, and they would doubtless offer them to settlers or Colonization Companies at very low rates. The lands about Ocala are rich, but it is said there is a good deal of chills & fever there. Those who use Cistern water are said to be almost wholly free from it. I hear conflicting statements about the land bordering upon the Ocklawaha river. Much of it is swampy, but there are undoubtedly many tracts of rich land in the Country which it traverses. The stream is tortuous and rapid, and by removing the obstructions & straightening the Channel by Cutting through some of the narrow peninsulas, there is no doubt but much valuable land that is now swamp could be reclaimed. A small stern wheel steam boat goes up from Palatka once a week as far as Silver Spring.

For fruit raising, along the east bank of the St Johns river are the best locations on present lines of communication. The coldest winds are from the N.W. and they are tempered in passing over the river to the east bank, while the cold winds from the opposite direction are tempered by the sea. The orange

20. The road from Fernandina to Waldo opened March 4. However, because of continuing financial difficulties, the road to Ocala was not opened until October 1880. I. K. Roberts to Forbush, March 27, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Dudley S. Johnson, "The Florida Railroad After the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (January 1969), 297.

groves along the river are profitable sources of income, and but few are for sale. There are however many wild or sour orange groves on land that can be purchased at from \$5 to \$20. per acre. These trees, cut off about 5 ft from the ground & grafted or budded with sweet orange will bear in 3 years and in 5 years produce abundantly.

For Cotton growing, I think there is no better region than in Alachua, Marion & Levy Counties, in all of which lands can be purchased in large quantities and at reasonable rates.

The lands along the southern part of the E. Coast are said to be rich & well adapted to both fruit & cotton growing. The musquitoes [*sic*] & other insects are said by some who are acquainted with the Country, to be intolerable, while others say they are not more annoying than on the St John's river & other places. The statements of Mr. Gleason as to the superior elasticity & bracing qualities of the climate of Tropical Florida over the more northern latitudes in the state even on the Sea Coast are confirmed by others who have lived there. Mr. Wells, who was for many years state surveyor, and is now at Tallahassee as Chief Engineer or in some similar Capacity, tells me that he has spent months in that section & always has noticed the peculiarly bracing effect of the atmosphere which enabled him to do more work than he could do farther north.²¹

If the steamer which Capt Wilder is endeavoring to engage, goes to Smyrna tomorrow I shall go down in her & if possible go to Indian river.²² If not, I shall start for Cedar Keys, unless I receive instructions from the Company to the contrary before I leave.

No. 6

[Marshall to Hale, written from Jacksonville, February 9, 1867.]

My Dear Sir,

I have just returned from New Smyrna, Mayport etc, finding letters from Mr Forbush to 2d inst & a note from Mr. Forbes

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21. Henry Wells, of the firm Randolph and Wells, conducted many surveys of lands for the state of Florida between 1846 and 1881.
 22. Charles B. Wilder, a Boston abolitionist and Republican, came to Florida in 1866 with a plan for resettling Negroes on confiscated or vacant lands.

of 31st ult. ²³ I am glad to know definitely the views & wishes of the Directors and will at once act in accordance therewith & report without unnecessary delay on all points embraced in their instructions. I leave for Fernandina by first boat, to see Mr Williams & Judge Stickney & will report from there in full concerning the F.R.R. lands & the Canal project with reference to the F.R.R. Bonds. ²⁴ I have not been able to learn much since my letter of 29 Dec to you on the subject. ²⁵ As no allusion was made to that subject in any of Mr. Forbush's letters since the receipt of mine above mentioned until now I concluded that the Directors did not look favorably upon the plan of purchasing the bonds, and I took no further steps in the matter, except to make quiet enquiries from time to time about the holders of these bonds and their market value. I find that but little is known about them here. So far as I have ascertained, the holders are scattered & those who are here, are expecting to purchase land with them at the coming sale.

I have not before felt authorised to enter into direct negotiations with land holders here in behalf of the Co. nor did I think it for the interest of the Co to do so, until I had visited the various localities on the lines of communication, and obtained what information I could as to their comparative advantages, and the feelings of the people in the different sections. By giving the parties to understand my objects, and that the action of the Co. would depend upon the inducements offered, it seemed to me that more liberal terms could be secured, than by at once entering upon negotiations before any conclusion had been reached as to action at all. I have endeavored to do this work as thoroughly as time would admit. No one who has not been on the ground can

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23. Although these letters are missing, Forbush wrote on January 24, 28, 30, and February 2. Marshall, answering Forbes on February 13, retained a copy for company files. John Murray Forbes, a director and later president of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, was concerned about obtaining land from the Florida Railroad sale, and Marshall defended his apparent neglect of this aspect of the company's interests. Bad weather had thwarted his prospecting the railroad lands. In addition, as Forbes "had made no allusion to the project of purchasing lands, with the Bonds at the sale," Marshall, concluding that "it was not thought well of," turned his attention to other pursuits. Marshall to Forbush, February 9, 1867, and Marshall to Forbes, February 13, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.
24. Marcellus A. Williams was the collector of Internal Revenue.
25. Marshall's letter of December 29 to Hale is one of those missing. For the sale of these railroad bonds, see Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall," 42.

imagine the difficulties & unavoidable delays incident to such an undertaking here, and to travelling in any direction, and which must account for any seeming delay in my movements.

I have taken steps to obtain the best terms possible from the two R.R. Cos between here & Tallahassee. The lands of these Companies are as I learn mortgaged to bondholders, and it is doubtful if any variation from the appraised rates can be made by the Trustees. The road from here to Lake City (F. A. & G. Central) is almost hopelessly embarrassed and several of the stockholders have expressed a desire that Northern Capitalists should take hold of it & a readiness to give up their stock in such case. All these rail roads are at variance with each other to their mutual detriment.

The Colonies at Port Orange both white & colored, are in a critical condition, and unless relief is speedily afforded, will I fear be broken up.²⁶ Dr Hawkes Company have got their saw mill up after many obstacles, but they have neither the capital, nor as it appears to me the skill to go on with the work. Dr. H. told me they could not get some part of their machinery (a shingle machine) because they could not raise \$27. to pay the charges on it. They cannot pay their laborers and are almost at a stand. Capt Wilder & Mr Day of Dedham, who had advanced money to relieve former embarrassment are ready to take hold of the matter & carry it thro' if they can do so without embarrassment by other creditors.²⁷ Gen Ely has agreed to join them. Lumber is wanted & Gen Ely was expecting employment from the Co for his freedmen, in hauling logs, cutting firewood for Steamer[s] &c to enable them to exist until their crops began to come in. He has now about 1,000 blacks there. Their rations

26. Two settlements, one of approximately 1,000 freedmen colonized by General Ralph Ely and the other established by Captain John Milton Hawkes and Union officers from Hilton Head, South Carolina, both ultimately failed. Hawkes, a native of New Hampshire, had been on the staff of General Rufus Saxton as physician for freedmen and Negro soldiers at Port Royal. Organizing the Florida Land and Lumber Company with the announced purpose of keeping Florida land for "Homesteads, for Lumbering and for Agriculture," he set up a mill and colony at Port Orange. After its failure, he remained in Florida, compiling the *Florida Gazetteer* (1871) and holding minor political posts. *Makers of America: Florida Edition*, 4 vols. (Atlanta, 1909), II, 382-87; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 71-72.

27. Probably Joseph Day of South Dedham, Massachusetts, one of the New England Emigrant Aid Company directors.

from the Govt, (30 days) are nearly exhausted, they have but little money, and if they had they can purchase nothing there, and Gen E. feels very anxious about their future. At his request I wrote to Mr. Sumner asking his influence with Gen Howard to procure immediate relief.²⁸ I also wrote to Col Scott who was in want of laborers, that he could procure them there.²⁹ I see no reason why the Port Orange Colony should not succeed if properly managed. At present there is no accommodation for settlers and several who came down with the intention of going there, have settled in this vicinity, where there is a great demand for mechanics & where a support can at once be had. The difficulty of communication with that country is a serious bar to success. The bar is changeable & dangerous and at present there is nothing to call vessels there often enough to depend upon them for communication. The only other route is across to Enterprise 30 miles, of which some 12 miles is now overflowed to the depth of over a foot. A mule cart starts once a week for Enterprise & you pay \$6 to \$8. to have your valise carried by it, while you are expected to walk most if not all the way. If Capt Wilder & others take hold of the enterprise, a proper conveyance will be put on this route and a hotel started to accommodate parties visiting or going there to settle. If the proposed canal should be cut, this section would offer good inducement to colonists. At present the advantages are counterbalanced by the drawbacks above mentioned. Most of the Government lands in that region have been entered by Gen Ely in behalf of his colonists under the Homestead act.³⁰ There are however several fine tracts of land for sale in that neighborhood suitable for Colonizing, at from \$3. to \$9. per acre. The musquitoes [*sic*] are said to be troublesome there in summer,

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28. Senator Charles S. Sumner, a Massachusetts abolitionist and one of the architects of Radical Reconstruction, and General Otis O. Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau.
 29. Henry B. Scott, a former officer in the Second Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, was founder and postmaster of Gordon.
 30. The Homestead Act of 1866, commonly called the Southern Homestead Act because it dealt with public lands in five southern states, including Florida, provided for eighty-acre homestead grants to Union veterans and freedmen. The Florida office, opening in August 1866, had charge of some 19,000,000 acres of government land, of which 32,000 acres had been entered by October 1866. Warren Hoffnagle, "Southern Homestead Act: Its Origins and Operations," *The Historian*, XXXII (August 1970), 622-27; Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 73.

tho' statements on this point are so contradictory that only actual experience can be relied on.

I have now been over the various lines of Communication except that distance from Gainesville to Cedar Keys. There are so many considerations affecting the question that it is a most difficult matter to come to any decision as to the best point for a Colony. Sanderson on the F. A. & G. Central, the vicinity of Archer on the F. R. R. and one or two points on the St John River seem to be the most desirable. In the vicinity of Lake Ahapopka or Apopka, & the other lakes in Marion & Sumter Counties are some of the best U. S. Lands but not easy of access at present. I shall visit Sanderson on my return from Fernandina when I will report in full concerning it. I shall also hope to make a satisfactory report upon the R. R. State & U. S. Lands-

No. 7

[Marshall to Hale, written from Fernandina, February 13, 1867.]

My dear Sir,

I arrived here last evening, and today have seen Mr. Yulee & Mr. Williams. The sale of the Florida RR Lands is postponed to April 17th and Mr Y. says will be still longer postponed if parties have not sufficiently examined the lands.³¹ The matter stands as per my first letters no sales having since been made. There are \$800,000. of Bonds and between 550,000 & 560,000 acres of land or 700 acres [per bond]. Mr Yulee says they can be purchased at 20¢ & under. That the parties are known who hold them, and would sell at rates not exceeding the above figures. That the RR Co control \$200,000 worth. That the parties holding most of the Bonds purchased with Confederate money, and would perhaps be satisfied to get even a lower price. (I have not my first letter copies by me, but think the amount of Bonds given me at that time was \$700,000. I presume the present figures are correct.) Trustees would find a fee simple title for these Bonds of all the lands. The average quality of these lands is poor. From Fernandina to Waldo, it is low pine lands 3rd rate. Mr Y. thinks them

31. Former United States Senator David L. Yulee was vice-president of the Florida Railroad. The sale of the railroad's lands was postponed until June 1867, when the bondholders met and decided to buy up the lands at a low rate and redistribute them among themselves. Roberts to Forbush, April 18, 1867. NEEACP roll 5; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 109-10, 114-16.

of fair average quality, and as good as the land at Gordon, but I think not. They are covered with pine timber, and an under growth of the saw palmetto which is said to be a sign of poor land. They are low & would mostly require surface draining when they might produce fair crops of Cotton by careful cultivation. The timber & naval stores on them are of some value especially the latter. The former would much of it be too far from the R. R. to pay for hauling at present. Mr. Y thinks Northern men would cultivate this land to advantage, but it is not worth while for Northern men to come down here to show what they can do with *poor* land, if they can as readily find good land. At Waldo the land begins to improve but most of that on the line of the road is embraced in the Arredondo Grant which you will see outlined on Drews map, extending beyond Archer.³² Between Archer and Cedar Keys lies what is called the Gulf Hammock containing land exceedingly rich, but low, requiring drainage, which Mr. Williams says can be made very productive and well adapted to fruit raising & market gardening. This part of the road I have not yet seen, and can only speak from hearsay but I do not doubt the correctness of the above description. It would cost more probably to ditch & clear this hammock land than the best lands partially cleared can be bought for. Mr. Yulee says there is much valuable live oak timber which it would pay to cut. I do not think there could be much risk in buying these lands at an average of 20 to 25¢ per acre unless there was danger of heavy taxes upon them. The alternate sections of the RR lands belonging to the *State* are appraised at \$2.50 pr acre, which is much too high, and may be reduced. Unless this is done there is not much danger of the State lands being taken up, except in small lots in the best sections.

It was my intention when I went to Newnansville Jan 1st to examine personally the Country between N. and Archer, which I am satisfied from representations made to me by competent & disinterested parties, contains some of the richest & healthiest pine lands in the State. I had also intended to go from there to

32. The Arredondo Grant, some 288,000 acres given by the Spanish Crown to Arredondo and Son from Havana, Cuba, was recognized by the United States. Much of it was located in Alachua County. Drew's map was the work of Jacksonville stationer, Columbus Drew. Katherine Abbey Hanna, *Florida: Land of Change* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 150; Clark, "J. F. B. Marshall," 58n.

Cedar Keys. But the incessant storm which prevailed at that time put it out of the question and I went to Tallahassee. If possible I shall do so before returning North. The postponement of the sale will give ample time for such examination. The most available tract for a Colony in that section is one of 12,000 acres belonging to a Mr. Cole of the firm of Anderson's Sons & Co Savannah. ³³ Col Wilson of Newnansville is negotiating to get his lowest price for me, as he is a person who would ask a high figure, if he supposed it was wanted for such a purpose. ³⁴

Mr. Yulee promises that the Co. will aid the Company's objects in every possible way. He will agree to take settlers and their freights at $\frac{1}{2}$ rates of transportation & to give stations where they may locate. The lands of the RR are not under the Control of the Co. and he can only suggest the purchase of the bonds as a way of getting them cheap. He thinks the Naval stores would pay the cost of the land and that the lumber & the land for Cultivation would then be worth more than they cost. I do not feel competent to decide as to the value of these lands, but should say at first glance that they were of as good quality as that now cultivated by Col Rodman near Jacksonville. ³⁵ There might be more difficulty there in procuring fertilizers than he has.

The RR Co are pushing the repairs on their road, and expect to have it completed in March. The bad weather of wh. there has been an unusual amount has delayed their operations as well as mine.

No. 8.

[Marshall to Hale, written from Gainesville, February 23, 1867.]

My dear Mr. Hale,

I received your letter of 8th inst as we touched at Jacksonville last Sunday, but have been too constantly "on the go" to

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33. Probably a tract near Archer on the Florida Railroad which the company was advised could be purchased "for much less than the price named." Cole, otherwise unidentified, also owned a tract in Nassau County which was not as adaptable for agricultural use. M. A. Williams to Marshall, July 25, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; Board Minutes, March 20, 1867, NEEACP roll 7.
 34. Lemuel Wilson came to Florida from North Carolina about 1840. A hotelkeeper and Alachua County Republican leader, he was collector of revenue at Newnansville and, later, in Tallahassee.
 35. Marshall described Daniel C. Rodman's farming operation in a letter to Forbush, February 9, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; see also Clark, "Selected Letters," 470-71.

acknowledge it sooner.³⁶ We arrived here today after a very interesting tour from J. via Palatka, Welaka, & the Ocklawaha river to Silver Spring, thence by mule cart to Ocala 5 miles, & from Ocala by buggy to this place 42 miles, with pair of horses, for which I had to pay the modest price of \$32. & feed them besides.³⁷ The O. is a very devious stream obstructed by sunken logs & overhanging branches, which could be easily cleared away. This stream is the channel of Communication for a large section of very rich Country, and the little solid sternwheeler which makes weekly trips to Silver Spring is crowded all the time with freight & making money. A new boat is about to put on this river, as it is estimated that one boat Cannot do the work required for the coming season. It is said that the Planters in Marion County who depend upon this route will require 50,000 Bu. of Corn for their hands the present season. Freight of Cotton &c is even hauled to Silver Spring from Micanopy 12 miles from the railroad & some 30 miles to Silver Spring, the boat freights to Savannah being cheaper & the Drayage at Jacksonville being saved. I have seen nothing in Florida to equal the lands I have passed through in Marion County for richness of soil, and adaptability to various productions, such as stock, Cotton, Corn, Cane, oranges etc. etc. Fevers are said to be more prevalent here than in many other parts of the state, but in all the rich hammock

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36. Hale, while assuring Marshall that the company officers had confidence in his judgment, encouraged him to investigate further opportunities for setting up a loyal paper and for finding "competent persons to establish fit Hotels" and landholders willing to offer inducements, such as land and lumber which the company could offer prospective innkeepers. He reminded Marshall that this was the way the company had operated in Kansas. Hale, who was reluctant for the company to go into land operations, believed that the company should concentrate on aiding emigrants in making travel arrangements and locating temporary quarters. Hale to Marshall, February 8, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.
37. Cyrus Woodman made the trip with Marshall. Woodman, land developer, railroad promoter, and banker with lumbering and mining interests, arrived in Florida to prospect southern pine lands for his own investment. In the 1840s he had operated a land agency for locating military warrants in Illinois while also acting as agent for eastern landholders. He invested in timber and mineral lands in southwest Wisconsin, established the Mineral Point Bank, and bought up railroad stock. During the war he managed the St. Mary's Ship Canal Company's pine lands in northern Michigan. A friend of Forbes, he consulted with Marshall while in Florida. The latter's suspicions that Woodman was sent to relieve him appeared groundless. Marshall to Forbes, February 13, 1867, NEEACP roll 5; see Larry Gara, *Westernized Yankee: The Story of Cyrus Woodman, 1814-1889* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1956).

lands more or less malaria is always developed on their first being opened, and it is probable that the Country would become healthful in a few years especially if Cistern water could be used in place of the well & spring water which is more or less impregnated with lime.

I have found it a very difficult matter to fix upon any locations well suited for the purposes of a Colony of small farmers. The lands along the St Johns river are generally poor with small patches of rich hammock interspersed, which are mostly taken up and not for sale except at too high prices for such a purpose even if they were of sufficient extent. The pine lands are generally good only for Cotton. They are healthful, but will not grow corn & fruits to advantage. The rich pine belt between Archer Newnansville & Gordon is said to be an exception. We shall report on them next week. The hammock lands of Marion County are rich and admirably adapted to small farmers if health & good communications can be secured. If the Ocklawaha can be cleared which would not be a difficult matter, and the R.R. from Waldo to Ocala built, which it is said will soon be done one of these conditions will be met. The other, (health) is probably as secure as it is in most of the new Western settlements, much depending upon the prudence of the settler, and the fevers which prevail are said to be of a mild type. Less land would be needed here than in any other place I have found, and a more Compact settlement Could be made where settlers would be neighbors & could keep up their schools & churches. If Messrs Knapp & Jones of whom I have written to Mr. Forbush should purchase the place they are now cultivating I have no doubt that good land for Colonists Could be obtained in their vicinity, and this enterprising firm would form an excellent nucleus for such a purpose.³⁸

This trip up the Ocklawaha was made in Company with Mr.

38. Knapp was a telegraph operator, and Jones, a former sergeant in the First Massachusetts Cavalry, had a clothing store before the war. They held a two-year lease from a Judge Means to a 1,600-acre tract three miles beyond Micanopy in the "heart of the secession district." Harrassed by hostile neighbors, who "set their fences on fire, let in a herd of cattle into their enclosure which in one night destroyed 60 acres of flourishing Corn, and did other damage besides threatening their lives," Knapp and Jones were apparently among the casualties of the plantation movement: they do not appear in the 1870 census. Marshall to Forbush, February 23, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

Woodman & at the suggestion of Mr. Forbes. On our return from Cedar Keys on Monday, we propose to go from here or Archer to Coles tract, visit the plantation of Barnes, Brown & Parks, & via Newnansville to Gordon; thence via RR to Jacksonville examining carefully the RR lands their capacity for lumber & naval stores, and thence to Sanderson, & possibly Live Oak.³⁹ The Newspaper matter I have written about, and have asked Mr. Robinson to forward additional estimates which he has probably done.⁴⁰ The nearest route to Tropical Florida is literally via N.Y. unless a chance opportunity should offer for Key West. On my return from Sanderson I shall hope to find orders for my return North. I am satisfied that there can be no justice or rights for loyal whites, or freedmen in this state except under military rule.⁴¹

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39. Leonard F. Brown, Louis A. Barnes, John H. Park, and Jerry Goldsmith, all from Massachusetts, jointly operated the James Beattle plantation, sixteen miles west of Gainesville. All but Parks were listed in the 1870 census as planters with \$8,000 in personal property and \$2,000 in real estate. Ninth census, 1870, Alachua County, Florida, 310.
 40. Calvin L. Robinson, a Vermont native who migrated to Florida in 1857, was chairman of the Loyal Citizens of the United States, formed on March 20, 1862, when Jacksonville was first occupied by federal troops. A merchant, who had organized the Florida Land Agency in 1866, he also served as postmaster of Jacksonville (1862-64), T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville and Vicinity, 1513-1924* (Jacksonville, 1925; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 119-20, 340; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 4, 14, 262. Additional estimates concerning the *Times* were forwarded to Forbush by J. C. Greeley, February 18, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.
 41. In keeping with his initial instruction to report to Forbush on conditions which would be of interest to emigrants, Marshall in his last three letters gave the secretary more details concerning the farming operations of the numerous northern-operated plantations he had visited as well as reporting on the turpentine works of a Mr. Temple. Marshall to Forbush, February 21, 23, March 4, 1867, NEEACP roll 5.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

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BOOK REVIEWS

E. C., Mr. Speaker, E. C. Rowell. By Ormund Powers. (Webster, Florida: Board of Governors of the E. C. Rowell Public Library, 1977. xiii, 190 pp. Foreword, illustrations. \$5.00.)

Ormund Powers's monograph on E. C. Rowell, former speaker of the Florida House of Representatives, is a useful addition to the existent literature on Florida politics. This volume focuses upon Rowell's political philosophy and career which spanned the crucial period 1956-1970, when control of the state legislature passed from the "pork chop gang," which included E. C. Rowell, to the urban regions.

The early life of the Sumter County native gave little indication that he would become a powerful state political leader. Rowell was a college drop-out who worked in life insurance and truck brokerage before joining the Army Air Corps during World War II. Upon his return to Sumter County with his English bride, economic reverses contributed to Rowell becoming an alcoholic. He overcame this problem, and his candor about it later prevented it from becoming a political liability. A reformed and successful E. C. Rowell became a candidate for the school board in 1954. Although he lost, he was elected to the legislature two years later, defeating an opponent backed by the local political bosses. He was reelected in 1958 without opposition and continued to hold his house seat until 1970.

Beneath a facade of folksiness, Rowell possessed great political acumen, was a shrewd judge of character, and was always well-informed on bills and daily legislative developments. In 1958, only his second biennial session, Rowell was elected chairman of the small county delegation, the "pork choppers," who were conservative, advocated low expenditures, and supported special projects for their counties while ignoring the needs and desires of the urban areas. The zenith of his career came when he served as speaker of the house in the 1965 session which proved to be, ironically, the last regular session dominated by the "pork choppers."

Rowell became respected as a speaker who was effective and

conservative but fair, and he worked closely with Governor Haydon Burns in the 1965-1966 biennial session. He shared the governor's pride in their accomplishments, especially the highway expansion program, an \$80,000,000 treasury surplus, and the commitment by Walt Disney to build in central Florida. Rowell took great personal pride in the fact that he persuaded Allen Morris to become clerk of the House of Representatives.

Like the stereotyped "pork chopper," he made rural Sumter County the site of the interchange for the Sunshine State Parkway and I-75 and gave it a \$6,000,000 prison, a civil defense center, and a new twenty-two-mile road, the E. C. Rowell Highway. He also opposed many issues which were supported by urban legislators: compulsory automobile insurance and inspection, annual legislative sessions, and collective bargaining.

After the United States Supreme Court mandated the one-man one-vote principle, Florida's legislature met in special sessions in 1965-1966 to reapportion itself. With Rowell presiding over the house, small county legislators struggled to devise a plan to keep the so-called liberal, urban counties weak. In fact, in 1966, Rowell and the "pork choppers" helped elect Republican Claude Kirk governor rather than vote for liberal Miami Democrat Robert King High. It was in vain because the United States District Court enacted its own plan, ending "pork chop" domination in 1967. Dissatisfied with the "new" legislature, Rowell "retired" in 1970 to become a powerful lobbyist for the Florida Trucking Association.

Ormund Powers has written an anecdotal chronicle rather than a true history. The author did extensive research and conducted numerous interviews; however, his admiration of Rowell resulted in an uncritical use of the material, making parts of the book merely a testimonial. Another serious flaw is the lack of any discernible, logical arrangement of the topical chapters, and there is no index. Nevertheless, Powers does give insight into one of the most important leaders of the "pork chop gang," and his volume will be useful until a more definitive study is written.

Always the Rivers Flow: Deliberately a Memoir. By Jesse Earle Bowden. (Pensacola: University of West Florida Foundation, 1979. 265 pp. Preface, illustrations, cartoons, bibliographic note. \$10.95.)

Until Gloria Jahoda's *The Other Florida* appeared in 1967, writers paid little attention to the Florida Panhandle. Even nineteenth-century travel accounts gave only short mention of west Florida's major settlement. The region's rich and interesting history was overshadowed by miles of pine trees, "Cracker" residents, and rattlesnakes which were deemed less interesting than the palm trees, orange groves, and resorts of the East Coast and lower peninsula. Jahoda, traveling through northern Florida from Pensacola to the Ocala area, poked and prodded and described her newly adopted home through a series of vignettes. Since the appearance of her book, few serious attempts have been made to provide a sympathetic view of rural northwest Florida. J. Earle Bowden fills this void. This son of west Florida views his home with sympathy and understanding, its rednecks and red clay soil, its pine trees and pure white beaches, its slow-paced rural way of life contrasted with the expanding urban center of Pensacola.

In *Always the Rivers Flow*, Bowden chronicles growing up in a small town in west Florida in the 1930s and 1940s. The volume, an expansion of newspaper stories and columns that he has written since the 1950s, is not a strict chronological accounting of happenings, but rather an impressionistic mix of reminiscences, regional history, and physical descriptions. That he subtitles the book, *Deliberately A Memoir*, emphasizes the importance family stories and experiences play in his descriptions of this region. Bowden adds historical data about the founding of Pensacola, the influence of Andrew Jackson's forays into west Florida in the early nineteenth century, and the Civil War. Although historians will lament the lack of footnotes, Bowden includes a list of historical references that have influenced his writing in his bibliographical note at the end of the volume.

Always the Rivers Flow is for sampling. It is best when picked up and read one chapter at a time, giving the reader an intimate glimpse of some aspect of the Bowden or Rackley families and some facet of rural west Florida life. Because he uses a story

teller's approach, information is occasionally repeated from one chapter or essay to another in order to make a point or more fully describe an event. His down-home approach to his subject is sympathetic, but never patronizing, and shows a deep appreciation for his home in the Florida Panhandle. Bowden is cognizant of the shortcomings of his region. While he does not dwell on these problems, he recognizes the effects of conservatism, racial discrimination, Ku Klux Klan activity, and hard core poverty.

As an appendix to the book, Bowden included a series of cartoons spanning his twenty-five years in the newspaper business. These might have been identified by year, which newspaper they appeared in, and, when pertinent, what particular community issue they addressed. Placing these drawings in some context would make them more interesting to the reader unfamiliar with west Florida.

Jesse Earle Bowden is a son of west Florida. Born and raised in the small town of Altha in Calhoun County, he graduated from Florida State University and has worked with Pensacola newspapers for over twenty-five years. While west Florida left its mark on him, J. Earle Bowden has also made a lasting impression on this area. As editor-in-chief of the *Pensacola News-Journal*, his editorial views and cartoons reach a reading audience of hundreds of thousands of people. His varied interests in the history and physical character of west Florida led to his support of the establishment of both the Gulf Islands National Seashore and the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. This book provides a sensitive tribute to the people and land that shaped his career and his personal philosophy.

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

LINDA V. ELLSWORTH

The Search for the Atocha. By Eugene Lyon. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1979, 246 pp. Photographs, index. \$11.95.)

Eugene Lyon documents from his firsthand experiences the epochal struggle of treasure salvor Mel Fisher against nature, tragedy, and bureaucracy for the elusive Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*. In his account of *The Search for the Atocha*, Lyon relives the search, clue by clue, from the ancient

records in Seville's Archive of the Indies to the ocean floor off the Florida Keys. His story unfolds in the tradition of a mystery writer who entices your attention and keeps you interested with the excitement of the *Atocha's* discovery before weaving back through the centuries to the 1622 shipwreck, and to the present again.

Lyon's involvement in the search came through a friendship with Fisher and his wife Deo when both of their families joined a new Methodist Church in Vero Beach where Lyon once was city manager and history teacher at the local community college. Upon learning Lyon was going to the Archive of the Indies, Fisher asked him to let him know if he ran across any material on the galleons which sank during a hurricane, September 5, 1622, off the Florida Keys.

Lyon arrived in Seville in late 1969 for his dissertation research on Pedro Menéndez de Aviles. It was while going over a list of Cuban salvage records to learn of Menéndez's expenses in establishing the community of St. Augustine that Lyon discovered the lead to the *Atocha's* real location. He writes: "As my eyes ran quickly down the page, I suddenly spied the numbers '1622.' The entry read: 'Accounts of Francisco Nuñez Melián of what he salvaged from the galleon *Margarita* . . . in the Keys of Matecumbe, coast of Florida.' It was an audit of the salvage of the *Santa Margarita!*"

The audit provided the clue that the *Margarita*, another galleon which sank with the *Atocha*, went down, not off the present-day Matecumbes in the Upper Keys, but off the Marquesas Keys 100 miles away. Treasure divers had previously searched along the Upper Keys for the 1622 fleet because of the references to the Matecumbes. After finding other notations of the *Margarita's* salvage in "Cayos del Marques" and checking early maps, Lyon deduced that the galleons had not sunk off the Matecumbes as had been assumed. Based on this data from Lyon, Fisher secured a search permit in the Marquesas Keys from the state of Florida.

However, before resuming the account of the actual search, the author recreates in a vivid chapter the first salvage attempts of the galleons which were thwarted by the powerful hurricane of October 5, 1622, that obliterated the *Atocha's* location. To zero in on the *Atocha*, Fisher had to survey an area more than

thirty miles long and nearly five miles wide in the Marquesas and beat other divers to the shipwreck after the state began granting additional search contracts in areas nearby.

Fisher set up headquarters for his company, Treasure Salvors, aboard the replica galleon *Golden Doubloon* tied up at the docks in Key West as a tourist attraction. He then began the search for money to find his dream-the *Atocha*. He had already spent over \$250,000 in the search. By selling material from earlier wrecks he had salvaged and with some new backers, he managed to launch a major search for the *Atocha*. Divers began finding muskets, swords, daggers, and a few coins, but it was not until May 25, 1973, that "The Bank of Spain" was uncovered which revealed 1,460 silver coins.

A month later, while seated on the *Golden Doubloon's* deck, Lyon capsulates the significance of the stacks of coins about him: "The coins were relics of the annual currents of trade that once pulsed through the great Portobello fair, the port of Cartagena, and the entrepot of Havana. Here were surrogates of the hopes, lusts, fears, and savings of private persons, the risks taken by long-dead merchants, and the once coveted revenues of half-forgotten kings. Yes, here was death-the dissolution of men's hopes, the fatal decline of empire, the passing of an epoch. But the coins also spoke of life: the culture and commerce of colonial Spain. And we were privileged, as we sat among the heaps of coins, to touch all this."

Despite the doubters, evidence continued to mount that Fisher had truly found the *Atocha*. Even silver bars that matched the *Atocha's* manifest were not enough-it took the discovery of a bronze cannon by Fisher's son, Dirk, to dispel most disbelief. Despite the tragic loss of his son, daughter-in-law, and another diver when their salvage tug, *Northwind*, flipped over at night, Fisher persists in his quest for the "mother lode" of the *Atocha's* treasure. Lyon ends his chronicle with a chapter entitled, "Today's The Day," the still-chanted slogan of Mel Fisher.

Key West, Florida

WRIGHT LANGLEY

Oviedo: Biography of a Town. By Richard Adicks and Donna M. Neely. (Orlando: Executive Press, 1979. x, 122 pp. Illustrations, notes, sources, index. \$15.00.)

There is a city called Oviedo in northern Spain which boasts a twelfth-century cathedral containing the *Cámara Santa*, with possibly the holiest of relics, as well as a bishopric from 812, and a university dating back to 1608. You will find none of these in our Florida town of the same name. Well, almost the same name. Ask for "O-vee-ay-doe" as close by as Ocoee or Osteen, and a blank stare may be your reply. But should you find yourself really lost there, or in Enterprise or Chuluota or Tusawilla, the chances are that some kind soul will say: "Could be you mean Uh-vee-da," and point the way.

In a delightfully unselfconscious and informative volume, *Oviedo: Biography of a Town*, Richard Adicks and Donna Neely explain that the original name, "Lake Jesup community," was changed in 1879 by a well-read postmaster who believed that the Spanish name of the state deserved Spanish-named villages to go with it, or into it.

Lake Jesup is not without a history all its own. The first white men to discover the reedy source of the St. Johns River were John Bartram of Philadelphia, royal botanist to His Majesty King George the Third, and John's son, William. That was, of course, in pre-Revolutionary days: Lake Jesup had not yet been named for the Seminole War hero. The impressionistic Billy Bartram in particular had been entranced by the meandering river. After spending two nights on the shore of the present Lake Jesup, the boy decided to stay on in Florida and grow a crop of indigo. But he had not reckoned on the heat and shifting sands, the summer torrents, and the mosquitoes the county was named for.

Other travellers, though, came and stayed, and the travellers became settlers. What they settled for was not all groves and greenery, Lake Charm and tourism, and railroads. There was, for instance, the big freeze of 1895. "Not merely the fruit-growers, but everyone in the state, from the grocer to the land agent, was utterly ruined. Groves, for which a week earlier two thousand dollars an acre had been asked, now could be bought for twenty." Then there was the time the town burned down. "The

wee hours of 21 January 1914 gave Oviedo residents enough excitement to fill their memories for many years. That was the night of the big fire."

Wars, depressions, real-estate booms and busts, moonshiners, bank bombings, hurricanes, even the Mediterranean fruit flies took their toll. "Through the years the theatres disappeared one by one. The skating rink was gone too." Does this mean that the populace was despondent? Far from it. "On any Thursday night at a restaurant in Oviedo, the strains of country and western music, featuring dozens of local guitar players, banjo pickers and fiddlers, draw a crowd of loyal listeners. In other ways too, the sense of community stays alive. . . . In spite of a larger population and a mobility that scatters people, there is still a characteristic closeness that does not change."

It is refreshing to picture, instead of a tired, gone-by Camelot, a bright, resurgent Brigadoon. In painting this picture, the authors must certainly be applauded, not only for their lively presentation, but also for their perceptive choice of the subject to begin with.

Richard Adicks, a native-born Floridian, is professor of English at the University of Central Florida. Donna M. Neely, with a master's degree from Rollins, is registrar at Oviedo High School. Both writers live in the town. And the idea that towns deserve biographies as much as do the folk who live in them has been proved a valid one by these two imaginative and diligent people. To anyone concerned with Florida history, as well as with the life and growth of rural communities in general, this volume should have value and appeal.

The book is well documented with lists and notes, and interestingly illustrated with tintype-like photographs of the old days: harvesting celery, 1928; the hotel where the fire started; the railway station complete with train in 1910; a May picnic a few years later; and perhaps the most beguiling, "An Outing, about 1905," portraying delightfully insouciant young people, bemused, amused, timeless.

Inevitably in the unveiling of something private and precious, the risk is run of spoiling—rather like the advertising and subsequent expansion of a Michelin 3-star restaurant. So while momentarily on the subject of cuisine, however artfully introduced, let me put in a word of praise for the Mississippi Mud

Cake while it is still the pride and glory of the Oviedo Inn. Be sure to ask for it, that is, should you be in the environs of Brigadoon and remember how its real name is pronounced.

Winter Park, Florida

MARJORY BARTLETT SANGER

Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers; The Diligent Writers of Early America. By Wayne Franklin. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979. xiii, 252 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, introduction, plates, conclusion, epilogue, notes, index. \$15.00.)

Franklin argues that the central "plot" of all American literature-in its broadest definition-is the writer's attempt to use words to subordinate the reality he has found in the new world of North America to an ideal vision he has brought to that reality. Discoverers do this at an elementary, if complex, level by trying to comprehend the new reality in the forms of old languages. Explorers and writers of promotional literature do so by overlaying human plans and landscapes on a physical world they otherwise describe accurately. Settlers do it by trying to square their original visions with the realities of history and geography, and end up by reaffirming the original vision in verbal form while transforming it into an inward search. Each affirms a departure, a journey in search of a place in which to work out his ideal, and a need to exclude from his America, by silence or verbal aggressions, visions and realities other than his own.

The student of Florida's history will find an extended discussion of William Bartram's life and *Travels* (1791) (pp. 58-77)-which typifies the explorer's prose-and a reproduction of his sketch map of what is now called Paynes Prairie (Plate 9) in Alachua County. Also of interest are Franklin's discussion of Cadillac's view of the French settlement on Dauphin Island, the reproduction of Jean Baptiste Michel le Buteaux's drawing of New Biloxi in 1720 (Plate 18), and the discussion of Bernard Diron d'Artaguet's *Journal* of his 1722-1723 visit to Louisiana (all examples of the settler's prose).

Itself a work rich in literary images and devices, this book belongs to a genre which seeks to understand the nature of the

"American" experience. Indeed, it is partially inspired by Henry David Thoreau's *Walden*, one of the first such works. At the same time, it is a critique of the texts studied, a form of internal criticism which historians might read with profit for its reminders of how language and form, as well as literal content, also convey information. Indeed, the form of the book follows this line in the author's argument. The reader is first confronted with a wilderness of new terms and images only barely mastered by Franklin's prose. But this state of affairs-typical of the position of the discoverer-soon gives way to a more ordered scheme-like the explorer's prose-which in turn gives way to self-conscious, if often implicit, doubt even as the scheme is affirmed and pushed to the conclusion. This last stance is that of the settler. Thus the reader experiences, as well as analyzes, the stages in which the "diligent writers" created "early America" in their prose (the subtitle is a play on words).

In short, like its subjects, this book is an attempt to impose a verbal order on the "wilderness of books" and other writings produced during the first two centuries of Anglo-French presence in North America. And like its subjects, the book succeeds in that purpose by a selective use of evidence. For example, Bartram's writings are so selectively used that the reader does not get a complete overview of his work. René Laudonnière's account is omitted, as are all Spanish writers except Columbus and Cortes.

Discoverers, Explorers, and Settlers is good literature as well as a thought-provoking look at familiar (and some not so familiar) writers. It is best read when one has ample time to work through the long chapters without interruption. Plates, which illustrate points made in the text, end-notes, and an index, but no bibliography, constitute the scholarly apparatus.

Louisiana State University

PAUL E. HOFFMAN

Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia.

By Harvey H. Jackson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. xi, 209 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.00.)

Controversy seemed to swirl around Lachlan McIntosh like leaves in a high wind during the years of the American Revolu-

tion. Twice in his native Georgia and again in Pennsylvania, McIntosh found himself in the center of political imbroglios which challenged his military commands. Ironically, McIntosh had been elected to his first command by the Provincial Congress of Georgia precisely because he was an acceptable compromise between the candidates of the contending Whig elites centered in the lowcountry parishes of St. John's and St. Philip's. As a politically inactive planter from the Scots settlement at Darien, McIntosh was aligned with neither the "radicals" of St. John's nor the "conservatives" of St. Philip's, though he was more comfortable with the latter.

Within fifteen months after his election as colonel of the Georgia Continental battalion, McIntosh found himself under attack from Button Gwinnett and the radicals. Riled by Gwinnett's tactics, McIntosh called him "a scoundrel & lying rascal." Gwinnett answered with a challenge and the two men ended their duel on the following day by wounding each other in the leg. Gwinnett's wound was poorly tended, and he died of "mortification" on May 19, 1777. When the radicals tried to relieve McIntosh of command, he refused to recognize the legislature's authority. The stalemate ended when Congress ordered McIntosh to join Washington at Valley Forge as commanding officer of the North Carolina brigade.

With spring 1778 came a new command, the Western Department headquartered at Fort Pitt, and orders to mount an expedition against the British center of western operations at Fort Detroit. Late summer brought new orders to abandon the expedition and to defend the frontier Pennsylvanians from Indian attack. In carrying out his orders, McIntosh antagonized almost everyone in sight. His impressment of supplies angered the locals; his treaty of alliance with the Delawares ran counter to George Morgan's policy of neutralizing the Indians; his seeming preference for a subordinate officer from Virginia angered another from Pennsylvania; his entreaties for aid rankled the Pennsylvania authorities; and his establishment of two defensive forts (McIntosh and Laurens) beyond the Ohio River brought grumbles from his men. McIntosh side-stepped the mounting criticism in the spring of 1779 by resigning his command in order to return to Georgia. He had learned that his family was among those captured when the British took Savannah.

Initially welcomed by the Whig government in Augusta, McIntosh again was to be caught in a factional cross-fire. He would be suspended from command, taken prisoner in the fall of Charleston, only to be later exonerated by both the Georgia legislature and the Continental Congress. His post-war years were to be spent trying, in his somewhat inept way, to recoup his fortunes. At his death in 1806, Lachlan McIntosh was as land poor as ever.

Jackson tells the McIntosh story with polish and manages to disentangle the threads of Whig politics without losing sight of his subject. Given the intricacies of those politics, his achievement is no mean feat. In his determination to maintain his focus, Jackson is often forced to summarize briefly some of those currents in which McIntosh is minimally involved. While this is quite proper in a biography, one can only hope that Jackson will address those currents in the years to come. We need to know more about the Whigs versus Tories; the impact which factionalism had on society as a whole; the shifts in political alignments in the post-war years; and the changes wrought in society by the Revolution itself.

University of South Carolina

DAVID R. CHESNUTT

The American Revolution: Changing Perspectives. Edited by William M. Fowler, Jr., and Wallace Coyle. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1979. xiv, 231 pp. Foreword, notes. \$16.95.)

This curious collection of essays inspired by the Bicentennial of the American Revolution is a pleasant surprise that has something to suit the taste of almost all historical palates. To a core of lectures delivered at a symposium sponsored by Northeastern University, the editors added thoughtful essays by several distinguished scholars to flesh out the volume, and the product is a successful mix that stimulates interest in several aspects of early American development meriting reexamination.

Historians, it may be said, generally engage in two enterprises: learning what happened in the past, and interpreting the meaning of the past for the present generation. Most of the

essays in this volume are addressed to the latter purpose, and one of them-by Piers Mackesy, who writes that the war for independence must be reexamined in light of American's experiences in Korea and Vietnam-does so self-consciously and explicitly. In tone they range from the conversational style of "The Redcoat Revived" by Mackesy to Elizabeth McCaughey's dissertation chapter on "William Samuel Johnson, the Loyal Whig."

The opening study on "Politicizing the Politically Inert" by Linda Grant De Pauw is particularly successful as an interpretive piece, not so much in adding to what is known about the 1770s, as in improving our understanding of rather well-known events. Building upon Elmo Roper's model of how public opinion is disseminated, she reinterprets how leaders of resistance to Britain politicized a people heretofore essentially inert. In so doing a more credible picture of active patriots and loyalists, and the great majority between the poles represented by the activists, gradually emerges.

In a brief survey of the place of Indians and blacks in the Revolution, Gary Nash similarly notes that for many Americans the 1770s' crisis of empire was not so much a constitutional impasse as an occasion for subject groups to win greater control over their destiny. Using the careers of Alexander McGillivray, Thomas Peters, and Thayendanega (Joseph Brant) to illustrate his point, Nash reminds us that the Revolution's goals are not to be understood simply in terms of the rhetoric of a Patrick Henry or Samuel Adams, whose views are frequently accepted as the Revolution's purest expression.

Carol Berkin's essay on "Historians and the Women of the American Revolution," which at first glance appears to treat another neglected group, actually falls into yet another class of history, for it is an historiographical study that fits uneasily in this volume. Instead of explaining how women experienced and shaped the Revolution, it merely surveys the "literature" of the field and introduces the work of scholars who have recently focused on women's history to provide new insights into the revolutionary era. The volume also attempts to show how "demographic factors played an important role in the era of the American Revolution," but most readers will be disappointed with the effort. Although providing fast-paced reviews of recent historical work on population and urbanization during the

eighteenth century, Robert Wells ("Population and the American Revolution") and Stanley Schultz ("The Growth of Urban America in War and Peace, 1740-1810") do not get far beyond restating the obvious, largely because their discipline is not well adapted to the symposium format and their quantitative approach requires greater space than could be allotted in this publication.

The military dimension of the Revolution is better served, however, both because a substantial literature on the subject has long been available and the historians selected to discuss the subject have spent years reflecting on the War for Independence. Don Higginbotham ("The Debate Over National Military Institutions. . ., 1775-1815") argues persuasively that the Revolutionists' perceptions of the war experience was a catalyst for ultimately "republicanizing the Federalist structure" created after 1789. And Piers Mackesy brilliantly restates the argument that Britain began peace negotiations in 1782, not because the war was hopeless but because Parliament lost its nerve, much as the American presence in southeast Asia ended in 1975. The argument would make Lord George Germain proud, but it will make few converts, especially since one learns in the next essay (P. J. Marshall's "The British Empire in the Age of the American Revolution: Problems in Interpretation") that "by 1782 British ministers were forced to recognize that America could not be subdued." That the contributors occasionally disagree only heightens the readers' delight and underscores the value of reexamining "Changing Perspectives" periodically.

The function of the last essay is to provide a balanced assessment of George III, and for the purpose a conversation between Prince Charles and Alistair Cooke on "A Much Maligned Monarch" is printed. The views of the two celebrities will interest some readers, but serious students should read J. H. Plumb's recent Society of the Cincinnati lecture - *New Light on the Tyrant George III*.

The Papers of John C. Calhoun: Volume XII, 1833-1835. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979. xlv, 618 pp. Preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

This twelfth volume of the papers of John C. Calhoun covers a critical portion of American history and a transitional period in the life of that great political theorist—years which embraced the nullification crisis in South Carolina, his isolation from both the Democratic and Whig parties, his first three years as a United States Senator, and his emergence as philosophical leader of the forces of particularism and opposition to emergent national democracy.

A broader definition of “papers” has been used than that employed in many earlier volumes. In this one, it includes not only letters sent and received by Calhoun, but other documents which he produced (bills, resolutions, reports) and “speeches and remarks of which record has survived.” The editor maintains that, within the definition used, all the documents that have been discovered have been included. The introduction provides a discussion of “the nature and sources of Calhoun’s Senate speeches,” consideration of the difficulties of reporting speeches in the early nineteenth century, and analysis of some of the main themes of the documents.

The papers are separated into six chronological sections, each of which has an introduction usually of several pages which sketches the history of the months covered with emphasis on Calhoun’s role. Florida history researchers will find even less in the volume than they did in the previous one. Though there are 577 pages of documents, the thirty-four pages of double-columned index cite only three references to Florida. In each case the material indexed is of little historical importance. There are no entries to any Floridian of any consequence or to any place name in Florida except Pensacola, and the page cited under that entry is one of the three also cited under Florida.

The quality of the general introduction does not measure up to that in the previous volume. In the use of such terms as “finest hour,” “height of his intellectual powers,” “memorable diagnoses,” “independent, virtuous public man,” “exemplary independence,” and “great Carolinian,” the editor reveals himself

as an admiring Calhoun disciple. (It has been the fate of most Calhoun scholars to become either disciples or detractors of the "great Carolinian.") One misses the fruitful insights and balanced judgements of the prior volumes. Yet, one can disagree with the editor that Calhoun's alienation from both political parties was "exemplary independence," that his turning of his intellectual powers to the services of provincialism was his "finest hour," or that his diagnoses of the "disorders of Jacksonian America" offered fundamental remedies-and still admire the hard work and dedication that went into the production of this twelfth memorable volume.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865. By Emory M. Thomas. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979. xvi, 384 pp. Editors' introduction, preface, notes, maps, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

A new history of the Confederacy needs "not so much new information, as new and fresh ideas." Such was the advice that New American Nation Series editor Henry Steele Commager gave to author Emory M. Thomas. While not eschewing "new information," Thomas has chosen to concentrate on "new and fresh ideas," and to present them in a "narrative interpretation" (p. xv).

The interpretation is essentially the same as the one that Thomas presented in an earlier work, *The Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience* (1971). According to this view, the war transformed the southern people, their institutions, and the Confederate cause itself. If the Confederacy had survived, it would have been fundamentally different from the Old South. Slavery would have been seriously weakened, if not destroyed. State-rights feelings would have given way to southern nationalism. Agrarian ways would have yielded considerably to the inroads of industrialism. And women would have undergone a remarkable change in status and role. During the war "Confederate women climbed down from their romantic pedestals," and the "antebellum ideal" of woman as an object of "courtly love"

lost its hold. "Perhaps the model Confederate female was a red-eyed nurse with unkempt hair" (pp. 226, 228).

The organization of the book is sufficiently chronological that the reader does get some sense of narrative, of the succession of events through time. Events, moreover, are often related to personalities. For instance, the book begins with Edmund Ruffin and his reaction to John Brown's raid; it ends with Ruffin's suicide after the Confederate defeat. Campaigns and battles receive brief but, considering the scope of the work, adequate attention. The focus is frequently on the capital, which is the subject of another of Thomas's books, *The Confederate State of Richmond* (1971).

Writers on the Confederacy or on Jefferson Davis have evaded or obfuscated the question of Fort Sumter and the outbreak of the war. Thomas is no exception. He does justice to neither Davis's nor Lincoln's Sumter policy. He fails to show that the Confederate Congress and president held to the fixed purpose of acquiring Sumter and other forts by negotiation if possible and by force if necessary. So, once negotiation had proved hopeless, the Confederates could have been expected to attack Sumter whether Lincoln ever dispatched a relief expedition or not. Thomas misunderstands the nature of the expedition that Lincoln did dispatch. He says Lincoln's messenger told the South Carolina governor that "Lincoln planned to send provisions to Fort Sumter but would not send more troops or arms" (p. 91). Actually, Lincoln's message and his policy were more complicated than that. He said he would not attempt to run in arms and men unless the provisioning were resisted.

In pressing the thesis of a Confederate "revolution" -political, economic, social, cultural-Thomas gets into exaggeration and even error. He suggests that, in some respects, the Confederate government went further than the Union in the exercise of centralized power. He says, for example, the Confederate income tax of 1863 "anticipated the United States federal income tax by fifty years" (p. 198). It did no such thing, of course, since the Union also resorted to a wartime income tax, which remained in effect from 1863 to 1872.

Thomas offers little or no evidence for some of the changes that he considers revolutionary. He only speculates, and does so quite unconvincingly, when he intimates that in the midst of

the war the bedraggled nurse may have replaced the southern lady in the region's mythology. Even in cases where the changes are obvious, one may doubt whether they were far-reaching or long-lasting enough to constitute a revolution or even a "transformation." If they had been, then surely the post-war South would have been more fundamentally different from the pre-war South than it was.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro RICHARD N. CURRENT

Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists.

Edited by Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979, xvi, 348 pp. Introduction, notes, index. \$20.00.)

This volume is a collection of fourteen essays, all but one unpublished before, revealing a "new tendency in antislavery studies to turn to abolitionists as a means of widening our understanding of the society in which they lived" (p. xiv). The claim of novelty may be disputed in light of David Davis's two volumes on "the problem of slavery," but still this is a work to be welcomed and read by every historian interested in nineteenth-century America. The authors of these essays expand their visions beyond the intramural quarreling of the abolitionist movement. They are not often concerned about demonstrating the relevance of the antislavery crusade to modern social change. Theirs is an effort to break away from these predominant trends in writing about this subject. The editors hope that as a result of this scholarship "Abolitionism may . . . become, for the first time an historical subject, a movement whose appeal derives not from its resemblance . . . to modern movements but from what it indicates about fundamental conflict in a different historical era" (p. xv).

Such a wide-ranging enterprise requires many visions on the past, many approaches to understanding and most are employed here. After a stimulating opening essay by Ronald Walters exploring the chronological boundaries of abolition, Alan Kraut studies quantitatively the Liberty Party membership in New York, focusing on Smithfield; James Stewart discusses the relationship

between Wendell Phillips's psyche and his society; William Weicek examines the legal issues provoked by fugitive slave laws; C. Duncan Rice and Douglas Riach provide comparisons from Scotland and Ireland's antislavery efforts; Ellen DuBois and Blanche Hersh discuss connections between nineteenth-century feminism and abolitionism; Jonathan Glickstein explores the similarities and differences between criticisms of slavery and of the competitive northern labor market; Donald Scott and Carol George discuss relationships between the antislavery movement and nineteenth-century religious thought as well as black church aspirations. More traditional approaches are included as well in Leonard Richards's suggestion that Jacksonian Democrats built their party on protecting slavery; in Michael Fellman's description of the rhetoric of pro and antislavery spokesmen in pre-war Kansas; and in Bertram Wyatt-Brown's analysis of the shared class concepts of pro and antislavery intellectuals.

The pervading insight which emerges from these essays is that critics and defenders of slavery perceived society as disorderly, dangerously selfish, and both sought the salvation in a vision of society structured like a family, founded on mutual respect and caring. Each adversary blamed the other for the disruption. Defenders of slavery insisted that abolitionists destroyed respect for law and undermined the social order. The antislavery message was that slavery epitomized, and helped foster, the sins of the age in the opportunities it provided for lust and avarice. Yet interestingly enough, one finds that support for antislavery efforts came both from people who benefited from the social changes that the mid-nineteenth century brought, and those who suffered.

Such intriguing interrelationships are not explored by the editors or by the authors. In a collection such as this, standing at the beginning of a historical interpretation, it may be too early for such efforts. What is most appropriate is the revealing of possibilities, the demonstration of insights, and the providing of an agenda for further thought. Historians should be grateful that this volume has performed these functions so well.

John Taylor Wood, Sea Ghost of the Confederacy. By Royce Gordon Shingleton. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. xiv, 242 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliographic note, index. \$15.00.)

With the exception of the submarine, there was no facet of the Confederate Navy's combat operations that John Taylor Wood did not participate in: the battle of ironclads, manning shore batteries, commerce raiding, boarding parties, and amphibious assaults. Early in the war he was in charge of the after pivot rifle aboard the CSS *Virginia* (the former USS *Merrimac*) during its famed battle with the USS *Monitor*. After the *Virginia* was scuttled, Wood and her crew manned the shore batteries at Drewry's Bluff on the James River to defend Richmond from the Federal Navy's attack. Towards the end of the war he was captain of the swift commerce destroyer CSS *Tallahassee*, and the former twin-screwed blockade runner *Atlanta*, on her first wartime cruise. Between these two duties, Wood's most spectacular exploits occurred as he led sailors on small boat cutting-out expeditions in the Chesapeake Bay and in the North Carolina waters around New Bern. While these commando-like raids had little effect upon the outcome of the war, they did provide the South with some high moments of pride during its unequal struggle with the northern navy.

In addition to his naval duties, Wood, a nephew of President Jefferson Davis, served on the presidential staff. The last one-third of the book recounts his experiences as he traveled south with Davis after the fall of Richmond. John Taylor Wood was captured with the president, but he managed to escape by bribing one of the Union soldiers. Thereafter, he headed for Madison, Florida, where he entered a Confederate underground escape system, receiving aid from such notable Floridians as General Joseph J. Finegan, Captain J. J. Dickison, and Senator David L. Yulee. Wood's exploits from Madison to the Indian River, then down the coast by boat, and eventually to Cuba, are as adventurous as any fiction story.

Author Shingleton claimed that Wood was significant in three areas of the Confederate Navy's history: his "voice grew increasingly powerful" as the war progressed, he was instrumental in having the navy "establish merit over seniority" for officer pro-

motion, and through his recommendations the defenses of Wilmington, North Carolina, were strengthened allowing the port to remain open for blockade runners, thereby lengthening the war. As to the first claim, the only proof offered is an anonymous quotation that Wood was "one of the most influential officers in the Confederate navy." The second assertion rests upon a quote from Wood that the navy "must be doing something." This is followed by the factual enumeration of several major command changes within the navy, but at no time does Shingleton connect these changes specifically to Wood. The third contention is as briefly and flimsily developed as the first two statements; that is, Wood suggested that heavier guns be assigned to Fort Fisher; the larger caliber weapons were installed; therefore, the Union did not take Wilmington until January 1865. Several other naval historians have provided more detailed analyses of the Federal's failure to take Wilmington without crediting Wood, so it would behove Shingleton to develop his case more fully, if he has one. In sum, the author's parochial research, as displayed in his narrative and bibliographic note, precluded developing any broad theses for this work for most of the sources came from Wood's papers. Undoubtedly the author's heavy reliance upon these papers was the reason for his misspelling of Florida's Captain J. J. Dickison's name to Diskinson.

Fortunately for the reader, the author's attempt to create a profound historical significance for Wood is brief, and it does not disturb the narrative of the exciting exploits of this unusual man. It is apparent that Shingleton's true reason for writing this book was to tell about an exceptional naval officer, and he has succeeded. The book is enhanced by clear and appropriate maps and some excellent sketches. *John Taylor Wood: Sea Ghost of the Confederacy* is recommended reading for anyone interested in a salty yarn of the Confederate navy.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER

Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery. By Leon F. Litwack. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. xvi, 651 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, selected bibliography and manuscript sources, index. \$20.00.)

This fine book is a study of the ending of slavery in the American South during the 1860s. It commences with the Civil War and continues through emancipation, Confederate defeat, and the beginnings of congressional reconstruction. In 1860, Litwack argues, southern whites and blacks maintained a traditional slave-master relationship which stressed mutual dependency. With the turmoil of war this relationship changed. The illusions of the old system were dissolved, the tensions that had always characterized slavery were revealed more starkly, and Southerners of both races struggled to comprehend the revolutionary upheaval within their society. In examining these changes, Litwack focuses on three broad areas: the interaction between southern blacks and Northerners, the interaction between southern blacks and southern whites, and the reactions of blacks themselves to their new freedom.

In dealing with the exchanges between the freedmen and Northerners, Litwack first notes that black troops (both native Northerners and former slaves) in the Union Army offered positive new role models to the former slaves. The average white Union soldier, in contrast, was often only a reluctant liberator. Contacts between individual freedmen and those troops, Litwack believes, were often among the "more tragic chapters in the history of this generally brutalizing and demoralizing war" (p. 128). The author is also often critical—perhaps somewhat overly so—of the Freedmen's Bureau, arguing that its agents were often more interested in promoting agricultural stability than in protecting the legitimate interests of the former slaves. He is more generous, though, in his assessment of the "several thousand" northern teachers and ministers who descended upon Dixie during and after the war. Here, he enumerates the positive contributions of these "nineteenth-century Calvinists" who wished to redeem the South, but he also argues that these men and women often did little to reduce black dependency on whites.

In turning to blacks and southern whites, Litwack shows well how both groups tried to shape new understandings at a time

when old loyalties and mutual dependencies were becoming "increasingly irrelevant." His judgments of the master class here are harsh and perhaps too inclusive at times. Southern whites, he concludes, felt little guilt and showed little humanitarianism while slavery was dying. Their racial attitudes were reflected in the "Black Codes" of 1865-1866 and in the post-war sharecropping agreements they negotiated with individual freedmen. The latter, in particular, were designed to maintain as much of the old order as possible and often required the former slaves to promise "perfect obedience" and "prompt and faithful" service. To justify their efforts at preserving antebellum conditions, planters often used arguments strikingly similar to those they had voiced in their earlier defense of slavery. Specifically, they argued that shiftless blacks could not survive as freedmen; they would actually die without close white supervision and control of their labor. Blacks obviously did not agree with this judgment. Consequently, from 1865 on, fears of "insurrection" troubled whites annually during their negotiations of new labor contracts with former slaves.

Within their own community, Litwack notes, emancipation forced the freedmen to begin the arduous task of defining the boundaries of their new freedom. The psychological results of this search were somewhat comparable to those of colonial peoples who gained their independence from western powers during the latter twentieth century. Freedom enlarged the former slaves' sense of the attainable and encouraged an "assertiveness" which had been impossible under slavery. In some respects, the freedmen were remarkably successful in defining the boundaries of their new status. This was especially true in regard to their family life. Husbands and wives were married, independent households were established, and relatives divided by sale or war were reunited. In other areas—such as those in the economic realm—they were less successful, partly because black political leaders often espoused middle-class values and did not move effectively toward confiscation to satisfy the land hunger of the masses. As a result, sharecropping, which initially offered some promise for economic independence, made most blacks impoverished agrarians. Emancipation therefore offered a positive new self image to the freedmen, but it opened only limited opportunities for

their economic betterment. This position is argued effectively, although the question of whether the freedmen possessed the capital needed to farm even confiscated land effectively remains unanswered.

In telling so well of the aftermath of slavery, Litwack has examined a truly impressive number of sources—including the diaries of planters, black newspapers, church newspapers (such as *The Christian Recorder*), and especially interviews done with over 2,000 former slaves by members of the Federal Writers' Project during the 1930s. All of these sources are used with great skill in weaving a narrative of how individual southern blacks first perceived their freedom and what that perception came to mean to them. The result is a contribution of major importance to the historiography of slavery and race relations in the nineteenth-century South.

Washington State University

RICHARD L. HUME

Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834. By B. W. Higman. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977. vii, 327 pp. Preface, conventions, abbreviations and symbols, illustrations, tables, notes, appendixes, index. \$32.50.)

This study is the first to make extensive use of the British Slave Registration and Compensation Records, and even a cursory glance at the volume (which reveals some forty-one figures and seventy tables) will inspire awe at the amount of energy and labor Professor Higman has invested in analyzing them.

The aim of the work (an expansion of Higman's Ph.D. dissertation) is "to show that, in the period 1807-1834 demographic change had a significant impact on [Jamaica's slave] economy" (p. v). The dates, of course, mark the end of the slave trade, on the one hand, and the end of slavery, on the other. Yet the overwhelming bulk of Higman's data pertain only to the period after 1817, for the very good reason that Jamaica's slaves were first registered in that year. Thus while there is little question that Higman does demonstrate the impact of the demographic change in Jamaica's slave population on the economy as a whole, he actually does so only for the 1817-1834 period.

Among the author's findings is that Jamaican slaves, unlike those of Barbados, were not able to manage a natural increase prior to slavery's abolition. Rather the expectable abnormal age-sex structure which characterized the slave population at the close of the slave trade contributed to an actual increase in slave mortality (especially male) for the years 1817-1834. Nor was that age-sex structure conducive to high levels of natality, particularly in light of Higman's demonstration that African females were not as fertile as their Creole sisters.

Thus Higman argues that the slave population did decline during the years in question, and the very fact of the decline, he feels, stimulated rising expectations of status among the bondsmen. These expectations in turn precipitated the 1831 slave rebellion on the island—a rebellion which “strengthened the hand of the humanitarians and their supporters” in the campaign to abolish slavery.

The study is demographic, and at times perhaps too technical for the general reader. Yet it is also a virtual mine of information on such matters as the distribution of Jamaica's slave labor force, its organization and productivity, and slave living conditions and life styles.

A book of this nature is bound to attract methodological criticism as do most, if not all, quantitative studies these days, and certainly one could quarrel with Higman over such matters as the confidence he places in the completeness and reliability of his data, the sometimes skimpy samples used to support generalizations, and his occasional tendency to demonstrate elaborately the obvious. Yet, on the whole, Higman is cautious and judicious; his study is painstakingly researched and certainly an important contribution to the historiography of slavery in the hemisphere. Finally, it must serve as a crucial starting point for future studies of slavery in Jamaica.

Bowling Green State University

KENNETH KIPLE

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 8; 1904-1906. Edited by Louis R. Harlan, Raymond W. Smock, and Geraldine McTigue. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979. xxx, 625 pp. Introduction, errata, symbols and abbreviations, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

The years 1904-1906 were seminal ones in the life of Booker T. Washington. He had achieved national status as a leader and spokesman for Negro causes in the United States. His influence was spread far and wide. His letters and papers reflect the depth of the early twentieth-century drive to gain for the race full and dignified freedom of the ballot, of speech, and social justice. In the background was the ogre of lynching and other forms of retaliation. Too, the southern press at all levels of editorial responsibility was ready to pounce on any forward act of Booker T. Washington, and to blow it up out of all sensible proportions.

Several centralized personalities and issues stand out in this fermentative Rooseveltian age. Among the personalities were W. E. B. DuBois and Monroe Trotter. Both appear in the correspondence as mischief-makers. DuBois was the far cleverer man and exhibited great capacity to generate trouble in the black movements, and there are frequent references in the papers to this fact. Trotter, editor of the Boston *Guardian*, seems to have been an outright scoundrel. In his paper he controlled an instrument of racial opinion which had a marked potential for undoing the movements and causes for which Washington labored.

The Niagara Movement promoted by DuBois and Trotter was more radical and divisive than Booker T. Washington was willing to countenance. He wrote Timothy Thomas Fortune, February 21, 1906, "DuBois in his new role of an agitator is fast making a fool of himself through his little paper. When he stuck to business or scientific investigation he was a success, but is going to prove a failure as an agitator following in the wake of a crazy man like Trotter." Washington may even have viewed the inception of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the same light.

The Tuskegee Institute president had ready access to President Roosevelt, and no doubt had considerable bearing upon distribution of patronage and the making of political decisions as they related to the Negro and the South. With equal ease he had

access to important financial, editorial, educational, and philanthropical figures. One often wonders in the reading of these letters, however, how much they rest on fact and how much on a sense of self-importance?

No Southerner was in a more difficult situation in the light of public opinion than Booker T. Washington. Any move, however trivial, from the norm of southern patterns of racial behavior landed him in hot water. This was best illustrated by the incident of his dining with John Wannamaker and his family in Saratoga, New York, in August 1905. The paranoia of southern editors, and especially those of the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Montgomery Advertiser*, now seem incomprehensible. Washington's response to the press furor provoked an interesting scolding from Francis J. Garrison for his rationalization.

There emerges in this volume a profile of a man and an age in an era of grave social and political uncertainties. Inevitably Booker T. Washington was sucked into the maelstrom of intrigue, criticism, and angry responses among the national Negro leadership. This made heavy demands on his physical and emotional stamina, and necessitated constant awareness of the existence of snares of racial prejudices and political sensitivities. No previous volume of this series reveals more forcefully the tensions, divisive forces, and pitfalls of power than does this one.

It has become almost trite to commend the craftsmanship of selection, identification, and general editing of these papers.

Lexington, Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives. By Paul D. Escott. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979. xv, 221 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, tables, afterword, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$12.50, cloth; \$7.00, paper.)

Convinced that "slave narratives offer the best evidence we will ever have on the feelings and attitudes of America's slaves" (p. 18), Paul D. Escott has written a study based on the nineteen volumes of interviews conducted under the auspices of

the Federal Writers' Project during the 1930s and published under the editorship of George P. Rawick in 1972. Escott's work differs from that of most previous scholars who have used the FWP narratives, in that it relies *solely* on these interviews. Although he occasionally cites other sources, Escott has made no effort to study systematically either the vast primary or secondary literature on slavery. Instead, he attempts to describe the slave experience as the slaves saw it, based on these narratives alone.

Despite this unusual approach, Escott's conclusions are less novel than he thinks. "I believe," he writes, "that the narratives give us a picture of slavery different from what we have had before" (p. xiv). He then proceeds to offer up a description of slavery similar in most respects to those developed by a series of recent historians. Slaves lived, by and large, in a world separate from that of their owners, where they were able to develop their own culture and lead their own lives. The ultimate message of the slave narratives, Escott tells us, is "that masters did not control the minds of their bondsmen" (p. 179).

This book is therefore less significant for its overall theme than for its particular methodology, one that produces results of great utility but also creates serious analytical problems. The most notable virtue of *Slavery Remembered* is the author's use of simple quantification to reveal predominant trends of thought and behavior among the ex-slaves. Whereas previous historians have noted that the slave narratives contain a multitude of contradictory sentiments, and thus can be used to support virtually any interpretation of slavery, Escott provides us for the first time with statistical summaries of a host of issues touched on in the narratives. Thus, we learn that of 1,448 slaves who commented on the character of their male owners, 68.9 per cent expressed either "favorable" or "very favorable" attitudes, while of 110 ex-slaves who spoke of their female owners, 66.4 per cent made "favorable" or "very favorable" remarks. Similarly, we learn, in an especially interesting chapter on slave resistance, that of 826 ex-slaves who told of their own resistance, 41.2 per cent ran away, 20.3 per cent hid in the woods, 15.5 per cent stole, and 16 per cent engaged in some form of violence against whites. (The remainder engaged in other, less frequent forms of resistance.) On these and numerous other subjects, Escott provides us with

concrete statistical information to replace typically vague traditional statements that while some slaves did this, others did that.

The book's most serious defect stems from its author's underestimation of the problems connected with the use of slave narratives. Although he discusses several of these—such as the age of the interviewees and the race of the interviewers—in his introduction, he ignores the most serious problem, which inheres in their autobiographical nature. Because human memory is often faulty and self-serving, *all* autobiographies, especially those completed long after the events they describe, must be approached skeptically, and must be used in conjunction with other kinds of evidence dating from the period in question. Lacking this skeptical approach, Escott shows insufficient subtlety in his analysis of the narratives. He tends too often, for example, to accept the statements of ex-slaves at face value rather than subjecting them to normal analytical scrutiny. Thus, he uses assertions of blacks that family ties were strong under slavery to prove that they were indeed strong. Surely, however, we can see in statements such as “dey stuck lots closer den” (p. 48), the common practice of old-timers bemoaning the behavior of the current generation rather than any particular evidence concerning the nature of the slave family. Similarly, Escott frequently confuses the attitudes of slaves and ex-slaves, assuming that statements of the latter always reflected views of the former. The freedmen had a terrible time with Federal troops in 1865, he tells us: “In state after state the former slaves told the same saddening story about their encounters with Union soldiers. When the Yankees arrived they brought theft, destruction, and even mistreatment of the slaves with them” (p. 123). But surely this tells us more about southern attitudes in the 1930s than it does about the freedmen's feelings in 1865. Of course, Union troops sometimes stole and mistreated blacks, but one cannot rely on interviews conducted in the 1930s to reveal how most blacks felt in 1865, because these interviews were shaped in part by events occurring between 1865 and the 1930s.

Despite these problems, *Slavery Remembered* will serve as a very useful book to students of slavery. It does not contain a radically new interpretation, but it does provide valuable statistical tabulations of opinions expressed by the ex-slaves on a

myriad of topics. In the future, historians will be freed from having to try to establish whether a given viewpoint represented the position of a few, some, many, or most of the ex-slaves interviewed during the 1930s. Relying on Escott's calculations, they will be able to use the slave narratives the way they are used best: as illustrations of themes suggested in other sources.

University of New Mexico

PETER KOLCHIN

Pebble Hill: The Story of a Plantation. By William Warren Rogers. (Tallahassee: Sentry Press, 1979. xvi, 168 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$12.00.)

This is the fourth Thomas County, Georgia, history written by William Warren Rogers in the past sixteen years. All are good books, carefully researched; each was sponsored by the Thomasville Historical Society. This volume is, literally, the story of the plantation, "the enduring land." It gives the added dimension of land transaction details to the descriptions of plantation life included in the first two books.

Though not among the grand Thomasville plantations, Pebble Hill is apparently the surviving forerunner of them all. Its founder, Thomas Jefferson Johnson, purchased its first acres in 1825. Johnson, as a member of the Georgia legislature, introduced the measure creating Thomas County, and to him is attributed the naming of the county and the town. The parts played by subsequent owners, the related Mitchells and the later Hanna family, are accurately and interestingly described.

The author's command of the material, his fine sense of organization and a meticulous handling of details characterize this book. In fact, portions of the book, especially those which trace land transactions, are more suitable for inclusion in an appendix for reference rather than in the text.

This reviewer has only one real quarrel with the content of this exemplary local history. The trail connecting St. Augustine with the missions across Florida to San Luis (Tallahassee) and beyond was the Apalachee Trail. It did not curve northward into Georgia; there were other trails which traversed southwest Georgia. Further, the Spaniards did not refer to any trail as the

"Spanish Trail." "Camino Real," meaning Royal Way, was the designation of any trail on which the Crown expended money, much the same concept as a federal highway is today. Though these comments refer to one short paragraph (p. 3) only, they are made to emphasize the need for historians to be aware of geography. Too, this same misunderstanding of the Apalachee Trail appears in volume one in this series as well (*Ante Bellum Thomas County*, p. 2).

The format of the book is a credit to the Sentry Press which specializes in local history. The luxury of a good index justifies forgiveness for any small sins. This volume (and its companions) exemplify the best in the writing of basic local history which, all too often, suffers from a surplus of emotion and a paucity of research. The Thomasville Historical Society has shown good judgment in the sponsorship of Dr. Rogers and his studies.

Jacksonville, Florida

DENA SNODGRASS

The Idea of the American South, 1920-1941. By Michael O'Brien. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979. xvii, 273 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$16.00.)

When I first saw the title of this volume, my initial reaction was: oh no, not another book on the South's identity. Surely we do not need another book on the South in view of the works of people like Phillips, Cash, Woodward, Zinn, Tindall, Gaston, Vandiver, Potter, Ashmore, and Simkins who have tried to distill the essence of that distinct region. But this is not just another book, this is a special addition which will take its place along with the best of the works devoted to the nature of the South.

Michael O'Brien has chosen to get inside the South by comparing and contrasting the sociological vision of Howard Odum in Chapel Hill with the Southern Agrarians at Vanderbilt. Much has been written about Odum, but the brief chapters in this volume tell as much, and are as perceptive, as any writing on Odum this reviewer has seen. Likewise, the Southern Agrarians have been the focus of a dozen major works, but none has said so much in so short a space as does this volume. Limiting him-

self to John Wade (whom he considers not really one of the Agrarians), John Ransom, Allen Tate, Frank Owsley, and Donald Davidson, the author has chosen to highlight those factors in the backgrounds of each writer which help the reader understand the philosophical position each takes in *I'll Take My Stand*. Moreover, the chapters on each Agrarian are not mutually exclusive, but rather overlap and dovetail in wonderfully intricate ways as O'Brien writes of the relationships of the men as well as their ideas. This is done so skillfully that the chapters are not biographical sketches in the usual sense of the word; rather they are essays on the group with the focus on one of the individuals for any given chapter.

The author has mined numerous sources in order to bring understanding to these men individually and collectively, and he has used the sources for his purposes exquisitely. Most of the written sources for this volume have been around for a long time and have been seen by many researchers, but O'Brien has viewed the documents in a new light and with new perspective. Quotes from letter exchanges reveal nuances of relationships and ideas not noted before. A number of personal interviews with the principals or their close relatives shed additional light and add just the right touch to a sparkling volume.

The heart of this volume is bookended with a well-written introduction, which pays the required bow to those who have written in this area previously, and an interpretive conclusion which is less O'Brien's views than his reaction to the views of Odum and the Agrarians. He concludes: "No man's South was the same as another's. Thus, ironically, a community was in fact created, for men could talk about different things while imagining that they discussed the same entity. Thus, for those who made the effort of self-awareness, the center could hold."

New Mexico State University

MONROE BILLINGTON

Black Drink: A Native American Tea. Edited by Charles M. Hudson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. 175 pp. Preface, introduction, maps, illustrations, selected bibliography, the contributors, index. \$11.00.)

The coffee break has become part of the daily routine of countless Americans, but it had not always been that way. Because so much has been written about the Boston Tea Party, the public generally recognizes that tea rather than coffee was the common non-alcoholic stimulant during the colonial era. Less well-known is that long before the founding of St. Augustine tea was the common beverage of the aborigines. Their tea, scientifically classified by whites as *ilex vomitoria*, and popularly known as the black drink, as its name implies, was considered a purgative. Yet in fact it was no more a purgative than Oriental tea, and, though whites called the aboriginal tea the "black drink," Indians themselves knew it as the "white drink," identifying it with purity.

Specialists have recognized the importance of black drink among the Indians, and in 1971 a session of the American Society of Ethnohistory was devoted to this topic. This book is an outgrowth of that session, and Charles M. Hudson has carefully edited the papers and supplied a useful introduction. Shiu Ying Hu, a botanist at Harvard University, discusses how *ilex vomitoria* (yaupon) flourishes in marginal sandy soils and surmises that this species of holly was introduced into the South from more tropical regions. William L. Merrill of the University of Michigan's anthropology department surveys the consumption of black drink among the southern Indians and points out that *ilex vomitoria's* natural range along the Gulf and Atlantic coasts from Texas through the Carolinas approximated the region in which Indians used the black drink. Where it did not grow naturally or was not transplanted, the aborigines acquired its parched leaves through trade. Archaeologist Jerald T. Milanich of the Florida State Museum analyzes the extent of black drinks use by pre-contact Indians. He contends that its ritual consumption in engraved shell drinking cups, typically made from the lightning whelk, apparently was as much a feature of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex as the impressive temple mounds. Charles H. Fairbanks of the University of Florida's anthropology department considers the role of black drink among the Creeks.

Occupying large portions of present-day Georgia and Alabama, in colonial times this confederacy included not only those speaking Creek proper but also refugees from the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and more information is available about black drink among the Creeks than other groups. According to Fairbanks, the principal function of this beverage in formal rituals and in common use was to cement friendship and promote social intercourse. Both Fairbanks and William C. Sturtevant, the latter from the Smithsonian Institution, speculate why contemporary Southerners rely on coffee, Coca Cola, and chocolate for their caffeine, whereas in the colonial era so many drank yaupon tea, even exporting it to Britain and France. For whatever causes, and the reasons are not clear, yaupon tea, unlike maté, its near relative in South America, was not permanently adopted by significant numbers of whites.

One can find yaupon holly as an ornamental shrub in northern and central Florida, but not in the extreme south, and apparently the black drink is not consumed by contemporary Seminoles in the Everglades. Nevertheless, in diverse and sometimes unsuspecting ways, its heritage persists. The black drink singer, *asi yahola* (Osceola), an officiant at the black drink ritual, migrated into Florida from the Upper Creek country before his death in the Second Seminole War. His name and descendants still survive. One cannot buy yaupon tea like grits in a supermarket, but it is available. I have just spilled some from my cup on the typescript of this review.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

BOOK NOTES

Will McLean is a talented and creative musician, poet, singer, and folklorist. He specializes in the unique stories and myths that make Florida so special. His latest book, *'Cross the Shadows of My Face*, is dedicated to the memory of three Seminole chiefs—Osceola, Billie Bowlegs, and Josie Billie—and “for Florida’s precious air, water, sand, and wildlife.” His book tells about the animals, trees, and the people of Florida, including an old man and a boy who travel across north Florida living off the land. There is also the poem, “Ballad of Will McLean,” by Jack Turner which has been set to music by Mr. McLean and Paul Champion. *'Cross the Shadows of My Face* sells for \$5.00. Order from Fifth Terrace Design, 115 N.W. 5th Terrace, Gainesville, Florida 32601.

About half the residents of *Cassadaga*, a small community between Daytona Beach and Orlando, are spiritualists. They believe that life continues after death, that spirits communicate with the living, and that they can make contact with these spirits. Cassadaga was first established in 1894, and it has become the major center for spiritualists in the South. The author of this study, Robert Harold, grew up near the community, and has spent many months researching its history, and interviewing the spiritualists. They give readings, including one for Mr. Harold in 1978, which he describes. Published by Banyon Books of Miami, *Cassadaga* sells for \$4.95.

The Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money, by Daniel G. Cassidy, catalogs every known example of printed Florida paper money ever issued. It also reproduces many hitherto unpublished photographs, several from the Harley L. Freeman Collection. The first known paper money in Florida was issued in Pensacola in the eighteenth century. Gregor MacGregor printed scrip in Fernandina in 1817, when he briefly occupied Amelia Island. Treasury notes were circulated during the Territorial Period, and bank notes from other states appeared in Florida during these years, including those issued by John G.

Winters Bank of Saint Marys, Georgia. During the Civil War, quantities of paper money were issued in Florida, as elsewhere in the South, and two additional issues were prepared after 1865. Cassidy has divided his book into chapters on Colonial Pensacola, Amelia Island, Territory of Florida, State of Florida, and Florida Towns. The last includes information on banking and currency activities in seventy-two communities. A map showing the Florida cities and towns where paper money was issued, and a bibliography help make this an important volume, not only for numismatists, but for Florida historians in general. Order from the author, Box 2688, Jacksonville, Florida 32203. The hard-bound edition sells for \$22.00, the paperback, \$18.00.

A revised and updated edition of *The Sea Shell Islands, A History of Sanibel and Captiva*, by Elinore M. Dormer, has been published. The earliest inhabitants of this area off the lower Gulf Coast of Florida lived approximately 10,000 years ago. Early Spanish explorers saw the islands, but did not describe them in detail. It was Bernard Romans who first wrote of Sanibel in 1769. Among the many things Mrs. Dormer describes in her book are the excavations of Frank H. Cushing in the 1890s, and some of the celebrities who visited the islands, including Theodore Roosevelt, who first came in 1914. Illustrations in *The Sea Shell Islands* are by Ann Winterbotham. The book sells for \$10.00, and it may be ordered from the author, 1083 Bird Lane, Sanibel, Florida 33957.

The 1979 issue of *El Escribano*, volume 16, published by the St. Augustine Historical Society, contains six articles: "Florida in the Late First Spanish Period: The 1756 Griñán Report," by Michael C. Scardaville and Jesús María Belmonte; "The Model Land Tract: The Development of a Residential Neighborhood," by H. H. Stackhouse; "James Calvert Smith: Historian With a Paint Brush," by Carleton I. Calkin; "Luciano de Herrera and Spanish Espionage in British St. Augustine," by Light T. Cummins; "Decorative Arts at the Ximenez-Fatio House: Furnishing Used to Interpret the Past," by Robert W. Harper, III; and "The DeBrahm Medals: An Eccentric Geographer Remembers His Grandchildren," by Charles S. Coomes. Copies of *El Escribano* sell for \$3.00, and may be ordered from the

Society's office, 271 Charlotte Street, St. Augustine, Florida 32084. Mark E. Fretwell serves as editor of *El Escribano*.

Largo, Florida, Then 'til . . . began as a community Bicentennial project. Historical data was gathered from clubs, schools, organizations, and individuals, and these efforts resulted in the publication of this volume. Among the many pictures is one showing the first bus in Pinellas County which was made by welding two jitneys together. There are also photographs of buildings, athletic events, beauty contests, school children, and churches illustrating the text material. Descendants of some of the early families-Taylor, McMullen, Kilgore, Belcher, Johnson, Dieffenwierth, Blicht, and Ulmer-live in the area, and their stories are included. Order from the Chamber of Commerce, Box 326, Largo, Florida 33540. The price is \$16.50.

Lawton L. Barnett has spent most of his life in the Suwannee River valley, fishing and enjoying the wildlife and natural beauty of the area. During some of these trips on the river, 1921-1922, his grandfather told him stories of the earlier days. These tales and memories provide the basis for *Fifty Years Down The Suwannee River*. The book sells for \$5.95, and is distributed by Florida Book Store, 1614 West University Avenue (Box 1407), Gainesville, Florida 32604.

A Historical View of Fort Pierce and the Indian River Environmental Community was written by Lucille Rights for the teachers and elementary students in her county. There is information on the Spanish and Indians, the early settlers, and the impact that the Seminole Wars had on the area. The photographs are from the collections of the Saint Lucie Historical Society and the Saint Lucie County Historical Museum. This publication could well serve as a model for other Florida counties and communities in encouraging interest of school children in Florida History. The book was published by the Saint Lucie County School Board of Fort Pierce.

Automobile racing first began at Ormond Beach in 1902 as a pastime for wealthy winter visitors. The race that year was between Ransome Olds and Alexander Winton, both legendary

automobile manufacturing pioneers. The contest ended in a tie, but Olds in his "Pirate" and Winton in the "Bullet" had clocked an impressive fifty-seven miles per hour. Over the years, automobile racing has become an international sport, but the Daytona-Ormond Beach area continues to dominate much of its activity, drawing thousands of spectators to its annual events. *Daytona U.S.A.*, by William Neely, is the history of racing in this area from 1902 to the present day NASCAR Super Speedways. The volume includes a forward by Bill France, Sr., and a number of photographs. It sells for \$24.95, and may be ordered from Aztex Corporation, Tucson, Arizona 85703.

In September 1977 volunteers of the Junior League of Orlando-Winter Park began a historic sites survey of the city of Winter Park, a community which first began in 1881, and which was incorporated six years later. Several of the early buildings in Winter Park, including one structure dating to 1882, are still standing, and are still being used for the purposes for which they were constructed. The Junior League volunteers have produced *Historic Winter Park, A Driving Tour*. It lists forty sites, including hotels, private residences, churches, and stores. Order this guide from St. Paul Building, Suite 286, 1080 Woodcock Road, Orlando, Florida 32803; the price is \$2.00.

The Man Who Rode Sharks was written by William R. Royal, together with Robert F. Burgess, and was published by Dodd Meade and Company, New York. Colonel Royal has spent many years diving in shark-infested waters, and he worked as a shark catcher for Cape Hayes Marine Laboratory in Florida. About one-half of the book describes Colonel Royal's exploration of Florida sinkholes. These exceptional, and sometimes very dangerous activities, resulted in the discovery of the archeological remains of humans, dating back 10,000 years ago, in Warm Mineral Springs and Little Salt Springs. The book, which includes a foreword by Eugenie Clark, the renowned scientist, sells for \$8.95.

Bulletin 22 of the Southeastern Archeological Conference (proceedings of the 1978 annual meeting) contains thirty articles and more than 100 figures dealing with archeological topics in

Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and other southeastern states. It may be ordered for \$12.00 from J. T. Milanich, SCAC Editor, Florida State Museum, Gainesville, Florida 32611.

Central Florida has become one of the world's major tourist meccas, and millions annually visit its attractions including Disney World, Sea World, Circus World, Cypress Gardens, Busch Gardens, Silver Springs, Kennedy Space Center, and St. Augustine. *Tourist Capital Of The World (Central Florida)*, by C. Martin Powers, is a useful guide to this area of Florida. It provides information on the attractions, special annual events, and data useful for senior citizens, golfers, campers, and fishermen. There is also information on hotels and restaurants. Published by Outstanding Publishing Company, Box 4510, Winter Park, Florida 32793, the book sells for \$5.00.

The Biosphere Program is an inter-governmental effort to focus research, public education, and technical training in helping solve environmental problems. In 1971, an International Coordinating Council was established by UNESCO, and the following year the United States Department of State created a committee to designate biosphere reserves in the United States and its territories. The Everglades National Park- a subtropical forest, mangrove, and swamp marshland-was designated as one of these reserves. *Man And The Biosphere*, by Paul G. Risser and Kathy D. Cornellson, list all of the American reserves, and describes the activities of Man and the Biosphere Program (MAB). Published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, the book sells for \$6.95.

Ancestors and Descendants of Matthew A. B. Howard, Georgia-Florida, 1793-1978, With Allied Families, compiled by Norma Slater Woodward, provides historical and genealogical data valuable to members of the Howard family and their relatives, but also to researchers in the history of north Florida counties. Order from the author, Route 2, Box 739, Lake Butler, Florida 32054; the price is \$17.10, including postage.

Over the years many men and women who were born in North Carolina, or who had a close association with that state,

have also played important roles in Florida history. John Branch was governor of North Carolina and United States Senator before he became governor of Florida in 1843. Robert Bullock, originally from Pitt County, North Carolina, moved to Florida in 1844, settling in Marion County. After service in the Civil War, he returned to Ocala to practice law and to become a judge of the Fifth Judicial District. Members of the Brevard, Blount, and other prominent Florida families trace their roots back to North Carolina. *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, Volume 1, A-C, edited by William S. Powell, lists these North Carolina-born Floridians. The publication is a major biographical accomplishment. The first volume contains more than 700 entries, and provides political, cultural, social, and military data important to southern and American history. This volume, and the subsequent ones, are being published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. This volume sells for \$45.00.

Danville, Virginia, was the last capitol of the Confederacy. The final cabinet meeting of the doomed government was held in the Southerland House, now the Danville Museum of Fine Arts and History. When news arrived on April 10, 1865, of Lee's surrender, Davis and members of his cabinet left by train, moving slowly southward through the Carolinas into Georgia. Eventually the train arrived at Waldo, Florida. Davis was no longer aboard, but his baggage and the tiny remnants of the Confederate treasury were taken off and hidden, but later fell into Federal hands. *The Last Capital* is by John H. Brubaker, III, and it was published by the Danville Museum of Fine Arts and History. The price is \$7.80.

Service Records of Confederate Enlisted Marines is by Ralph W. Donnelly, who earlier published *Biographical Sketches of the Commissioned Officers of the Confederate State Marine Corps* and *The History of the Confederate States Marine Corps*. *Service Records* contains the military records of over 1,200 Confederate marines, including two blacks. Those with Florida connections include Jacob S. Scholls, who first enlisted in Pensacola in 1844, and who served in the Mexican War before joining up again during the Civil War, his son, James Lawrence Scholls, was also

in the Marine Corps, and is listed in his service records as a musician. James's wife lived in Pensacola. This reference work may be ordered from the author, 93 Market Street, Washington, North Carolina 27889; the price is \$6.95.

The University Presses of Florida have republished in paperback two of its best selling Florida histories. *Frontier Eden, The Literary Career of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings*, is by Gordon E. Bigelow, and it sells for \$4.50. *Pelts, Plumes & Hides, White Traders Among The Seminole Indians, 1870-1930*, is by Harry A. Kersey, Jr., and the price is \$5.95.

The University of Georgia Press has also reprinted several of its important books in its Brown B. Thrasher paperback series. They include *On The Plantation, A Story Of A Georgia Boy's Adventures During The War* by Joel Chandler Harris, with a foreword by Erskin Caldwell (\$4.95); *The Alexander Letters, 1787-1900*, edited by Marion Alexander Boggs, with a foreword by Richard Barksdale Harwell (\$5.95); and *Suwannee River, Strange Green Land* by Cecile Hulse Matschat, foreword by Pat Watters (\$5.95).

HISTORY NEWS

1981 Annual Meeting

Linda Ellsworth, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board (205 E. Zaragoza Street, Pensacola, Florida 32501), and Dr. Peter Klingman, Daytona Beach Community College (Department of History, P. O. Box 1111, Daytona Beach, Florida 33015), are program chairs for the seventy-ninth meeting of the Florida Historical Society to be held in St. Petersburg, April 29-May 3, 1981. They invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them immediately. They are particularly interested in papers dealing with the impact that ecology and environment has had on Florida history. Papers relating to other aspects of the political, economic, social, intellectual, and military history of Florida will be considered also.

The Bay Front Concourse Hotel has been selected as the convention hotel. Milton Jones of Clearwater, former president of the Florida Historical Society, will be in charge of local arrangements. Local and area historical societies and preservation groups will be the host organizations. The Florida Historical Confederation will be holding a workshop in conjunction with the annual meeting.

Awards

Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, professor of history, chairman of the Department of History, University of Central Florida, and immediate past president of the Florida Historical Society, received the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1979-1980 for his article, "Mary Grace Quackenbos, A Visitor Florida Did Not Want." It appeared in the January 1980 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The prize is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly*, and is presented at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society. The judges for this year's award were Randy F. Nimnicht, Historical Association of Southern Florida; Dr. Wayne Flynt, Auburn University; and Dr. Charlton Tebeau, Emeritus Professor, University of Miami.

The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville.

The Florida Wars, published by Linnet Books, was selected as the best book published in 1979 on a Florida subject. Its author, Virginia Bergmen Peters of Falls Church, Virginia, received the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award. The judges were Dr. Louis Perez, University of South Florida; Dr. Paul W. Wehr, University of Central Florida; and Dr. Robert R. Rea, Auburn University. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and secretary of the Florida Historical Society.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award for 1979 was presented to Natalie Savage Carlson of Clearwater, for her book, *Time of the White Egret*, published by Charles Scribner's Sons. The award honors Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Emeritus Professor, University of Miami, editor of *Tequesta*, and former president of the Florida Historical Society. It is given annually to the author of the best book for young readers on a Florida subject. The judges were Janet Snyder Matthews, Sarasota; Christian LaRoche, Valparaiso; and Wright Langley, Historic Key West Preservation Board.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

A check for \$1,000 was received by the Florida Historical Society from William M. Goza, former president of the Society, on behalf of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., at the annual meeting of the Society in Orlando. These annual gifts from the Foundation are designated for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The Foundation has provided grants to many historical, anthropological, and cultural organizations, the Florida State Museum, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. It is supporting the project of indexing and cataloging the Spanish documents and manuscripts in the P. K. Yonge Library.

Division of Archives and History

L. Ross Morrell has been named director of the Department of State, Division of Archives, History and Records Management. He succeeds Senator W. Robert Williams, a former director of the Florida Historical Society, who retired from public service in February 1980. In addition to his appointment by Secretary of State George Firestone as division director, Morrell was appointed State Historic Preservation Officer by Governor Bob Graham. Morrell has been Florida State Archeologist since 1965, and he served as chief of the Bureau of Historic Sites and Property since the creation of the Division in 1969.

Announcements and Activities

Movie magazines, which generally describe the industry based in Hollywood, California, were once published in Jacksonville. The Jacksonville Historical Society is searching for copies of *The Silent Drama* and *Southern Screen*, published about 1916. Anyone that has information, is asked to contact John Reitzammer at his business phone, 904-388-3300, in Jacksonville.

The Orange County Historical Society signed an agreement with WDBO-TV, Channel Six in Orlando, which will make the Society the depository for more than one million feet of film from local newscasts made by the TV station over the past twenty-five years. The film will be available for showing after it has been processed and cataloged.

With support from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, the Pioneer Florida Museum, Dade City, has produced two slide/sound programs under the auspices of Loretta Van Winkle and Jim Johnson. The first, "Little Drops of Water," features four Florida quilters, which was photographed in a rural Florida setting with folk music background. The quilters describe the work that they are doing and their feelings about their craft. The other program, "Simple Gifts: Pioneer Values," features interviews with two rural Floridians discussing how they and their ancestors adjusted to the early Florida 'frontier and their lifestyles. Photographs of early tools and household articles

in the Pioneer Florida Museum's collection are used. Both programs are available for purchase in slide/tape or video cassette from the Museum, Box 335, Dade City, Florida 33525.

George Fairbanks, Florida's Secretary of State, has recently announced a number of historic preservation grants. These include the restoration of the roof and balconies of the Scozzari Building, Ybor City, Tampa; restoration of the dome over the former ballroom in Plant Hall, formerly the Tampa Bay Hotel, and now the University of Tampa; and the Woodward Warehouse, Quincy.

The Newfound Harbor Marine Institute on Big Pine Key, Florida, hosted a conference recently focusing on the "Maritime Cultural Heritage of The Florida Keys: How Can It Be Preserved For Future Generations?" Funding was from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The director of the conferences was R. Duncan Mathewson, Institute Director of the Maritime Social Studies Program. There was also an oral workshop conducted by Dr. Samuel Proctor, University of Florida, in conjunction with the Maritime conference.

"A New Archivist For A New Decade" is the theme of the annual workshop of the Society of Georgia Archivists to be held November 20-21, 1980, at Emory University, Atlanta. It is being co-sponsored by the Society of Alabama Archivists. Speakers from southern states, including Florida, will discuss archival education, building planning, publications, microfilm techniques and technology, disaster preparedness, new relationships among archivists, and the impact of the computer on archives. For information write the Society of Georgia Archivists, Box 261, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

The three most recent issues of the *Genealogical Society of Okaloosa County Journal* (Nos. 12, 13, 14), contains birth, marriage, and cemetery records pertaining to Santa Rosa, Okaloosa, and Walton counties in the Florida Panhandle. In addition there are reviews of pertinent books and journals and family history record materials. For information, write Box 1175, Fort Walton Beach, Florida 32549. Journals are sold for \$1.50 each.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1980

Sept. 7-10	American Association for State and Local History	New Orleans
Sept. 30- Oct. 3	Society of American Archivists	Cincinnati
Oct. 2-4	Oral History Association Workshop and Colloquium	Durango, Colorado
Oct. 8-12	National Trust for Historic Preservation	New York
Nov. 12-15	Southern Historical Association	Atlanta
Nov. 21-23	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Jacksonville
Dec. 27-31	American Historical Association	Washington, D.C.

1981

April 30	Florida Historical Confederation-	St. Petersburg
May 1-2	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 79th MEETING	St. Petersburg
May 7-8	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$15; family membership is \$20; a contributing membership is \$50. In addition, a student membership is \$10, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Paul Eugen Camp, 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. Camp.

