The Florida Historical Quarterly October 1980

> BLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COVER Miami's Bayfront Park, November 5, 1927, after the bust of the land boom. The photograph was taken by Richard B. Hoit who operated an aerial photographic service in Miami from the late teens until the 1950s. It is reprinted courtesy of the Historical Association of Southern Florida.

The Florida Historical Quarterly



THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Volume LIX, Number 2

OCTOBER 1980

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(ISSN 0015-4113)

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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JOHN WILLIS MENARD: A PROGRESSIVE BLACK IN POST-CIVIL WAR FLORIDA

by Bess Beatty *

JOHN WILLIS MENARD was thirty-three years old when he arrived in Florida in 1871. Born in Kaskaskia, Illinois, he had attended Iberia College in Ohio and had been employed by the federal government during the Civil War. His service on a committee which surveyed areas in Central America as possible sites for settlement of emancipated slaves had made him even more aware of the needs of the black freedman. He was the first black to be elected to the United States House of Representatives, although he was never seated. He also for a time was editor of the New Orleans *Standard*. Menard possessed the talent, education, and experience to become a major force on the Florida political scene during Reconstruction and the tumultuous years that followed.

Menard and his wife Elizabeth, their son Willis, and two daughters, Mary and Alice, settled in Jacksonville. There Menard purchased two lots in the city. He worked first as a post office clerk and then was appointed deputy collector of internal revenue for the Florida district. He also edited the Jacksonville Sun^{-1}

^{*} Ms. Beatty is a member of the history faculty, Shorter College, Rome, Georgia.

John Willis Menard, Lays in Summer Lands (Washington, 1879); Edith Menard, "John Willis Menard," Negro History Bulletin, XXVIII (December 1964), 53-54; Thomas V. Gibbs, "John Willis Menard, The First Colored Congressman Elect," A.M.E. Church Review, III (April 1887), 426-32; Joan R. Sherman, Invisible Poets: Afro-Americans of the Nineteenth Century (Urbana, 1974), 97-102; Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, XXV (December 26, 1868), 227; John Willis Menard to Mr. Secretary (William Windon?), June 15, 1889, Personnel Applications, Office of the Secretary, 1830-1910, General Records of the Treasury Department, Record Group 56, National Archives Building; U. S. Register of Offices and Agents (Washington, September, 1873), 380; Warranty Deeds, no. 763 (July 11, 1871), no. 767 (July 28, 1871), Title and Trust Company of Florida, Jacksonville, Florida.

Spanning slavery. Civil War, Reconstruction, and the emergence of the Jim Crow era, Menard's career is typical of the noted group of blacks who played an influential role both in the black community and in the general society in the post-Civil War period. Earlier histories of Reconstruction have given short shrift to these black leaders, usually pronouncing them corrupt, servile, and incompetent. As late as 1947 one southern historian concluded that "much of their performance was either grotesque or puerile." ²During the past few years this stereotype has been altered considerably by recently published general studies and individual biographies of black Southerners. But. because most of these revisions have dealt only with the most prominent blacks, understanding of grass-roots black leadership is still elusive. The sketchy material available on John Willis Menard's Florida career sheds some light on the activities of such men, the kind of leadership they offered, the difficulties they faced, the peculiarities of their roles as compared to that of comparable white leaders, and the extent and nature of their power and influence.

His career is also typical of those grass-roots leaders in the paucity of the records pertaining to it. With few of his personal papers and none of his newspapers extant, it is difficult to go beyond the public-and therefore partial-personality and discover the person who was John Willis Menard. There was some newspaper notice following his historical speech in Congress as a potential member from Louisiana in 1868. The Worcester Spy described him as "a man of good stature and stout body, young and pleasant-looking in the face, the features of which, though heavy, are mobile and vivacious, while the color is a dark brown. His manner is pleasant and gentlemanly, while his voice is refined and well modulated. He appears and is a gentleman of education and fair abilities." He was also described as having "a very high reputation as a scholar," "an intelligent face," as being "calm, self-possessed," "an able representative man" and as "representing not only his race, but the liberty of the American people." ³ But the private person is best revealed in his poetry published in a single volume as Lays in Summer Lands (1879).

E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (Baton Rouge, 1947), 145.
 Menard, Lays in Summer Lands, 6-14.

A romantic, he wrote poems to the woman who became his wife, to his children, his parents, and to other members of his family. A few of his poems dealt with racial matters, and they show how he waxed now optimistic and now despondent as events seemed to dictate. 4 Other than this, one must be satisfied with the surviving records of Menard's public career.

Menard became involved in Republican politics soon after his arrival in Jacksonville in 1871. In the fall of 1873 a legislative vacancy was created in Duval County by the resignation of John R. Scott, a black man who had held the seat since 1868. At the Duval Republican convention in November 1873, Menard, who was serving as chairman of the convention's committee of resolutions, was nominated to run for the Florida House. The Jacksonville Union noted that while it was not a ticket that would elicit the support of property owners and the general business community, "both white and colored might have fared much worse than they have." Successful in the election, Menard took his assembly seat in January. He was present most of the two months that the legislature met in Tallahassee, and he participated in debate. As a freshman, however, he did not assume a leadership position. ⁵

Considering his political experience in Louisiana, it could be expected that Menard would seek national office. In 1874 he became embroiled in a contest with Josiah T. Walls, leading black politician and the incumbent, and John W. Scott for the second district congressional seat. There was little chance that either Menard or Scott could oust Walls who had both black and white support. The Lake City Herald wondered since Menard's chances were so slim, whether he was not acting as a decoy for a white candidate. But apparently Menard was in the race as a serious candidate. In a letter to Congressman Walls he promised to employ all honorable means to secure the nomination for himself but to support Walls if unsuccessful. The threeway contest, however, soon became acrimonious. When Menard attempted to cause trouble between Scott and Walls, Scott responded by excoriating Menard and revealing discrediting allegations about his political career in Louisiana. The Tallahassee

Ibid., 26-84.
 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, November 4, December 2, 16, 1874.

Weekly Floridian argued that if Scott's contentions were true. they "should consign him [Menard] to eternal oblivion among the colored people of Florida." Menard denied all charges, but according to the *Floridian* he was "decidedly worsted" in the exchange. Before the general election both Menard and Scott dropped out of the race, leaving Walls the Republican nominee, who was eventually defeated by his Democratic rival in a contested election 6

Running for Congress had cost Menard his seat in the Florida legislature, and perhaps as a result he felt he could now criticize his own party. He was also critical of the political activities and views of many blacks. In August 1875 he spoke before a black audience in Ocala, and the Democratic Weekly Floridian described his views as "most sensible." Menard blamed blacks for dwelling too much on their past status as slaves and not doing enough to improve their own condition in freedom. He called on them first to see that their children were thoroughly educated and taught the virtues of chastity and obedience to the laws. Then they could work with whites to rebuild the South. ⁷

Menard's sentiments were probably motivated to a certain degree by his feeling that Republican control of Florida could not last much longer and that blacks would have to adjust to a new political situation. The Weekly Floridian was confident that Menard would lead a crusade against carpetbaggism in Florida. The paper reported a February 1876 debate in which he had "completely silenced" Leonard G. Dennis, white carpetbag leader from Gainesville, who was appealing to racial animosities. 8 In 1876, when Menard again sought the Republican nomination for the second congressional district, he tempered somewhat his criticism of the party. None of the black contenders were successful. however, in a convention condemned by the Jacksonville Sun as hinging on "bloody shirt" issues. 9

Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, June 23, July 7, 14, August 4, 1874. An examination of the Times-Picayune and the Morning Star and Catholic Messenger, two "white" New Orleans papers, make no reference or allegations about Menard's political career in Louisiana. In an article in the Louisianian, May 4, 1871, is the statement that Menard, "the very apostle of peace" was casting stones everywhere. The paper did not elaborate on that comment.
 Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, August 17, 1875.
 Ibid., February 22, 1876.
 Ibid., August 8, 1876.

Menard next announced his candidacy as an Independent and denounced the Republican party more vehemently than ever. Blacks, he asserted, had been openly "outraged" by Republican representatives who kept suggesting the threat of reenslavement by Democrats and thus were able to maintain political control. "If the intelligent and thinking colored men in the South have any aspiration and hopes in the future." he stated, "they will resist this outrage and fraud, and fight for equal representation and common justice." Menard had the endorsement of several black leaders, including one M. A. Sturk, who praised him as "a full man, one of ripe judgment, of good education, and who is the equal of any carpetbagger in the state." The Republican Jacksonville *Union*, however, condemned him as "a daring fraud, a miserable pretense and an unconscious traitor to his party and people." 10

Menard's Independent candidacy led him to support Walls. his former rival, in an effort to wrest control from the regular Republicans in Alachua County. Both men had endorsed Simon B. Conover, who had been nominated for governor at a Republican "bolters" convention, over Marcellus Stearns, the regular party nominee. Menard served on the Conover campaign committee, but before the campaign was over Conover withdrew and endorsed Stearns. 11

In 1876 the Democratic party was in an excellent position to "redeem" Florida, and perhaps also to capture the national presidency. Despite his quarrel with Florida Republicans, Menard was a delegate to the Republican national convention and supported the Rutherford B. Hayes-William Wheeler ticket. He noted in a letter to Hayes: "Inasmuch as troops and repressive laws have failed to establish permanent peace between the two races, we must seek elsewhere... for a remedy." 12

The outcome of both state and national elections were initially uncertain. A successful challenge finally restored the Democrats to power in Florida, and on January 7, 1877, George

Ibid., October 10, 24, 1876.

^{11.} Peter D. Klingman, Josiah Walls: Florida's Black Congressman of Re-

^{11.} Telet D. Killighall, 30stal Walls. Follows English Congressitation (Gainesville, 1976), 109-12.
12. Vincent P. DeSantis, Republicans Face the Southern Question: The New Departure Years, 1877-1897 (New York, 1959), 26; Proceedings of the Republican National Convention (Concord, New Hampshire, 1876), appendix, 5.

F. Drew was inaugurated governor. Possibly as a reward for his criticism of the Republican ticket. Governor Drew named Menard a justice of the peace in Duval County. 13

In March a complicated and largely clandestine compromise. which included a Republican promise to withdraw all remaining federal troops, enabled Haves to win all of the disputed southern electoral votes and to be elected president. Blacks were generally elated that Haves was now in the White House, but they were concerned about the removal of troops. Menard was one of the black Floridians granted an audience with the president to ascertain his views on questions of concern to black people. When Hayes promised that blacks would be protected and politically rewarded, the Florida delegation pledged their support of his policy of reconciliation. 14

Several months later a group of black ministers wrote Menard of the anxiety of black Floridians concerning the president's southern policy and asked his opinion of the situation. Conceding that a cursory examination of Haves's policy might cause concern. Menard insisted that a deeper assessment "must satisfy every candid mind the least informed on southern affairs that there was no other sensible and patriotic course for the President to take." He described President Grant's earlier use of troops to control white violence as "unnatural, weak, and inimical to the interests of the taxpayers." Blacks, Menard said, should now accept circumstances "just as they are" and work to end old antagonisms rather than continually condemning the prejudices of the whites. He denounced black emigration from the South as totally unfeasible for a poor and illiterate people and suggested abandoning one-partyism as a major step toward self-reliance. But he warned that if the South did not live up to pledges to treat blacks fairly, northern forces would return. 15

Menard hoped that the Republican victory would rebound to his own benefit and that he would be appointed to the Liberian or a South American ministry. Toward that end he and a

^{13.} Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, October 24, 1876, January 22, 1877.
14. Ibid., March 20, 1877; Bess Beatty, "A Revolution Goes Backward: The Black Response to the Hayes Years" (unpublished ms. in the possession of the author).

Menard to "General" (David M. Key), August 8, 1877, Key to Rutherford B. Hayes, August 11, 1877, Rutherford B. Hayes Papers, Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio.

group of friends lobbied in Washington into the fall of 1877, presenting letters of recommendation on his behalf from some of Florida's most prominent politicians, including Democratic Senator Charles Jones, Governor George Drew, Republican Senator Simon Conover, and former Governor Harrison Reed. He wrote Postmaster General David Key, apparently his closest contact with the president, "I can but hope that the day is not far off when either yourself or the President will be able to do something for me." He finally received an appointment as a watchman in the post office department, but he continued to agitate for a more lucrative position. Disappointed at being denied a diplomatic appointment, he indignantly wrote a treasury department official, "This is child's play, and to say the least very small and shabby business for a great Executive Department." But several days later he apologized for "the injustice I did you." He finally obtained a one-month appointment in the Second Auditor's office, followed by a post as inspector of customs in Key West, Florida, at a salary of three dollars a dav. 16

L. W. Livingston, a physician and sometimes correspondent for Menard's newspaper, wrote, eight years after Menard had moved to Key West, that despite some prejudice, it was one of the freest towns for blacks in the South. Menard first arrived alone, and boarded in a black section of the city. He was later joined by his wife and bought property in the town. He again edited a paper, the *Florida News*, but because no issues are extant, it is impossible to assess accurately his particular interests in Key West and that area of Florida. He registered to vote but apparently did not become actively involved in local political affairs. In his editorials he endorsed efforts to make Key West a resort beach community, but generally he seemed to be more interested in state and national political events. 17

Ibid.; Tallahassee Weekly Floridian, October 16, November 13, 1877; Menard to "Dear Sir," September 30, October 8, 1879, Personnel Applications, Register of Customs Officers, Small Ports, Office of the Secretary, 1830-1910, Treasury Department, RG 56, Account 219, 177; Misc. Treasury Accounts, Office of the First Auditor of the Treasury Department, Records of the U. S. General Accounting Office, RG 217, NA.
 New York Globe, August 18, 1883; United States Census Office 10th Census, 1880, population schedules, Florida (Washington, 1937?), Monroe County, reel 7; Monroe County, Florida Deed Records, Book L (July 10, 1883), 333, Monroe County Court House; Monroe County Registration

By 1880 the Republican party in Florida was seriously divided. Although black leaders were increasingly critical of white domination of both elective and appointive positions, most were in the Republican party and considered Democrats more repressive. At a May 1880 Republican rally, Menard condemned the Democrats for discriminating against blacks and claimed that whenever they won in the North "some Bourbon Democrat in the South would go gunning for a nigger." But like other Florida black leaders, he was directing his venom also at the Republican party for taking blacks too much for granted. Despite his dependence on federal patronage, in a letter to the New York Times, Menard demanded an end to black dependence on the northern Republicans. He suggested that, because most blacks were laborers, they should consider switching to the National Greenback Labor party. By 1882 he was a leader in a growing statewide effort to form a new party independent of both Democrats and Republicans. 18

Black disenchantment with the Republican party was only one of the waves of discontent that coalesced to spawn the Independent movement. Independence in Florida was initiated by Democrats dissatisfied with Bourbon rule. The first indication that blacks were in the movement occurred at a May 1882 meeting of Leon and Jefferson county blacks at Miccosuki. When Daniel L. McKinnon announced his candidacy as an Independent in opposition to E. F. Skinner, a Republican, for the first congressional district seat, he was assured of the support of many of these black Independents. By mid-1882 Menard was so committed to the Independent movement and to McKinnon's campaign that the Florida *Union* claimed that his Florida *News* was the journal of Independence.

List fragment (October 9, 1883), Monroe County Public Library, Key West, Florida.

^{18.} Edward C. Williamson, Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893 (Gainesville, 1976), 61-62; New York Times, December 9, 1878. Menard later claimed to have attended the 1880 Republican convention and to have voted for James G. Blaine, but he is not listed as a delegate in The Proceedings of the Republican National Convention (Chicago, 1880).

Williamson, Florida Politics, 84-85; Edward C. Williamson, "Independentism: A Challenge to the Florida Democracy of 1884," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXVII (October 1948), 131-56; Jacksonville Florida Union, August 18, 1882; Savannah Weekly Echo, August 26, 1883.

President Chester A. Arthur and William E. Chandler, secretary of the navy and Arthur's chief advisor on southern policy, supported Independents in some southern states, rationalizing that this was the most realistic means of defeating Bourbon Democracy. Menard urged Chandler to follow this course in Florida, predicting that it would result in the "redemption" of the state from the Bourbons by 1884. He assured Chandler, "I have taken a prominent part in the politics of this state for the last ten years and know something of the feelings of my people here." The Arthur administration, however, continued to endorse the regular Republicans in Florida and supported Skinner.

Although McKinnon ran a poor third in the first district, the Independents did well in some areas in Florida. After the election Menard again embraced Independence and wrote Chandler that he regretted the national party had been brought into the campaign. He concluded that despite the loss, the Independents had made a respectable showing. He predicted that continued retrenchment from Democracy would enable the Republican party to win national elections in Florida in 1884, but he warned the Republicans to change their strategy and demand that federal office holders cooperate with black leaders. With considerable exaggeration Menard claimed that all leading Florida blacks were supporting Independence, but that only former Governor Stearns and Malachi Martin among the white Republicans were with them. If Chandler, who he hoped would be placed in charge of southern strategy in 1884, would work with the Independents, Menard believed that two or three southern states could be carried by the Republican party. ²¹

For several weeks in the spring of 1883 Menard visited Washington, and his ideas were given considerable attention in the national black press. In early June he was honored by the New York *Globe* with a front-page picture and sketch of his life. In response to subsequent charges that black Floridians offered only incompetent leadership, the *Globe* protested and described Menard as first among the capable black leaders of the state who

^{20.} Menard to William E. Chandler, September 13, October 10, 1882, Chandler Papers, Library of Congress; DeSantis, Republicans Face the Southern Question, 166.

^{21.} Menard to Chandler, November 27, 1882, Chandler Papers.

were challenging carpetbag hegemonv. 22

In February 1884 Josiah Walls organized a convention of Florida black leaders in Gainesville. Menard had settled his difference with his former political rival, and was now one of his major supporters. The call for a convention, signed by many influential black leaders, was issued in the Florida News, and the paper was subsequently recognized officially as "the organ and medium of the independent sentiment of the colored people of the state." Menard was temporary chairman of the convention and delivered an opening address devoted largely to criticizing the Republican party and advocating Independence. He was also named to the state executive committee, established to work for implementation of the resolutions demanding full political and civil equality. 23

Because of considerable contradictory information, M. M. Lewey, secretary of the conference, wrote the New York Freeman a lengthy description of the proceedings. It was, he said, "conceived, planned and brought into being by the brain and energy of Gen. J. T. Walls . . . supported by Hon. J. Willis Menard, editor of the Florida News, absolutely upon the principle of Independent of Bourbon-Democracy and supercillious Republicans whether White or Black of this State." Lewey rebuked the white Florida press for concluding that the conference was a failure. He claimed these attacks indicated Bourbon fear of black organization on behalf of constitutional rights. When the Times-Union claimed the movement was prompted by Menard's ambition, however, Lewey indirectly agreed when he wrote. "They say that Mr. Menard has secured a berth in the Custom House 'and so will end.' What will end? The height of Mr. Menard's ambition? If so, we may have occasion to say amen." But the patronage that Menard or anyone else received, Lewey assured, would not mean the end to Independence. 24

In 1884 blacks again combined forces with dissatisfied white Democrats and Republicans to campaign for Independence in

^{22.} Washington Bee, April 7, 1883; New York Globe, May 26, June 2, 1883,

Washington Dec. August 9, 1884.

The Proceedings of the State Convention of the Colored Men of Florida (Washington, 1884); Klingman, Josiah Walls, 128-29.

New York Freeman, March 15, 1884.

the fall elections. Conflict among the different groups, however. as well as their failure to attract the support of the national seriously hampered efforts to overthrow the Republicans. Bourbons. 25 An Independent convention held in Live Oak in June 1884 nominated Frank Pope, a dissident Democrat, to run for governor. Blacks attended the convention but played relatively minor roles. Menard was prominent among blacks campaigning for Pope and the other Independent candidates. He particularly fought Democratic efforts to lure blacks into their ranks, scornfully asserting the "studied and polished hypocrisy which the Bourbon leaders have displayed toward the colored people since the war is... remarkable only for its transparency." ²⁶

Pope was narrowly defeated, but the election of Grover Cleveland as the first Democratic president since the Civil War made Florida more securely Democratic than ever. Although alliance with disgruntled Democrats in the state was now less likely. Menard was still determined to make Independence work. hopefully on the national level.

In April 1883 Menard had claimed that blacks all over the country favored independence from the Republican party as their only hope for political equality. Although he exaggerated the extent of support, it was true that there was increasing national discussion of the Independent movement. Many black leaders agreed with Menard's assessment that it was time for a war, not only against Bourbonism but also "that species of Republicanism which used the colored voters as its only stock in trade " ²⁷

Of particular concern to Menard, as he gave more attention to national Independence, was the potential efficacy of the Louisville Colored Convention to be held in the fall of 1883. Because he was concerned that the convention would be dominated by the Arthur administration which had opposed Independence in Florida, Menard denounced it. If Congress, presidents, courts, and armed forces were unable to enforce civil rights, he asked, how could a black convention do it "by brilliant resolves and windy speeches." At a Washington rally

Williamson, Florida Politics, 98-100.

Ibid., 104, 118, 123.
 New York *Globe*, April 21, September 29, 1883.

held to protest the convention, Menard erroneously claimed that it was meeting despite the opposition of black leaders from the South and thus "will prove to be the play of Hamlet with the character of Hamlet left out." 28

Despite the considerable talk of Independence in 1883 and early 1884, Menard and most other prominent black leaders remained loyal to the national Republican presidential ticket. Menard asked Chandler for advice, promising to be "guided by your wisdom." He attended the convention in Chicago and urged black unity to force the selection of a favorable candidate who would work to restore rights lost under the Democratic administration. When some blacks demanded representation on the ticket, however, Menard condemned them as "fit subject[s] for a lunatic asylum." He regarded such a thing as impossible at the time ²⁹

In June James G. Blaine was nominated by the Republicans in Chicago, and although he was not popular with many blacks, most of them endorsed him. John Logan, who had greater black support, was nominated for the vice-presidency to balance the two major contending factions of the Republican party. Menard was confident that this strategy would work, that, "as the ticket represents the Half-Breeds and Stalwarts, it is strong and will sweep the country, burying Tilden or any other old Bourbon fossil which the Democrats may set up." 30

When Cleveland was elected, at first there was pessimism among blacks that their position would seriously degenerate. Some even feared a return to slavery. But after several months of Cleveland as president, many blacks concluded that a Democratic administration was no worse than a Republican one, and some even praised it. At first Menard did not agree and scorned newspapers, particularly the Freeman, which spoke favorably of Cleveland. Thomas Fortune, the Freeman's editor, retaliated by claiming that Menard was a "knuckle-close Republican." 31

Washington Bee, May 12, 19, 1883; New York Globe, May 19, 26, 1883.
 Menard to Chandler, October 10, 1882, March 14, 1883, Chandler Papers; New York Globe, May 26, 1883; Washington Bee, February 16,

New York Globe, June 21, 1884.
 New York Freeman, October 31, December 12, 19, 1885; Washington Bee, December 12, 1885. T. Thomas Fortune was the leading black journalist of the late-nineteenth century and a political pragmatist who

Menard supported the Republican party in 1884, despite the Arthur administration's request for his resignation from his position as inspector of customs due to his alleged activities on behalf of Cuban revolutionaries. Menard admitted attending a Cuban meeting in Key West, but insisted that it was only as a subordinate of the collector of customs. He denied ever supporting earlier filibustering expeditions to the island. His poetry reveals, however, that he had been a staunch friend of Cuban independence for at least several years. Despite his denials and the support of Horatio Bisbee, white Republican leader in Jacksonville, Menard was removed from his position, and he returned to Jacksonville. 32

James Weldon Johnson, prominent black author and Jacksonville native, later recalled that the city was considered a good one for blacks in the 1880s. He remembered Menard, who he thought resembled Alexander Dumas, as a prominent member of Jacksonville's black society in those years. The entire Menard family lived in the city. Daughter Alice married Thomas Gibbs, the son of Jonathan Gibbs, former secretary of state of Florida. When Menard's son Willis married, the Jacksonville Times-Union described the event as "the most noteworthy wedding that ever took place here among the colored people." 33

Menard re-established his newspaper and opened a print shop on East Bay Street with Willis T. Menard and Thomas V. Gibbs as co-proprietors. In January 1886 the paper was enlarged and the name changed to the Southern Leader, reflecting Menard's goal of making it a voice of the entire South. The Freeman's editor offered congratulations, and wrote that "Editors Menard and Gibbs have brains and pluck, and if there is any preeminent success possible in their line they expect to find it." The

at different times supported the Republicans, Democrats, Prohibitionists, and varying forms of independence. See Emma Lou Thornbrough, *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist* (Chicago, 1972).

32. F. N. Wicker to Charles J. Folger, January 30, 1884, Menard to Folger, May 17, 1884, Ramón Alvarez to Folger, May 17, 1884, Ethelbert Hubbs to Folger, June 25, 1884, F. L. to Folger, n.d., Customs House Nominations, Florida, Key West, 1877-1885, Treasury Department, RG 56, NA; "Stanza on Cuba" and "Free Cuba" were both published in *Lays in Summer Lands*. Summer Lands.

^{33.} James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way* (New York, 1933), 58. Johnson referred to Menard as "J. H." Menard; Washington *Bee*, September 11, 1885; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, December 23, 1886.

Southern Leader did become the leading black paper in Florida and circulated throughout the South. The Washington Bee proclaimed, "The Southern Leader is fast growing in the hearts of the people." ³⁴

Ironically, Menard was more supportive of Republicanism following his return to Jacksonville than he had been in the years that he held Republican patronage. In 1885 a constitutional convention met in Tallahassee to draft a new state constitution. Democratic control was so complete that some Republicans, including Joseph E. Lee, a prominent black Jacksonville leader, agreed to a fusion arrangement whereby they would withdraw from the convention in favor of Democrats who would represent their interests. Menard, probably challenging Lee's leadership in the black community, condemned the plan, claiming that it constituted desertion of the Republican party. The disagreement led to a heated exchange between the two men. Menard accused Lee of "selfishness, deception and dictation." Lee countered by claiming that Menard had fomented violence in Jacksonville several years before when he had persuaded black mill workers to strike. 35

Although Menard was successful in retaining Republican representation from Duval County, including his son-in-law, Thomas V. Gibbs, he condemned the constitution as a Democratic document under which "the Republicans are bound down hand and foot." The constitution, ratified in November 1885, authorized a poll tax and gave appointive powers to the governor that undermined black numerical superiority in some counties. Edward Williamson, in his study of the convention and constitution, concluded that it "could well be considered a white supremacy document."

By the fall of 1885 Menard was again excoriating the Republicans he had so recently defended, reflecting the frustration typical of black leaders in an era of mounting proscription. He

^{34.} John R. Richards, *Richards' Jacksonville Duplex City Directory* (Jacksonville, 1887), 33; New York *Freeman*, January 9, 1886; Washington *Bee.* July 24, 1886.

<sup>Bee, July 24, 1886.
35. Williamson, Florida Politics, 131-32; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union,</sup> May 1, 1885.

^{36.} Williamson, *Florida Politics*, 129-43. Menard won this battle with Lee but throughout the remainder of the decade Lee was more influential in Duval County politics.

wrote, "The cold indifference shown to the material interests of the colored people by these carpetbaggers since Cleveland's election and their attempt to curry favor with the Bourbons will go far to prove, if any further evidence were needed, that their interest in the Negro only extended to the manipulation of his vote to promote their selfish ends." Menard predicted that the Republican party would not regain national power until new leadership came to the forefront. ³⁷

By 1886, with the Democrats firmly entrenched and Independence diminished in significance, Menard began to rationalize that a more tolerant age was dawning in Florida. In contrast to his recent criticism, he now claimed that liberal Democrats and blacks had cooperated in ratifying the new state constitution and that this was evidence that the two groups would continue to cooperate in the future. In March 1886 he wrote, "Despite the lingering traces of Southern chivalry and effete Bourbonism the fact that the South of 1861 is not the South of to-day is too self-evident for serious argument. Passion and intolerance swayed the South then and for years afterward, but now intolerance is being replaced by a widespread liberal spirita spirit which recognized the fact that sectional seclusion is antagonistic to that material development and healthy interstate commercial intercourse which have transformed the South from the bonds and blinders of the old feudal system to her present state of material wealth and progress." He wrote, concerning black Republican allegiance: "The colored people of Florida and the South are generally Republicans from principle and not for 'milk'," but he also concluded, in anticipation of Booker T. Washington's philosophy, that "the elevation of the race depends upon its self-development and not on the success of any political party." This prompted the Times-Union to praise the Southern Leader as "an able and independent weekly paper," and to commend Menard for his "public spirit and enterprise." 38

Despite his optimism, Menard was obliged to comment on an ominous trend of the 1880s. Twice in 1886 the *Freeman* reported on the *Southern Leader's* crusade against lynching, a

^{37.} New York Freeman, July 11, August 20, November 7, 1885.

^{38.} Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 11, November 12, 1886, March 20, 24, 1887; New York Freeman, March 7, September 11, 1886.

contradiction of Menard's claim of a more liberal South. When several blacks were lynched in Mississippi, Menard condemned the killings as "one of the most cold blooded and infamous crimes ever committed in any civilized community," and described it as "another black stain on the South." 39

The national issue given the greatest coverage in the black press in 1886 and early 1887 was the appointment of, first, James Matthews, and then James Monroe Trotter, as recorder of deeds. The considerable Republican opposition to their appointments was further evidence to Menard that blacks must look elsewhere for political support. In January 1887 he wrote an article entitled "Cleveland and the Negro" and sent a copy to the president. He suggested that blacks had reached a point in their history when their motto should be "Save me from my friends." The Republican party, he assured Cleveland, was making a serious mistake by opposing Matthews because it now appeared that they had worked to free blacks, only to make them slaves of the Republican party. Menard claimed that blacks were now caught between two enemies and predicted that from this dilemma would come an organization composed of Cleveland Democrats and Republican Mugwumps which would "lead the cause of the negro as an absolute freeman and citizen." Matthews was twice defeated, but in February Cleveland appointed another black man, James Monroe Trotter, an Iberian College classmate of Menard, and he was confirmed by the United States Senate. 40

In the spring of 1887 Thomas Fortune proposed formation of the Afro-American National League to unite the hundreds of black organizations fighting discrimination and oppression. Although Menard was a member of the National Colored Press Association, he was generally opposed to all-black organizations. He condemned the League on the grounds that it would only intensify racial problems in the South which he claimed were rapidly abating. He argued that Fortune's criticisms of southern government were "cheap and convenient and they relieve the editorial mind, but they do no good, neither do they solve our

New York Freeman, April 3, July 24, 1886.
 Jacksonville Southern Leader, January 22, 1887, clipping enclosed in letter from Menard to Grover Cleveland, January 22, 1887, Grover Cleveland Papers, Library of Congress, Series 2, roll 45; Washington Bee, January 8, 1887.

problems." Fortune conceded that the Southern Leader was edited with "discretion and ability," but he condemned Menard's ideas on the League as pure nonsense. "Perhaps when the editor of the Southern Leader gets his head smashed by some hot headed Southerner," Fortune suggested, "the organization of a League will not seem to be so dangerous a thing after all. 41

Although Fortune received considerable encouragement from other black leaders, he was not able to establish the League formally until January 1891. The dire consequences that Menard predicted did not occur, but he was correct that blacks did not have the resources to sustain such a venture. The League did not survive long and never had the impact Fortune intended. 42

In 1888 presidential politics again took precedence. When Blaine announced in February that he was not a candidate, many blacks expressed relief, but Menard described his action as "a cunning dodge" to keep his candidacy alive. Like many southern blacks he supported John Sherman for the Republican nomination. When Benjamin Harrison was nominated, Menard offered support and expressed confidence that the defeat of Blaine would restore the party to its former power. 43

The Jacksonville Cyclone, a black Republican campaign paper, predicted that the Republicans could win in Florida if they would run a campaign in which they told the truth to "blindfolded" Democrats. Menard was less confident, pointing out that with new registration laws, the Democrats could easily disfranchise thousands of blacks, and he printed several exposes of "bull-dozing" in Florida during the campaign. 44

Cleveland carried Florida in November, but Harrison narrowly won the election. By the fall of 1888, however, Jacksonville was preoccupied with a vellow fever epidemic. In October the crisis forced Menard to suspend publication of the Southern Leader, but he continued speaking out on national affairs. In January 1887 he had written President Cleveland of

New York Freeman, May 26, June 18, 25, July 16, August 27, September

^{42.} Bess Beatty, "The Political Response of Black Americans, 1876-1896"

^{42.} Bess Beatty, The Folitical Response of Black Athericals, 1676-1896 (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1976), 226.
48. Washington Bee, February 25, March 17, 1888; New York Age, February 25, June 16, July 14, 1888; Chattanooga Justice, December 24, 1887; Stanley P. Hirshon, Farewell to the Bloody Shirt: Northern Republicans & the Southern Negro, 1877-1893 (Bloomington, 1962), 156-60.
44. New York Age, May 12, June 16, July 28, August 4, 1888.

his concern that blacks were overly optimistic about the restoration of Republican rule. In a major shift from his earlier optimism, he now claimed that the South was fast approaching a political climax in which the supremacy of one race or the other must be decided. Concluding that enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments was unlikely, he now suggested migration to the West as the only solution for blacks-of benefit both to those who left and those who remained-to command a higher wage. $^{\rm 45}$

Menard summarized many of his revised ideas in a pamphlet, *The Southern Problem*, published in 1889 and described by the editor of the Indianapolis *Freeman* as "a calm, despassionate *[sic]* consideration of the great question." Calvin Chase, editor of the *Bee*, described Menard as "a wise and judicious thinker," but the Boston *Republic* charged that he was "a poor thinker" and that "to get out of a place where Yellow Jack is a yearly visitor underlies his opinion." ⁴⁶

Despite the yellow fever epidemic, Fortune was confident that Menard would not "leave the scene of his journalistic trials and struggles." But the *Southern Leader* was not able to revive after it suspended publication. In the summer of 1889 Menard left Jacksonville to accept a position in the census office in Washington. He had by this time revised many of his earlier opinions. In November he wrote Fortune congratulating him on the League. His opposition two years earlier, he explained, was because of his belief that southern whites might be induced out of self-interest to treat blacks more fairly, but he now realized that race friction would occur and that the reactionary spirit of white Southerners would last several more generations. Possibly the League could "systematize and render more effective the work of public agitation."

^{45.} Ibid., October 13, December 1, 1888; Menard to Cleveland, January 22, 1887, Cleveland Papers. Blacks were seemingly less susceptible to yellow fever at the time, but not completely immune.

Indianapolis Freeman, February 9, 1889; New York Age, January 12, 1889; Washington Bee, February 29, 1889. A copy of this pamphlet has not been located.

^{47.} New York *Age*, January 12, November 23, 1889; Detroit *Plaindealer*, September 26, 1889; Menard to Mr. Secretary (William Windon?), June 15, 1889, Personnel Applications, Office of the Secretary, 1830-1910, Treasury Department, RG 56, NA. Apparently Menard left because his business was seriously affected by the fever.

In the summer of 1890 Menard and several other black leaders formed the Southern States Colored Republican Association "to disseminate wholesome political information among colored voters and to solidify young colored men of the nation to advance Republican principles." He also launched a monthly magazine, the National American, that the Bee described as "a nicely printed periodical and well edited." The Age was also complimentary, praising Menard as "eminently qualified" and calling for support and appreciation of the magazine. But in Washington, a city of numerous black leaders and journalists, Menard was not able to re-establish his earlier reputation. He was also in failing health, and on October 8, 1893, John Willis Menard died. The Washington Post remembered him as "a writer and a scholar [who] . . . exercised considerable influence among the people of his race." The Jacksonville Times-Union eulogized Menard as "a man of brains and education [who] . . . had some reputation as a newspaper man, poet and politician . . . a good friend and wise counsellor to his race." 48

In 1879, in response to a job application question concerning his contributions to the Union during the war, Menard had responded, "I spent twelve years in trying to make Reconstruction a success." If the endurance of black political, economic, and social rights guaranteed in the Reconstruction era are his test, Menard was a failure. But as Peter Klingman correctly claimed in his study of Congressman Josiah Walls, black leaders cannot be studied by traditional tests of political success or failure exclusively; they must also be studied according to how they functioned in a racist society. 49

Despite the overwhelming racial proscriptions of pre-Civil War America, opportunities had been available for the educational and professional development of a small black leadership. These men and women moved decisively during and after the war to take a place in the public arena. But because their society

Penelope L. Bulloch, "The Negro Periodical Press in the United States, 1838-1909" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971), 231-32; Washington Bee, July 26, August 16, October 4, 1890, October 14, 1893; New York Age, October 18, 1890; Indianapolis Freeman, November 22, 1890; November 14, 1891; Washington Post, October 10, 1893; Jackson-ville Florida Times-Union, October 11, 1893.

49. Statement of J. W. Menard, 2nd District Florida, November 1, 1879, Personnel Applications, Office of the Secretary, 1830-1910, Treasury Deportment, P.C. 56, NA. Klingman, Isoich Walls, viii

Department, RG 56, NA; Klingman, Josiah Walls, viii.

was a profoundly racist one, their position was tenuous; it was dependent on Republican rule in the South and support in the North. Despite some lip-service to the idea of racial equality by carpetbag politicians during the early years of Reconstruction, it was largely left to blacks themselves to make their place in free society and to stem the tide of disfranchisement and debasement. Their efforts centered on their relationship to political parties, particularly the Republican party. Menard was typical in his inconsistency-alternately praising and condemning Republicans. He most vehemently denounced the scalawags and carpetbaggers, those white local and state party leaders with whom blacks had for a time vied for power, but who had increasingly established "lily-white" Republicanism. Because of their growing dependence on federal patronage, Menard and other southern black leaders maintained a more conciliatory attitude toward national Republican leadership. Some counseled support of Democrats as a means to destroy this dependence, but southern Bourbons gave them little opportunity to do so. Various other arrangements-including support of third parties, fusion, all-black organizations, and political abstinence-were both advocated and condemned. Although they generally agreed on racial ends, black leaders often disagreed on the means to those ends. There was considerable friction and animosity as they competed for the limited power and patronage that would enable their opinion to dominate.

For Menard the soundest alternative was the ill-defined cause of Independence. It was an unworkable solution, but Menard was typical of many black leaders in the post-Civil War period who vainly searched for a viable political course for making black political freedom a reality. Impotence to stem the tide of disfranchisement was largely responsible for the constant flux and inconsistency of Menard and many other political leaders. Vincent DeSantis has described their reaction: "Depressed by Republican politics since the end of Reconstruction, torn between loyalty for and resentment against the party of emancipation, and severely restricted in their privileges of voting, southern Negroes presented a picture of helplessness and confusion." ⁵⁰ It was easy for Menard, who had defended his right to a seat in the

^{50.} DeSantis, Republicans Face the Southern Question, 69.

United States House of Representatives only three years after his race's emancipation, to conclude that there was nothing to hold black people back, that they would have only themselves to blame for failure. By 1877 it was clear that the limited freedom of Reconstruction was over, but for several more years Menard insisted that conditions would get better. That he was not entirely convinced that this was true did not mitigate the enthusiasm with which he used his considerable editorial abilities to advance the cause to which he had committed his life.

If by his own test-the success of Reconstruction-John Willis Menard had failed, by conventional tests he had not been highly successful either. He was not a sage of journalism, he held no high political office, and his poetry was mediocre. But he was, as the Times-Union praised him, "a good friend and wise counseller [sic] to his race." If Menard and other black leaders of this period became increasingly powerless in the public arena, they had an intangible impact of great significance. Their legacy to black Americans was to infuse them with a determination to be citizens equal to all others. E. Merton Coulter has also concluded, in his study of southern Reconstruction, that "The Negro's high hopes were left to fade away; how much better for him, had they never been raised." 51 The high hopes of black Americans had suffered cruelly in the decades following Reconstruction, but the legacy of men and women of that time to those of the twentieth century was to keep those hopes alive. Black people in the 1960s and 1970s could trace the genesis of their victories to demands that were first heard decades before.

^{51.} Coulter, South During Reconstruction, 69.

LIBERAL ARTS ON THE FLORIDA FRONTIER: THE FOUNDING OF ROLLINS COLLEGE, 1885-1890

by Jack C. Lane*

LTHOUGH unique in its particulars, the founding of Rollins College in 1885 strongly resembled the formation and establishment of liberal arts colleges throughout the nineteenth century. Three forces-educational denominationalism, community boosterism, and real estate entrepreneurism-converged during the century to create a mania of indiscriminate collegebuilding that produced as many as 700 institutions by the beginning of the Civil War. Founded in the waning years of the "ages of colleges," Rollins fits this nineteenth-century pattern. It was the Congregational Church that established Rollins in the small frontier town of Winter Park. Florida. The local citizens provided most of the funds, and the major land developers of the area supplied the leadership. Rollins's founders were northeasterners who hoped to recreate a New England-type college with a classical liberal arts curriculum and high admission standards. As with most other similar endeavors of the period, Rollins's founding fathers were faced with the almost insuperable task of fitting such a traditional institution into a frontier environment.

Of the several protestant denominations that organized in Florida after the Civil War, none was more active than the Congregational Church. By 1880, the Congregationalists had established thirteen churches in north and central Florida, and three years later formed the General Congregational Association of Florida. The first topic discussed in the Association's initial meeting was the need to found a college in Florida. A commit-

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^{1.} Donald Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War with Particular References to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement (Hamden, Connecticut, 1965), 4; Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University (New York, 1962), 48-49.

tee was appointed to survey educational conditions of Florida and to present a report at the next annual meeting.

It is not clear whether the committee ever studied the Florida educational system, but if it had, its report would not have been encouraging. It would have shown that there were only eight county high schools, with meager course offerings and short sessions. The state had established three academies to prepare young men and women for college; the East Florida Seminary at Gainesville, Florida Agricultural College at Lake City, and the West Florida Seminary at Tallahassee. One observer described the public schools-elementary and high schools-as "running from two to five months per year with little classification and wholly inadequate facilities." Most of the "crackers or poor whites cannot read. Forty-five of every one hundred voters in the sixteen southern states are illiterate and Florida is one of the most illiterate " ³

There were several private academies scattered throughout the state, including a Baptist school at DeLand, one supported by the Christian Church at Starke, and Catholic schools in St. Augustine, Tampa, Key West, and Jacksonville. 4 There was no real institution of higher learning in Florida in 1884. The state provided just the kind of virgin educational territory that appealed to the Congregationalists' sense of mission. Religious leaders who planned to change these conditions formed the membership of the Florida Congregational Association.

As a way of presenting a report to the Association, the education committee persuaded the newly-arrived Reverend Mr. Edward P. Hooker, pastor of Winter Park Congregational Church, to prepare a paper for the 1885 annual meeting on the subject of Florida education. ⁵ Hooker, a descendent of the famous colonial minister. Thomas Hooker, had come to Florida under the auspices of the Home Missionary Society. 6

When he arrived in early 1884 with his large family, he found

 [&]quot;Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the General Congregational Association of Florida, 1884," Copy in Rollins College Archives (hereinafter cited as "Minutes," G.C.A.F.).
 Edward Hooker to Noah Porter, September 1, 1885, R. C. Archives.
 George Gary Bush, History of Education in Florida (Washington, 1889),

^{50-54.}

[&]quot;Minutes," G.C.A.F., 1885.

^{6. &}quot;Biographical Sketch," ms., Hooker Presidential Papers, R. C. Archives.

no churches at all in Winter Park. He held union services in a hall over the hamlet's only store until a church building was ready. In addition to preaching union services, Hooker spent several Sunday afternoons administering the gospel to outlying rural areas. Through these trips on horseback, he became familiar, in his daughter's words, with "the strange pioneer world to which he had come, so different from the long established order of New England." ⁷ She recalls him speaking of the crudeness and ignorance prevailing throughout the countryside, and how he worried that the church was not playing its proper educational role in "building a wholesome order" in central Florida. The invitation to speak on Florida education at the 1885 Association meeting gave him the opportunity to express his concern not only with the deplorable state of education in the area, but also to remind the church of its historic educational mission. His paper, "The Mission of Congregationalism in Florida," summarized what he called the church's "mission of Christian education," documented the historical collegebuilding tradition of the Congregational Church, and in a more practical vein, argued that without educational opportunities for their children, families of the North would not come to Florida. He finished with a rhetorical flourish: "The outlook is grand and glorious. A few of us stand on these early heights of new time. We love the State to which we have come; these genial skies, these clear, sparkling lakes, the souls of the people who dwell among the forests. We rejoice in the privilege of laying the foundations for the future. Has not the hour struck for the courage, wisdom and devotion of our Fathers?" 8 He pleaded for his brother Congregationalists to found a Christian College and inaugurate it at once.

Moved by this powerful exhortation, the Association appointed a committee to consider Hooker's proposal. The following day, January 29, 1885, the committee reported that it agreed with Dr. Hooker that the time had come "to take initiatory steps toward the founding of an institution for higher education in the state of Florida." To accomplish this end, the committee recommended that another group be appointed to receive "in-

Elizabeth Hooker, "Edward Hooker," ms., R. C. Archives.
 Thomas Hooker, "The Mission of Congregationalism in Florida," ms., Hooker Presidential Papers, R. C. Archives.

ducements" for the location of the college and at the appropriate time present the inducements to a special meeting of the Association which would then select the "most suitable location." The proposal was accepted. A committee was appointed, including Dr. Hooker and Frederick W. Lyman of Winter Park, the Reverend S. F. Gale of Jacksonville, the Reverend C. M. Bingham of Daytona Beach, and R. C. Termain of Mount Dora. The historic initial step had been taken; denominationalism had sparked the process of college-building on the Florida frontier 9

The news that the Congregational Association planned to found a college was initially received with some scepticism in other parts of Florida. But within a week, newspapers were spreading the word that the Association was "in earnest" in its determination to build a "first-class college." ¹⁰ An Orange County weekly paper reported that assurances had been received "from northern friends to the undertaking that important pecuniary aid" was forthcoming. 11 The Jacksonville Times-Union, the most widely circulated newspaper in the state, was even more optimistic. The Congregational Association, it declared, "has the means to carry out its plans and the school would doubtless, if located in a centre of population and wealth, be a credit to the Association, and the state, and a great boon to our young people who cannot afford to go to Yale or Harvard." 12

These assurances, combined with the news that a committee was prepared to receive inducements for the location of the college, caused an outburst of community boosterism. Editors and promoters, religious and secular, moved to awaken their communities to the "great advantages to be derived from the presence of such an institution." ¹³ Daytona was spurred to action by Congregational leaders. Businessmen and land promoters in Mount Dora began accumulating inducements. Dr. Nathan Burrows, later a charter teacher and trustee at the new college, led the activity in Orange City.

Jacksonville, however, appeared to have a distinct advantage

 [&]quot;Minutes," G.C.A.F., 1885.
 Orlando Orange County Reporter, February 12, 1885.
 Ibid., February 19, 1885.
 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 5, 1885.
 Ibid.

over all other aspirants. With a population of almost 8,000 and a thriving river port, it was the center of economic activity in the state. Moreover, its cause was led by the most prominent churchman in the state, the Reverend S. F. Gale, director of the Florida Home Missionary Society. Finally, the state's most influential newspaper was published in Jacksonville and its editor was quite aggressive in his advocacy. In an editorial printed in early April 1885, he minced no words in his boosterism: "Here is a chance for our Jacksonville property-holders to make a point. They can get this school here if they will do as several places in South and Central Florida propose doing, give lands and money to the enterprise. . . . Colleges cannot be bought ready-made like saw-mills and cotton-gins. They are the slow growth of years and they never flourish except in centres of population. . . . If the Congregational Association want [sic] to build up a flourishing and influential school their best plan is to locate it here in Jacksonville, where the population is dense and where from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand northern people annually come in search of pleasure and health. Many of these people have young men and women they are educating. . . . The school would be under the eyes of thousands of wealthy people and doubtless get large volunteer donations far its support. It is utterly useless to locate colleges in out-of-theway places, and in sparsely settled communities. Scholastic studies are no longer pursued in monkish cells, or in the solitude of caves and mountain vastnesses." 14

There was logic and common sense in the editor's argument, but it was historically incorrect. "Sparsely settled," "out-of-the-way" places so disparaged by the editor were precisely the locations of most liberal arts colleges in the nineteenth century, and, as it turned out, that was one important reason why Jacksonville would not be chosen. The future of the city was not dependent for its identity an establishing a college. With or without an institution of higher learning Jacksonville would grow and prosper and its citizens could not be mobilized with cries of desperation. But for Jacksonville's competition a college could very well provide the key to its destiny. Daytona was a small village of a few hundred people; Mount Dora and Orange City

^{14.} Ibid.

ROLLINS COLLEGE,

Good

Surround.

ings,

Health. Culture. Greatness, Fine Estates, Stately Pines. Orange Groves, Order, Progressive Spirit, Two Railroads, High Land, Beauty, Pure water, Good Sidewalks, A Park-Like Town. Many Delightful Lakes, Mild and Even Climate, Thrifty Oaks,. Electric Lights, Fine Golf Links. Shaded Ave's.

Winter Park, Florida.

were small inland communities with no distinguishing features.

But perhaps the most obscure, the most "out-of-the-way," of all places submitting proposals was little Winter Park near Orlando. In 1885 it was an area covered largely with pine forests and a few orange groves. A sawmill on the shores of Lake Virginia (the present college site) provided the settlement with rough lumber. The village consisted of 131 families, two general stores, a town hall, a public school, a small hotel, a Congregational Church, and a depot beside a narrow-gauge railroad running daily from Sanford to Orlando. In terms of size, few communities could have been more desperate for an identity than Winter Park. 15

On April 14, 1885, the Association held a special meeting in Mount Dora to receive the inducement proposals from Jacksonville, Mount Dora, Orange City, Daytona, and Winter Park. 16 Mount Dora offered a ten-acre wooded lot on Lake Dora, cash. lumber, and over 700 acres of land for a total of \$35,564. Daytona offered \$20,000 and an oceanfront site. Jacksonville only offered \$13,000 and land for a site, forcing its spokesman to spend most of his time extolling the advantages of locating the college near a population center. When Orange City submitted the paltry sum of \$10,000, Frederick Lyman, representing Winter Park, knew that he had victory within his grasp. He later described the drama at the meeting when it came time for Winter Park to make its presentation: "As one proposal after another was read it became evident to me who alone knew what our subscription was-that other towns were hopelessly distanced and I was correspondingly elated but managed to maintain a calm exterior, perhaps even to assume an aspect of gloom, which was misleading. When my turn came and I presented the pledge from Winter Park. . . , about \$125,000, there was consternation and deep despair on many faces." ¹⁷Three days later at Orange City, the Association

and \$5,645, other funds.

William F. Blackman, History of Orange County, Florida, Narrative and Biographical (DeLand, Florida, 1927), 167-71.
 "Minutes, Special Meeting," G.C.A.F., April, 1885.
 Frederick Lyman, "Early Days of Rollins," Rollins College Bulletin (October, 1911). See also Harvey Kitchell, "Diary," R. C. Archives. Actually Lyman's figures were slightly exaggerated. The total was \$114,180. It included \$9,585, campus location; \$23,950, cash; \$25,000, stock in Winter Park Company; \$50,000, gift from Alonzo Rollins; and \$5,645, other funds.

voted unanimously to locate the new college at Winter Park. 18

The unanimous vote of the Association did not satisfy everyone. Some were skeptical of Winter Park's ability to raise that much money. Others still believed that Winter Park was an unsuitable location. With obvious bitterness the South Florida Times of Orange City continued to maintain that the college's chosen site was "surrounded by swamps and about nine months out of the year the hooting owls hoot to the few families that will forever be the only inhabitants." ¹⁹ The Jacksonville paper admitted that the site was probably acceptable, but argued that large sums of money would be thrown away "in building a school-house where there are not enough pupils to fill it. ²⁰ On the other hand, Orlando's Orange City Reporter was almost lyrical in its approval: "The moral atmosphere [of Winter Park], is as pure as the breezes from the crystal lakes and the scenery of the sort to assist in the development of the moral and good in the nature of the pupils." 21 The Sanford Herald provided a rebuttal to the attackers. Jacksonville and its editor had no right to complain because in a fair competitive bidding, the whole city could not produce as much as a single citizen in Winter Park. "A magnificent bid of over \$100,000," the paper declared, "is not to be weighed against the pitiful offer of Jacksonville of a building site with a sum of money in just about a sufficient amount to buy a bell." Jacksonville therefore hardly had reason to complain when "a more enterprising community captures an influential institution by reason of its superior public spirit and liberality." Jacksonville and the other communities were simply "out-boostered" by a little frontier village. 22

When the euphoria of college-founding had worn off, the weight of college-building descended upon those who took responsibility for it. Lyman later captured the morning-after sentiments: "What a simple thing it seemed that night to build a college. The enthusiastic company in and about the little storyand-a-half cottage could almost see the completed buildings in a stately grouping on the beautiful campus thronged with eager students. [What they] could not see was the strain and stress, the

^{18. &}quot;Minutes, Special Meeting," G.C.A.F., 1885.
19. Orange City South Florida Times, April 22, 1885.
20. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, April 21, 1885.
21. Orlando Orange County Reporter, April 23, 1885.
22. Sanford Herald, April 27, 1885.

burden of anxiety and debt, the days and nights of struggle for existence, the sorrow and travail of the years ahead." ²³ On April 28, the trustees adopted a constitution and by-laws. The constitution, or charter, provided that the corporation name be Rollins College, after for its major benefactor, Alonzo Rollins, that it be located in Winter Park, and that "Its object, which shall never be changed, shall be the Christian education of youth and to this end it proposes to provide for its students the best educational facilities possible and throw about them those Christian influences which will be adopted to restrain them from evil and prepare them for a virtuous, happy and useful life."

The college would establish preparatory, industrial, normal and collegiate departments, and any professional or graduate education "as present or future exigencies may require." The charter also vested the government and management of the college in a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and auditor. The by-laws created a five-member executive committee of the trustees to "transact any ordinary business during the interval between the regular meetings" of the trustees. The by-laws further established a faculty, comprised of professors, tutors, and a president. The faculty, headed by the president, was made responsible for governing the institution, determining admission standards, and devising a curriculum, except that in the latter case, it must include "a classical course which shall include extensive attention to the liberal arts." The faculty was also given responsibility for rules and regulations of student conduct and "for promoting in the highest degrees their health and decorum, their mental, moral and spiritual welfare, giving the institution, as far as possible, parental influence and the atmosphere of a Christian home." Finally, the by-laws required that members of both the trustees and the faculty to proclaim connection with some evangelical church. The incorporators then elected Frederick Lyman, president; C. M. Bingham, vicepresident; A. W. Rollins, treasurer; Nathan Barrows, auditor; S. D. Smith, secretary; and Edward Hooker, president of the faculty. 24 The plan was to open the college the following October.

^{23.} Lyman, "Early Days."
24. "Minutes of Rollins College Board of Trustees, April 28, 1885," R. C. Archives (hereinafter cited as Minutes, R. C. Trustees).

As that day neared, it was realized that the classroom and dormitory buildings, still under construction, would not be finished in time. Students were registering in surprisingly large numbers. Orlando, one of the founders wrote, sent "big delegations almost every day," but as late as the middle of October the college officers still had no place to house or teach them. ²⁵

Loring Chase, one of the founders, later acknowledged that as opening day approached he and President Hooker were at their "wits end." Two weeks before opening, the two men began searching in Winter Park for temporary rooms and classroom space. On the eve of opening day, Chase wrote Lyman that things were "fairly fixed," and that White's Hall above Ergood's grocery store would serve for classes. The Larrabee house at Morse Boulevard and New York Avenue would serve as the boys dormitory, and the Ward Cottage on Osceola near the college would house the girls. ²⁶

There were vet other serious problems. The partitions in White's Hall had been constructed at such a late hour that the plastered walls were not dry and "it was not deemed prudent to go in there." Chase suggested that since the Congregational Church had no pews, simply boards set on small barrels, it could serve as a temporary classroom. Hooker agreed, and as Chase described it: "Tonight as I write (10 p.m.), our whole force of carpenters is there setting up desks and partitions." Sometime in the late evening hours they finished, and the spare little gothic building was ready for Rollins's first classes. ²⁷

Opening day, November 4, 1885, according to the Orange County Reporter, was a "typical Florida fall day, with sunny skies and mild temperatures." An exciting air of activity pervaded the little village when promptly at 9:00 a.m. the Congregational Church bell pealed the beginning of a new era. In addition to the sixty-six students and five teachers, twenty friends of the institution had gathered for the opening ceremonies. After the audience sang a hymn, there was a prayer and a few brief remarks from President Hooker. After the Reverend Sullivan F. Gale's "interesting address," Hooker called the roll of students

Loring Chase to Frederick Lyman, November 3, 1885, Chase Scrapbook, R. C. Archives.
 Chase Scrapbook, R. C. Archives.

^{27.} Ibid.

present and formally announced the beginning of classes. The South Florida Sentinel expressed the common sentiment on that fall day: "Joy to the Park, the school's begun!" 28

The curriculum that Hooker and the charter professors devised for the college reflected prevailing educational conditions. It revealed a mixture of traditional liberal arts, bold responses to changing education patterns and, like other colleges beginning in the nineteenth century, the practical needs of a frontier community. The first prospectus proclaimed that because Rollins College was dedicated to meeting "the great and diversified educational needs of Florida." its program of study would include four departments:

1. The Collegiate Department, with its course of highest standard in the ancient classics, in modern languages. in mathematics and physics.

2. The Preparatory Department, which must do important work for the present, at least, in fitting students for the

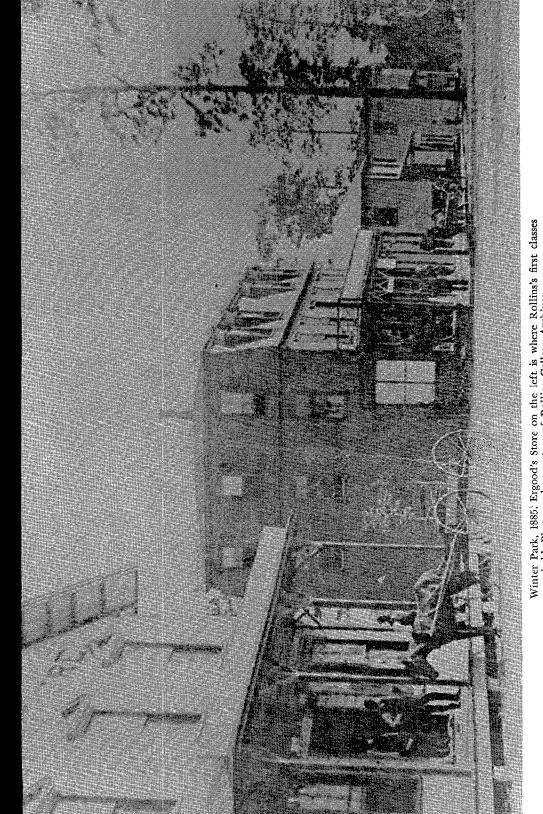
College.

3. The Training Department for teachers, which will instruct those who would teach in public schools and elsewhere. To this end children will be received into this Department and placed under the instruction of Normal students.

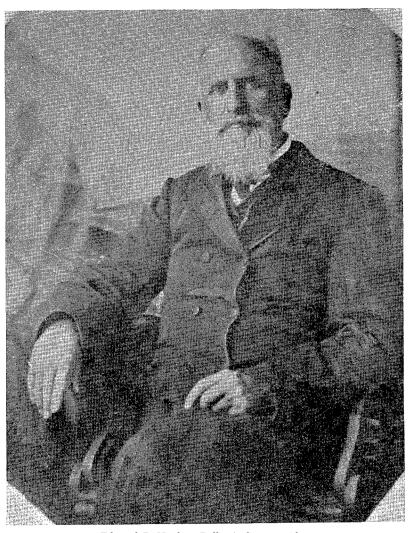
4. Industrial Training Department, in which the young ladies and gentlemen of other Departments can choose some useful line of practical industry and while the mind is cultivated can obtain exercise and can acquire knowledge and skill in the industrial arts. 29

The collegiate department was set off from the other areas by two major factors: first, admission requirements to the department were exceptionally high. Students entering the collegiate department were required to have studied Latin grammar, four books of Caesar, six orations of Cicero, six books of Virgil's Aeneid, Jones's Latin Prose Composition, translation of Latin at sight, three books of Anabasis, three books of Homer's Iliad, Herodotus, Greek prose composition, translation of Greek at sight, Chardenal's first and second courses in French, Corneille's

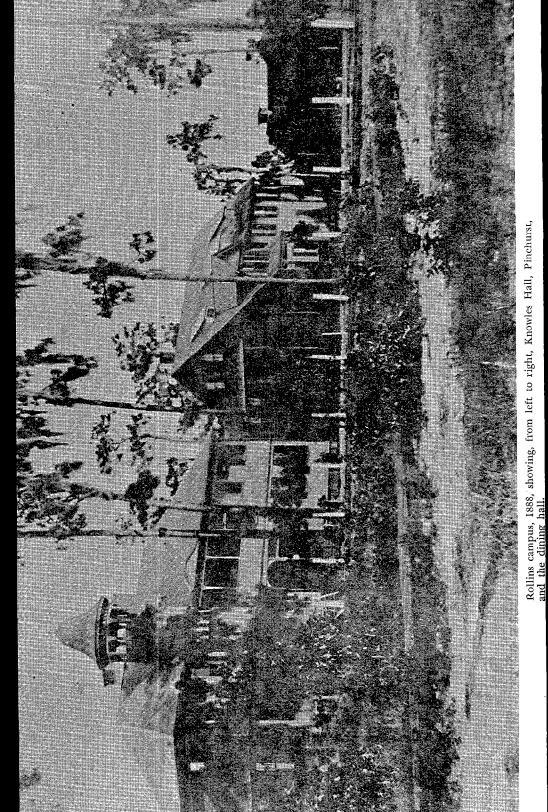
Orlando Orange County Reporter, November 5, 1885; Orlando South Florida Sentinel, November 11, 1885.
 Annual Catalogue of Rollins College, 1888, R. C. Archives (hereinafter cited as R. C. Catalogue).

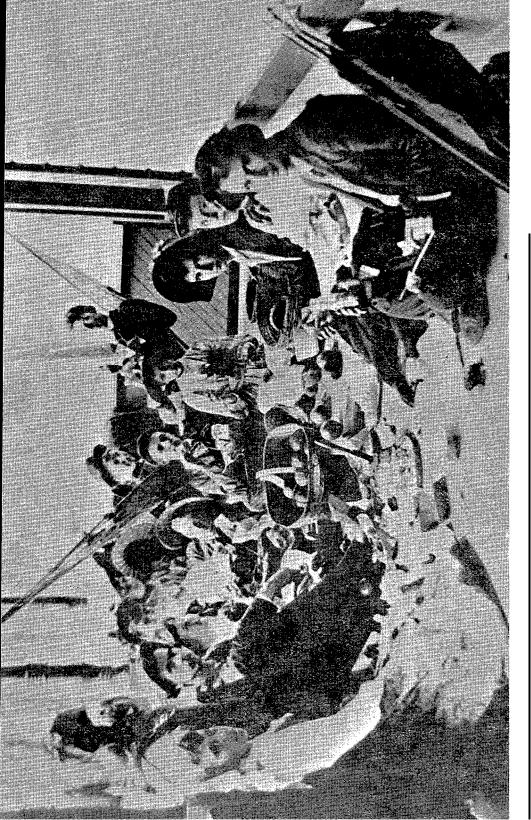


Winter Park, 1885; Ergood's Store on the left is where Rollins's first classes were held. Photographs courtesy of Rollins College Archives.



Edward P. Hooker, Rollins's first president.





Le Cid, Victor Hugo's Hernani, arithmetic, metric system, Wentworth's Complete Algebra, Wentworth's Plane Geometry, physical geography, elementary rhetoric, United States history, Roman and Greek history, life and mythology, and ancient and modern geography. Candidates for admission to the scientific course from other preparatory schools had to pass a satisfactory examination in all the studies required for admission to the classical course, except Greek, and in Guyot's Earth and Man, civil government, outlines of history, and ancient, medieval, and English history.

The second characteristic of the collegiate department was that it alone awarded bachelor's degrees. Graduates from the other departments received certificates of graduation. By reserving the bachelor degree solely for the collegiate department, the college was maintaining the prestige of a liberal arts education, but it almost certainly guaranteed a low enrollment. With no high schools or private academies in the immediate area or with very few even in the state, few students could meet such high requirements. Those that could probably resided in the Northeast where old established colleges were readily available.

Thus, in an effort to achieve respectability, Rollins, as had other frontier colleges, had reproduced the traditional classical curriculum, "on the Yale model," with its stringent requirements. and in the process had created for itself a serious dilemma; few local students could meet the requirements, but the college could not reduce them to meet local needs for fear of being considered a substandard institution. Therefore, the college retained the impossibly high requirements and then attempted to solve the dilemma in two ways: first, it attached a preparatory department to the college structure and frankly announced that its purpose was to prepare students for the college; second, it made an appeal to northeastern students who were prepared for college but whose health required them to spend "a considerable portion of the year in a more genial climate to pursue their studies, and at the same time conform their health." 31 If this scheme had succeeded, and it did not, Rollins might have been a college of convalescents.

^{30.} Ibid.

^{31.} Ibid.

For obvious reasons, the board trustees set the cost of education at Rollins at the lowest possible level. The 1886 catalog established rates for a twelve-week term.

Collegiate department tuition	\$18.00
Preparatory department tuition	12.00
Training department tuition	9.00
board	48.00
and furnished room, with lights	12.00

Each student was required to bring two pairs of sheets for single beds, two pillow cases, two blankets, a comforter, towels, and table napkins. The total annual cost for a boarding college student was \$231, and for boarding preparatory and sub-preparatory students a little less. Two years later, 1887, the college lowered this already low cost by reducing board charges to \$36.00, almost a thirty per cent decrease. 32

These charges were far below the cost of running the institution. But again, Rollins was not unlike other private liberal arts colleges at this time. The bulk of Rollins's expenses were met by private donations, but these were usually never enough to cover real costs. Under these conditions, the trustees had a choice of two alternatives: they could charge the students to make up the difference or they could place the burden on the faculty. The decision was to establish student rates at the lowest possible level and to make up the difference between income and costs by paying the faculty significantly lower salaries than any of their contemporary professionals. From the over \$20,000 collected in student fees during the first year at Rollins, less than one-fifth was allotted for faculty salaries. Only President Hooker was paid as much as \$1.000 per year. 33

Of the original sixty students, only two, Clara Louise Guild and Ida May Misseldine, enrolled in the college. The rest were scattered through the preparatory and sub-preparatory departments. These enrollments were revealing because they indicate the gap between the collegiate way and Florida's educational resources, and also show prevailing community requirements.

^{32.} Ibid., 1886.

[&]quot;Minute Book of the Board of Trustees, Executive Committee," Vol. I, 1887, R. C. Archives.

What the community needed was quality elementary and high schools. Yet, what it received was a college with a preparatory and sub-preparatory schools attached, the latter two created to meet not the community's but the college's needs. All departments, including preparatory, were supposed to be appendages to the collegiate department. In fact, for almost four decades after the founding of the college the reverse was true. The appendages prospered while the college barely limped along with only a few students. Ten years after its founding, the college claimed a total of thirty-four students while the other departments reported 139, and this ratio in 1896 was one of the highest. Significantly, the preparatory departments carried the college during its infancy and years of early growth until in the mid-1920s, when it had matured sufficiently to function without them.

The founders of the college believed that the institution would appeal to a national constituency, but in the first decade it remained primarily a local college. Students from outside the state enrolled, but the majority listed their residences as Florida, and even in this group most were from central Florida. 34 Many were within walking distance of the college, but a significant number used the South Florida Railroad for transportation to and from the classes. In September 1885, the college reached an agreement with the railroad, whereby the company issued "school tickets" allowing children attending Rollins to ride at a reduced rate: under twelve, one-half cent per mile, over twelve, one cent per mile. Thus, the charge for a round trip from Sanford was twenty-four cents. This was a reasonable rate, but riding the train made for a long day. It ran only twice a day between Sanford and Orlando, arriving in Orlando at 7 a.m. and leaving for Sanford at 6 p.m. when it was on time, which, according to the students, was hardly ever. 35

On March 9, 1886, the trustees dedicated Knowles Hall, a two-story structure containing rooms for recitation classes and a hall capable of seating 300 people for chapel services, exhibitions, and entertainments. Exercises began at 3 p.m. with music, prayers,

^{34.} The states were Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, New York, Ohio, South Carolina, Vermont, and Virginia.

^{35.} Orlando South Florida Sentinel, September 15, 1885.

and speeches, the principal speaker being Albert J. Russell, Florida Superintendent of Schools. Frederick Lyman, president of the corporation, again displayed his flair for business dramatics. After formally presenting the keys of Knowles Hall to President Hooker, Lyman used the occasion to raise a sizable sum of money. Pinehurst, the new dormitory, needed furnishing, he told the audience, but no money seemed forthcoming. The trustees had spent many hours puzzling how to finance a boys' dormitory and furnish the girls' cottage with appropriate furniture. At the last moment, Lyman declared a solution had appeared. Just before the dedication ceremonies he had been handed a note from Francis Knowles, the principal donor of the recitation hall, stating that if sufficient funds were subscribed at this meeting to furnish thirty-four rooms of the girls' cottage at \$60.00 per room, he promised to finance the men's cottage. The ploy, if it were a ploy, worked magnificently. Within fifteen minutes patrons donated enough funds to furnish Pinehurst. Hooker suggested that the audience sing "Praise God From Whom All Blessing Flow," but someone should have suggested a short hymn to Lyman's ingenuity, if not his disingenuousness.

Before the year was over, two more buildings had been constructed on the campus. Lakeside Cottage, the men's dormitory, was completed in time for the 1886-1887 school year at a cost of over \$10,000 and the dining hall, also a gift of Knowles, costing over \$7,000, was finished in the fall of 1887. Until the completion of the dining hall, students took their meals in a small lean-to kitchen attached to the south end of Pinehurst. Meals were served in two bedrooms on the west end of the first floor. The whole with the college built a dining hall, described as a "bright, cheerful building with a kitchen in the rear," the former kitchen became the library.

Thus, by the end of 1887, Rollins, with four imposing buildings located on the east side of the horseshoe shaped commons, had indeed begun to resemble an institution of higher education. The building of these four structures represented a significant feat for the college's first president, but incredibly he managed two more. In 1891, with funds gathered from a variety

Orlando Orange County Reporter, November 11, 1886; Chase Scrapbook; Address by William O'Neal, February 25, 1935, R. C. Archives.
 Frederick Lewton, "Autobiography," ms., R. C. Archives.

of sources, the college was able to construct another larger women's dormitory, placed on the horseshoe opposite Knowles Hall. Men were now housed in Pinehurst, which, along with Lakeside, gave the college two men's dorms. Finally, with money donated by Frederick Lyman, the college constructed a gymnasium, placing it on the lake between Lakeside and the dining hall. Lyman Gymnasium contained a fifty-by-seventy exercise room, and an inside gallery guarded by an ornately decorated ballastrade. This building gave the college a full-fledged campus, complete with classrooms, dormitories, dining hall, and gymnasium. A graphic in the 1892 catalog, though somewhat misleading in its placement of the buildings on the campus, nevertheless correctly gave the feeling of permanence to the fledgling little college. 38

Academic and social life in the early years at Rollins very much resembled life in other contemporary schools. As one early student later recalled, the term "gay nineties" was a misnomer, at least in the academic world. College life at Rollins, she noted, was "sober and sedate." ³⁹ Most all teachers were remembered as "strong disciplinarians," as well they might be for pedagogy at the time assumed that the mind had to be disciplined in order to absorb knowledge. Thus, learning was a matter of hard work. Like physical training, academic endeavor required vigorous exertion that few would describe as pleasurable. Recitation was the principal pedagogical method for exercising the mind, and Rollins's professors almost invariably employed it in their classrooms. Recitation, wrote Latin professor L. A. Austin in the college catalog, "is an excellent discipline for the mental faculties" because it demands "accuracy in things." The study of Greek, declared Professor John Ford, gives students skill in forming "such mental habits as exact observation and generalization as will be of value to him in all intellectual work." The "topical method of recitation" was employed in history courses while German literature would be "read and committed to memory." 40

The science courses offered a welcome relief from the routine of recitation. The instructor, Eva J. Roots, required some recita-

R. C. Catalogue, 1892.
 Lois Parker Meyers, "Rollins in 1889," ms., R. C. Archives.

^{40.} R. C. Catalogue, 1892.

tion from textbooks in botany, zoology, physiology, and astronomy, but she also encouraged much "hands-on" work; dissection, work with mannequins and charts, and use of microscope and telescope, the latter given to the college by George Rollins, the brother of Alonzo. As Root noted in the catalog, at every opportunity students were given "the advantages of practical work." One of Root's students later praised her for opening the "scientific world of plants and animals that most of us had known only superficially." ⁴

Perhaps the most innovative practitioner of the new methods was Thomas R. Baker, who was hired by Hooker in 1891. Although retired from Pennsylvania State University, at the age of fifty-three Baker was still an energetic, exciting teacher. But for its location, Rollins could not have attracted such an outstanding educator and scholar in the prime of his teaching. Baker had already established a national reputation as a teacher of the experimental method with the publication of his book, Elements of Physics, and his use of it in the classroom brought a freshness to teaching of science. The object of the experimental method, Baker wrote in the catalog, was "not only to fix in the minds of pupils the facts that are presented them, but to teach them how to use this method to the best advantage." He introduced a course entitled "Practical Chemistry" that was "designed to give students a more practical knowledge of chemistry than can be gained by merely studying the theory of the subject." Science was still relatively new to the classical curriculum, and its methods of instruction were considered inappropriate for the more traditional courses. It would be years before the Rollins catalog would show any significant changes in pedagogical methods. 42

The college established and maintained a fairly rigid code of behavior for all boarding students. In December 1885 the faculty submitted a list of student rules and regulations. Rules for religious observances headed the list. Without exception, students were required to attend Sunday church services at the church of their choice, but actually in the early years the choices were limited to the Congregational, Episcopal, and Methodist

Lewton, "Autobiography."
 R. C. Catalogue, 1892; Thomas R. Baker, "Reminiscences of Rollins," ms.. R. C. Archives.

churches. 43 Students were also confined to their rooms on Sunday mornings for the purpose of studying their Sunday school lessons. Finally, daily morning devotionals, usually conducted by President Hooker, were made mandatory for all students.

Study time was considered an important part of academic life. Study hours were set at 8:30 a.m. to 12 noon, from 1:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m., and in the evening from 7:00 to 9:00. During these study hours, students were not allowed to visit in each other's rooms, though after nine o'clock in the evening they had thirty minutes for socializing before lights went out at 10:00. Between study hours on Friday evenings, gentlemen were permitted to make calls at the parlor rooms of the ladies cottage for two hours. Gentlemen were also given the opportunity to escort young ladies to church on Sunday, provided they returned directly to the campus afterward. After much debate the faculty, in 1889, agreed to allow boys and girls to exercise together during gymnastics, but this Victorian generation was anxious to lower the levels of temptation by keeping the sexes separated. 44 The men were convinced that the policy applied to the dorms also. They determined that the Cloverleaf cottage was divisible by three: the college put all the pretty girls on the third floor out of reach of the boys, all the middling girls on the second floor, and on the first it placed girls "whose faces protected them." 45

Several nineteenth-century vices were absolutely forbidden. The greatest of these evils was alcohol, and, of course, Rollins students could not possess or use liquor either on campus or in the vicinity. The college faced an early moral dilemma on this matter, after the Winter Park Company built the Seminole Hotel. The hostelry sold liquor, and the college held stock in the company. One trustee was annoyingly persistent in pointing out this moral inconsistency until finally the trustees corrected it: they retired the complaining trustee. ⁴⁶ Rollins students were also forbidden to use tobacco "on campus, on the streets, or in the vicinity" of the college. Card playing was prohibited since it was a "sedentary game unsuitable for students and tending

^{43.} Thomas Hooker to Martha Weld, July 19, 1891, Hooker Letterbook, R. C. Archives.

[&]quot;Minutes of the Rollins College Faculty," Book I, 1889, R. C. Archives. Henry B. Mowbray, "Youthful Days in Florida," ms., R. C. Archives. "Minute Book of the Board of Trustees," Vol. I, 1890. See also Stephen

toward immorality." Other forbidden acts included loitering at the railway station on Sunday, throwing water on beds, stealing, keeping firearms, using profanity, and keeping a dirty room. ⁴⁷

Demerits were issued for an infraction of these rules and weighed according to the college's perception of their importance. Absence from Sunday service and from class drew two demerits each; from Sunday school, study hours, and for tardiness, one demerit each. Eight demerits in one term resulted in a reprimand, twelve, a letter to the parents, and fifteen demerits led to dismissal. 48 Most students were accustomed to this rigid regulation of their behavior at home, and therefore few rebelled. Yet some did. At almost every faculty meeting one or more recalcitrant students appeared to defend some violation. The most common infraction was the use of profanity of some form. The faculty minutes are full of notations: "dismissed on account of licentious talk." 49 Many infractions, of course, went undetected. Frederick Lewton, later a prominent botanist in the United States Agriculture Department and curator of textiles at the Smithsonian Institution, recalled how one night he slipped out of his room in order to observe the constellation Leo which was visible only after 1:00 a.m. He was bursting to share his observances with someone but was prevented for fear of receiving demerits for breaking the ten o'clock curfew. 50

From the beginning, the college's most troublesome problem was finding enough money to keep the educational endeavor functioning properly. The college did manage to receive a steady trickle of funds, most significantly from the Educational Board of the Congregational Association totaling more than \$74,000. Under normal circumstances these funds would have been sufficient, if only barely, to allow the college to break even. But those involved in college-building in the late nineteenth century soon learned that there was no such condition as normal. Each day, month, and year brought a new crisis, many caused by forces beyond a president's control. Such was the case of Rollins. In 1887, and again in 1888, the state was ravaged by yellow fever

Smith, "Reasons For Not Continuing the Ministry," ms., R. C. Archives. "Faculty Minutes," October 1887.

⁴⁸ Ihid

^{49.} Specifically, for example, "Faculty Minutes," March 1888, October 1890, December 1890.

^{50.} Lewton, "Reminiscences."

epidemics. The dreaded disease appeared in May 1887 in Key West and Tampa. Although this epidemic never reached central Florida, many viewed it as threatening and left the state in large numbers. The following year a more serious outbreak occurred in Jacksonville, embarkation port for Northerners coming into Florida. Authorities reported over 5.000 cases and 400 deaths, causing city authorities to quarantine the town, halting all travel in and out of the city. Fearing the effects of the quarantine on enrollment, the college sent out 10,000 brochures claiming that "no locality was more healthful than Winter Park," but under the conditions that proclamation had a hollow ring to it. In September, the college postponed its 1888 opening date, and some trustees doubted that Rollins would ever open its doors again. Nevertheless, the college continued operations, albeit with reduced enrollment. Moreover, as the epidemic subsided, the college registration for 1889-1890 showed an encouraging increase, leading Hooker to project more registrations than the college could accommodate in its two dormitories. Happily the college had survived its first serious crisis. ⁵¹

The year 1890 was an even more promising one for the college. It held its first commencement exercises on May 28 of that year. Even though only two students were graduating, the trustees, sensing its significance, made elaborate plans for the occasion. The Congregational Church, colorfully decorated with floral arrangements, now served the college for its first graduation exercises as it had served it for the college's initial opening. The ceremony included the reading of essays by two Rollins students, a dissertation and a disquisition by the two graduates, Clara Louise Guild and Ida May Missildine, music by the Miglionico Orchestra of Jacksonville, and a commencement speech by the governor of Florida, Francis P. Fleming. The ceremony conferring the degrees was necessarily brief, but not without its symbolism. As the two students received their bachelor of arts

^{51.} O'Neal Address, 1935, ms., R. C. Archives. For details on the epidemics, see the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August and September, but particularly the August 13, 1888 editorial; Orlando *Orange County Reporter*, September 2, 1888; Winter Park *Lochmede*, September 14, 21, October 19, 1888; Blackman, *History of Orange County*, 182; "Faculty Minutes," November 12, 1888. A recent description of the epidemic is Wesley Stout, "When Yellow Fever Hit Florida," *Orlando Sentinel Florida Magazine*, July 28, 1963.

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degrees, the real purposes of the college seemed fulfilled: liberal education had become a permanent fixture on the early Florida frontier. 52

^{52.} Orlando *Orange County Reporter*, May 6, 1890; Rollins College commencement program, May 5, 1890, R. C. Archives.

FEDERAL SCHOOLS AND ACCULTURATION AMONG THE FLORIDA SEMINOLES. 1927-1954

by HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.*

The Great Depression of the 1930s would bring incalculable hardship to thousands of Floridians of all races. Actually, the state's economy had been in constant decline since the late twenties when the excessive speculation of the land boom led to a spectacular "bust," aided in no small part by a pair of devastating hurricanes occurring only two years apart. Thus, the southernmost state preceded the nation into the economic abyss. As is generally true in such periods of national economic decline, ethnic and linguistic minorities bore the brunt of unemployment and privation. In Florida, one of the groups most adversely affected by hard times was the Seminole Indian population.

Since the turn of the century this small remnant of a once independent people had waged a losing struggle to maintain social and economic equilibrium. Their formerly secluded domain at the tip of the peninsula was undergoing rapid change that would adversely impact the Indian life style. First, state drainage of the Everglades curtailed their trading in pelts, plumes, and hides. Then, prior to World War I, that market totally collapsed under the impact of anti-pluming laws at home and imminent conflict in Europe. A second and continuing pressure from rapid population growth in south Florida, following arrival of the railroads in the late 1890s, had forced the Indians from their traditional campsites and hunting grounds. They soon became an impoverished and propertyless element in what once had been their own land. At this point it was clear that, left to their own devices, the Florida Seminoles might lose their integrity as a people and be absorbed into the growing number of rural poor in the state. It would take the concerted efforts of the United States Indian Service, state agencies, and private citizens

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organized into supportive societies, to assist the Indian population in stabilizing their rapidly deteriorating position. $^{\rm 1}$

Through the depths of the Depression Era efforts to revitalize Seminole social and economic life were necessarily centered on federal trust lands, especially at the Dania Reservation near Fort Lauderdale where the headquarters of the Seminole Agency was located in 1926. Under the direction of resident Indian Service officers a number of programs were initiated in an attempt to redirect the Seminoles from their former seminomadic existence based on subsistence farming supplemented with hunting and trapping, to a more stable reservation life oriented toward agricultural and herding pursuits. Over the ensuing decades this transformation would have a deep-seated impact on every aspect of Seminole culture. The purpose here is to focus on one facet of this acculturational process, wrought between 1927-1954 through the operation of a reservation day school, and later by sending Seminole children to a residential boarding school.

The opening of a day school for Seminoles came at a time when the role of Indian education was undergoing critical examination at the federal level. In the early decades of the twentieth century there was a national outcry over the abuses in federal boarding schools for Indians. Especially cited were poor health services, food and clothing, an inadequate staff and curriculum, as well as the inhumane treatment inherent in the use of flogging and school jails. Indian welfare groups demanded reform in all areas of governmental relations with the tribes, and the blueprint for an altered federal Indian policy took the form of a 1928 Brookings Institution study, The Problem of Indian Administration, popularly known as the Meriam Report, after its director. ² The report was highly critical of the residential boarding schools and called for massive overhaul of their programs. Moreover, it strongly suggested that "young children, at least up to the sixth grade, should normally be provided for

Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Private Societies and the Maintenance of Seminole Tribal Integrity, 1899-1957," Florida Historical Quarterly, LVI (January 1978), 297-316.

^{2.} Institute for Government Research, *The Problems of Indian Administration* (Baltimore, 1928). The director of this report was Dr. Lewis Meriam, later one of three major candidates considered for the post of commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Roosevelt administration. He ultimately lost out to John Collier.

either in Indian Service day schools or in public schools. Not until they have reached adolescence and finished the local schools should they normally be sent to a boarding school." 3

Positive steps were taken during the initial years of the Hoover administration to implement the recommendations of the Meriam Report. The appointment of Charles J. Rhoades, a prominent Quaker businessman and president of the Indian Rights Association, as commissioner of Indian Affairs was hailed by reform elements anxious to reverse what they considered to be oppressive federal policies. Similarly applauded was the naming of W. Carson Ryan, Jr. as director of education for the Indian Service. Ryan, a nationally recognized leader of the Progressive Education Association who had authored the education section of the Meriam Report, was firmly committed to the day school concept with a revitalized curriculum for Indian children. ⁴ Thus, in its initial stages at least, the Seminole endeavor appeared to be consistent with an emerging trend in national Indian educational policy.

It should be remembered, however, that education, or to be more precise, formal schooling, had long been considered the keystone in any effort to improve the economic condition, health,

^{3.} Ibid., 34.

Ibid., 34.
 Margaret Szasz, Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self Determination, 1928-1973 (Albuquerque, 1974), 16-36. This work presents a study of federal Indian educational policy which evolved during the New Deal. The chapter cited details W. C. Ryan's role in the framing and implementation of that policy. He had direct contact with the Florida day school situation despite its relative isolation. In 1934, the agent, J. L. Glenn, at the Dania Seminole Reservation reported: "During the early spring of the present fiscal year Dr. I. Isial Carson "During the early spring of the present fiscal year Dr. J. [sic] Carson Ryan, Jr., . . . visited the Agency, and in connection with the Officer in Charge made an arrangement with the Dade County School Board looking toward the establishment of another school in the Miami area. looking toward the establishment of another school in the Miami area. A few weeks later a teacher was assigned to the field, but up to the close of the year was ill. The preparatory work which had been planned was not accomplished for this reason." Glenn had opposed opening another school, finding, "There is this difference in the two projects. The Indian pupils at the Agency are in constant contact with Indian Service employees and respond to the influences of these associates. The children of Miami, on the other hand are removed from this influence." U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, Narrative Section 1934, Seminole Agency, Dania, Fla., Prepared by James L. Glenn, Special Commissioner (Washington, 1935?), 11. Mimeographed copy in files of the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Fort Lauderdale, Florida; see also W. Carson Ryan, Jr., "A Trip Among the Indian Communities of the Southeast," Indians At Work, I (April 15, 1934), 41.

social acceptability, and general well-being of the Seminoles. During the 1920s, the federal bureaucracy charged with supervision of Indians, as well as those private individuals and societies engaged in this field, still manifested an inordinate zeal to Americanize and Christianize the Indian which had marked similar efforts in the previous century. ⁵ Perhaps not coincidentally, the first two special commissioners (agents) appointed to serve the Seminoles in this century were former clergymen who conducted their administrations with a reforming fervor. Lucien A. Spencer served as Seminole agent from 1913-1930, and opened the day school in 1927. His successor, James L. Glenn, refined and upgraded the school program during the period 1931-1936. ⁶ The successful operation of a day school would become one of their most elusive goals. Both men came to find that the Indians of south Florida had a very limited interest in formal schooling which was linked with an assumed governmental threat to their free existence, and a subversion of traditional cultural values.

By the mid-1930s the Seminole Day School was caught up in a national controversy over the direction which Indian education was taking during the "Indian New Deal" headed by the new commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, ⁷ Collier, a liberal reformer and trained social scientist, was also a mystic and visionary who found Indian life a paradigm of communal self-government and social interaction which should be preserved. For a decade prior to his appointment by President Roosevelt in 1933, he had been a leading spokesman for Indian rights as secretary of the American Indian Defense Association. Rather than assimilating the Indian into the main stream of American life, he espoused a policy of cultural pluralism with the tribes having a dominant voice in determining their own future.

Although his administration continued the expansion of reservation day schools and revamped the remaining boarding

Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900 (Norman, 1976), 402-05.

^{6.} For an account of the operation of the Seminole School throughout this period, see Harry A. Kersey, Jr., and Mark S. Goldman, "The Dania Indian School, 1927-1936," *Tequesta*, XXXIX (1979), 42-53.

7. Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform*, 1920-1954 (Tucson, 1977), passim. This work is the first comprehensive treatment of Collier's administration as commissioner of Indian Affairs. See also S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, 1973), 112-37.

facilities. Collier introduced some overt policy changes which incurred the enmity of various conservative interests in the nation. 8 Foremost among these was his insistence that the missionary influence in the federal schools be severely curtailed, and that Indian children no longer be compelled to receive religious training without their own or parental consent. A strong emphasis was placed on Indian cultural studies in the curriculum, focusing on their own heritage in language, music, and arts. His director of education, W. W. Beatty, who succeeded Ryan in 1936, was also a Deweyan progressive in his philosophy. 9 He fostered the development of a more relevant curriculum coupled with a heavy reliance on planting community gardens, raising livestock, and learning new methods of conservation. These activities aroused the ire of religious reformers who accused Collier of being anti-religious and fostering a return to paganism, while political conservatives saw the communal activities of the schools undercutting the Indian's absorption into a free enterprise, capitalistic system. Both groups of critics held that the schools were failing to teach Indian children English and the "American Way."

Agent Glenn's own views on Indian education were more in line with the conservative critics of the Collier administration, although he recognized that there was much of value in the traditional Seminole culture. Nevertheless, he bitterly assailed the position which the commissioner took following a visit to Florida in March 1935. Collier, who was accompanied by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, along with his wife and son, asked Glenn to take their party on a whirlwind tour of the Everglades. Their itinerary ended at West Palm Beach where an Indian "pow wow" had been arranged by local interests as part of a tourist festival. ¹⁰

Upon returning to Washington, the commissioner wrote an editorial, "Seminole Policy," in which he asked: "Is it our duty

^{8.} Philp, John Collier's Crusade, 131-33.

Szasz, Education and the American Indian, 48; John Collier, Indians at Work, III (August 15, 1935), 5. For the specifics of these day school curricular offerings, see Willard W. Beatty, Education for Action: Selected Articles From Indian Education 1936-43 (Chilocco, Oklahoma, 1944). passim.

August Burghard, "Seminole Indians ask Uncle Sam for New Deal," Fort Lauderdale Daily News, March 21, 1935; John Collier, "With Secretary Ickes and the Seminoles," Indians At Work, II (April 15, 1935), 3-5.

to 'civilize' the Seminole? . . . Possibly-it might be-a very few of their young people should be chosen to receive an education most carefully planned-in English, in buying and selling, in modern health science, in biology, zoology, ecology and anthropology. These young people might mediate between the tribe and the white world; . . . Personally, I hesitate at one step more than the above. I deeply doubt the wisdom of schooling the Seminoles. Let English come, and the newspaper, and the kingly confidence, that radiant reality, which is their life in the wild, might grow less, might fade away. And what worth would be the exchange?"

Apparently Glenn's contacts with the Collier-Ickes entourage furthered his alienation from the New Deal reformers. Although Glenn never openly attacked Collier while employed by the Indian Service, many years later he wrote, "the primary issue between John Collier and me was . . . he is basically and fundamentally a pagan-a lover of life in the raw. He would exterminate progress and throw 'its whole blooming works out.' " ¹²

Collier had evidently learned of the Florida agent's criticism, and as the commissioner came under increasing attack for his own policies he was less inclined to brook dissent within the Indian Service ranks. In 1935 Glenn was dismissed as special commissioner, reportedly due to criticism of his work by various interest groups in Florida. Glenn had also alienated a number of Indian Service officials by his outspoken advocacy of land purchases for Seminoles, as well as complaints about Washington bureaucrats. Then, too, there was the matter of expected staff reductions due to budgetry constraints and Glenn, a Hoover ad-

^{11.} John Collier, "Seminole Policy," *Indians At Work*, II (April 15, 1935), 4.

12. In another place, Glenn also wrote: "Because we are disgusted with ourselves and with the wars that curse the higher educated communities of this world, we elevated men to high positions who are so misdirected in their convictions that, as John Collier said to me, they are afraid to teach these Indians to read, for they will read the newspapers and get in the awful world in which we live. In spite of his ecstasy over the glory and goodness of the primitive life, I think I have seen enough of it to be assured that it too has its 'sweat, blood and tears.' "James L. Glenn, "My Work Among the Florida Seminoles" (unpublished ms. in Fort Lauderdale Historical Society Archives), 40. This assessment of Collier's bitter, almost anti-white cultural bias, is confirmed by Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 49, and Philp, *John Collier's Crusade*, 239, 241.

ministration appointee without Civil Service protection, was expendable. 13

One of the first acts of the new agent, F. J. Scott, was to severely curtail and eventually discontinue operation of the Seminole Day School. This action was ostensibly taken as part of a general retrenchment effort by the Indian Service in light of national economic conditions. It was argued that those Seminole youngsters who wanted to continue their education could do so in the schools of the nearby town at Dania. Moreover, officials held that attendance in public schools would accelerate the acculturation process. Such was the confused nature of Indian education policy that officials of the Indian Service who argued this course of action, although seemingly at odds with the self-determination goals of Commissioner Collier, were consistent with that section of the Meriam Report which held: "The present policy of placing Indian children in public schools near their homes instead of in boarding schools or even in Indian Service day schools is, on the whole, to be commended. It is a movement in the direction of normal transition, it results as a rule in good race contacts and the Indians like it." 14

Unfortunately, in the case of the Seminoles, officials had conveniently discounted the lack of parental support for schooling, the Indian children's low state of readiness for entering public school, as well as the refusal of the Dania school to accept Indian children due to racial segregation policies. Even their friend Mrs. Frank Stranahan, appearing before a United States Senate committee in 1930, had declared that Seminole

^{13.} In assessing the conditions surrounding his dismissal some forty years after the fact, Glenn told the author: "Collier had some good ideas. He wanted the Indians to have what they want. It's their life, their way of living. I made the mistake. . . . I went to Washington, and he called me in his office. He said, 'Glenn, there's been a lot of criticism of you. What have you got to say?' I didn't say anything. I should have defended myself." Taped interview with James L. Glenn, January 12, 1978. Tape in collection of Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project, Florida State Museum, Gainesville, Florida. Glenn's replacement as superintendent at the Dania Reservation was Agnes E. Fitzgerald, who reportedly had wide experience in Indian affairs. She apparently held the post for only a few months, and her name does not appear on the roster of Seminole Agents. "New Seminole Agent at Dania," Fort Lauderdale Daily News, March 1, 1935. This is also confirmed in the Glenn interview of January 12, 1978.

^{14.} Institute for Government Research, The Problems of Indian Administration, 36.

children were not ready to enter public school due to their poor hygiene and lack of academic preparation. ¹⁵ Despite these obvious impediments to continuing the education of Seminole students, the Day School was closed permanently in 1936.

In assessing this initial phase of federal educational intervention among the Seminoles there is little to suggest that the Day School was even a qualified success. From the assimilationist point of view there had been limited advance in teaching youngsters to read and write English, master the other subject areas, or to modify substantially their behavior in the direction of non-Indian norms. On the other hand, neither had the Day School become a center for community development along the model fostered by Collier, Ryan, and Beatty on the western reservations. During the years in which it operated the vast majority of the Seminoles had not accepted the value of education for themselves or their youngsters, and the school did not occupy a central role in community life at Dania Reservation. Additionally, most members of the tribe lived off-reservation and had no contacts with schooling at all during this period. In truth, the Florida school was out of the main stream of the reforms which swept Indian education during the New Deal period. Because of its geographic distance from the major centers of Indian population and isolation from the Indian Service bureaucracy, the school perhaps benefited from benign neglect until it was ultimately terminated during the height of the Depression Era.

One positive function of the Day School was to serve as a catalyst for a few Seminole youngsters who would seriously pursue an education even after the federal facility was closed. In 1934, Mrs. Stranahan organized the nucleus of the "Friends of the Seminoles" society which would actively support the educational and social development of the tribe. A number of promising youngsters had been singled out for assistance, and

^{15.} Congress, Senate, Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States: Hearings Before a Sub-Committee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, 71st Cong., 1st Sess., 1930, pt. 16, 7603-14. Ivy Cromartie Stranahan was the wife of the Indian trader at Fort Lauderdale and a staunch defender of Seminole interests of the first half of this century. For an account of her work see August Burghard, Watchie-Esta/Hutrie (the Little White Mother). The Remarkable Story of Mrs. Frank Stranahan, Broward County's First School Teacher (Fort Lauderdale, 1968).

when they were not accepted at the public school in Dania, the "Friends" joined with the Indian Service in underwriting their expenses to attend the Cherokee Indian School in North Carolina. Later, the Daughters of the American Revolution, led by Mrs. O. H. Abbey, also joined in this local effort which sponsored Seminole children at the North Carolina boarding facility from 1937 through 1954. ¹⁶

Until now it was possible only to speculate about the motivation and experiences of those Indian children who first undertook a journey so far away from family and friends in search of an education. They were confronted with the culture shock of a new living situation, a strange geographical setting and climatic conditions, as well as being thrown together with different Indians in a highly structured institutional environment. There can be little doubt that they were atypical Seminoles, and Agent Glenn's appraisal of their relation to much of the tribe was correct: "The Florida school was an expensive affair, and in some ways these children learned faster after they were separated from their people. But it made more difficult the gap between these educated Seminoles and their own people, and there were a smaller number of children who would go to school under these conditions." ¹⁷ In seeking to develop a perspective on those early school years from the Indian point of view, it is necessary to draw heavily from two primary sources. The first is a limited set of recently uncovered letters written by the students to their sponsors in Florida. The second is a series of oral history interviews with Indian adults who attended the Cherokee School, including two who were in the 1937 vanguard. From these and other documentary sources a fascinating story emerges.

As might be expected, the Seminole students at Cherokee were homesick for family and friends, and this situation was not enhanced when some of the youngsters came down with measles during the first year. One of them recalls: "I didn't like it at first, I was homesick. I didn't like the snow. They'd build us a snowball, and they'd hit us. It was the first time we ever see

Harry A. Kersey, Jr., and Rochelle Kushin, "Ivy Stranahan and the Friends of the Seminoles, 1899-1971," Broward Legacy, I (October 1976), 7-11.

^{17.} James L. Glenn, "My Work Among the Florida Seminoles," 27.

snow. First I was homesick, then I got used to it and I kind of like it up there." Another stated simply: "I liked it, that's beautiful country. When I first went away . . . I was homesick but I determined I was going to finish . . . and I did." 18 It soon became apparent, however, that they were not prepared for the winter temperatures in North Carolina and lacked adequate clothing. Their letters evidenced great anxiety over not having appropriate clothes to wear to class and school functions: the older children also expressed a deep concern for the vounger ones, especially in having their outgrown clothing replaced. Thus, there was a constant appeal for funds to buy clothing. shoes, books, and other school materials. One impoverished voung Seminole girl remembered: "I was kind of homesick. And I have nothing like a lot of people, a lot of the kids take their extra, you know, a lot of socks and all this. I got one pair of socks I wear there. . . . I thought I had a hard time, but I make it. I never been that way up north before. . . . I didn't know nothing about it . . . it's cold . . . my Aunt she couldn't write . . . and they don't know what we need from there to here." 19 The clubwomen in Florida tried to meet these needs as best thev could with shipments of donated clothing and occasional gifts of cash although times were hard. Even so, at least one student wrote to complain that, as a disciplinary measure, she was being denied money sent for her use by the "Friends of the Seminoles" organization.

The children lived in dormitories, two and sometimes four to a room. They were expected to perform much of the work to keep the school buildings and grounds in operation. For the girls this generally meant working in the kitchen, making beds, washing windows, scrubbing floors, as well as ironing and sewing or other chores. The day usually began at six o'clock when students dressed and undertook early assignments, including helping the younger children. One of the Seminole girls later recalled: "I stayed in the girls building most of the time because I helped little girls get ready for school. You know, in the

^{18.} Interview with Betty Mae Jumper, March 23, 1977, tape (SEM 156A) and transcript in University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

^{19.} Interview with Dorothy Tucker, February 10, 1977, tape (SEM 155A), and transcript in Oral History Archives, FSM.

morning we'd get them up and dress them for breakfast. We eat at seven o'clock . . . and some of us stayed in the dining room to help clean the dining room and everything. And at eight I come back and help little girls fix their beds and everything. Get them ready for school by eight twenty, we had to be at school at eight twenty. It was all day." ²⁰ Except for the great amount of work expected of them, most of the Seminole adults interviewed felt that they had been treated kindly by the school staff and had found both their quarters and food generally acceptable. Yet, one of the first to go there did recall some difficulty in adjusting to their new diet: "Oh, we didn't like it at first. We missed our sofkee. Thats our main food among our tribe. They had hash and beans, mostly potatoes and beans." 21

The Cherokee School was originated in the 1880s by Quakers, and had a well-established tradition of combining practical vocational pursuits with standard academic subjects. 22 When not in classes each student was assigned additional duties, the girls performing domestic chores and the boys working in plant maintenance and keeping the grounds. Nevertheless, the Seminoles still found time to undertake a variety of activities in the community such as babysitting and housecleaning to earn additional money. It was recalled that the going rate was fifteen cents per hour, yet they could make as much as \$18.00 to \$20.00 each month which was needed for shoes, socks, and other items of clothing. They often worked as late as eight o'clock in the evening, and then went back to the dormitories to study until bedtime.

Obviously this schedule did not leave much time for social activities, and indeed there was little for the young Indians to do away from the campus. Occasionally those who had the money would attend a movie in the town on a Saturday afternoon or go shopping. There were student activities such as clubs, student council, and athletic teams at the school. Ultimately the Seminoles became actively involved, though they were a minority in the school. They served as class officers, played on the athletic

^{20.} Interview with Betty Mae Jumper,21. Interview with Mary Parker Bowers, January 27, 1977, tape (SEM 154A)

and transcript in Oral History Archives, FSM.

22. Sharlotte Neely, "The Quaker Era of Cherokee Indian Education, 1880-1892," Appalachian Journal, II (Summer 1975), 314-22.

teams, and took a leading role in the Cherokee Festival held each fall. On Sunday morning they were transported to a nearby Baptist Church, and attended mid-week prayer meetings as well. No one seems to have questioned whether there was any aspect of compulsion involved in this religious observance; it was just accepted as part of the scheme of things at Cherokee. Moreover, there was already a strong Baptist mission effort among the Florida Seminoles by this time. 23

Academically, the school was oriented to traditional subjects found in the public schools of the day-English, literature, mathematics, history, etc. One of the girls did write about her typing course which she took two periods a day along with three academic periods and three "detail" periods-a euphemism for the domestic arts program. Because the Seminole children, particularly in the first few years, were older and had a checkered pattern of previous schooling, they were often assigned to a special class at Cherokee until they could be accurately placed in a grade. This placement was difficult at best. One of the girls who went in 1937 was fourteen, and would take eight years to finish. As one of her companions recalls: "We were kind of bigger than those school kids . . . we were about eight or nine and they put us in the third grade." 24 Another woman who attended in the 1940s reports: "I'd never gone to school before, and I went at sixteen in the first grade." 25 Most of the Indian children would attend but a few years, and for this reason there was a heavy emphasis on the basic subjects, plus the domestic arts program. It was assumed that most students would return to their reservations and put the skills which they had learned to use. ²⁶ In that sense the work which the girls and boys

James O. Buswell, III, "Florida Seminole Religious Ritual: Resistance and Change" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1972), 259-63.
 Interview with Mary Parker Bowers.
 Interview with Dorothy Tucker.
 During the 1930s there was a reorientation in the curriculum of the boarding schools to reflect the realities of the times. As Szasz points are "While the cells currently gustern was in part a matter of propositie." boarding schools to reflect the realities of the times. As Szasz points out, "While the self-supporting system was in part a matter of necessity, some kinds of school labor also served as training for students who were to return to their reservations. During the 1930s both Ryan and Beatty, with the firm approval of Collier, attempted to develop a vocational program to teach students skills that would be of use 'especially on their own reservations or in Indian villages or communities.' . . . The Depression gave added impetus to this policy. In 1931 Indian Service Schools were specifically directed to admit 'as many Indian Service Schools were specifically directed to admit 'as many

did around the school was an integral part of their planned acculturation. One Seminole who attended for only one year and a half still thought it was a valuable experience despite limited academic attainment: "They helped. We don't know how [to] fix a bed, for one thing. That's what we learned. We learned how to fix a bed, and we learned how to set the table. learned ironing clothes and folded sheets, and all this kind. They'd teach us to after school, they'd call it work, and they had some lunch and everything." Somewhat ruefully she also admitted, "That's all I learned."

Yet, during the years that they attended Cherokee a number of the Seminole youngsters did well academically, at least good enough to graduate. In 1945, after over eight years of study, Agnes Parker and Betty Mae Tiger became the first high school graduates of the Seminole people. Ms. Parker never returned to Florida permanently, but Betty Mae took nurses training and returned to serve her people. She married classmate Moses Jumper and raised a family, all of the children having completed public schools in Florida-a privilege not afforded their mother. In 1967 she was the first woman elected chairman of the Seminole Tribe of Florida.

In reflecting on their experiences at the Cherokee School after some forty years, the Seminole adults interviewed are almost unanimous in their acceptance of the education which they received, and are grateful for the opportunity which the boarding school offered them. When asked if it was worth the hardships, one of the 1937 group replied: "It's up to you, you want to make up your mind what you want to be. . . . I know we need our education. There was only a few of us that speak English at that time. . . . I thought to myself if I could go home and speak three or four words in English I could help my people." ²⁸The combination of desire for both personal advancement and to be of service to their people suffused virtually all of the accounts gathered to date. Perhaps the one Seminole who has spoken and written most extensively of her motivation, frustration, and fulfillment in seeking an education is Betty Mae

older boys and girls as possible' due to the pressures of the 'unemployment situation,' " Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 65.

27. Interview with Dorothy Tucker.

28. Interview with Mary Parker Bowers.

Jumper. In one sense she was the trailblazer who set a pattern for others to follow. When asked why she chose the difficult boarding school route, she answered: "Well there was no school here and we wasn't allowed to go to public school because we was Indians and there was no other school. I wanted to go to school . . . my father says that he got me in either Oklahoma or North Carolina. And so I told him North Carolina because in Oklahoma if I go there it would be a language to all of us, they talk in Creek and I do too, so I can't learn fast. But if I went to Cherokee I can't understand them so I figured that I would learn faster there. They have to talk to me in English. So yeah, I learned." 29

She also confirmed the gap which resulted between the children and the tribal elders as a result of this decision: "My people didn't believe in boarding school. They fought me going because my grandmother was really against it, because they didn't believe in school." Nevertheless she persisted, for, as she wrote to Mrs. Stranahan shortly before her graduation, "I hope that it will be possible for more to follow and as I saw children following my footsteps toward an education I knew then I would never quit school which my grandmother wished me very much to do, because it means everything to me to see my tribe take an interest toward the school which we need so badly. All the years I have been in school I pray that someday all my people may realize the needs of an education and that my influence may mean something to them." 30

A teacher who worked at the Cherokee School for over twenty-five years recalls the Seminole children, especially those who attended during the war years of the 1940s. 31 Betty Mae Tiger and her future husband, Moses Jumper, were among her favorite pupils, as was Betty's brother, Howard Tiger, the first Seminole to join the armed forces. He left school and served with the marines in the Pacific. After the war he returned to Cherokee and married one of the local Indian girls. During the war years life at the school was spartan. There were no field trips due to gas rationing, and sports activities were similarly curtailed.

Interview with Betty Mae Jumper.
 Kersey and Kushin, "Ivy Stranahan," 9.
 Interview with Mary Chiltoskey, June 6, 1977, tape (SEM 170A) and transcript in Oral History Archives, FSM.

Classes spent much of the time combing the area for scrap metal and writing to the Indian boys who were in the service. Mostly the old teacher remembered how well the Seminole children fit into the school life. They were neat, well-mannered, looked out for one another, and responded to the academic-vocational program. Once she accompanied the children on their return trip to Florida, and was shocked at their meager existence on the reservations there. This further confirmed her belief that the boarding school with its orderly routine, substantial food, and clean living conditions was a positive experience for these children who came from a background of poverty. Nevertheless, the residential facility was closed in 1954 as a result of improved roads. busing, and increased public school attendance throughout the Cherokee communities in North Carolina. This meant that the Seminoles and fragments of other tribes who had attended the school would have to transfer elsewhere in the federal boarding school system, or enter the public schools in their home states. Fortunately, following World War II most resistance to accepting Indian children into public schools had disappeared in Florida. and they enrolled in increasing numbers. Eventually, new federal day schools were opened on the remote Brighton and Big Cypress reservations. Only the latter is still operated under Bureau of Indian Affairs control. 32

The Seminole youngsters who went to Cherokee School were archetypical of those from their generation who had accepted the notion that the white man's ways could be adopted for survival. Figuratively, they were the first passengers on a forty-year bus ride in search of the assumed advantages of acculturation, For decades the United States Indian Service, aided and abetted by private societies, had as a goal the Christianization and assimilation of the Indian. In the 1930s and 1940s, despite the reforms of the Collier administration, this was still a viable goal. Indeed as one writer has pointed out, "Although Collier walked the thin line between proponents of assimilation and proponents of reservation heritage, he too believed that the Indian could achieve a balance between these two seemingly contradictory ways of life. . . . Both Beatty and Collier recognized that their

^{32.} Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "The Ahfachkee Day School," *Teachers College Record*, LXXII (September 1970), 93-103.

aims conflicted with almost all of the earlier goals of the Indian Service. However, at least in the 1930s, they did not seem to regard their goal-that the Indian choose the best of both worldsas unattainable " 33

It was in such an educational-ideological milieu that the Seminole students were fostered, in the full expectation that they could return to their reservations unchanged as Indians and as individuals except for the employment of newly-acquired skills and knowledge. This was a psychologically untenable position. as is now known, for at its root acculturation is a process of personality reorganization for adaptation to changed cultural conditions. 34 Having once undergone this process, the individual is never the same and often encounters a conflict between old and new value systems that can be devastating. Moreover, it was an essential tenet of Indian Service policy that schooling be accepted by the tribes, and, to the extent that those Seminoles who attended boarding school became role models among their people, the assimilation process was enhanced. Thus, they were singled out for special praise and support by both government functionaries and Indian aid societies in Florida, and played an important role in tribal renascence during the 1950s. 35 Education thus became synonymous with high status and economic gain for successive generations of young Seminoles.

In 1957, the Seminole Tribe of Florida was incorporated under provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act, and for more than two decades the elected tribal leaders uncritically espoused the idea that more and better schooling was needed for Indian voungsters. 36 Attendance by Seminole youngsters in public schools and Bureau of Indian Affairs day schools steadily increased during that period. Despite this, relatively few Indians were successful

33. Szasz, Education and the American Indian, 76.

Szasz, Education and the American Indian, 76.
 Alan R. Beals with George and Louise Spindler, Culture in Process (New York, 1967), 242-47; George and Louise Spindler, Education and Culture (New York, 1963), 23-28, 34-38.
 William C. Sturtevant, "Creek into Seminole," in North American Indians in Historical Perspective, ed. by Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (New York, 1971), 118-19.
 Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Educating the Seminole Indians of Florida, 1879-1970," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLIX (July 1979), 33-35. A description of tribal organization is found in Merwyn S. Garbarino, Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community (New York, 1972), 86-89. Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community (New York, 1972), 86-89.

in the white man's educational system. ³⁷ That was attested to by limited academic achievement, a high dropout rate, and few high school or college graduates until the late 1970s. Ironically, at a time when their students were beginning to attain greater academic success, an increasing number of Seminoles were questioning whether an education totally dominated by non-Indian norms was any longer acceptable-a position taken by their Miccosukee brothers, a decade earlier. The Miccosukee Tribe, closely linked by culture, language, and kinship to the Seminole, were one of the first tribes in the nation to contract directly and thereby control their educational progam. 38 The result was reportedly a school totally structured around Miccosukee cultural norms while preparing the youngsters academically to succeed outside the Indian community. Although it is impossible at this time to judge the academic success of the Miccosukee school, there is research which tends to confirm that it has produced positive psychological results among Indian youngsters.

In the future the education of Seminole children, too, must become more responsive to the values and needs of the Indian people. As the tribe expands its dialogue with public schools over the implementation of the Indian Education Act of 1972 and P.L. 94-142 education for handicapped children, and perhaps contracts with the federal government to assume control of the day school on Big Cypress Reservation, an Indian voice will increasingly make itself heard in policy decisions affecting Seminole students. It would appear that at long last, by the 1970s and the early 1980s, the Seminoles' symbolic bus ride had ended.

^{37.} There is an extensive literature dealing with the cultural conflicts which inhibit the educational advancement of Indian children. One of the most provocative recent discussions of this issue is found in Vine Deloria, Jr.. "The Indian Student Amid American Inconsistencies," in *The Schooling of Native Americans*, Thomas Thompson, ed. (Washington, 1978), 9-28.

^{38.} Tyler, A History of Indian Policy, 318.
39. Harriet S. Lefley, "Effects of a Cultural Heritage program on the Self-Concept of Miccosukee Indian Children," Journal of Educational Research, LXVII (July-August 1974), 462-66.

RUBE BURROW, "KING OF OUTLAWS," AND HIS FLORIDA ADVENTURES

by William Warren Rogers, Jr.*

A LLEN AND MARTHA BURROW named their second son and fourth child Reuben Huston. Born in northwest Alabama's Lamar County sometime in 1854 or 1855, Rube, as he came to be called, grew up working on the family farm. He loved to hunt and fish, and reportedly had a quick wit about him. Burrow was not enthusiastic about attending school, and, for reasons unknown, about 1874 left for Texas. Besides the legitimate avocation of farming and the less respectable occupation of bartending. Burrow adopted another more dangerous way of making a livelihood-train robbing. When he returned to Alabama late in 1887, the record he and his brother James Buchanan, who had followed Rube west, left behind was hardly exemplary. The Burrow brothers were wanted in Texas for four train robberies and in Genoa. Arkansas, for another, 1 Rube became Alabama's most famous and notorious outlaw. He carved a record that spawned nine "dime novels" and many legends and folk tales. One of his most notorious adventures took place in Florida. ²

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Atlanta Constitution, November 3, 1889; Montgomery Advertiser, February 26, 1888.

^{2.} The most accurate of these dime novels is George W. Agee's Rube Burrow, King Of Outlaws and His Band of Train Robbers, An Accurate and Faithful History of Their Exploits and Adventures (Chicago, 1890). Agee was superintendent of the Western Division of the Southern Express Company and was instrumental in coordinating efforts to capture Burrow. The series of paperbacks that followed possessed distinctive features, but also borrowed prolifically from Agee's standard account. The life of the outlaw inspired at least nine of these typically melodramatic paperbacks: George Henry Barnum (Publisher), Rube Burrows, [sic] the famous outlaw, murderer and train robber (Chicago, 1890); Harry Hawkeye, Rube Burrows [sic] The Outlaw, A Book of Thrilling Adventure And Desperate Deeds, Narrating Actual Facts And Obtained From Principals And Eyewitnesses (Baltimore, 1908); Clarence E. Ray, The Alabama Wolf (Chicago, n.d.); Rube Burrow King of outlaws and train robbers. A faithful history of his exploits and adventures (Chicago, n.d.); F. E. Stout, Rube Burrows [sic]: or, life, exploits and death of the bold train robber (Aberdeen, Mississippi, 1890);

Early in 1888. Texas lawmen traced the Burrow brothers to Alabama, but failed to capture them, Cooperating with Alabama officials, they did succeed in driving the desperadoes out of Lamar County. During their flight. Jim was captured in Montgomery, but Rube escaped after shooting a newspaper employee and eluding Montgomery police officers. ³ He returned to Lamar County where his family hid him. At Burrow's request, Leonard Culvert Brock, alias Joe Jackson, a Texas acquaintance, came to Lamar County. 4 Together, they robbed a train at Duckhill, Mississippi, in December 1888. The following July, Rube killed a Lamar County postmaster who refused to deliver a mail order disguise-a wig and false whiskers-that the outlaw had ordered from Chicago. Two months later Burrow and Brock held up another train, this time at Buckatunna, Mississippi. ⁵ Soon the publicity attendant to their crimes made north Alabama a precarious sanctuary. Burrow and Brock made plans to head south-to an unsettled, wild, and hopefully safer setting-the Panhandle of Florida. Burrow's adventures in Florida led to his final undoing and death.

In November 1889. Rube and Leonard were transported by Rube's father in a covered wagon across the state line to Columbus, Mississippi. At the same time, Jim Cash, Rube's brother-in-law, drove Rube's ox cart to Columbus where the two parties rendezvoused outside of town. Rube and Leonard departed the next morning. They headed almost due south, and by mid-December reached Flomaton, Alabama, a settlement just north of the Florida border. There the two outlaws separated, agreeing to meet again on February 20, 1890. Their plan was to rob a train at Dyer Station in southwest Alabama. For the present. Brock traveled by rail to a relative's home in Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, and Burrow crossed into Florida and into Santa Rosa County.

William Ward, Rube Burrow of Sunny Alabama, The True Story of The Prince of Train Robbers (Cleveland, n.d.); Marline Monley, Rube Burrow, or Life, Exploits, and Death of the Bold Train Robber (New York, 1898); Complete official history of Rube Burrows [sic], and his celebrated gang. A study of his life and exploits, without a parallel in crime and adventure (Birmingham, n.d.).

3. Montgomery Advertiser, January 16, 23, 24, 1888.

4. Leonard Culvert Brock, "Confessions of Leonard Culvert Brock," ed. by

Agee, in *King of Outlaws*, 109-10.

5. Jackson *New Mississippian*, December 19, 1888, October 9, 1889; Birming-

ham Age-Herald, July 19, 1889.

When Rube, his brother, and another Texas companion had robbed the train at Genoa, Arkansas, the victim was the Southern Express Company. It was that company's private detectives, and those hired from the Pinkerton Detective Agency, even more than state lawmen, who maintained a relentless pursuit for the outlaws. Detectives who had kept the Burrow home under surveilance soon concluded that Rube and his partner had left Lamar County. In detective Thomas Jackson, Southern Express Company Superintendent George Agee had hired a diligent and competent man. Jackson's guess that Rube used Cash's wagon to make his escape was confirmed when the detective found no corroboration of Cash's story that the wagon had been sold at Columbus. Jackson and the lawmen reasoned that although the two men might start for Texas, their destination was probably south Alabama or northwest Florida. After several false starts, Jackson, about the middle of January 1890, picked up the outlaws' trail at Carrollton, Mississippi. He next heard of them at Gainestown. Alabama, where they had crossed the Alabama River. At Flomaton, the detective learned that men answering the descriptions of the train robbers had inquired about logging camps in northwest Florida. The persistent sleuth dropped the pursuit of one outlaw and concentrated on following the trail into Florida of a man calling himself "Ward" who answered the description of Rube. 6

Santa Rosa County, the territory into which Rube had escaped, lay between Escambia and Okaloosa counties. Large parts of Santa Rosa County were wild and unsettled. Tangled canebrakes, hidden lagoons, and murky swamps, bisected by the Blackwater and Yellow rivers which emptied into the Gulf, made much of its 673,400 acres inaccessible marshland. ⁷ It was a good place for a man trying to elude the law. Rube found employment two weeks before Christmas with W. B. Allen's logging company. He hauled feed from Broxson's Ferry to Allen's camp at the head of Doe Branch on Live Oak Creek, some eighteen miles distance 8

^{6.} Abbeville (Alabama) Times, February 14, 1890; "Confessions of Leonard

<sup>Brock," 109, 128-29.
Tallahassee Floridian, February 26, 1890; Martin Luther King, History of Santa Rosa County, A King's Country (Milton, Florida, 1972), 6.
Pensacola Daily News, February 19, 1890.</sup>

Rube, or Ward as the loggers knew him, was a likeable but mysterious figure. He claimed that he was from Georgia, but otherwise little was known or inquired of his background. Members of Florida's logging camps could remain as anonymous as they chose. The men noticed that work never seemed to interfere with Ward's love for hunting. To William Lowery, who later described the fugitive as a "good looking man . . . who liked a joke, and would take one." Rube once remarked that he did not care if he worked or not. For a while the job at Allen's logging camp allowed Burrow the seclusion and security that he needed. 5

Detective Jackson's first dispatches to Superintendent Agee were guardedly optimistic. Eventually, his untiring efforts paid off. He asked questions in Milton, the county seat, and learned that a stranger fitting Rube's description had recently been engaged to haul feed for W. B. Allen, Jackson established further that the suspect showed up each Monday and Thursday at Broxson's Ferry (sometimes referred to as Faulk's Ferry) on the Yellow River to load the feed from a boat. Invariably, he and his yoke of steers-called Mack and Brandy by Rube-arrived between two and three o'clock in the afternoon. After loading the cargo, Rube backtracked several hundred yards to the home of Joseph R. Broxson, the ferryman. He spent the night there with the family before returning to the logging camp the next morning. 10

Positive that the man described to him was Rube Burrow, and confident that he could capture the fugitive, Jackson wired a coded message from Milton to Superintendent Agee: "Expect to secure title to tract one, about ten miles south of here, Wednesday. The papers are in good shape." 11

Early on the morning of February 6, 1890, detectives Jackson, Vincent, and Shelton, accompanied by three citizens of Milton, started for Broxson's Ferry. The hack carrying the men soon abandoned the graded road near Milton for the more rutted path that led into the heart of Tighteye Swamp. There were

Ind.
 Madison Recorder, February 14, 1890; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 8, 1890; Pensacola Daily News, February 8, 1890; Abbeville Times, February 14, 1890.
 Agee, King of Outlaws, 98.

few signs of life at Broxson's Ferry. Broxson and his son Willie were there, and the detectives discovered a small boat loaded with supplies that Rube was scheduled to pick up. On either side of the river there was a narrow dirt road that cut through the dense jungle of bamboo stalks as it approached the landing. The men hid behind large fallen cypress trees and other foliage on either side of the road. Armed with double-barrelled shotguns, the posse planned to cover the outlaw as Jackson ordered him to surrender. They hoped to take Burrow alive, but were prepared for any contingency.

Broxson, like other Floridians who had contact with the outlaw, was ignorant of Rube's past. He wondered who the stranger he had befriended really was. Why were six grim and heavily armed men so determined to capture him? From their simple and direct business relationship the two men had developed an odd friendship. Over supper prepared by Mrs. Broxson, Rube often passed along what news he had heard. Later, warmed by Broxson's whisky, Rube would entertain the family with anecdotes and stories. Undoubtedly Broxson was shocked to learn that the talkative guest he had fed and housed was a train robber. Although reluctant to help trap the man detective Jackson had identified as the notorious Rube Burrow. Broxson was left with little choice. The posse sealed off the area and compelled Broxson and his son Willie to wait with them. Broxson was apprehensive about the safety of his son, and persuaded Jackson to let Willie go home.

Detective Jackson stationed Broxson at a point up the dirt road from where he and his men lay in ambush. The ferryman was to warn them of Rube's approach, but by mid-afternoon there was no sign of the outlaw. A black logger had appeared that morning from the logging camp with the information that Rube had been detained because of a sick ox. Having no other transportation, he might not come at all, or at least not until the following day. With approaching darkness the posse's hopes fell. Restless and tired, the detectives built a large fire and consumed, according to Broxson, a lot of whisky to keep warm. Detective Jackson proposed that they move up to an abandoned schoolhouse across from the ferryman's home. If Rube did finally appear, Jackson believed, he would plan to spend the night with the Broxsons and wait until morning to load supplies. Because



Rube Burrow.

All illustrations are from William James Wells, Pioneering in the Panhandle.

Rube might somehow discover the posse's presence or have some sense of his danger and escape, Jackson felt it imperative for the posse to intercept Rube.

Rube did arrive, it was almost dusk when he knocked on the Broxson cabin door. The detective and his group were then between the landing and the schoolhouse. Alerted by Broxson, they quickly found cover. The hack driver who was trailing behind turned off the road. Had Rube been warned by Mrs. Broxson? Perhaps the outlaw detected something unnatural in her tone of voice and actions when she told him that her husband was down at the ferry landing with some hunters. Or had some sense of danger warned him of the waiting entrapment? The All previous reward circulars issued by this Agency, referring to this robbery are annulled.



\$700 REWARD.

REUBEN HOUSTON BURROW alias RUBE BURROW charged with highway redbery, having, with his brother, JAMES BUCHANAN BURROW, and others, wearing masks on the night of FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1887, boarded the north bound train on the St. Louis, Arkansas & Texas R. R. at Genoa Station, Ark., and compelled the mesenger of the SOUTHERN EXPRESS COMPANY to surrender the keys of his safe, which they rifled of \$3,500. James Buchanan Burrow and three others of the robbers, have since been arrested.

In an attempt to arrest Reuben Burrow and Jim Burrow in Montgomery, Alabama. on January 23, 1888, Reuben Burrow shot Mr. Neil Bray, a compositor on the Advertiser, who had been called on and was aiding the officer in his arrest.

DESCRIPTION.

REUBEN HQUSTON BUBROW is about 32 years of age, 6 feet in height, weighs about 160 pounds, blue eyes which do not look a person full in the face, round head, wears 71 hat, full forchead, face broad under the ears but thin near the mouth, short, inclined to pug-shaped nose, swarthy or sandy complexion, light sandy hair, thin light moustache, uses Hair Vigor to darken hair; left arm is a little-shorter than the right, caused by having been broken at bend of arm; rather a lounging gait, carrying his hands in his pockets in a leisurely way.

Usually wears dark clothes and woolen shirts, a No. 8 boot, but no jewelry. Does not use to-bacco; drinks, but not to excess; does not gamble, but can play the game of seven-up; is somewhat of a country story teller, relating stories of snake, dog and cat fights, etc. Is a good horseman, carries a 45-calibre pistol and is a good shot.

He was born in Lamar county, Alabama, is married, and has two children who are now with his father in Alabama. His wife is residing with her father, Mr. Hoover, at Alexandria, Alabama. He resided for 14 years in Wise and Erath counties, Texas; has worked for the Mexican Central R. R., and is a member of the Masonic fraternity.

The Southern Express Company, and the St. Louis. Arkansas and Texas Railroad Co. have jointly offered a reward of Five Hundred Bollars (\$500), and in addition the Governor of the State of Arkansas has offered a reward of Two Hundred Bollars (\$200) for the arrest, delivery to the authorities of the State of Arkansas, and conviction of Reuben Houston Burrow

Send information to

Or to any Superintendent of

C. T. CAMPBELL,

Pinkerton's National Detective Agency,

Sup't Texas Express,

TEXARKANA. ANK.

WM. A. PINKERTON, General Superintendent Western Division, Chicago, III.

Chicago, February so, 1868.

answer cannot be known for sure, but Rube ventured no closer to the ferry. He unyoked his oxen and turned them loose, and he then quietly disappeared into the woods. Later, when questioned, Mrs. Broxson told the posse that she did not know which way Rube had gone. ¹²

Without any other recourse, Jackson's posse stood guard over Rube's wagon and the oxen which were still in the area throughout the night. The vigil was in vain; the men did not really expect Rube to return. Broxson refused to drive Burrow's team down to the ferry because he feared that the outlaw, if he was still around, might shoot him from ambush. Finally, one of Jackson's men positioned himself on the tongue of the wagon between the two steers and drove the oxen to the river landing. Rube, alias Ward, returned to Allen's logging camp sometime during the night, claiming that the detectives were "getting \$6 a day to watch him, and he was getting \$3 per day to keep out of the way." Rube collected some provisions and left about eight o'clock the next morning. ¹³

On Friday, the detectives returned to Milton where Rube's oxen and wagon were sold. That the outlaw's prize team brought \$80 was small consolation to Detective Jackson and Superintendent Agee. The buyer proudly promised that he would place the cart and the animals on exhibit at the upcoming Mardi Gras. As a sarcastic journalist concluded, the end result was that the Southern Express Company was "over a cart and yoke of oxen and short a train robber." ¹⁴

For obvious reasons, Rube never bothered to collect the wages W. B. Allen owed him. Nor did he keep his February 20 date with Leonard Brock at Dyer Station. Instead, Rube retreated deeper into Santa Rosa County to an even more isolated location. Around East Bay, in the county's southernmost part, Rube found refuge with James H. Wells. Burrow paid Wells, who had four children and a wife, to hide him and to give him food. The hunted man may have represented himself as unjustly "out-

Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, February 8, 1890; Pensacola Daily News, February 8, 1890; Abbeville Times, February 14, 1890; William James Wells, Pioneering in the Panhandle (Fort Walton Beach, 1976), 73-75.

^{13.} Pensacola *Daily News*, February 19, 1890; Abbeville *Times*, February 14, 1890.

^{14.} Abbeville Times, February 14, 1890.

lawed," playing on the older man's sympathies. During the spring and summer of 1890 Rube stayed in close touch with the Wells family. The elderly and partially paralyzed man was glad to have his help, and if he had any suspicions, he kept them to himself. ¹⁵ Rube was content to remain with the Wells family; he especially enjoyed the companionship of the two daughters, for whom he played "the part of the gav Lothario." 16 Besides. the isolated home made an ideal hideout.

Detective Jackson's failure to capture Burrow disappointed Superintendent Agee, and may have shaken his confidence in the Pinkerton agent. In March 1890, Agee made a unique proposal to Governor Thomas Seay of Alabama. Agee was informed that ex-Sheriff John Penton of Covington County, Alabama, had offered to catch Rube Burrow in return for a grant of clemency for himself. Penton was wanted for murder in Alabama and had fled to Florida. Agee forwarded the proposal to Governor Seav. He saw nothing wrong in employing one criminal to catch another; justice would be served by rewarding Penton with his freedom in exchange for his services. As Agee wrote Seay, "the capture of so notorious an outlaw as Reuben Houston Burrow would be endorsed by the people." 17 Governor Seay replied that while he shared Agee's concern and admired his "laudable zeal," he hoped to capture both criminals eventually and could not grant the pardon on such terms. 18

In July 1890, Leonard Brock was captured in Mississippi near Lamar County. To avoid going to the gallows, the outlaw made a lengthy confession to Southern Express officials, providing them with a full account of his and Rube's experiences. Although not leading directly to the capture of Rube, Leonard's confession gave Southern Express officials a clearer understanding of the man they sought. Beyond that, Brock's testimony confirmed what Superintendent Agee. Detective Jackson, and others had

^{15.} Jackson Clarion Ledger, November 12, 1890.

^{16.} Pensacola Daily News, October 11, 1890; Mobile Press Register, October 10, 1890.

George W. Agee to Thomas Seay, March 23, 1890, Governor Thomas Seay Official Correspondence, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama, Book T, 113.

18. Seay to Agee, March 26, 1890, Seay Official Correspondence, Book T, 113.

already suspected-that Rube Burrow was not likely to be taken alive. 19

Cheered by Brock's capture, Detective Jackson returned to Florida sometime around August 1. With the help of John Barnes, a part Indian who farmed near Castleberry, Jackson renewed the chase for Burrow. Barnes was a native of the region and a good guide. He had sawed logs with Burrow two years earlier, and would know the outlaw by sight. He was also familiar with the backpaths and trails that Rube might follow.

Inquiry for Rube led Jackson and Barnes to James Wells at Prairie Creek. Late in August, Barnes visited Wells, saying he was thinking about moving to Santa Rosa County, and asked to meet Rube. Wells agreed to set up a rendezvous, and through an intermediary, probably one of Wells's sons, word was sent to Rube. Barnes was to return in a week, August 31, for the meeting. Barnes then left to inform Detective Jackson of the latest developments.

Why Rube delayed puzzled the detective. Part of the answerthat Burrow suspected a trap and took pleasure in eluding those who harrassed him-was never suspected. Also, as Detective Jackson later realized, Rube hoped to create the false impression that he wanted to lie low. John Barnes arrived on the appointed date only to learn that Rube had left the area, crossing the state line into Alabama. ²⁰

Events proved that Rube was still up to his old tricks. As the Louisville and Nashville train, the "Marion," Number 6, pulled out of the Flomaton station at 10:30 Sunday night, September 1, a dark-clad figure jumped aboard. Fireman John Duval, busy shoveling coal into the engine furnace, took little notice of the figure, but moments later the black fireman looked up when the stranger ordered him to move away from the furnace. A closer inspection of the tall intruder revealed that he wore a dark rubber jacket, grey trousers, and a black cap further draped by a felt hat. A red bandana was tied across his face. In the dark, Duval did not see the two large pistols that the robber was wearing, but Engineer Bob Sizer spotted them immediately. In fact, Duval mistook the outlaw for a freeloader and assumed

^{19. &}quot;Confessions of Leonard Brock," 107-34.

^{20.} Agee, King of Outlaws, 144-46.

that he wore the bandana perhaps because he suffered from a toothache. But Sizer realized how dangerous the situation was, and told Duval to obey the robber.

Rube ordered Engineer Sizer to continue to Big Escambia Creek about a half mile down the track. The outlaw gave more explicit instructions as the train neared the creek: he told the engineer to stop the express car and engine just across the trestle, The passenger cars were left behind on the bridge and over the water. The trestle ploy neutralized any aid from people in the cars-a technique Rube had used successfully in the past.

At gunpoint, Rube forced the engineer and fireman down from the train. Before they reached the express car, Duval broke toward the passenger cars. The shots Rube fired at the fleeing black missed and alerted Express messenger Archie Johnson, who guessed that a robbery was underway and armed himself with a pistol.

Johnson's fears were quickly confirmed. From outside, Rube called to him to open the express car door. When he refused, Burrow handed Engineer Sizer a mallet (according to some reports, it was a crowbar) to break in the door. As Sizer slowly swung the heavy weapon, Rube ordered him to hurry or he would kill him. According to a news report, "as he pounded the door, the express messenger was heard to cock his gun, and Sizer cried: 'Don't shoot, Archie, it's me. He's making me do it.' " The entry was made, and Rube stepped into the car behind Sizer. Burrow leveled two pistols over Sizer's shoulders, placing the engineer directly in the line of fire. Understandably, Sizer pleaded with the express agent not to resist. Archie Johnson realized that "with the two pistols still lingering in close proximity to his [the engineer's] cranium" he had no choice but to surrender his gun. ²¹

In the cars, Conductor James Smith was puzzled by the unscheduled stop. From an outside platform, he heard the report of two pistol shots and Duval's excited cry, "Robbers, Robbers, Robbers." ²²He quickly got a gun, and joined Duval, hoping to organize resistance among the passengers. Instead, they started

Madison Recorder, September 5, 1890; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 3, 1890; Pensacola Daily News, September 3, 1890; Brewton (Alabama) Standard Gauge, September 4, 1890.
 Mobile Press Register, September 3, 1890.

a mad scramble back to comparative safety of the first-class car. One woman and her daughter demanded permission to walk back to the closest train station. In a frantic rush to conceal personal property, another passenger inadvertently locked himself in a closet where he remained a prisoner for the next half hour. Others huddled together, expecting what they thought was an outlaw gang to burst in at any moment.

In the meantime, inside the express car, Rube had thrown down a cloth sack and instructed Johnson to fill it with the vault's contents. As Sizer held the bag open, Johnson methodically emptied the safe. Rube resorted to his train robbing skill as the transfer went on. He fired his pistol first down one side of the train, then down the other, creating the impression that a gang of robbers was in action. The outlaw expended fifteen to twenty shots. After emptying one revolver, he held the six-shooter under his arm, deftley reloading with one hand, as he continued to shoot the other pistol. The ruse worked. Afterwards, passengers testified that the robbery had been the work of five or six men. 23 Engineer Sizer knew otherwise. He later commented: "There was only one robber and coming the way he did there was no need for any more." 24 Noticing that Johnson had placed a large and presumably worthless book in his sack, Rube noted that he was no bookkeeper, and gathered up the rest of his loot. With a loud cry, he jumped off the train and dissappeared into the woods. ²⁵ It was his seventh robbery, and the first he had staged alone.

After the Flomaton robbery, there was a furious reaction in Alabama and Florida, where Rube had found asylum at Prairie Creek. There seemed to be little doubt about the robber's identity. The Mobile Press Register reported that "the celebrated Rube Burrow was recently seen in Florida and there is a possibility that he ordered the assembling of his gang at Flomaton, and joined them there to superintend the proper conduct of the affair." ²⁶ Engineer Sizer's description of the robber fit Burrow

Ibid.; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 3, 1890; Brewton Standard Gauge, September 4, 1890.
 Mobile Press Register, September 3, 1890.
 Madison Recorder, September 5, 1890; Pensacola Daily News, September 3, 1890; Mobile Press Register, September 2, 1890.
 Mobile Press Register, September 2, 1890.

exactly, and it was a profile that informed sources instantly recognized. Given Rube's known hideout in northwest Florida and his favorite criminal occupation, his involvement had to be assumed. The audacity of the robbery further suggested his complicity. In time, Rube's guilt became more certain. The Pensacola *News* claimed several days later that it is the "generally held opinion that Burrows [sic] is the man." ²⁷

Florida remained one of the few southern states that had not experienced the depredations of train robbers, and the Jacksonville Standard hoped that the record could be maintained. The Jacksonville paper noted that the Mobile Press Register's boast that no train robbers would be tolerated in Alabama was hardly accurate. The Standard continued: "We wish Col. Burrow to understand that Floridians are making no brags about their immunity (which is but seeming) in the matter of railroad train robberies. They have too great a respect for the esprit de corps which ever characterizes the gentleman." 28

Pursuit was quickly organized. Early on the morning of September 2, only hours after the robbery, Detective Charles Kinsler was awakened at his home by William Stewart, a special agent for the Louisville and Nashville railroad. Before dawn, the officials left Mobile by train, and by ten o'clock that morning they were at Flomaton. A day was lost waiting to confer with various Southern Express officials, including Superintendent Agee who had arrived from Memphis.

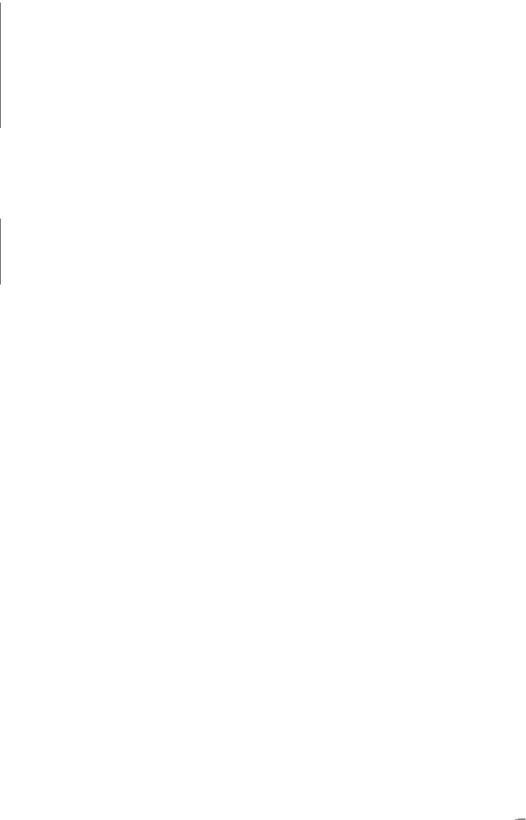
In the meantime, local posses had been organized at Flomaton, and mounted men combed the adjoining territory to the north and south. Escambia County Deputy Sheriff Tom Cusachs, at the insistence of Superintendent Saltmarsh, strategically placed nine men along the Escambia River. Officials hoped that the river could be sealed off as a southern avenue of escape. 29

Rube Burrow's name was mentioned in most accounts of the hold up. But at least one Florida paper, the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, thought that sensation seeking journalists had reached a hasty conclusion! "If Rube Burrows [sic] has to suffer punishment for half the sins laid at his door, the keeper of the

Pensacola Daily News, September 3, 1890.

Jacksonville Standard, cited in Pensacola Daily News, September 6, 1890.
 Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 4, 1890; Pensacola Daily News, September 4, 1890; Mobile Press Register, October 12, 1890.





infernal regions will have to devise some new method of torture to make the punishment fit the crime in Rube's case." 30 But the detectives certainly did not believe that Burrow was innocent in this case. Superintendent Agee, and detectives Thomas Jackson and Charles Fischer, agreed that the Louisville and Nashville robber had been Rube Burrow

The authorities assumed that Rube had retreated into the swamps of west Florida. Two search parties were organized at Flomaton, Agee, Jackson, and Fischer went directly to Milton where they set up a base of operations. Deputy sheriffs John Johnson and G. K. McCloud joined detectives Kinsler and Stewart to form another posse. This second group ventured on foot down the Escambia River to a point twelve miles below Flomaton. There they discovered that a skiff had been stolen from its moorings-the small boat was found concealed in some brush across the river. This theft seemed to validate earlier deductions that after the robbery. Burrow had followed the Escambia River south, crossed it, and headed for the wilds of Santa Rosa County.

Pursuit led by Detective Kinsler pressed for thirty-five miles through heavy canebrakes and swamps before finding any sign of Rube. Finally, on one of the area's few public roads, they encountered a traveling minister, who remembered seeing a man who answered the outlaw's description. The meeting had occurred a day and a half earlier at Black Water Creek. The posse quickly pushed on to Milton to secure horses and follow the trail. There the pursuit suddenly ended when Superintendent Agee called a temporary halt to the activities with the plan of going back into action later 31

This temporary halt in the search for Rube did not stop speculation. In Selma, Alabama, a traveling doctor was mistaken for Rube Burrow and was arrested, but embarrassed authorities quickly released him. Rumors circulated in Santa Rosa County that Rube and Burrell Martin, another desperado, had joined forces. 32 Several sources reported that Rube and Captain Eugene Bunch, an outlaw Burrow had been mistaken for on occasion.

Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 4, 1890.
 Pensacola Daily News, September 3, 1890; Brewton Standard Gauge, September 4, 1890; Mobile Press Register, September 4, October 10, 1890.
 Pensacola Daily News, September 3, 1890; Eufaula, Alabama, Daily Times, September 7, 1890.

were bivouacked in a dense swamp near Mississippi City. Mississippi. Detective Fischer left Florida and rushed to that vicinity. Sources convinced him that Rube meant to rob a train out of New Orleans on the night of September 11. The Southern Express agent anticipated Rube; he placed three detectives armed with Winchester rifles in the express car of the Mobile-bound train. Fischer's carefully laid plans proved unproductive. "The train went through without a ripple of disturbance, and at Mobile the detectives crawled out of their hiding place sore and stiff, while Mr. Burrows [sic] was probably laughing in his sleeve." ³³ The detective ruefully admitted that the reports of Rube's presence in the Mississippi City area were "more sensational than truthful." 34 Besides, the Pensacola Daily News believed that if his safety was threatened in Mississippi, Rube could always "make a sea voyage to the hospitable shores of Santa Rosa county." ³⁵

Although in monetary terms the Flomaton robbery had not netted much for Rube, he got only \$224, the Southern Express Company was embarrassed at the ease with which a single man could hold up the train. Detective Fischer issued a circular letter to law enforcement officers in surrounding states. His note described Rube as a man with "the habit of telling funny stories, and also of quoting and ridiculing the Bible." A \$2,000 reward was placed on the outlaw's head.

The search for Rube was joined again on September 13, when Jackson, Kinsler, Stewart, and Johnson, led by John Barnes, departed by rail from Flomaton. At Good Range, Florida, they disembarked and turned south. The posse's destination was the isolated home of James Wells where Rube was thought to be hiding. Anxious to surprise the outlaw, the party traveled at night over countryside Kinsler described as "a marshy wilderness almost impassable in the day." ³⁷ Yet, Barnes's sense of direction was sure, and about four o'clock several mornings later the party reached Wells's house. He and Kinsler moved up to within 400 yards of the house. Through marine glasses they spotted Rube sitting at a table surrounded by the Wells family.

Pensacola Daily News, September 14, 1890.
 Montgomery Advertiser, September 19, 1890.
 Pensacola Daily News, September 14, 1890.

^{36.} Ibid., October 3, 1890.

^{37.} Mobile Press Register, October 12, 1890.

About that time Wells's two sons walked out carrying ox whips which they cracked loudly. Jackson, Stewart, and Johnson were unable to see the boys in the dense foilage and mistook the crack of the whips for rifle fire. Abandoning all caution, they crashed through the brush toward the cabin. Their hurried approach immediately alerted Rube, and he slipped into the swamps and was quickly lost from sight. Once again an uncanny mixture of luck and premonition had saved the outlaw.

The confused posse decided to camp within sight of the Wells's place and surprise its occupants the next morning. To try to follow the outlaw would have been an impossible task. Besides, Rube might conceivably return. At 7:30 the six men walked unannounced into the house and confronted Wells. Resenting their abrupt entry, he denied accusations that he was harboring a criminal and refused to cooperate in any way. The only other person there at the time was Wells's daughter, and she reluctantly served the intruders breakfast when they said that otherwise the food would be taken. Shortly, Mrs. Wells arrived carrying a sack which she tried to conceal, but in which the men found bread crumbs. They believed that someone had taken food to Rube sometime during the night or early morning. Mrs. Wells's objections did not prevent the men from searching the house, which yielded notes with W. R. Ward's signature. There was also \$40, clothes, and a suit purchased by Rube after an earlier robbery-items left behind by the outlaw in his hasty exit. The money was identified as part of the loot taken at Flomaton. Mrs. Wells at first claimed that the clothes belonged to her sons, but later admitted that they were the property of the man she knew as Ward. 38

Rube Burrow fled Florida in late September 1890. The bandit's Florida interlude had been a dramatic one, and the wilds of Santa Rosa County had well served the needs of Rube's untamed spirit. He never reached his destination in Lamar County. Instead, his pursuers caught up with him in the little community of Myrtlewood in Marengo County, Alabama. Ironically, Rube was not captured by the express company detectives, but by two black sharecroppers. Rube was taken to

^{38.} Pensacola Daily News, October 11, 1890; Mobile Press Register, October 10, 12, 1890.

the jail at Linden, the seat of Marengo County, and heavy irons were placed on his legs. His hands were tied, but at supper they were freed and never retied. He convinced his guards to bring him his grub sack; he was hungry and he said that there was food in it. As it turned out, there was also a gun in the bag, which he aimed at the guards, forcing them to release him. However, his escape was short-lived; Burrow was killed in a predawn shootout in Linden on October 9, 1890.

After an inquest at Demopolis, Alabama, Rube's body was unceremoniously placed in a rough pine coffin and shipped by rail to Birmingham. Despite the prohibitive 3:00 a.m. hour, a crowd of several hundred gathered at Birmingham to view the corpse before it was shipped home to Lamar County. On the afternoon of October 10, 1890, Rube's family prepared a grave for the thirty-four year old outlaw and the "remains of Rube Burrow were consigned to the only perfect rest they had ever known." ³⁹ The "King of Outlaws" lives on in the legends of west Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi.

^{39.} New Orleans Times Picauyne, October 11, 1890.

"THE CASE AND PETITION OF HIS MAJESTY'S LOYAL SUBJECTS, LATE OF WEST FLORIDA"

Introduction and Edited by J. BARTON STARR *

HEN the American Revolution broke out, West Florida did not join the rebels but remained loyal to Great Britain. While the records are meager and scattered for the period after the Revolution when Florida was retroceded to Spain, the evidence suggests that at least a majority, perhaps as many as two-thirds of the loyalists, remained in West Florida. But what of the other thirty to fifty per cent?

In his speech to Parliament on December 5, 1782, George III announced that he had ordered an inquiry into the situation of the American loyalists, "and I trust that you will agree with me, that a due and generous attention ought to be shewn [sic] towards those, who have relinquished their properties or professions from motives of loyalty to me, or attachment to the mother country." ¹ Parliament consequently created the Commission for Enquiring into the Losses, Services, and Claims of the American Loyalists, which heard the claims of the loyalists and recommended to Parliament what compensation the mother country should grant.

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Thomas C. Hansard, The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803, 36 vols. (London, 1806-1820), XXIII, 208. The history of the Loyalists' Claims Commission is treated by a member of the commission in John Eardley-Wilmot, Historical View of the Commission for Enquiring into the Losses, Services, and Claims of the American Loyalists. . . (London, 1815). The notes of another commissioner, Daniel Parker Coke, are in Hugh Edward Egerton, ed., The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785 (Oxford, 1915). Modern accounts of the commission are Wallace Brown, The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalists Claimants (Providence, 1965); Wallace Brown, The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution (New York, 1969); Eugene R. Fingerhut, "Uses and Abuses of American Loyalists' Claims," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., XXV (1968), 245-58.

When the commission presented its first report in 1784, it contained a section stating areas into which the inquiry would not extend. The first paragraph indicated that the commission would not accept claims for "Losses sustained in East and West Florida or elsewhere out of the limits of the United States We have considered the inquiry necessarily confined to these limits; as we do not conceive Parliament to have had in its contemplation any other description of sufferers than such as have sustained losses in the revolted provinces, in consequence of their adherence to the British government." ²

A law, however, soon passed in Parliament-probably at the urging of lovalists from East and West Florida-providing for an investigation into claims in these colonies. While it is not clear why Parliament extended the scope of the investigation. there is no question that the lovalists from West Florida who were in England solicited compensation. Thirty-eight ex-West Floridians petitioned Lord North, asserting that they were "equally entitled to a compensation for their losses, as their other fellow sufferers on the same continent." ³ The loyalists again in 1787 attempted to obtain compensation for their losses to Spanish arms. In that year they printed a sixteen-page pamphlet entitled The Case and Petition of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, Late of West Florida, but their efforts were to no avail. 4

Before Parliament established the commission, the British granted temporary subsistence allowances to loyalists who had

Florida (n.p., 1787).

Eardley-Wilmot, Historical View, 113.
 Memorial to Lord North from "the Proprietors of Land, Planters, Merchants, and other Inhabitants late of West Florida," n.d., Public Record Office, Colonial Office (hereinafter cited as C.O.) 5/596. While there is no date given for this petition, from London, Archibald Dalzel wrote his brother on March 6, 1783, that "the Settlers of W. Florida are under a like predicament with the Loyalists. They have lost their lands & property & spilt their blood in repelling the attacks of the Enemy." Dalzel went on to inform his brother that "we" (the West Floridians in London) had presented a petition to the King seeking relief. Former Governor George Johnstone presented the petition and Dalzel assumed that it would be laid before Parliament when it began investigating loyalist claims. He concluded pessimistically, "My hopes of redress are not very sanguine; however I think we should have been culpable silently to have put up with our loss." While there is no conclusive evidence, this letter is probably concerning the petition mentioned above. Archibald Dalzel to his brother, March 6, 1783, Edinburgh University Library, DK. 7.52/103. This letter was brought to the attention of the editor by Professor Robin Fabel of Auburn University.

4. The Case and Petition of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, Late of West

fled behind British lines or to England. The records reveal that only three people from West Florida received these allowances at a total cost to England of about £90 per year. ⁵ But these allowances were temporary only until the end of the war when Parliament could then appoint a committee to make a more indepth investigation.

When the Commission for Enquiring into the Losses, Services, and Claims of the American Loyalists first met, West Florida was excluded from the investigation. Within a year and a half, however, the commission began considering claims from that province for losses caused by Americans. In West Florida this meant compensation for losses occasioned by James Willing's raid in 1778. Many West Floridians had already petitioned the commission before this change in policy became public, and the decision on their claims simply read, "Does not come within the scope of this inquiry," or "not admitted." ⁶ There were at least ten West Florida loyalists who suffered losses because of Willing's action, but they failed to make the distinction between losses to Spain and losses because of the American raid, and consequently the commission disallowed their claims. Only two of these loyalists repetitioned the commission and tried to make the necessary distinction. The commission still refused to allow their claims. The commission's decision on the claim of John Allen Martin in February 1784 is perhaps the best summation of their view: "The loss of all his employments and property were occasioned by the invasion of a foreign enemy and unless we could extend the bounty which it is our province to distribute to sufferers of the war all over the globe, we cannot extend it to this gentleman. He did his duty to this country with great zeal and honor to himself but he fought against Spaniards and it is his misfortune that his losses cannot immediately be attributed to the civil commotions in American tho' ultimately

Lists of people on temporary allowance are in British Headquarters' Papers, reel 19; ibid., 7258, reel 21; ibid., 8252-8253, reel 23; ibid., 10330, reel 28; Earl of Shelburne Papers, William L. Clements Library; Public Record Office, Audit Office (hereinafter cited as A. O.) 12/104; American Loyalists' Transcripts, New York Public Library, II, 336. The three people who received the grants were Rebecca Dutton (£50), John Allen Martin (£20), and Sarah Amos (£21.5).

6. Claim of Edmund Rush Wegg, March 8, 1783, A.O. 12/99; claim of Richard Seamark, April 7, 1783, ibid.

they may be derived from that source." 7

It is easy to understand the position of the commissioners in this matter. If they had granted compensation to West Floridians for their losses to Spain, England would at once have been saddled with debts arising from claims around the world because of the global conflicts in which she became involved. As the decision on one West Florida claim stated, the petitioner had as little right "to expect an allowance from this board as if they had been made at Gibraltar." 8 At the same time, many West Florida loyalists suffered almost total destruction of their personal fortune, and the failure of England to grant some kind of relief through direct compensation or an annual pension seems callous. The commission did approve small annual pensions to eight West Floridians for property lost to the Americans during Willing's raid. The pensions amount to a total of £410 per year. The West Florida loyalists would continue to seek compensation or United States confirmation of their British land grants in West Florida for over thirty years, and while some of the loyalists and their heirs who remained on their lands on the Mississippi were able to obtain confirmation of their grants, by and large the efforts of the West Florida loyalists were in vain. 9

There is no direct indication of where The Case and Petition was published, but considering the contents and internal evidence, apparently it was printed in London (or at least in England). Once again there is no way of knowing which of the West Florida refugees in England were involved in the publication of the pamphlet. Copies of this document are in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and at the Library of Congress. The edited document below is printed with the per-

Claim of John Allen Martin, February 16, 1784, A.O. 12/100.
 Claim of Anthony Hutchins, July 12, 1784, ibid.
 Registers of the Land Office East of Pearl River, 1804-1805, Library of Congress, West Florida Papers, reel 5 (microfilm located at Robert M. Strozier Library, Florida State University); American State Papers, Public Lands, XXVIII-XXXI; Robert Stewart Castlereagh to the British American Commissioners, July 28, 1814, Henry Goulburn Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. See also the five enclosures in Castlereagh's letter cited above. A brief discussion of some of the later efforts of the loyalists to keep their lands in West Florida is in R. S. Cotterill, "The National Land System in the South, 1803-1812," Mississippi Valley Historical Review. XVI (1930), 495-99. Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVI (1930), 495-99.

mission of the William L. Clements Library. The original spelling and punctuation have been retained.

"To those who have been deprived of their fortunes, on account of their loyalty and patriotism, no task can be more disagreeable than that of applying to their country for redress; which can only be attained by an increase of its burdens: and though in such cases a confidence in public justice may lay a sufficient foundation for urging their claim; yet it can never remove the painful feeling arising from the necessity of soliciting an aid, which must add to the distresses of a nation, in the defence of whose interests they have sacrificed their own.

"The late inhabitants of West Florida have been strongly impressed by these sentiments, and though they have never lost sight of their right to indemnification, they have studiously avoided every measure which might carry the appearance of precipitation, or tend to accumulate the distresses of their country, in the moment of her misfortune.

"With pleasure they beheld the case of their fellow loyalists become an object of consideration; and though they have not as yet participated in the same national relief with those in East Florida, yet they cannot help indulging the hope, that their situation will not escape the equal eye of justice, but that they also will obtain that compensation to which they are intitled, from a legislature and a country, as distinguished for their impartiality, as for their other virtues.

"Entertaining those expectations, at a period when the nation is rising to its former opulence and splendor, they wish to state their case, and submit their claim to Parliament and the public at large; equally anxious that it may appear to their fellow subjects founded on the principles of justice, as they are to obtain the compensation they solicit.

"They accordingly presented a petition to the Honourable the House of Commons, which is recorded on their minutes in the following words:

Veneris 16° Die Martii, 1787.

"A petition of the planters, merchants, public officers, and

other late proprietors of the province of West Florida, being offered to be presented to the House:

"Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer (by his Majesty's command) acquainted the House, that his Maiesty, having been informed of the contents of the said petition, recommends it to the consideration of the House

"Then the said petition was brought up, and read; setting forth, that, in consequence of his Maiesty's proclamation of 1763. the petitioners emigrated to the province of West Florida, and. after incurring every danger, difficulty, and expence incident to first settlers, cultivated plantations, and formed commercial arrangements, which, in a few years, arrived at a degree of prosperity beyond their expectations, and such as had never been experienced, in so short a period, by any American colony; and that, at the commencement of the late unfortunate American war, the petitioners were solicited by Congress to join in their confederacy, and declare the province of West Florida an independent state; 10 but this solicitation was treated with contempt, and the province steadily persevered in loyalty to his Majesty, and attachment to the mother country; and that, in consequence of this refusal, the Congress fitted out a squadron, under the command of Commodore Hopkins, for the purpose of attacking Pensacola, but, despairing of success from the information he received of the loyalty and unanimity of the province, he altered his destination, and took and plundered the island of New Providence; and that a detachment of the rebel army, 11 by the river Ohio, made a descent on West Florida, and plundered and burnt several plantations, and seized ships and other valuable property on the river Mississippi, but were

^{10.} In late 1774 or early 1775 Attorney General Edmund Rush Wegg received a letter from the First Continental Congress which urged West Florida to join the other colonies in an "adequate opposition" against England. Worthington C. Ford, et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789,* 34 vols. (Washington, 1904-1937), I, 101-03. Henry Middleton to the Inhabitants of West Florida, October 22, 1774, C.O. 5/595. Wegg turned the letter over to Governor Peter Chester who refused to show it to the inhabitants as "I had great reasons to apprehend from the spirit and temper of many of the inhabitants, that the calling a House of Assembly could neither promote His Majesty's service nor be productive of any advantage to the colony." Peter Chester to Lord George Germain, November 24, 1778, C.O. 5/595.
11. Under the leadership of Captain James Willing, a former inhabitant of West Florida and brother of Thomas Willing of Pennsylvania.

soon after attacked and driven into the dominions of Spain by the loyal inhabitants, who kept possession of the western parts of the province till they were relieved by a detachment of his Majesty's troops; and that the inhabitants of Pensacola raised a considerable sum of money, by voluntary subscriptions, for erecting redoubts. and formed themselves into volunteer companies for their defence, and the inhabitants of Mobile made a sudden expedition to sea, attacked and defeated some rebel privateers, recovered a valuable property, and restored it to the owners, without any expence; and that many loyal inhabitants joined and did duty with his Majesty's troops, while others formed themselves into provincial corps, and were employed upon the most dangerous services, till the reduction of the province; and that, in order to make a diversion when Pensacola was attacked, the inhabitants of the district of Natchez laid siege to Fort Panmure, and obliged the Spanish garrison to surrender as prisoners of war; and that some of the petitioners, refugees from the States, who, in obedience to his Majesty's proclamation, took protection in West Florida, and contributed to its defence, 12 now find themselves excluded from that temporary support and compensation for losses which was granted to many of their fellow-sufferers who retired to Great Britain; and enjoyed comfortable pensions in peace and security during the whole of the war; and that some of the petitioners had their plantations plundered and burnt by the rebels when they invaded the province in the year 1778; others had their properties laid waste, and large stocks of cattle destroyed by the rebel Indians and Spaniards, during the operations of the war; and some of the petitioners had their houses burnt by order of the officers commanding in forts, to prevent their being used by the enemy as covers for erecting batteries; and others had their property taken in the forts, and condemned by the Spaniards, for having contributed to the public defence; and some of the petitioners lost valuable tracts of land, acquired by purchase, mandamus, and other titles, upon which they had laid out considerable sums of money in expences necessary towards the forming of plantations; and that three fourths of West Florida has been ceded to

^{12.} For a full discussion of the war in West Florida, see J. Barton Starr, Tories, Dons, and Rebels: The American Revolution in British West Florida, 1775-1783 (Gainesville, 1976).

the States of America, and no stipulation made in favour of the property of its loyal inhabitants; and the remainder of the province has been ceded to Spain, but under stipulations, which have proved totally ineffectual; and that the Spaniards considered the time allowed by the treaty for the disposal of property as a period of prescription, at the expiration of which the inhabitants must either remain subjects of Spain, or suffer their properties to become forfeited and extinct. The petitioners are therefore returned to Great Britain, the Spaniards and Americans are in possession of their property, and not a single plantation has been sold in the province; and that commissioners have been appointed to enquire into the losses sustained by the proprietors of East Florida, whose possessions were ceded as a price of peace to the kingdom of Spain, and the property of the petitioners was also ceded to Spain and America, to purchase peace and security for the empire at large; whereby many are reduced from affluent to indigent circumstances, and some are in want of immediate support: and that the petitioners conceive, there is not the smallest difference between their case and that of the inhabitants of East Florida, which should induce the House to compensate the losses of the one, and refuse compensation to the other. Both provinces have been ceded to the enemy, to procure peace for the rest of the empire; both remained equally attached to the British government during the war; it was indeed the fate of the petitioners to experience greater calamities, on account of their attachment to the mother country, and also to make greater exertions for their own defence, and to be exposed to more hardships and dangers in the common cause, than their neighbouring province; but these circumstances, which they conceive to form a plea for greater favour, never can be the reason that they are treated less favourably; yet the petitioners are at a loss to assign any other cause for the distinction made on this occasion between East and West Florida; and therefore praying, that the House will take their situation into consideration, and grant them such relief as to the House shall seem meet.

"Ordered,

"From the favourable manner in which this petition was introduced into the House of Commons, the late inhabitants of West Florida, felt every sentiment of loyalty to his Majesty, and

[&]quot;That the said petition do lie upon the table.

affection for their mother country, which had actuated them in their most enthusiastic days of loyalty and patriotism.

"But scarce had these sentiments time to operate, when they understood that some of his Majesty's ministers might make objections to their petition, not only in its clauses, but also to its prayer.

"How the clauses of a petition which contains only the most incontrovertible facts, can be combated, is not easy for them to conceive; but that the prayer thereof, when regularly brought before parliament, should be rejected, they cannot bring themselves to believe.

"This report, however, has given the greatest uneasiness to his Majesty's loyal subjects from West Florida, to find that a negative may yet be given to their application; a negative which, with much more propriety, might have been given some years ago; which, by putting an end to their hopes, would in some measure have prevented those additional calamities, under which they have struggled for several years past. If their loyalty and fidelity intitled them to no relief or compensation, they certainly merited a candid and peremptory refusal: as they then would have applied themselves to other pursuits, and not have been condemned to penury and want, as they advanced in years, under a constant succession of hopes and fears, after having ruined themselves in the service of their King and country.

"This report has laid them under the necessity of publishing and distributing a state of their case to the members of parliament, and the nation at large; that the conduct of the inhabitants of West Florida may stand upon record, and that the rewards or punishments they receive may be a guide in future to other colonies, how they may conduct themselves, so as to avoid their own ruin, and the ruin of their posterity.

"Though it is not easy for them to conceive what arguments may be used against the equitable prayer of their petition, or for making them the only exception from the compensations which have been granted to other sufferers; yet it becomes highly necessary for them on this occasion to compare the conduct and situation of the late inhabitants of West Florida with the conduct and present situation of the inhabitants of the other conquered territories, and also with the loyalists of the thirteen states.

"And first, with respect to East Florida: It was advanced in the last session of parliament, that West Florida could not be comprehended in the same bill, as West Florida was a conquered province; 13 but that East Florida had remained in his Majesty's peace, and been ceded to Spain. - There is no distinction of this kind to be found in the treaty of peace. By the 5th article of the treaty with Spain, Sept. 3, 1783, - 'His Britannic Majesty likewise cedes and guarantees, in full right to his Catholic Majesty, East Florida, as also West Florida.' - And it is evident that the ministers of the belligerent powers considered the sovereignty of West Florida as vested in the crown of Great-Britain, at the time the peace was in agitation; for in the treaty with America, the thirteen states were bounded by the 31st degree of North lat[itude] by this means one hundred miles in breadth, and up wards of four hundred miles in length of West Florida, were ceded to the united states, by whom it was no more conquered than East Florida was conquered by Spain; so that the distinction between conquered and ceded, admitting it to be just, would by no means apply to three-fourths of West Florida*. 14

"But if the distinction made on this occasion between conquered and ceded be examined, it will be found to be a distinction where there is no kind of difference.

"If a robber presents a pistol, and pulls out a gentleman's gold watch, and orders the gentleman to give up his purse with his own hand, where is the distinction between the property thus taken and given?

"The Spaniards, by force of arms, wrested West Florida from Great-Britain; and, with arms still in their hands, demanded East Florida: where then lies the distinction between conquered and ceded?

13. After the battles in Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola, Major General John Campbell surrendered the entire province of West Florida to General Bernardo de Gálvez on May 10, 1781.
14. The asterisk denoted the following footnote in the original: "By

^{14.} The asterisk denoted the following footnote in the original: "By Governor Johnstone's commission, and that of every succeeding Governor, the province of West Florida was bounded by a line drawn due East from the mouth of the river Yassou to the river Apalatchicola. The mouth of the Yassou, by the most accurate observations, lies in latitude 32 and 30 min. North, which make 90 geographical miles, or 103 English miles in breadth, extending the whole length of the province, which is upwards of 400 miles, and comprehending more than three fourths of the richest and most fertile part of West Florida-was ceded to the united states of America without any stipulation, not even a recommendation to Congress."

"Great-Britain was as involuntary an agent, in giving up East Florida, as in suffering West Florida to be conquered. If indeed the Ministers who concluded the peace, gave up East Florida without any necessity for so doing, the case might be different; but as this will scarcely be admitted, where then lies the difference as to conquered and ceded between East and West Florida?

"As to East Florida having remained in his Majesty's peace, and being ceded to Spain-it may be asked, Are the inhabitants of West Florida to be condemned for not remaining in his Majesty's peace, when they took up arms and drove the rebel invaders into the dominions of Spain?

"Is it to be imputed to them as a crime, the many exertions they made in conjunction with his Majesty's troops, for the defence of the province? And is West Florida to be excluded from compensation, because the inhabitants of the district of Natchez laid siege to Fort Panmure, and obliged the Spanish garrison to surrender as prisoners of war?

"Those are violations of the peace which ought to give the inhabitants of West Florida a much stronger claim upon the humanity and justice of this country, than if, like their more fortunate fellow-sufferers of East Florida, they had possessed the negative virtue of being quietly transferred from the peace of his Britannic Majesty, to the peace of his Majesty of Spain.

"If there is any favourable distinction between East and West Florida, it is evidently on the side of the West Floridans: the many exertions made by them against the rebels, the many exertions made by them against the Spaniards, both with and without the assistance of his Majesty's troops, most undoubtedly give the West Floridans a claim upon the humanity and generosity of this country, which the inhabitants of East Florida had not an opportunity of acquiring, as they were not attacked by the Spaniards, nor did they set a foot in their province till long after the peace was concluded. Besides, the inhabitants of East Florida remained in possession of their property during the whole of the Spanish war, and had eighteen months, in peace and security, to dispose of their moveable property after the peace. Many loyal inhabitants of West Florida had their moveable property intirely destroyed by the operations of the war; and at the conclusion of the peace, the province was divided in such a manner, that no man in the interior parts of the province,

without a quadrant in his hand, could tell to what dominion his property fell. But whatever way an observation of the sun might determine the question, yet it was equally unfavourable to the loyal inhabitant. If he was on the side of the united states, the treaty of peace had not even reserved him a right to dispose of his property; and if on the side of Spain, there was no stipulation as to his religious and civil rights; and when property was offered for sale, the Spaniard had the following answer ready upon every occasion: "We are not such fools as to purchase your property, we know your attachment to your King and country, and utter aversion to our laws, religion, and government, when the period allowed by the treaty for disposing of your property is expired, you will then return to Great-Britain, and we shall have your houses and plantations for nothing."-This has literally come to pass, the loyal inhabitants are returned to Great-Britain, the Spaniards and Americans are in possession of their property, and not a single plantation has been sold in the province.

"The islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Monserat, were conquered by the enemy, in like manner as the province of West Florida.

"These islands never were solicited, nor never had it in their power to rebel, nor did they make any great exertions in the common cause, nor in their own defence. Yet the proprietors of these islands had their properties compleatly restored by the peace, and the proprietors of West Florida have not received compensation of any kind. If it could be supposed that the proprietors of the latter have no just claim on Great Britain, it would then immediately follow, That the owners of West Florida, Grenada, and the other conquered islands, ought to be considered as the proprietors of goods shipt in one common bottom, where it had been necessary to throw over-board a part, for the preservation of the whole, and the general loss ought to be proportionably borne by the owners of the property at large. Among individuals, this would undoubtedly be the case-but considered in a national point of view, as those islands were restored to Great Britain, in the general arrangement of the peace, at the expence of the proprietors of the Floridas, they ought to be compensated by the nation at large. And as relief has already been voted for one of the provinces, it would be partial and cruel, in the highest degree, to withold it from the other.

"The property of his Majesty's loyal subjects from the thirteen states, was as certainly conquered, in the strictest sense of the word, by the arms of France and America, as West Florida was by the arms of France and Spain. Yet commissioners have justly been appointed to enquire into their losses and services; and shall the conquest of West Florida preclude its loyal inhabitants from compensation, who were equally zealous and active in support of the British government, as the loyalists were within any of the thirteen states?

"It has been given as an argument against the inhabitants of West Florida, that if they are admitted to compensation, the proprietors of Tobago will also put in a claim. To this it may be answered, that Tobago is ceded to a nation which encourages cultivation and commerce, and the most liberal articles were inserted in the treaty, as to their religious and civil rights. Besides, the proprietors of Tobago can at any time dispose of their property within fifteen or twenty per cent. of its value, under a British government. Could the inhabitants of West Florida have disposed of their property, for even one half of its value, they would not have applied to Great Britain in her present situation, for any compensation whatsoever.

"Had the province of West Florida complied with the solicitations of Congress, and declared itself an independent state, the inviolable loyalty to his Majesty and attachment to the mother country, of its inhabitants, who are soliciting for relief, would not now have operated against them, but they would long ago been admitted to temporary support, and compensation for losses, with other American loyalists.

"But had West Florida declared itself independent, the consequence to Great Britain would have been, that the force employed for three different campaigns against that province, and particularly the formidable armament of fifteen Spanish and French ships of the line, several frigates and armed vessels, together with ten thousand Spanish and French land forces, which were so long employed in reducing Pensacola, would have been directed against some other part of the British dominions; and at the conclusion of the peace it might have been necessary to leave some more valuable or more favoured colony in the hands

of the enemy*. 15

"If it is once established as a precedent, that those who made little or no defence, are to have their property restored intire; that those who were not attacked are to have commissioners appointed to compensate their losses; and those who made every effort in their power, from the first invasion by the rebels in 1778, till the final conquest of West Florida in 1781, are to be told, You are a conquered people, and not intitled to any compensation from us; then will there be an end of every sentiment of loyalty and attachment to the mother country, and a total extinction of every tye, both moral and political, which can connect this empire with its component parts: The colonists will in future present their capitulations at the approach of an enemy, as every unsuccessful attempt to resist, would not only ruin themselves, but beggar their posterity; and the most supine inactivity will give as effectual a claim for compensation, or restitution of property, as the greatest exertions, and the most meritorious services.

"It is however to be hoped, that the British legislature will not suffer such an instance of partiality and injustice, to be recorded on the annals of the nation; but that commissioners will be appointed, to enquire into the losses sustained, and services performed by his Majesty's most faithful and ever loyal subjects, late of West Florida."

^{15.} The asterisk denoted the following footnote in the original: "There were eleven Spanish and four French ships of the line, and seven thousand Spanish and three thousand French land forces employed against Pensacola; and the Spanish troops had been two campaigns occupied in reducing the out-posts, before the attack of Pensacola, which concluded the third campaign, and the reduction of the province. The garrison of Pensacola, exclusive of loyal inhabitants, did not amount to a thousand men."

The authors of the Case and Petition magnified the estimate of enemy troop strength, apparently to bolster their argument. General Gálvez had a total of approximately 7,686 men under his command (including 725 French regulars, and 1,504 seamen). To oppose this force, the British garrison consisted of 906 men (including 282 British regulars, 310 Waldeckers, 273 Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists, and forty-one West Florida Royal Foresters). The British garrison also had the support of 400 to 500 Indians, at least fifty Negroes, 100 civilian inhabitants, and 279 seamen. With these additional forces, the total force defending Pensacola was between 1,735 and 1,835 men. Starr, Tories, Dons, and Rebels, 190, 192, 206.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ethnic Minorities in Gulf Coast Society: Proceedings of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, Volume VIII. Edited by Jerrell H. Shofner and Linda V. Ellsworth. (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1979. xi, 137 pp. Introduction, graphs, photos, notes, comment, index. \$6.95.)

They encountered segregated facilities in Tampa, mass lynchings in Louisiana, and a Mississippi congressman who called them a filthy, degraded people who could "almost subsist on rats and snakes." No, it is not another book chronicling the travail of black Americans; it is *Ethnic Minorities in Gulf Coast Society*, a collection of essays dealing with the "boat people" of 1900 - the "new" immigrants.

Edited by Jerrell Shofner and Linda Ellsworth, *Ethnic Minorities* focuses on the sheer complexity of Gulf coast society, a diversity encompassing Latin cigarmakers in Tampa; Jewish peddlers in Valdosta, Georgia; Greek sponge divers in Florida; and Chicanos in Texas.

Willard B. Gatewood's perceptive keynote essay, "Strangers and the Southern Eden," highlights the proceedings. Gatewood charts the South's persistent efforts to attract immigrants at the turn of the century, and then attempts to assess why the Italians and Cubans, Greeks and Jews, were suddenly viewed as threats to the social order after 1906. "Clearly," writes Gatewood, "one thing that set the southern response to immigration apart from that of other regions was the intensity of its hostility in the presence of so few actual immigrants."

Reaction to immigrants, or more accurately the perceived threat of immigration, took a variety of forms in the Gulf coast states. William Holmes's essay, "Anti-Catholicism in Georgia," details the rise of Tom Watson, the erstwhile agrarian rebel who, after 1908, turned rabid xenophobe. Yet by the 1920s, argues Holmes, a time of heightened nativism in the South, anti-Catholicism had dissipated in Georgia.

Not so in Florida. "Slowly in the 1890s and with accelerating speed after 1900," contends Wayne Flynt in his commentary, "native-born Floridians turned nativist." By the 1920s, a resurgent Ku Klux Klan and a Cracker Messiah in the Capitol was evidence of this growing nativism. George Pozzetta, in "Immigrants and the Southern Mind," demonstrates how Tampa's Latins were swept into the vortex of the anti-immigration, anti-Catholic, anti-labor movement. Spaniards, Cubans, and Italians had created a turbulent atmosphere, a milieu which fostered radicalism and labor unrest. Not surprisingly, the immigrant radicals and union cigarmakers were viciously attacked, and their reputations spread far beyond Tampa.

If immigrant anarchists threatened Floridians, Italian Mafiosi frightened natives of New Orleans. To curb the Italian threat, the "best men" of the Crescent City took vigilante justice in their hands, and in 1891 lynched eleven innocent Italian immigrants. David D. Mays's "Sivilizing Moustache Pete" attempts to analyze native attitudes towards Italians in New Orleans, 1890-1918. Italians in Mississippi fared little better than their Louisiana counterparts. In 1917 Congressman John Burnett of Mississippi beckoned his colleagues to examine "the southern problem," i.e., "the Dago." He asked fellow Southerners to consider the consequences of putting "children on the seat beside the children of dirty Italians in Mississippi."

Ethnic Minorities in Gulf Coast Society, while raising new questions and probing a much-neglected topic, suffers from characteristics common to such undertakings. The essays are uneven and often fit awkwardly into the overall organization. Willard Gatewood's article is followed by a panel discussion of "Ethnicity in the Schools," which delves into "Bicognitive/Bicultural Learning Styles." Furthermore, some of the essays deal with overworked topics, such as the treatment of Italians in New Orleans (the subject of a recent book). Other essays on the "'Retention of Cuban Culture in Tampa" and "Texas Chicanos" add nothing new to the field.

The proceedings of the 1978 Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference suffers further from a problem of focus. One is never certain whether the conference wished to examine the dynamics of immigrants in the South, or the reaction of the

white establishment (undefined) to Italian, Greek, and Cuban emigrants, or the unique character of Gulf coast ethnics. Some intriguing questions arise from these essays: were forces within the Gulf coast immigrant colonies more significant in shaping ethnic identity than those outside? How were Gulf coast Jews, Italians, and Greeks different from their northern countrymen? How did the experiences of the new immigrants in southern cities differ from those in small towns? Louis Schmier suggests in his essay on the Jewish peddler that rural southern Jews maintained a harmonious relationship with the gentiles. Did urban southern Jews such as Leo Frank in Atlanta encounter greater degrees of prejudice, and if so, why?

The published essays underscore a salient point, that there existed a rich and colorful underside of the Waspish South. But perhaps the South was never the great homogeneous stronghold of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants afterall. Forrest McDonald contends that most white Southerners are descended from the Cornish, the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish-hardly Anglo-Saxon stock-but rather Celtic by descent. The debate to define the mind and soul of the South continues.

University of South Florida

GARY MORMINO

Relaciones de dependencía entre Florida y Estados Unidos (1783-1820). By Pablo Tornero Tinajero. (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1979. xiv, 205 pp. Prologue, introduction, graphs, tables, illustrations, maps, notes, appendices.)

Pablo Tornero's study of Spanish East Florida (1783-1820) is the best work published on this period of Florida history since Joseph B. Lockey's *East Florida, 1783-1785* (Berkeley, 1949). Tornero's study is exceptional in the use of sources and his interpretation of data.

Spanish Florida history, with a few exceptions, is a relatively neglected field. Existing studies deal mainly with military and political administration. They also frequently concentrate on Florida's strategic role in the increasing world conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tornero turns us away

from these concerns. He asks, very directly, what were the economic facts of Spanish East Florida? Who was getting what from where and how? Further, he wants to know who was involved, where did they come from, and why did they come to Florida. To answer these important questions, Tornero applies a quantitative methodology to the treasury records held in the Archive of the Indies in Sevilla.

Dr. Tornero notes that Spanish East Florida was, in fact, a United States colony long before the formal cession in 1821. His study shows that Florida survived only because commodities and supplies produced in the United States found their way into the area. Rum came from Cuba, but day-to-day necessities were almost solely of American manufacture. Tornero further demonstrates this dependence by an examination of demographic sources for the period. Though his statistics are somewhat limited, they show that United States planter immigration determined the direction of Florida's economy. A more extensive examination of sources available in United States archives proves that his conclusions are correct. Spanish Florida was fully dependent for supplies and markets on its North American neighbor.

Dr. Tornero, a former student of Don Francisco Morales Padrón, is a member of the faculty of history at the University of Sevilla. The contributions of Professor Morales Padrón's students to the understanding of Spanish Borderlands in America have had a major importance to scholarship, and Tornero's work continues that fine tradition.

P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, BRUCE S. CHAPPELL University of Florida

Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War. By Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979. xiii, 286 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

Books on the relations between the Civilized Tribes and their Negroes have appeared only very recently: R. Halliburton, *Red over Black* (1977), on Cherokee slavery; Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society* (1979); and Daniel

F. Littlefield, Jr., Africans and Seminoles (1977), The Cherokee Freedmen (1978), and now Africans and Creeks. The last should be considered against the background of the earlier studies and is in large measure a sometimes repetitious sequel to the Seminole volume. This is only natural, since the Seminole, prior to Removal, were essentially Creeks living in Florida. Until the Fort Moultrie Treaty of 1823 the United States considered them merely as a Creek band, and who, from Removal to 1856, were legally a part of the Creek Nation. Moreover, from the Red Stick War of 1814 through the Civil War, an important theme in the history of both tribes was the hostility between the dominant, half-breed-controlled Lower Creek element and the more traditionalist Upper Creeks and Seminole, with the Seminole Negroes increasingly a major issue. During the Florida period Creek slavers repeatedly invaded the Seminole country on Negro-hunting expeditions-harassment which on a smaller scale continued in the Territory.

To understand these hostilities one must be familiar with the varying statuses of Negroes among Creeks, whites, and, particularly, the Seminole. The so-called "slaves" of the Florida Seminole were described as such principally by resentful white and Indian slaveholders. Mostly runaways, they lived in separate villages, uninhibitedly acquired property, including firearms, paid only a moderate "tribute" to the chiefs who were their "masters" or protectors, were noted fighting men, and, since the Seminole lacked any significant half-breed element, English-speaking runaways were their interpreters and often counselors. This relationship was mutually advantageous. But because most Seminole Negroes technically belonged to outsiders, they were highly vulnerable to re-enslavement.

Although slavery among the Creeks differed considerably from the corresponding Seminole institution, there were some similarities at first. Creek slavery began during the Revolutionary War, when the British made gifts of Negroes to some chiefs and the opportunity of capturing slaves from Patriot plantations became attractive. Although there was never any doubt that Creek slaves were property, slaveholders at first made little use of their Negroes. Although slaves were expected to support their owners they were allowed sufficient free time to support them-

selves and even to accumulate considerable property. Although not supposed to have firearms, they were permitted other weapons, such as tomahawks (p. 46). Actually, some slaves were well supplied with guns (pp. 101, 154).

However, under the influence of such dominating half-breeds as the McIntoshes, Creek slavery early began to move away from "Seminole" characteristics toward the duplication of southern "black codes." Creek slaves ultimately were forbidden to own weapons of any kind, or livestock, or any property at all, and miscegenation was banned (p. 145)-although too late to prevent a considerable African mixture (pp. 42, 60, 85). This trend was accentuated, after Removal by the arrival in Creek territory of Seminole Negroes, whose independent status and behavior horrified the "establishment" Creeks. Officially they tried, ineffectually, to enforce their increasingly severe slave code. Unofficially, unscrupulous Creeks seized Negroes for extra-territorial slaves. These activities brought about the migration to Mexico in 1849-1850 of several hundred Seminole Indians and Negroes, and, to prevent civil war, the granting in 1856 of Seminole independence.

When in 1861 the Creek Nation entered into a treaty with the Confederacy, the Upper Creek leader Opothla Yaholahimself a slave-owner-offered freedom to all Creek slaves who would support the Union. With numerous Upper Creeks and Seminole, including two or three hundred Negroes, he fought his way north to Kansas, where his Indian and Negro followers entered Union regiments in which they served valiantly and victoriously. Now under Union control, both Creeks and Seminole abolished slavery and adopted their freedmen as equal citizens-a status they enjoyed until tribal governments gave place to the racist state of Oklahoma.

This study is soundly based on official documents, supplemented by selected monographs, although some confusions appear in the background narrative. Jackson, for example, did not, as one might think (top of p. 76), execute Peter McQueen and Woodbine, while he did hang Imala Micco (not mentioned). No distinction, too, is made between the Creek agent Benjamin Hawkins, who died in 1816 (p. 92), and a Creek chief who had taken the agent's name as a compliment (pp. 102, 104, 108 n. 45,

111, 115). Some may consider the examinations of multitudinous controversies over slave ownership as wearisomely detailed, but those not interested can readily bypass them. A study of Negroes among the Choctaw and Chickasaw would now be appropriate and welcome.

University of Oregon

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

Aaron Burr: The Years from Princeton to Vice President, 1756-1805. By Milton Lomask. (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979. xiii, 443 pp. Preface, illustrations, sources and notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

In his lifetime and ever after Aaron Burr aroused the curiosity of Americans and their feelings as well. Talented, debonair, and personable, he attracted a small band of devoted followers. A few others he antagonized almost on first contact or within a brief time for reasons that never quite clearly emerge. The vast majority of Americans watched his career with fascination, inclining now toward one of these polarities, then toward the other, as Burr alternated between popular and unpopular stands. Neither his hard-core devotees nor his antagonists wavered.

Appraisals of Burr's overall performance by his biographers run from James Parton's hostile two volumes (1857) to the prose dithyramb of William Carlos Williams (1925). The encomium of Williams may strain credulity beyond limits, but it contributes a phrase descriptive of Burr - "instinctive nature"-that may be the poet's insight. Mr. Lomask honors it by quotation. Other biographers who have contributed to the very respectable literature on Burr since Williams wrote have implicitly put this conception to service without always laying bare exactly what informed these instincts. In literature, as in life, Burr continues enigmatic and contradictory.

Mr. Lomask, a professional writer, gives us here the first of a two-volume life of Burr. He writes straightforward biography, 370 pages of text, beginning with Burr's distinguished father and his maternal grandfather, both presidents of Princeton, and ending with the valedictory speech to the Senate in 1805. If the author ever felt tempted to psychoanalyze his complex

subject, he suppressed the urge in favor of a more traditional "life and times" presentation. The times he manages particularly well, not an easy task because Burr, who was twenty in 1776, lived through a stirring period, and his career touched state and national affairs, both military and political. This background Mr. Lomask sketches with economy and clarity, never losing sight of his principal.

The author notes in his preface the divergent appraisals of Burr by his biographers. One group, the defenders, find in him "a bud of greatness that failed to unfold because of the malevolence of others." Detractors speak of him as "ambitious without principle, charming without substance." Mr. Lomask sets himself the task of disentangling the "real" Burr from these antithetical readings. His subject consistently refuses to cooperate. Burr's letters, which should reveal the man, give equivocal evidence. Aaron Burr (courageous, generous, witty, handsome, winning, high-spirited, diligent, and enterprising even to the hostile Parton) spun out pages of gossamer which his biographer probes in vain seeking the hard evidence for grounding a judgment.

Similarly, Burr's actions display incongruities. An incredible student, he had great powers of concentration and a fabulous memory. After the briefest study of law, he had at his command all the legal weapons of offense and defense. Yet he did not enjoy law and practiced only to support his extravagant tastes-a lavish table and fine wines. But he also contributed generously to men of letters and to needy artists like John Vanderlyn.

Of course Burr made his most indelible mark on politics, and his political career forms the core of this volume. Here also he showed no grand simplicities, certainly he was no party regular at a time when national parties were losing the taint of faction and becoming the accepted mode of political action. Burr may not have sensed the changing climate of opinion. He remained independent, or perhaps more accurately, unpredictable, and, in the eyes of many, an opportunist. His most unbending foe, Alexander Hamilton, acknowledged his talents but suspected his motives. To this question of motivation Mr. Lomask devotes two illuminating pages (199-200) that show Burr "driven by a terrible need to keep himself entertained." The motif sounds

frequently thereafter in Burr's own references to his "ennui." A reader of this biography might reasonably conclude that Burr's fatal flaw was his lack of dedication.

In sum, Mr. Lomask has produced an engrossing biography, rewarding to general readers and to a scholarly audience. His finished prose all but conceals the depth of his research in the mass of sources and in the large secondary literature. He poses the difficult questions and attempts to give impartial answers from evidence rather than preconceptions. If at times he seems perplexed, he has a perplexing victim under his microscope. Whether he will in the end make Burr a plunger, an earlier version of Samuel Insull or Billy Sol Estes, remains for the second volume. Volume two will complete the portrait.

University of Georgia

AUBREY C. LAND

The Presidency of Andrew Jackson: White House Politics, 1829-1837. By Richard B. Latner. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. 291 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index, \$20.00.)

Thirty years ago Charles M. Wiltse wrote that "Jackson himself had no policy, although he had many and rich prejudices" (*John C. Calhoun, Nullifier*, p. 39). Professor Latner does not deny Jackson's prejudices, but he makes an effective case that the Tennessean, a moderate states' rights advocate in 1828, developed a coherent and consistent policy during his presidency. His political ideas were based on republican theory and Jeffersonian tradition.

The main emphasis of the book, however, is the author's account of Jackson's relations with his advisers in light of the major domestic issues of the day-Indian removal, internal improvements, the National Bank, and tariff reform. Of his counselors Jackson relied less on his cabinet than on others. He had a distaste for cabinet sessions and probably never polled the cabinet. He preferred individual counsel, hence the rise of the so-called Kitchen Cabinet. But Latner suspects the Kitchen Cabinet "was largely a figment of the opposition's imagination" (p. 52). The label was not publicized until March 1832.

Of these Kitchen Cabinet advisers, Jackson's longtime Tennessee associates John Eaton (later Territorial governor of Florida) and William B. Lewis were gradually displaced by Amos Kendall, Francis P. Blair, and Martin Van Buren. Jackson gave special attention to the zealous Kendall and Blair, "whose political views and temperaments closely matched his own" (p. 208). Latner concludes that the two Westerners had the greatest influence of all Jackson's counselors

A major contribution is the author's judicious account of Van Buren's political relations with Jackson. Exhibiting political skill, tact, and support of the president's policies, Van Buren steadily rose in Old Hickory's estimation. However, Latner notes that his status was always subordinate, well illustrated "when he reluctantly acceded to Jackson's wish that he become minister to Britain" (p. 85). And his caution during the nullification crisis temporarily miffed the president. Even at the Democratic convention of 1836 Van Buren's wishes did not prevail. The author concludes: "It is impossible to think that if Van Buren had had a free hand, he would have selected [R. M.] Johnson for his running mate" (p. 203), for his political base was the New York-Virginia alliance.

As for Calhoun's break with Jackson, Latner writes: "However much the Eaton affair and Seminole controversy served to alienate Jackson and Calhoun, ultimately it was policy disagreements that drove them apart" - tariff and distribution (pp. 67-68). He contends that Calhoun had lost all influence with Jackson well before the Seminole correspondence was published. The author also discusses the role of a host of lesser advisers on domestic issues, including Green, McLane, Taney, Ingham, Barry, Berrien, Cass, and McLean. He confirms that Jackson exhibited strong opinions and was always the leader, regardless of the issue.

Fifty-two pages of footnotes reveal that the author mastered a wealth of primary source material, although he does not cite the Calhoun papers at Clemson University, nor does he include T. P. Govan's biography of Biddle in his bibliography. All in all, this monograph is an excellent study of White House politics, despite the author's disclaimer that there still exists "considerable uncertainty about the membership and functioning of the fabled

Kitchen Cabinet" (p. 2). Moreover, he shows that Jackson more consistently supported a set of Jeffersonian principles than some writers have heretofore led us to believe.

Clemson University

ERNEST M. LANDER. JR.

Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869-1879. By William Gillette. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. xiv, 463 pp. Preface, tables, notes, bibliographic essay, acknowledgments, index. \$27.50.)

William Gillette has produced a volume that merits inclusion in the essential bookshelf of every specialist in Reconstruction history. Based upon research in some 500 collections of private papers, 200 contemporary periodicals and newspapers, and the records of the Department of Justice and of the Adjutant General's office, his work exemplifies the continuing vigor of traditional political history. Sharply focused in theme, *Retreat from Reconstruction* brings a fresh perspective as well as fresh materials to a reexamination of national politics and performance during Grant's years as president.

Three chapters precede the core, or rather the double core of the volume. The first, on earlier Reconstruction developments. is used to foreshadow retreat, arguing that Republicans were not prepared to go beyond the Fifteenth Amendment in the expectation that with the vote the Negro would be able to defend and advance his own interests. The second chapter is concerned with the implementation of the enforcement acts from 1870 through 1877, and the third with the presidential campaign of 1872. Then four core chapters turn to Grant's policy in eight southern states, with a separate chronological account for each and a summary evaluation of Grant's record. The next five examine the elections of 1874 as the "Referendum on Reconstruction" which Republicans lost and the decisions that followed in the lame duck Congress. Here the focus is on northern racism and the issue of civil rights, identified primarily with the contention over legislation to outlaw segregation, though also holding implications for the enforcement of voting rights. Two chapters follow in chronological sequence, one concerned primarily with the disputed election of 1876 and its settlement, the other with Hayes's southern policy. A retrospect, together with the preface, presents a thoughtful overview of the failure to realize the Reconstruction commitment.

Although most chapters are not accurately characterized as interpretative essays, it is not for lack of interpretation. Gillette pronounces provocative judgments in profusion. Radical Republicans "too often ignored what was politically possible," as in 1874 when they supported school integration: moderates made compromises "too often and too soon" (p. 371). The Civil Rights Act of 1875 was an empty ritual that weakened the party whose future it was passed to ensure. Grant was not politically obtuse as often pictured but skillful, gaining and maintaining personal power, but he failed in his sometimes conflicting purpose to further the interests of the Republican party in the South, which were undermined by his actions. His southern policy was bold when it should have been cautious, timid when it should have been bold, intermittent when it should have been steady, productive of tactical successes but bereft of overall strategy. Grant remained "a soldier at heart" (p. 177) when "a master politician was needed (p. 179) who could add "bureaucratic expertise and military muscle to political judgment" (p. 185). President Hayes "transformed a defeat into a surrender" (p. 347) by lack of finesse and naivete. For the success of Reconstruction, Gillette believes "overwhelming federal force was necessary," but also "sanctioned consensus" (p. 171). Southern policy "posed difficulties that were intricate, intractable, and seemingly interminable" (p. 81). Neither a bureaucracy nor an army existed equal to the task. Reconstruction required waging war against an implacable southern will to prevail, war at a time when the North sought peace and reconciliation. Northern Republicans could not understand that they faced the animosity of a determined, unscrupulous foe; repelled by southern turbulence and a military intervention in civil affairs that too often appeared in the interest of office and plunder, they came to believe that universal suffrage had been a mistake.

All this suggests a relentless tragedy played out during the 1870s. Gillette arrives at other conclusions. Northerners need not have acquiesced in the retreat from Reconstruction; Grant

"might have achieved a great deal" (p. 185); "the American people, their presidents, and their government had not been persevering or resourceful enough to see reconstruction through" (p. 380). In short, Reconstruction had not been doomed when Grant took office quite the contrary. The years from 1869 to 1875 were those in which Reconstruction might have succeeded, for during them Republicans controlled both the presidency and Congress. Northern Republican leaders "chose to save the northern party and themselves by sacrificing reconstruction" (p. 374) making pawns of southern Republicans, white and black. These are conclusions which unduely minimize the limits placed upon the possibility of success in the 1870s by the trauma of the earlier postwar years, saddle Republican politicians of the North with a disproportionate share of responsibility, and fail to recognize the irreconciliability of "overwhelming" force with "sanctioned consensus"

Although some notable passages suggest greater profundity, from his beginning preface Gillette compromises the dimension of the Reconstruction tragedy by definition. There he asks: "What, then, was reconstruction?" His answer is that it was a postwar political and constitutional settlement meant to lodge national political power permanently at the North in the keeping of the Republican party without transforming southern society. This view distorts, for Reconstruction began before the war ended, sought reunion and the extirpation of slavery, and carried the expectation of a southern society transformed by free labor. Not party, but the concept of freedom as embodied in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments, was central to the Reconstruction drama.

Hunter College and Graduate School, CUNY LAWANDA COX

John Horry Dent: South Carolina Aristocrat on the Alabama Frontier. By Ray Mathis. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1979. xiv, 267 pp. Preface, chronology, illustrations, epilogue, notes, essay on unpublished sources, acknowledgments, index. \$17.50.)

Relying chiefly on the private journals kept by John Horry

Dent, Ray Mathis has woven the story of a microcosm of the plantation South. Born of aristocratic parents of tidewater South Carolina in 1815, but largely self-educated, Dent settled in what had been Creek Indian country near the banks of the Chattahoochee in 1837. Having identified town living with Charleston, expenses, and debts, he first purchased land a considerable distance from Eufaula. Here on the frontier, he identified three separate classes of people: first, the pioneers who existed by hunting and trading with the Indians; second, the land speculators out for a quick profit; and, third, the planters and farmers who had "migrated for the purpose of securing rich and fresh lands for cultivation." In short the land had to be redeemed from the barbarians, both red and white. His first crops were corn and cotton. He was later to become a highly successful planter-speculator-financier.

His marriage to Mary Elizabeth Morrison brought him his first forty-five slaves. Following her death in 1853, he married Fanny Whipple, a school teacher from Vermont. The Whipples held abolitionist views. Though Dent liked his in-laws, these views did not sit well with a planter who by 1860 owned over 100 slaves. For him the institution of slavery was within the nature of things. His outlook on bondage was largely from the profit motive. His treatment of slaves blended paternalism with this economic frame of reference. He recognized that slaves carefully sized up their owners and acted accordingly. He did not trust them and was a great believer in a locked corn crib. He regarded the blacks "as a complexity of honesty, original sin, and innocence." and definitely not equal. He corrected laziness with the whip. New England farmhands, according to him, did twice the work of slaves. Still, after emancipation he praised slave over free labor. He also maintained that abolition agitation instead of helping emancipate blacks made Southerners more adamant to continue the institution.

For Dent, in early Reconstruction, the blacks, "interest in the crop as wages amounts to nothing." He appears oblivious to the fact that slavery also did nothing toward the creation of economic incentive for the field hand above survival. Rather, he blamed his problems with the blacks on radicals, scalawags, and carpetbaggers. He also found considerable fault with southern poor

whites, especially their view that manual labor for someone else was degrading. With Reconstruction only two years old he moved to a farm in north Georgia. The book ends with his move.

A lifelong moderate, as a farmer Dent advocated agricultural diversification and other reforms. In politics he was a pro-slavery unionist who reluctantly went with the South. As a family man he was a benevolent patriarch. Mathis's most readable treatment of the life of this aristocratic planter is both low-key and superb. He balances well Dent's family life and background, planting and business affairs, political views, and his outlook on the institution of slavery. Like Dent, Mathis follows the middle of the road with his frame of reference. This volume will join the select number of books on the old South which replace myth, prejudice, and conjecture with solid history.

Auburn University

EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

Oratory In The New South. Edited by Waldo W. Braden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. vii, 286 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, selected bibliography, contributors, index. \$17.50.)

As one who has lived through amazing changes in southern historiography and who at one time was immersed in studying the formation of public opinion, I have been fascinated with the predominant place of oratory in the South. I have speculated, too, on the legitimacy of peripheral social sciences chipping away at what once was considered the proper sphere of history. These eight essays, coming mainly from speech departments in Louisiana and Florida, have no quarrel with recent historical scholarship (Woodward, Potter, Gaston, Tindall), but do they add very much to what we know about the South?

Surely we must agree that it was primarily the orators who influenced attitudes, thoughts, feelings, and actions, who falsified history in the creation of a southern mythology that has withered away only in the last generation. The Old South as golden age, the Cult of the Confederacy (a lost cause), the ravages of Reconstruction ("Birth of a Nation" syndrome), the propagandistic New South, and even white supremacy (solid South) perhaps

served their purpose in the rationalization of defeat and the soothing of bruised egos of white Southerners. These accumulations of nostalgic mythology also helped move the South into a colonial economy and denied blacks their ostensible fruits of the war. Before the end of the century southern assumptions suited national purpose, all for the glory of a materialistic society in the hands of a relative few. The whole country seemed impervious to social change.

These papers contain much of interest about the ceremonial orator in a defeated society, restoration strategies in Georgia, the oratory of national reconciliation, and the rhetoric of the United Confederate Veterans. Henry Grady and the classic feud between Washington and DuBois are the subjects of perceptive substantive essays. Only with the approach of the twentieth century and the transformation of the southern lady from pedestal to politics, and particularly with the advent of three great educational figures (Aycock, McIver, Alderman), came the introduction of new human values-such as the child having a right to an education. The North Carolina crusaders eschewed the use of mythology except for long-lived white supremacy.

It seems to the reviewer that the major emphasis in this volume is on substantive but twice-told tales at the expense of what might be expected in describing the methodology of "the total process of persuasion." But the various essays do contribute, somewhat unevenly, to an understanding of the harsh realities of the inevitable romanticism which followed the Civil War. I suppose Henry Grady really is the moral equivalent of John Calhoun as to leadership in a tragic South. Certainly I am pleased that today it is all right to say so. And maybe students in mass communication will learn something about their own history.

University of South Florida

JAMES W. SILVER

Search for Consensus: The Story of the Democratic Party. By Ralph M. Goldman. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979. xi, 417 pp. Acknowledgments, tables, epilogue, appendix, notes, indexes. \$17.50.)

Although the title of this volume recalls Will Rogers's well-

known quip, "I am not a member of an organized political party-I'm a Democrat," the author reminds us in the first sentence of chapter one that "The Democratic party of the United States is one of the oldest surviving human organizations." The story of the Democratic party told here suggests an answer to this paradox: In a democratic society, especially in one as geographically and demographically heterogeneous as the United States, a political party may not be able to perform its functions and survive without an organizational flexibility that at times resembles chaos. The thread of historical continuity that appears to hold the party symbol intact may indeed be the constant effort to put improbable coalitions together by balancing off internal party interests in a way that comports with the national consensus necessary to win elections (p. 252).

Although Search for Consensus is a chronologically organized party history, much of the strength of the book derives from Professor Goldman's facility in combining historiographic skills with the analytic capacities of a political scientist. Thus, despite all the contingencies and uncertainties in the historical course of American party politics, he is able to extract from the flow of events an intelligible explanation of the ways in which the Democratic party has adapted to changing circumstances in carrying out the complex functions a political party exercises in a constitutional democracy.

The Democratic party is so deeply immersed in the continuum of American history that even its origin is shrouded. The present name was formally adopted at Baltimore in 1840, but that meeting was the third national nominating convention of the Democratic-Republican party, which in turn derived from the incipient congressional party credited to Madison's organization (under Jefferson's influence) of a loyal opposition to the Hamiltonian Federalists in the House of Representatives. Both the Federalists and the (Jeffersonian or Democratic) Republicans developed from their status as parties-in-Congress to parties-in-the-electorate by the time the Virginia dynasty emerged with Jefferson's election as president, although the party as a *national* organization for effective mediation of popular participation in presidential selection arose only in the Jackson era. And it is possible, without excessive mythologizing, to trace the forma-

tive roots back to the Revolutionary period and beyond. The party has, in its own amorphous way, managed to survive the vicissitudes of the founding period, the early sectional struggles, relegation to minority status and dependence on single sectional support after 1865, and, since 1932, maintenance of a substantial numerical majority of voter support and party-designated office holders.

In his historical treatment the author concentrates on the national setting in which the struggle over issues, party leadership, presidential nominations, and the forging of factional and electoral alliances have been worked out through times of triumph and adversity. Less attention is devoted to the implications of organizational structures for reconciling intraparty conflict, strategies needed to secure nominations and produce winning electoral coalitions in the face of localization of election districts and management of electoral processes, and the party segmentation generated by the separation of powers. But in two long chapters following his historical account (which is infused with personalities and factional alignments), Professor Goldman analyzes the contemporary state of party structures and operations at the grass roots and national levels respectively.

By contrast with the pessimism of many recent party analysts about the future of American political parties and the party system, Professor Goldman remains optimistic about the possibility, not only of survival, but of revitalization of the Democratic party organization and its capacity to carry out the essential functions of a party. He recognizes the decline in party identification among voters, the increasing tendencies of candidates to build individual campaign organizations outside party structures, the weakening of points of cohesion both within the congressional party and between the presidential party and Congress, and the incoherence that has resulted from the failure to distinguish between "participation" and "representation" the latest efforts at "democratizing" the party by means of demographic-based quota systems. But his suggestions for pulling the dispersed (often single-issue factions) together seem to reflect more wishful thinking than confidence. His hopes center on increased congressional party cohesion, the reconstitution of a national organization centering on congressional districts, and a

vague possibility that multi-national parties may emerge in democratic nation-states. The question remains, has the search for consensus within the parties and through parties as mediating agencies in elections and in governing bodies finally reached the point at which the fragile structures that sustained the effort have been irretrievably shattered?

Vanderbilt University

WILLIAM C. HAVARD

Automobile Age Atlanta: The Making of a Southern Metropolis. By Howard L. Preston. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. xix, 203 pp. Preface, maps, tables, illustrations, notes, bibliographic essay, index. \$15.00.)

Atlanta's importance as a railroad center has long been recognized by historians; consequently it is gratifying that attention is finally being given to the impact of the automobile on the growth pattern of the most important transportation center in the Southeast. In 1977 Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins suggested possibilities for further investigation in *Atlanta and the Automobile*; however, this was primarily an account of the author's experience with police and traffic problems. Preston's scholarly monograph is, therefore, a pioneering work which adds a significant new dimension to the economic and social history of Atlanta.

As the title suggests, whether it states so explicitly or not, the purpose of the author was to analyze the impact of the use of the automobile from 1900 to 1935 upon the pattern of residential and business expansion in Atlanta. His account is based upon data gathered from a variety of rarely used sources including building permits, automobile registration ledgers, reports of bank clearings, city directories, and social registers. He uses the information imaginatively as he points out how the automobile gave impetus to the growth of Atlanta. During this period the city expanded from a relatively compact community concentrated around the junctions of major rail lines into a sprawling suburban metropolis. He explains the failure of street car lines to promote this expansion, giving credit to the wider use of the automobile. The failure of the street car companies to

serve growing needs deserves additional research, as does Atlanta's promotion of the Good Roads Movement.

The author also analyzes the impact of the development of the city's suburban communities upon the central business community and points out the adverse effect on retail establishments of congested downtown traffic when there was a scarcity of parking facilities. In an interesting chapter he presents information about the efforts of city officials to bridge the hazardous railroad gulch which split the city. Viaducts were eventually built over the railroads to expedite the flow of traffic between the eastern and western sections of the divided city. Attention is also given to the influence of suburbanization upon the pattern of segregation in housing. Although the blacks developed their own suburbs, the author concludes that "the motor vehicle helped quicken the pace of Jim Crowism" (p. 157).

Despite its admirable features, however, the study has certain weaknesses frequently characteristic of doctoral dissertations. The prose style flows smoothly enough, but transitions between sections and chapters tend to be abrupt. There are several oversimplifications and repetitions, and in places the author's meaning of words and phrases lacks clarity. Most apparent is a tendency to exaggerate the impact of the automobile by ignoring other factors and to imply that Atlanta's experience is unique by failure to compare her development with other cities. References to the impact on race and segregation seem to inspire editorial reactions rather than historical judgment. It is surprising that there is no reference to the earlier work of Herbert Jenkins.

Nevertheless, the author has made a perceptive study of an important and hitherto neglected aspect of the history of Atlanta. He has plowed new ground and used unusual sources, thus suggesting new areas for investigation. Made more attractive by the inclusion of interesting photographs, this book is a welcome addition to the growing bibliography now available to illuminate the past of the Gate City of the South. It should inspire similar studies of other cities.

Redneck Mothers, Good Ol' Girls and Other Southern Belles: A Celebration of the Women of Dixie. By Sharon McKern. (New York: Viking Press, 1979. xx, 268 pp. Prologue, epilogue. \$10.95.)

A 40,000-mile journey through the South by southern writer Sharon McKern from one woman to another is the source of conversations and insights that make up *Redneck Mothers, Good Ol' Girls, and Other Southern Belles: A Celebration of the Women of Dixie.* The women McKern interviewed show that southern women make up as diverse a group as any. Most of her informants (a word much too cold for her obviously warm relationship with them all) are not famous, but very successful and inspiring individuals, each in her own way. Faith Brunson, book buyer for Rich's in Atlanta; Louise Mohr, a very down-to-earth evangelist; Sylvia Jackson, a black director of a program for the aging in rural Mississippi, and Ethel Mohamed, a folk embroiderer from Belzoni, Mississippi, are a few of those whose experiences add chapters to McKern's exploration of women of the South.

The author ties these different women together by pointing out traits she has identified as typical of women in Dixie: eccentricity (or at least nonconformity), "traditional" values (often mixed with, but less often dominated by, "Yankee" feminist ideas), and a closeness to family and the land, to name a few. Of course these characteristics are not shared by all she interviewed, and if they do not apply, McKern does not strain to make anyone fit them.

If there is any trait common to all of McKern's southern women, it is their consciousness of being Southern and a deep pride in it as well. She recognizes historical factors, especially the Civil War, as having greatly influenced this consciousness. However, her emphasis is on presenting women and their lives today, rather than tracing the role of southern women in history.

The chapter headings, such as "Southern Comfort: Honkytonk Heroines and Rebel Queens," would seem at first glance to mark just another exercise in stereotyping Southerners, perpetuating myths that have survived too long in most of the United States. But her labels, she seems to realize, are as arbitrary as any, more imaginative than most, and what makes her ap-

proach refreshing is that she makes stereotypes work in a positive way. McKern recognizes "a kernel of truth" in all stereotypes and treats them more as amusing tools for organizing her work conveniently than as a rigid definition of character.

McKern enjoys words and puts them together into a very smooth, quickly-paced book that never drags. Much of the space is devoted to direct quotes, so the reader finishes each chapter with the feeling of having gotten to know one more southern woman. In the end, McKern has introduced a cross-section of southern women thoroughly enough to give readers a "feel" for womanhood in Dixie rather than a pat definition that could never cover everything.

Redneck Mothers, Good Ol' Girls, and Other Southern Belles is certainly what it promises-a celebration. Certain envious Northerners may find it a little too glorifying of southern females, but as McKern sees it, and as most southern readers of her book would agree, southern women deserve all the glory they can get. This celebration bestows it with style.

Center for Southern Folklore Memphis, Tennessee RUTH AMY

"Turn to the South": Essays on Southern Jewry. Edited by Nathan M. Kaganoff and Melvin I. Urofsky. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979. xviii, 205 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, tables, notes, contributors, index. \$7.95.)

In the 1980s it is a clearly accepted fact that the South has risen again. Not of course in terms of an armed rebellion against the concept of a union of American states, but in terms of a "sun-belt" milieu which has attracted industry, commerce, and population.

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of this rennaissance of southern activity is the renewed interest in the history of the southern Jewish experience. The fourteen articles that make up this volume result from a conference on southern Jewish history held in Richmond, Virginia, in 1976. That conference was the prime motivator for the recreation of the Southern Jewish Historical Society, and as the editors of the volume correctly assess, this was a "milestone in American Jewish history." The Richmond conference turned the spotlight of historical inquiry onto a section of American Jewry so important to the first three centuries of its existence.

Despite the uneven quality of their scholarship, it is actually possible to draw a historical sketch of the southern Jewish experience from these articles, of which those by Stephen Whitfield, Arnold Shankman, Stanley Chyet, and Malcolm Stern are by far the best. This sketch contains within it a number of important areas for further historical and sociological research.

Broadly stated, the historical narrative proceeds in the following manner. The two distinct groups of Jewish settlers in the South after 1830-the Germans and later the Eastern Europeansboth came to the region because of its 'cleaner air," less congested by the pollution of economic competition. Jewish peddlers came to the small, out-of-the-way, southern towns and stayed, in many cases, "because the mule died." They found a hard-drinking, God-fearing, bible-quoting "armed camp," as Ludwig Lewisohn described it, in which violence and the more earthy sentiments reigned supreme, and where any expression deviating from group conventions was held as the worst possible disloyalty to the region.

As peddlers, and later as small merchants, the Jews came into individual contact with a great number of Southerners, and a relationship was built, often of trust and friendship, which did not falter even when southern bigots such as Tom Watson, Jeff Davis, and Theodore Bilbo assailed the Jewish "moneylenders and tycoons" and invoked the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The intensity of the Jewish-southern relationship was something new for most of these Jews, and it increased their desire for conformity and assimilation at a time when the pressure to become like their Christian neighbors was already intense.

Nowhere was this more evident than in the rise of classical Reform Judaism, whose temples were constructed with an eye towards the Christian architecture of the times and whose religious services were equally imitative. Early southern rabbis based the essence of their creative religious work upon the formation of cordial ties with their Christian counterparts and the exchange of pulpits. Only then did the rabbis concentrate upon their own congregations. There was a paradox in all of this: how could this most liberal form of Judaism, with its emphasis upon social justice and universal brotherhood, flourish and become a symbol of the Jewish South amidst the religious orthodoxy of the Southern Baptists?

Even more astounding, in view of the pressures for conformity, was the manner in which southern Jews maintained a liberal attitude, never exaggerated to be sure, towards blacks. The race question, Jews knew, was central to much of the history of the southern experience. Their broad educational backgrounds and contact with the outside world, however, guided their business relations with blacks and in some cases their social ones. This Jewish attitude was appreciated and was one of the reasons why the Jew became a symbol of success, a symbol to emulate, for many blacks in the South.

Yet it was the racial question and their own forms of social and religious liberalism which forced southern Jews to try harder, to become in some instances "professional Southerners," in order to be accepted. They wanted to share in the southern sense of tradition, of family, even in the weight of the southern "defeat," a feeling they all too easily understood.

It is clear from even a brief sketch such as the foregoing, how many research possibilities exist within the boundaries of the southern Jewish experience. It is not unrealistic to presume that any number of historians and sociologists, trained in the "new" methods of inquiry, will soon introduce us to a fuller understanding of the topic which is at the heart of this volume. Yet all would do well to heed the words of Eli Evans at the Richmond conference. Evans reminds us that it will be important not only to know what Jews in the South did, but how they felt. These are wise guidelines: we must examine not only the mind of the Jewish South but also its heart.

American Jewish Archives

ABRAHAM J. PECK

Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation. By Kenny A. Franks. (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1979. vii, 257 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, awards, index. \$12.95.)

Stand Watie's life spanned the period in which the Cherokees adopted many aspects of Anglo-American "civilization." linguished their lands in the southeast, migrated to Indian Territory, and participated in the American Civil War. Born in 1806. Watie attended mission schools, and in the 1820s and early 1830s. he served as clerk of the Cherokee Supreme Court, translator at the Cherokee Agency, and, in the absence of his brother Elias Boudinot, editor of the Cherokee Phoenix. When Boudinot and others despaired of resisting Cherokee removal to the West. Watie joined them in signing the Treaty of New Echota. Principal Chief John Ross opposed removal and condemned the treaty negotiated by unauthorized delegates representing a minority of the tribe, and many Cherokees considered Watie and other members of the treaty party to be traitors. Despite the outcry, the United States Senate ratified the treaty, and in the winter of 1838-1839, the Cherokees relocated in what is today northeastern Oklahoma. When opponents of removal killed Boudinot, Major Ridge, and John Ridge in 1839. Watie assumed leadership of the treaty party which proceeded to wage a bitter war against the followers of Chief Ross. In 1846, the factions agreed to a truce which lasted until the Civil War. During this interlude. Watie acquired considerable wealth as a lawver and businessman and served in the National Council. When the Civil War began, Watie, a slaveholder, urged the Cherokees to ally with the South, and in violation of Chief Ross's proclamation of neutrality, he raised a force of 300 men for service in the Confederate army. Ross finally formulated a Confederate alliance, but in 1862, Federal troops invaded the Cherokee Nation, arrested Ross, transported the Principal Chief to the North, and released him on parole. Many Cherokees defected to the Union cause, and Confederate Cherokees elected Watie Principal Chief. He gained reknown for his guerilla raids. including the capture of a Federal wagon train at Cabin Creek in 1864, as the only Indian brigadier general in the Civil War, and as the last Confederate general to surrender. Watie died in

1871 having regained some of his wealth but having failed to obtain a division of the Cherokee Nation.

Rarely have political lines been so clearly drawn as in the Cherokee Nation during Watie's lifetime. The intense factionalism gave rise to virulent political rhetoric of which Stand Watie was a master. Unfortunately, in his biography of Watie, Kenny Franks incorporates Watie's acrimonious charges against Ross into his narrative without assessing their validity. He would have us see Ross as the villian and Watie as the hero, and the result is an extremely biased view of Cherokee history. A more balanced (and accurate) version of the issues and events can be found in Gary E. Moulton's biography of Watie's nemesis, *John Ross. Cherokee Chief.*

Nevertheless, such a partisan biography is not without value. Franks presents Watie's case with such force and knowledge that the reader perhaps has a glimpse of how Stand Watie personally justified his actions and saw his role in Cherokee history. Particularly well done are the chapters on the Civil War. This biography is far superior to its predecessors, Mabel Washbourne Anderson's *Life of General Stand Watie* and Frank Cunningham's *General Stand Watie's Confederate Indians*. It is broader in scope and more thoroughly researched than either and consequently should be welcomed by students of Cherokee history.

Western Carolina University

THEDA PERDUE

Hispanic-American Essays in Honor of Max Leon Moorhead. Edited by William S. Coker. (Pensacola: Perdido Bay Press, 1979. x, 193 pp. Introduction, contributors, illustrations, maps, appendix, index. \$16.95.)

Several years ago, two former graduate students of now retired Professor Moorhead discussed a *festschrift* in his honor. One of them, William S. Coker, of the University of West Florida, has completed this in a limited edition through his own Perdido Bay Press of Pensacola. In it seven former Moorhead M.A. and Ph.D. students have contributed essays ranging from seventeenth-century Spaniards in the western Pacific to late nineteenth-century Mexico. Although Coker wanted to focus the festschrift on

the Borderlands where Moorhead specialized, the essays reflect his students' varying interests. In an introduction, John S. Ezell provides a view of Moorhead as seen by a colleague. It is a personal account of his life, education, and thirty-year professional career which was all spent at the University of Oklahoma. Ezell does not discuss, however, the significance of Moorhead's scholarly contributions.

The seven remaining essays cover a wide area in time and space. Edgar Wickberg, in "Spanish Frontiers in the Western Pacific, 1662-1700," puts forth the arguments that Spanish expansion occurred in the late seventeenth century after a period of contraction, that other European nations slowly learned lessons about Asian trade long known to the Spaniards, and that several frontiers existed-commercial, missionary-military, and pure missionary. In an excellent little study, "Spanish Civil Communities and Settlers in Frontier New Mexico. 1790-1810." Oakah C. Jones, Jr., uses the 1790 and 1810 censuses to reveal new insights about New Mexico's population. Peace and stability in the late colonial period allowed the population to grow. Society permitted mobility and inter-marriage. Most of the population consisted of laborers, farmers, and artisans, and were not Spanish officials, soldiers, and the religious usually associated with frontier communities.

Coker's "John Forbes and Company and the War of 1812 in the Spanish Borderlands" examines the successor store to Panton, Leslie and Company in Florida and its fortunes in a time of flux and Spanish weakness. Both the United States and Britain vied with each other for the colony. Forbes doggedly remained in business until 1818, when he retired to Cuba for the last five years of his life.

In "Transition from Conservatism to Liberalism in Guatemala, 1865-1871," Wayne M. Clegern discusses a pivotal period when the Liberals broke with the Conservatives and seized power. Karla Robinson's revisionist essay, "The Merchants of Post-Independence Buenos Aires," points out that Spanish merchants did not disappear from commerce in the port city after independence, British merchants did not dominate trade, and merchants were frequently the only persons with capital to invest

in land. Even Juan Manuel de Rosas's wealth was largely based on trade and had as allies urban merchants.

The last two essays focus on Mexico. Shirley J. Black's "Napoleon III and European Colonization in Mexico: The Substance of an Imperial Dream," despite its title, examines Sonora and Napoleon III's attempts at modernization through immigration. Maximilian, the alleged puppet, however, stymied his efforts. Lastly, Rolando Andrade's "Juárez-Díaz: The Breaking of a Friendship" states that as early as 1867, as Maximilian was making his final stand, the decisive split occurred between the two men who successively dominated Mexico's history for a half century.

As a compliment to the quality of work Moorhead demanded, most of the essays are based on original documentation and written in a clear manner. Despite a few typographical errors that seem always to rear their ugly heads and a set of illustrations mysteriously buried among the endnotes, the book is a handsome small volume and is offered at an attractive price. The Perdido Bay Press merits congratulations.

Fort Lewis College

GILBERT C. DIN

BOOK NOTES

Don Bernardo de Gálvez has long been associated with Florida history because of his successful attacks against the British in the lower Mississippi Valley and West Florida, climaxed by the capture of Pensacola in 1781 which forced the English to retreat from that area. The roles of Gálvez and his family are described in documents in the Archives of the Historic New Orleans Collection. These have been published in a handsome volume, Tribute to Don Bernardo de Gálvez: Royal Patents and an Epic Ballard Honoring the Spanish Governor of Louisiana. Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., of Tulane University is editor and translator. The foreword is by Robert D. Bush. The publication of the Tribute and the dedication of the plaza in Baton Rouge honoring Gálvez and Oliver Pollock marks the bicentennial of the "Marcha de Gálvez," September 21, 1779. Woodward describes Gálvez's activities during the American Revolution, and there is a sketch, "Oliver Pollock: An Unknown Patriot," by C. Ward Bond. There are also maps and pictures, including a reproduction in color of Gálvez's portrait painted while he served as governor of Louisiana. The original painting hangs in the Louisiana Arts and Science Center. Order Tribute from the Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, Louisiana: the price is \$14.95 plus \$1.50 for handling.

Tokens-metal, rubber, fiber, and plastic-have been used in Florida for many purposes since the 1880s. Trade tokens allowed employees of lumber, phosphate, and other companies to purchase goods at the commissary. It was also a way to control employees credit. Tokens have also been used to advertise commodities and to allow customer discounts. Harley L. Freeman, to whom *Florida Trade Tokens* is dedicated, was an early collector of Florida tokens, and he compiled the first major list of tokens. This larger and more up-to-date compilation by C. R. Clark includes not only a list and the pictures of tokens, but historical data about the companies and organizations which issued tokens. Lumber and mining companies, military post exchanges, concessionaires, bars, dairies, and other businesses have used tokens

for many years. They have been manufactured from a variety of materials, in many colors, shapes, and sizes, and with a variety of lettering imprinted in them. Tokens are becoming increasingly valuable as more collectors show interest in them. *Florida Trade Tokens* sells for \$15.00, and may be ordered from the author, Box 13331, St. Petersburg, Florida 33733.

Melbourne, Florida, Postal History, by Fred A. Hopwood of Melbourne, covers a one-hundred year period, 1880-1980, of Florida community history. Melbourne's first post office was in a trading post located on the riverfront, then the main artery for trade and transportation in the area. Cornthwaite John Hector, from Melbourne, Australia, ran the trading post and served as postmaster. There is little available information on the operations of early mail service in Florida, but Hopwood's book helps to fill that needed gap.

The Brent Block is often considered Pensacola's most important real estate entity. It is named for the Brent family which first settled in the community in the 1840s. *The Brent Block*, by John Appleyard, with art work by Bobbi Broxson, details the activities of the Brents, who have been associated over the years with banking and lumbering, and of William A. Bount, Sr., whose law firm has been associated also with the Block. *The Brent Block* was published by the Pensacola Historical Society under the sponsorship of Durnford Enterprises, Ltd., of Pensacola.

When United States Secretary of the Navy Samuel L. Southard inquired of Henry M. Brackenridge, who was an associate of Andrew Jackson, and the first American alcalde of West Florida and judge of the Territorial District of West Florida, on how best to operate the "Live Oak Reservation" in Pensacola, he received the "Letter On The Culture Of Live Oak," dated June 1, 1828. Brackenridge had established the plantation, which included live oaks, and lemon, peach, and orange trees. He later sold the property to the government for \$2,000, then considered a good price, but he remained in charge of operations. His "Letter" reveals him to be one of America's earliest forest conservationists. The "Letter" has been reprinted, with an introduc-

tion by Ernest F. Dibble, by the John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola. The cost is \$5.00.

American Jewish Landmarks, A Travel Guide and History is by Bernard Postal and Lionel Koppman. Volume II relates to the South and Southwest, and contains a section on Florida. Jewish settlement in this state began with the arrival of Moses Elias Levy in the early nineteenth century. The historical sketch describes Jewish activity in Florida from that time to the present. There is a list of places in Florida having a special association with Jewish history and of Jewish interest. American Jewish Landmarks is published by Fleet Press Corporation, New York City. The paperback sells for \$7.50.

The report, *Minerals In The Economy Of Florida*, was prepared by the Bureau of Mines, United States Department of the Interior. Florida is the sixth largest non-fuel mineral producing state in terms of value and ranks ahead of Arizona, Colorado, and Utah. Nonmetalic minerals dominate Florida's mineral output, with phosphate rock contributing about one-half of the state's total mineral value. Cement and stone are the next most important commodities. There is data on mineral production and income from taxes, royalties, and rentals. The report is available without charge from Publications Distribution Branch, Bureau of Mines, 4800 Forbes Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213.

Of Fact and Fancy . . . at Florida Southern College was edited by Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., who served for nineteen years as president of the college. He was also president of the Florida Historical Society. This volume of memoirs, prepared by alumni and faculty who have been associated with the institution for many years, is part of the college's centennial celebration. Anecdotes, undergraduate experiences, and sketches of memorable college personalities are included, together with many pictures. Order from the Office of Development, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida 33802; the price is \$5.75.

Yamato, Florida: A Colony of Japanese Farmers in Florida was prepared by the Morikami Museum of Japanese Culture,

Palm Beach County, as a teaching manual for the public schools. Japanese farmers were among south Florida's early pioneers. They tried to grow pineapples, but found that the soil was better adapted to winter vegetables which they shipped all over the United States. The Yamato farmers were mostly young bachelors, and those that stayed on in Florida sent back to Japan for their brides. An early settler was George Morikami. His bequest after his death in 1976 provided the endowment for the establishment of the Japanese museum in Delray Beach. The booklet was published by the Palm Beach County Department of Parks and Recreation, Lake Worth, Florida.

The Spring/Summer 1980 issue of *Tampa Bay History* contains the following articles: "The Great Freeze of 1894-95 in Pinellas County," by Michael L. Sanders; "Egmont Key: Sentinel of Tampa Bay," by John W. Stafford; "When the Steamboats Left Tampa Bay," by E. A. "Frog" Smith; "Down at the Court House: A Photographic Essay," by Mark Driscoll and Margaret Anne Lane; "Tony Pizzo's Ybor City"; "An Unconventional and Democratic Picnic," by Marian B. Godown; "A Tribute to Gloria Jahoda," by Peter D. Klingman; and "Where to Find Your Roots In the Tampa Bay Area," by Phyllis Belnap and Marjorie Hazel. *Tampa Bay History* is published semi-annually by the Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa. The annual subscription rate is \$10.00. Single issues are available.

Historic Preservation in Small Towns, A Manual of Practice was written by Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr., a preservationist, and Walter C. Kidney, an architectural historian. They point up the need for saving old buildings and historic properties in small cities and towns (up to 50,000 population). There are many problems, mainly limited financial resources and too few citizens willing and able to battle for preservation. The authors show the economic, esthetic, and cultural values of preservation. Historic Preservation in Small Towns tells how to start a preservation group, how to survey historic property in the community, how to apply for National Register status, how to plan and conduct a comprehensive preservation program, and how to work with lawyers, architects, contractors, and bankers. This is a valuable guide for the many Florida communities showing

concern for community and neighborhood preservation. Published by the American Association for State and Local History, the book is available to members for \$6.75; for others the price is \$8.95.

Local Government Records: An Introduction to Their Management, Preservation and Use, by H. G. Jones, is another recent publication of the American Association for State and Local History. It was produced in cooperation with the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. In the first of two parts. Dr. Jones discusses steps to follow in establishing a local records program. The second part focuses on the use of local government records and provides an analysis of types of local records and a guide to local records research. There is also information on local records services provided by state agencies. In Florida, the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee, approves disposition of county and municipal records. It also gives advice on records files management, and provides microfilming services to local governments. *Local* Government Records sells for \$5.25 to AASLH members, and \$6.95 for nonmembers

Baseball, America's national pastime, reached its golden age during the 1920s and 1930s, the period between the two World Wars. Sunday and night games, along with radio broadcasting, became popular during this period. Baseball, America's Diamond Mind, 1919-1941, by Richard C. Crepeau, describes how many players and managers were active as investors and salesmen in the Florida land boom of the 1920s. The majority of major-league teams trained in Florida at the time. Spittin' Bill Doak, a Brooklyn pitcher, quit baseball to devote full-time energies to selling land at Bradenton. Others, like John J. McGraw, used their fame also to lure customers. When the boom collapsed, McGraw, it was reported, paid back every penny to those who had invested in his defunct project. Later, many of the players returned to baseball. Bill Doak announced, "a baseball salary check in hand is worth ten lots in the backwater." This is a University of Central Florida book, published by University Presses of Florida. The price is \$15.00.

The Gardener's Calendar for South-Carolina, Georgia, and North-Carolina, by Robert Squibb, was first published in 1787. Squibb arrived in Charleston from England in 1780 and started a nursery. Shortly after, he published his Gardener's Calendar which was a valuable guide because it provided information as to the proper methods for cultivating southern vegetables and fruits. Original copies of Squibb's Calendar are exceedingly rare. The appearance of this new edition, published in the Brown Thrasher Books series by the University of Georgia Press, Athens, is very welcome. It is edited by J. Kirland Moore, who has also written a forword. The paperback price is \$9.95.

Major General George Henry Thomas, A Summary In Perspective is by Hans Juergensen of the University of South Florida. Unlike most Civil War generals, Thomas did not write his memoirs. In fact, he directed that his personal papers be destroyed after his death. As a result, he is not so well known as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Schofield. Juergensen notes Thomas's superior military abilities, however. In his earlier career, Thomas served in Florida in the Seminole Wars. Order from American Studies Press, Inc., 13511 Palmwood Lane, Tampa, Florida 33624; the price is \$3.00.

Jeremy Bentham, patriarch of the English utilitarians, was already sixty years old in 1808 when he first became interested in Spanish America, including Florida. He regarded it as a potential utopia, but one in which his principles of utility would have to dominate. Spanish America, Bentham argued, must be free of Spanish control, and he could then direct its reconstruction. The Spanish government thwarted his plans to immigrate to Mexico and his scheme for going to Venezuela, but he did not give up his Spanish American project. If he could not go there in person, he would develop plans and devise schemes to bring his program into fruition. These included a code of laws, plans for education and governmental reforms, and a sketch of an interoceanic canal. Jeremy Bentham on Spanish America, An Account of His Letters and Proposals to the New World, by Miriam Williford, was published by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge 70803. It sells for \$14.95.

Of Grass And Snow, The Secret Criminal Elite, by Hank Messick, describes criminal activities associated with the smuggling into Florida of large quantities of illicit drugs. Captures in Florida waters of boats like Night Train carrying large drug cargoes are described. Published by Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, the book sells for \$9.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Spanish Florida Borderlands Project

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, has received a two-year, \$92,532 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to continue preparing calendars and finding guides to Spanish Florida documents. The Library received an award in 1977 from the National Endowment which allowed preparation of calendars and finding guides to the Stetson Collection and the East Florida Papers. The Stetson Collection includes more than 100,000 photostats of documents copied during the 1920s in the Archivo General de las Indias in Sevilla by Irene A. Wright. The East Florida Papers constitute the governmental records of the province of East Florida during the Second Spanish Period (1783-1821). The new grant will enable the preparation of a calendar and finding guide to the legajos relating to Florida from the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba in the Archivo General de las Indias. Dr. Michael V. Gannon, assistant dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, is principal investigator for the project. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History now holds more Spanish Colonial documents than any other Spanish borderlands archive in the United States.

Papers of Vicente Sebastian Pintado

The Library of Congress Photoduplication Service announces the availability of the microfilm edition of the Pintado Papers. The Papers (1774-1829), numbering approximately 1,500 items, consist of correspondence, bills of sale, court transcripts, testimonies, surveys, notebooks, plats, land grants, maps, petitions, and papers relating to Pintado's official duties as alcalde, assistant surveyor, and, from 1805-1817, surveyor general of Spanish West Florida. The correspondence includes manuscript copies of many of Pintado's outgoing letters as well as communications to him from government officials and leading citizens in Louisiana and West Florida. There is also documentation on the Nicolls raid in the Apalachicola River area during the War of 1812. In addition to personal and professional correspondence, the collection

includes land records of Spanish West Florida, the Gulf coast area from Pensacola to St. Marks. The sixty-two maps, charts, plats, and land surveys, many of which are cadastre, relate also to this coastal area. There is information on the period from the Louisiana Purchase (1803), through the seizure and release of West Florida (1813-1814), to the cession of the Floridas to the United States in 1819. The collection is contained on six reels which are available for \$96.00. A guide to the collection appears on reel one. For information write Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

Preservation and Survey Grants

A number of Florida communities have received grants which will enable them to conduct historical surveys and carry on related work. These include the city of Bradenton for a survey to locate historical, architectural, and archeological properties; the Historic Boca Raton Preservation Board to conduct a survey of that community; Historic Lakeland, Inc., to develop a survey of the Lake Mirror area; and the Historic Broward County Preservation Board to conduct a historical and architectural survey of Hollywood and an archeological survey of the South Fork River. The Riverside/Avondale Preservation Society of Jacksonville plans to survey a six-square mile area. The Historic Pensacola Preservation Board will complete the third phase of a historical and architectural survey of Escambia County. The Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board will also complete the third phase of a comprehensive survey of their community. The Metropolitan Dade County Park and Recreation Department will develop the final phase of a comprehensive survey of Dade County. Dr. Barbara Purdy, University of Florida, will supervise an archeological survey of portions of central and north Florida to search for prehistoric artifacts and organic cultural materials in dry land areas that are believed to have once been submerged. Monroe County has been awarded a grant to continue restoration of the West Martello Tower in Key West.

Announcements and Activities

The Southern Genealogist's Exchange Society will hold its annual seminar/workshop at the Holiday Inn, South I-95 at

Emerson Street, Jacksonville, Florida, on October 17-18, 1980. Speakers are Dr. A. Fredric Blakey, University of Florida; Dr. John I. Coddington, Bordertown, New Jersey; and Brent H. Holcomb, Columbia, South Carolina. For information write to the Society, Box 2801, Jacksonville, Florida 32203.

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society is currently engaged in an oral history project relating to the 1926 hurricane. Recollections of those who survived the storm are being taped and will be deposited in the Society's archives. Dan Hobby, assistant director of the Society, is in charge of the project. For information or suggestions, contact him at Box 14043, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33302.

Paul A. Gore is seeking information for a biography of his grandfather, R. H. Gore, Sr. Individuals who have personal information, anecdotes, or stories about the governor, are asked to contact Paul Gore, Suite 528, Bayview Building, 1040 Bayview Drive, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33304.

There are four National Forests in Florida-Apalachicola, Ocala, Osceola, and Choctawhatchee. Photographs, news clippings, letters, diaries, and oral histories concerning the seventy-two year history of the United States Forest Service in Florida are being collected by National Forests in Florida. Anyone having items or information, or anyone wanting more details of the program, should contact Sandi Forney, National Forests in Florida, 2586 Seagate Drive, Box 13549, Tallahassee, Florida 32308.

The Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida, has prepared a traveling photographic exhibit of the life of blacks in Miami. The Foundation operates a history and research center at the Joseph Caleb Center in Miami. It includes letters, organizational records, manuscripts, photographs, and oral history tape recordings. There is also an ethnic heritage collection with materials on Haitians and Spanish speaking people living in south Florida. For information on the Foundation or the availability of the photographic exhibit, contact the Center, 5400 N.W. 22nd Avenue, Miami, Florida 33142.

Lieutenant General James (Jimmy) Doolittle, USAF (ret.) was the guest of the Beaches Area Historical Society when a historical marker was dedicated at 425 Beach Boulevard on Sep-

tember 4, 1980. The marker commemorates Doolittle's 1922 record-setting transcontinental flight which began at Jacksonville (then Pablo) Beach. The members of the Society are restoring the Florida East Coast Railroad House, and will operate it as a house museum.

The Historical Society of Okaloosa and Walton Counties has received from the Okaloosa County Commission a collection of newspapers - bound volumes and loose issues - which were published in Okaloosa County since 1915. The runs are not complete, and the Society would like additional copies of the papers. Write the Society, Box 488, Valparaiso, Florida 32580.

The Florida Genealogical Journal (Vol. XVI, No. 1) contains historical and genealogical data, including excerpts from Hillsborough County commission and marriage records. There is also a history of the Brooksville Baptist Church by Annie Jo Law, based upon records which date back to March 2, 1856. The Journal is published by the Florida Genealogical Society, Box 18624, Tampa, Florida 33679. H. Royall Brown serves as editor.

The Citadel's Third Conference on the South will be held on April 23-25, 1981. Persons interested in presenting papers should submit titles, an outline of their proposals, and their vita by November 1, 1980 to Dr. Walter J. Fraser, Jr., The Citadel Conference on the South, The Citadel, Department of History, Charleston, South Carolina 29409. The theme for the conference is the paradox of the southern experience, but all aspects of southern history from the colonial period to the present will be included.

The 1979 Richard H. Collins Award for the best article in the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* has been given to Dale Royalty of East Tennessee State University.

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society received a large collection of 75,000 negatives from photographer Gene Hyde. These are added to the 70,000 negatives previously donated by Mr. Hyde. The Society now has 160,000 negatives in its collection, about 12,000 of which have been indexed and printed. When the Hyde collection is indexed it will constitute a major source of information on the history of Fort Lauderdale.

SEVENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1980

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 1

MEETING OF THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS
Howard Johnson Convention Center
Orlando, Florida

Friday, May 2 Registration: Convention Center, 8:00 A.M.

Morning Session-

Florida Tourism

Welcome: Judge Donald A. Cheney, Orlando
Chairperson: William M. Goza, Madison

"Ponce de León Slept Here: A History of Tourism in Florida" Hampton Dunn, *Tampa*

> "Tourism in Miami: 1900-1940" Paul S. George, *Atlanta Junior College*

> > Commentator: Madeline Carr

Afternoon Session-

Red and Black Floridians
Chairperson: Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville

"Some Black Friends in Spanish West Florida" Jack D. L. Holmes, *Louisiana Collection Series, Birmingham*

"Northwest Florida's Forgotten People: The Creek Indians from 1830 until 1970" Lucius Ellsworth and Jane Dysart, *University of West Florida*

"The Florida Seminoles and the Federal Census of 1900: The Report of J. O. Fries" Harry A. Kersey, *Florida Atlantic University*

Commentator: George Pozzetta, University of Florida

Saturday, May 3 Morning Session-

Historic Preservation in Florida
Panel Discussion

Chair: Milton Jones, Clearwater

Moderator: Arva Moore Parks, Coral Gables

Panelists: William Adams,

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board
Joan Jennewein, Florida Trust for Historic Preservation
Lee Warner, Florida Department of State

Luncheon and Business Meeting Convention Center Pool Side

Invocation: The Reverend James Kunze Trinity Lutheran Church, Orlando

Presiding: Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, *University of Central Florida*, president *The Florida Historical Society*

Slide presentation: "The Way We Were" Jean Yothers, Orlando Orange County Auditorium

Annual Banquet 7:30 P.M.

Invocation: Dr. William C. Tuck First Congregational Church, Winter Park

Presiding: Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, president The Florida Historical Society

Presentation of Awards

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Award in Florida History Presented by John K. Mahon to Jerrell Shofner

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award Presented by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., to Virginia Bergman Peters

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award Presented by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau to Natalie Savage Carlson American Association for State and Local History Awards
Presented by Linda V. Ellsworth,

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, to

August Burghard, Fort Lauderdale

Thomas Cultural Center, City of Gainesville

Speaker: J. Wayne Flynt

Auburn University

Address: "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Publisher"

MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner, president of the Florida Historical Society, called the annual meeting of the board of directors of the Society to order at 8:15 p.m., Thursday, May 1, 1980, at the Howard Johnson Convention Center, Orlando. Present were Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Linda V. Ellsworth, Lucius F. Ellsworth, Paul George, Thomas Graham, E. Ashby Hammond, Hayes L. Kennedy, Christian LaRoche, John Mahon, Janet Snyder Matthews, Thomas Mickler, Vernon Peeples, Thelma Peters, Olive Peterson, O. C. Peterson, Paul Wehr, and Linda K. Williams. Paul E. Camp of the Society staff and Margaret Ann Lane representing the Florida Historical Confederation were also present. Samuel Proctor, Nancy Dobson, and Wright Langley were absent.

The board unanimously approved the minutes of the December 1, 1979, board meeting in Tampa, as they were published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVIII (April 1980), 484-87.

Dr. Shofner called on Lucius Ellsworth, chairman of the ad hoc finance committee, for a report. Other members of the committee are Milton Jones, Hayes L. Kennedy, Vernon Peeples, and Randy Nimnicht. The committee had been asked to review the financial and other related activities of the Society. Meeting in Tampa at the Florida Historical Society Library, March 16, 1980, with Margaret Burgess and Paul Camp, the committee drafted a list of proposals for the board's consideration at the annual meeting. Following lengthy discussion, the board of directors adopted the following committee recommendations:

Annual Meeting: The program should be designed to be intellectually stimulating and enjoyable; there should be a variety of events scheduled for each meeting; the papers presented should recognize the diverse interests of the audience; and the program committee should urge participants to prepare provocative papers to include, where appropriate, audio-visual materials. The banquet speakers or programs should also be brief and enjoyable. The Florida Historical Confederation workshop should be organized as an integral part of the annual meeting program, and the program committee should include at least one representative from the Confederation. The registration fee for the annual meeting should cover the costs of the meeting.

Florida Historical Quarterly: The editor is encouraged to maintain the present high quality of the publication and to include graphic materials wherever possible. If budgetary restrictions become necessary, the book review section should be limited to reviews of publications principally about Florida and the South.

Florida Historical Confederation: The Society recognizes that the Confederation is an integral part of the organization and will do whatever is needed to increase its membership, enhance its program, and widen its base of activities. Confederation workshop programs should be evaluated to ensure that they meet the needs and satisfy the interests of the member organizations. A system to monitor the finances of the Confederation should be established.

Newsletter: The Society will continue publication of the *Newsletter,* and a three-member editorial board should be appointed to establish editorial policy. An ad hoc committee should be appointed to evaluate the *Newsletter* and report its recommendations at the next meeting of the board of directors.

Florida Historical Society Library: The agreement between the University of South Florida and the Florida Historical Society should be assessed by the board of directors to determine the benefits which both parties receive from the arrangement. A written acquisition, retention, and valuation policy for the collections of the library needs to be drafted for board approval. A system for monitoring the use of the collections will be developed, and there will be a review of the insurance coverage (fire, theft, liability, etc.) for the collections and users of the collections to be authorized by the board of directors.

Management Practices: A permanent finance committee will be created with delegated authority to manage the finances of the Society. This committee, to be appointed by the president, shall direct and supervise the investments of the Society in whatever form or manner that the committee deems suitable and advisable. The fiscal year of the Society shall run from January 1 through December 31. The executive secretary will present a written budget for review and approval by the board of directors at its annual winter meeting. This budget should contain annual projections of all Society and Confederation activities. A financial review of the Society by an outside agency will be completed annually.

Finances: A financial committee will be authorized to transfer funds into higher return, safe, and relatively liquid investments; efforts should be made to convert the various endowment accounts that support the three literary prizes so as to produce annual needed revenues. The following new annual dues structure will be instituted: student membership (with instructor, department, or college certification) \$10.00, individual membership \$15.00, family membership \$20.00, and contributing membership \$50.00. All other categories of dues shall be abolished.

Dr. Shofner discharged the ad hoc finance committee with thanks for their work and recommendations. The board recommended that a committee of three or four members be appointed by the incoming president to review the structure and functions of existing committees and to investigate ways to involve more members of the Society.

Janet Snyder Matthews, co-chair of the nominating committee, reported, on behalf of her committee: Marcia Kanner, co-chair; Milton Jones, Helen Ellerbe; and Dena Snodgrass. The following nominations for officers and directors will be presented to the membership for action; president, John K. Mahon, Gaines-ville; president-elect, Olive Peterson, Fort Pierce; vice-president, Randy Nimnicht, Miami; recording secretary, Mildred L. Fryman, Tallahassee; directors-district 1, William R. Adams, St. Augustine, and W. Sperry Lee, Jacksonville; district 2, Glenn Westfall, Tampa; district 4, Eugene Lyon, Vero Beach; and at large, Linda V. Ellsworth, Pensacola. The report of the nominating committee was adopted. The nominating committee recommended that the

board of directors consider the addition of a director from a fifth district (districts to coincide with the state judicial districts), that five regional vice-presidents be appointed, and that former officers and experienced members be appointed to a special advisory committee. No action was taken on these recommendations.

Dr. Shofner reported that Jay B. Dobkin had resigned as executive secretary and librarian and that Mrs. Margaret Burgess had retired from her position with the Society. Mrs. Nancy Dilley has been employed by the University of South Florida to fill the position vacated by Mrs. Burgess. Dr. Shofner recommended that Paul Camp be appointed executive secretary and librarian, and the directors concurred. Dr. Shofner will seek a written statement from the University of South Florida describing the responsibilities to the Society of Mrs. Dilley and Mr. Camp.

The financial report for the year ending March 31, 1980, as presented by Mr. Camp, shows the net worth for the Society is \$65,838.22. This is an increase of \$3,301.19 since the report of March 1979. Mr. Camp announced the gifts to the Society this past year. He reported on the continuing effort to identify, locate, and inventory artifacts, art objects, and other memorabilia belonging to the Society.

Paul George, chairman of the membership committee, noted that membership as of March 31, 1980, totaled 1,653, as compared with 1,650 the previous year. During the past year 201 people were dropped from the membership rolls for a variety of reasons, mainly a failure to renew. Dr. George encouraged all board members to recruit new members of the Society.

Lucius Ellsworth reported on behalf of the committee that is examining ways to increase the interest in history among young people. Committee members include Jane Dysart, Pensacola; Joyce Miller, Gainesville; Arva Moore Parks, Miami; Peter Klingman, Daytona Beach; Paul Wehr, Maitland; and Margaret Ward, Lakeland. The board recommended that the State Commissioner of Education be asked to direct that local, state, and national history be taught in public schools, that American history courses include a section on Florida history, and that the teaching of Florida history at the seventh grade level be strengthened. Dr. Ellsworth's report was approved by the board.

The board authorized that a pilot project, a History Fair, be

organized in four to six counties around the topic, "Florida and Its People." Prizes will be given to the winners, who will be recognized at the Florida Historical Society annual meeting. The board authorized expenditure of up to \$1,100 (\$600 for prizes and up to \$500 for expenses). A progress report will be made at the next board meeting, and there will be an assessment of the project in May, 1981. The board also approved the expenditure of up to \$300 for a one-year pilot project, together with the Orange and Seminole counties school boards, private colleges, and the University of Central Florida, in a program to develop and coordinate activities relating to junior history clubs. Dr. Ellsworth's committee also recommended investigating the awarding of a biennial prize recognizing the development of curricular materials to be used in teaching Florida history. The promotion of workshops to improve the teaching of Florida history will be examined.

The board approved a motion by Dr. Doherty, that the Society urge the continued use of the name King's Road for the historic roadway in northeast Florida.

Dr. Shofner appointed a committee-O. C. Peterson, Paul George, and Linda Williams-to ascertain the possibility of the Florida Historical Society meeting jointly with the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation or with Phi Alpha Theta. Thomas Mickler suggested a Florida History Day with events and activities scheduled around the state.

The board directed that a letter of appreciation be sent to Secretary George Firestone thanking him for the participation of members of the Florida History on Museum staff in the Confederation workshop.

In Dr. Proctor's absence, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., submitted the report for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. All issues in Volume LVIII were mailed during the months shown on the cover of the journal. The excellent relationship with the E. O. Painter Printing Company continues, notwithstanding the fact that publication prices were increased this year. A total of twenty articles were published in Volume LVIII. A major problem facing the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, as reported to the board at the December 1979 meeting, is the decline in the submission of articles and the poor quality of the material that is submitted.

The situation is not as critical for the *Quarterly* presently as it was several months ago; there is presently enough acceptable material for the next few issues. Dr. Proctor urges members of the board of directors to submit their own material and encourage others to submit articles to the journal. The editor is interested in receiving material, both from professional and non-professional historians. He is also anxious to review all books relating to Florida.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for the best book on Florida History will go to Mrs. Virginia Bergman Peters, Falls Church, Virginia, for The Florida Wars. The Patrick committee included Louis Perez, Jr., University of South Florida; Paul W. Wehr, University of Central Florida; and Robert R. Rea, Auburn University. The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award will be received by Natalie Savage Carlson of Clearwater for her book Time of the White Egret. Committee members were Janet Snyder Matthews, Sarasota; Christian LaRoche, Valparaiso; and Wright Langley, Key West. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for the best article to appear in Volume LVIII of the Florida Historical Quarterly will be awarded to Jerrell Shofner for "Mary Grace Quackenbos: A Visitor Florida Did Not Want," which appeared in the January 1980 issue. Members of the committee were Randy T. Nimnicht, Historic Association of South Florida, Miami; Wayne Flynt, Auburn University; and Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:15 p.m.

Minutes of the Business Meeting

President Jerrell Shofner called the annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society to order at the Howard Johnson Convention Center, Orlando, on Saturday, May 3, 1980, at 1 p.m. He recognized the following past presidents who were in attendance: Dr. Thelma Peters, Miami; Milton Jones, Clearwater; William Goza, Clearwater and Madison; Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Gainesville; Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville; Charlton W. Tebeau, professor emeritus, University of Miami; Frank Sessa, Orlando; and Judge James J. Knott, West Palm Beach.

Mrs. Marcia Kanner, reporting for the nominating commit-

tee, recommended the following slate of directors and officers to the membership: John K. Mahon, president; Olive Peterson, president-elect; Randy Nimnicht, vice-president; Mildred Fryman, recording secretary; and as directors, Eugene Lyon, Glenn Westfall, W. Sperry Lee, William R. Adams, and Linda V. Ellsworth. There were no nominations from the floor, and the membership unanimously approved the slate. Dr. Shofner welcomed the new officers and directors and thanked all of the directors whose terms are expiring at this meeting for their help and support.

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., reported on the Florida Historical Quarterly on behalf of Dr. Proctor, the editor. Dr. Proctor had indicated his thanks to his editorial assistant. David Sowell, and to his editorial board: Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Florida State University; Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami; Dr. John Mahon, University of Florida; Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida; and Dr. Jerrell Shofner, University of Central Florida. He is also grateful to the University of Florida and to the Florida State Museum for its support of the publication of the Quarterly. He thanked Elizabeth Alexander and the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, and Joan Morris, director of the State Photographic Archives, for their help and assistance. Thanks were also extended to Dick Johnston of the E. O. Painter Printing Company for his cooperation in the publication of the journal. Dr. Proctor reiterated his interest in articles dealing with all aspects of Florida history and urged the submission of such material by professional and non-professional historians. He is also interested in publishing reviews or notices of all books (new or reprints), booklets, monographs, pamphlets, etc., dealing with any aspect of Florida history.

Mr. William Goza presented a check for \$1,000 from the Wentworth Foundation to President Shofner for support of the *Quarterly.* President Shofner expressed his thanks to Mr. Goza and to the Foundation for their continuing support of the Society and all its activities.

Lucius F. Ellsworth announced the approval of the board of directors to begin a pilot program, a History Fair, during the coming year in four to six Florida counties. He asked members interested in participating in this project to contact him.

Mr. William Goza, chairman of the Resolution Committee, presented the following resolutions which were unanimously approved by the membership:

BE IT RESOLVED, that thanks and appreciation are due and are hereby extended to the Orange County Historical Society, Henry S. Sanford Museum-Library, Apopka Historical Society, the University of Central Florida, Rollins College, Valencia Community College, and Seminole Community College for their sponsorship of this convention and its activities.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that special thanks be extended to the Orange County Historical Society for hosting a museum reception for the membership, which afforded hospitality and an opportunity to see the varied and interesting exhibits at the Orange County Museum.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that grateful recognition is given to Dr. Thomas Graham and Dr. Glenn Westfall for organizing an interesting and informative program.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Society notes with regret and a sense of loss the death of the following members since the last meeting:

Eve Bacon, Winter Park Aileen V. Ellis, Eglin Air Force Base Ruth Groziano, Fort Pierce Mildred Kaucher, Lake Wales Gloria Jahoda, Tallahassee Rogers W. Young, Savannah, Georgia.

The following awards, it was announced, will be presented at the banquet:

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1979-1980 to Dr. Jerrell Shofner for his article, "Mary Grace Quackenbos: A Visitor Florida Did Not Want," which appeared in the January 1980 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The awards committee included Randy T. Nimnicht, Historical Association of South Florida, Miami; Wayne

Flynt, Auburn University; and Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami.

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award to Mrs. Virginia Bergman Peters, Falls Church, Virginia, for *The Florida Wars*. Judges were Louis Pérez, Jr., University of South Florida; Paul W. Wehr, University of Central Florida; and Robert R. Rea, Auburn University.

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award to Natalie Savage Carlson of Clearwater, for her book *Time of the White Egret.* The judges were Janet Snyder Matthews, Sarasota; Christian LaRoche, Valparaiso; and Wright Langley, Key West.

The following American Association for State and Local History awards will also be presented at the banquet: a Certificate of Commendation to August Burghard, Fort Lauderdale, for a lifetime of services dedicated to the preservation and publication of the history of Fort Lauderdale; and a Certificate of Commendation to the City of Gainesville for the restoration of the Thomas Hotel and its development as a cultural center.

President Shofner extended his special thanks to Mrs. Shirley Boutwell for her assistance with the annual meeting and in helping with the business of the Society throughout his term as president.

The 1981 meeting of the Society will be held in St. Petersburg, May 1-2, 1981. The Florida Historical Confederation will hold a workshop on April 30 in conjunction with this convention. The Bay Front Concourse Hotel has been selected as the convention hotel. Milton Jones of Clearwater will be in charge of local arrangements. Linda V. Ellsworth, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, and Dr. Peter Klingman, Daytona Beach Community College, are in charge of the program. They invite anyone interested in presenting a paper at the meeting to contact them.

Dr. Shofner announced that there will be a slide presentation, "The Way We Were," at the Convention Center at 2:30 p.m. The banquet is scheduled for the Howard Johnson Convention Center at 7 p.m., with Dr. J. Wayne Flynt, chairman, Department of History, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama, as the speaker.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:20 p.m.

Respectfully submitted, Linda V. Ellsworth Recording Secretary

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

Donations were made to the Father Jerome Fund by Mr. and Mrs. John DuBois and Carling Gresham, and there was an anonymous donation to the fund that supports the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History Award. The Wentworth Foundation, Inc., made a generous contribution to the support of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

A scrapbook of Spanish-American war clippings, compiled by Admiral Boush, was donated by Mrs. Ethel Holt. Thomas O. Jones, Rockville, Maryland, presented photocopies of articles and other materials relating to Randolph Caldecott. Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville, donated Seton Fleming's personal copies of the Florida Historical Quarterly together with a collection of meeting programs and other memorabilia. A number of back issues of the Florida Historical Quarterly came from the Florida State Library; a collection of Florida postcards, ca. 1910, was the gift of Kristina T. Ells, Brooklyn, New York; and Marian Godown, Fort Myers, donated several pamphlets and clippings. Books and magazines were presented to the Library by J. Orten Buck, Mrs. Ralph Wadlow, Mrs. John Linehan, the estate of Martin LaGodna, Vertie Knapp, G. B. Chase, Donald E. Spencer, Samuel Proctor, Charles Peckham, Continental Heritage Press, Florida State University Center for Economic Education, Harold F. Langland, University of South Florida Library Associates, Florida Department of Agriculture, Hampton Dunn, Louise Fahrney, Marian D. Steele, Nancy Hart, Robert C. Bird, and the Department of History, University of South Florida.

NEW MEMBERS 1979-1980

Mario Albano, Jacksonville

***Otto F. Allen, Inverness
Tim Anagnost, Coral Gables
Cliff Apel, Marathon
Charles Badger, Weirsdale

***Mrs. William D. Barfield, Jacksonville
Patrick J. Baska, Masaryktown

Ray Battle, Dade City Wälter R. Berman, Öcala

**Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Berry, Lake City **Mr. and Mrs. Ted Bessette, Boca Raton

**Mr. John W. and Ms. Dolores D. Booth, Dunnellon

Shirley Boutwell, Orlando

***G. Holmes Braddock, Miami

Dale Brasher, Tallahassee

Kathryn B. Brunstrom, Winter Park

Lillian G. Burns, Sarasota

***Mrs. Al Burt, Hawthorne

David Bushnell, Gainesville Stuart L. Butler, Fairfax, VA

Paul Eugen Camp, Tampa

***Mrs. Harold D. Cardwell, Daytona Beach

***Mrs. Rick S. Carson, Atlanta, GA

***Mrs. Deryck M. Clark, Miami ***Mrs. William Clarkson, St. Augustine

C. A. Clopton, Pensacola Fran Conklin, Mount Dora

***Ed Cosado, Miami

Joyce Costomiris, Coral Springs

***B. W. Council, Ruskin Lawrence Couvillon, Fort Walton Beach

Tena L. Crenshaw, Miami

Alan Dawkins, Pensacola

***Mrs. Glen Dill, New Port Richey ***Jack T. Dobson, Tallahassee

Tom Dougherty, Clermont

Charles G. Douglass, Jacksonville Mrs. Lawrence E. Dube, Sarasota

***Lucius M. Dyal, Lutz Louise C. Fahrney, St. Augustine

***N. F. Fain, Quincy

***Mrs. J. Brown Farrior, Tampa

**Mr. and Mrs. Marshall Ewing Findley, Rolla, MO

Charles Carroll Fishburne, Jr., Cedar Key

Robert R. Funderburk, Tallahassee

Christine S. Galbraith. Tallahassee

Edward R. George, Virginia Beach, VA Bonnie Georgiadis, Tarpon Springs

**Charles D. and Elizabeth K. Gibson, Jekyll Island, GA

Norman Gillespie, Coral Gables Dawn Gladin, Milledgeville, GA

***Edward G. Grafton, Coral Gables

Henrietta Taul Green, Fort Lauderdale

***Mrs. E. Ashby Hammond, Gainesville

Michael Hartenstein, Sarasota

Myrtle Hatton, Panama City

James Daryl Hawkins, Jacksonville

Barry G. Hayes, Sarasota

J. V. Hays, DeLand

Peter Hebert, Miami

Dennis Heffernan, Palm Beach

Daniel T. Hobby, Coral Springs Mrs. Newman A. Hoopingarner, Dunedin

Ruth Housell, Fort Pierce Mrs. Ladson F. Howell, Beaufort, SC

**Mr. and Mrs. L. B. Humphreys, Ocala

***Mrs. Werner Husmann, Winter Park Mrs. C. C. Hutchinson, Tampa W. Harvell Jackson, Ludedale, MS

Mary James, Miami

Louis Jepeway, Jr., Miami Elizabeth Johnson, Tallahassee

Elise C. Jones, Gainesville Ms. Johnnie V. Juby, Sanford

Dick Kearn, Orlando

Steven J. Keating, San Francisco, CA

Mrs. Jerome Kiefer, Jasper

***Mrs. Robert L. Knight, Clearwater

Rose Lambert, New Orleans, LA

John J. LaRoche, Altamonte Springs

**Gayle and Bette Williams Loggins, Bradenton Beach Hilda McCown, Clermont

John V. McElgin, Dunedin

Mrs. Bruce MacKinnon, Harbor Bluffs

Pam Mc Lendon, Tampa W. G. McMullen, Tallahassee

**Mr. and Mrs. G. W. McSwiggan, Miami

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***Mrs. Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine
***Mrs. Henry S. Marks, Huntsville, AL
Daniel O. Markus, Miami
*Serge A. Martinez, Sr., Omaha, NE
Walter Mathews, Sarasota

***I was Mathews Jan Sarasota

***Lamar Matthews, Jr., Sarasota

Mrs. Turner Matthews, Bradenton Skip Matus, Tallahassee

James R. Mauney, Orange City

Sam Miller, Tallahassee

Shirley Graves Modell, Gainesville

Joseph R. Morgan, Cocoa Beach

***Mrs. Allen C. Morris, Tallahassee

**Mr. and Mrs. Ken Mulder. Tampa Bert John Mullins, Anna Maria

J. Bryan Murphy, Clearwater

Lester Murray, Palmetto Jean Myers, Ďade City

***Larry Negulesco, North Miami

***George Nelson, Crescent City

Jack L. Nelson, Pompano Beach

M. A. O'Hara, Live Oak

*Mrs. Arthur H. Park, Orlando

Jane Patton, Panama City

*Mrs. Robert H. Paul, Jr., Jacksonville

Ann W. Payne, Fort Myers

John W. Peach, Jasper

O. L. Peacock, Fort Pierce *Mrs. Vernon Peeples, Punta Gorda

F. P. Peterkin, Gainesville

Harold Peters, Ellenton

*Michael W. Popejoy, Orlando

Leon O. Prior, Pompano Beach

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Historical Societies

Governor Witt, Palm Beach Lamar York, Atlanta, GA

Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta, GA Clearwater Historical Society, Inc., Clearwater Jackson County Heritage Association, Mariann Jacksonville Museum of Arts and Sciences, Jacksonville Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, LA Winter Park Historical Association, Winter Park

Libraries

Allamanda Elementary School, Lake Park
Collier Free Public Library, Naples
Coral Springs Middle School, Coral Springs
Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee
Fondren Library, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX
Gadsden County Public Library, Quincy
History/Political Science, Pensacola Junior College, Pensacola
Latt Maxcy Memorial Library, Frostproof
Lutheran High School Association of Central Florida, Orlando
Marine Cultural Resources Foundation, Key West
North Dade Regional Library, Miami
Northeast Branch Library, Miami
Norwood Elementary School, Jacksonville
Palm Beach Gardens High School, Palm Beach Gardens
South Dade Regional Library, Miami
South Miami Junior High School, Miami
Taylor County Junior High School, Perry
University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK
Wesconnett Elementary School, Jacksonville
West Dade Regional Library, Miami

^{*}Fellow-New

^{**}New Family Members

^{***}Family Membership; extended from previous membership

TREASURER'S REPORT

April 1, 1979-March 31, 1980

Net Worth, March 31, 1980 Current Assets:		\$65,838.22
University State Bank (Tampa)		
, , , ,	\$ 3,929.29	
checking University of South Florida	3 3,323.23	
	700.00	
account 76-9902-000	562.02	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.	000.05*	
(Gainesville)	936.25*	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn.	0.400.00	
(Gainesville)	3,420.83	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan Assn.	4,126.31	
University State Bank (Tampa)	2,278.10	
Freedom Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Tampa)	9,413.30	
Guaranty Federal Savings & Loan Assn.		
(Gainesville)	270.12*	
E. F. Hutton	40,776.00	
Middle South Utilities (six shares)	126.00 \$65,838.22	
Receipts:		
Memberships:		
Annual	\$ 8,540.00	
Fellow	580.00	
Historical Societies	530.00	
Contributing	400.00	
Libraries	3,773.50	
Institutional	100.00	
Family	1,665.00 \$15,588.50	
Contributions:		
Wentworth Foundation, Inc	\$ 1,000.00	
Thompson Award Fund	150.00	
Jerome Book Fund	35.00 \$ 1,185.00	
Other Receipts:	00.00 0 1,100.00	
Quarterly Sales	695.00	
Labels	96.70	
Duplicating	369.60	
Postage	57.12	
Annual meeting	2,925.00	
Insurance refund	60.00	
Interest:	00.00	
First Federal	872.40	
Guaranty Federal	181.76	
Tampa Federal	218.73	
University State Bank	115.86	
Freedom Federal	499.17	
F F Lutton	329.80	
E. F. Hutton Transfer of funds to checking:	329.60	
Main	9 000 00	
Main Jerome Book Fund	2,000.00	
Thompson Arrand	208.00	
Thompson Award	150.00	
Tebeau Award	150.00 \$ 8,929.14	
Julian C. Yonge Publication Fund:	0 000 50	
Guaranty Federal interest	\$ 998.58	
E. F. Hutton interest	446.20	
Middle South Utilities dividend	9.21	
Royalties (Aristocrat in Uniform)	14.66	
Contributions	50.00 \$ 1,518.65	

Disbursements:			
Florida Historical Quarterly			
Printing and mailing	\$11,915.07		
Mailer labels	104.33		
Copyrights	64.00		
University of Florida Teaching	01.00		
Resources Center (photographs)	27.10		
Editor's expenses	1,000.00		
P. O. box rent, Gainesville			
	22.00	010 007 00	
Stationary and envelopes	73.12	\$13,205.62	
Annual Convention:			
Programs, meal tickets			
Plaque	28.65		
Lunch	780.94		
Banquet	1,239.08		
Motel	300.00		
Executive secretary expenses	144.44		
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize.	150.00		
Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Award	150.00		
Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Award		\$ 3,477.54	
Other Expenses:	100.00	Ų 0,177.01	
Florida Historical Society Newsletter	\$ 1.237.35		
Checkbook expense (service charge)	5.44		
Duplicating	253.18		
Postage and Telephone	1,155.68		
Evocutivo corretary's office expenses	1,116.50		
Executive secretary's office expenses Jerome Book Fund	225.12		
Microfilm	175.45		
Corporation tax	10.00		
Bookbinding	371.22		
C.P.A. (preparing income tax)	50.00		
Insurance	109.00		
Refund duplicate library membership.	20.00		
Transfer to funds:			
Extra to Main	2,000.00		
Thompson to checking	150.00		
Jerome to checking	208.00		
Tebeau to checking	150.00	\$ 7.236.94	
g		,	\$23,920.10
Net Income			3,301.19
			,
Balance, March 31, 1980			\$65,838.22

*To provide higher returns for the Society, \$40,000.00 was transferred from savings accounts to E. F. Hutton for investment in the Money Market.

WORKSHOP FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION THURSDAY MAY 1, 1980 HOWARD JOHNSON CONVENTION CENTER ORLANDO

Morning Session:

Welcome and Introduction to the Workshop; Display or Exhibit: Museum Philosophy; A Basic and Expanding Tool Kit for Museums; Matting and Framing: Materials and Techniques; Building and Adapting Display Cases.

Afternoon Session:

Making Professional-looking Labels; Visual Images: Photographs and Alternate Media; Objects: Care, Handling and Security for Exhibition.

Workshop Speakers

From the staff of The Museum of Florida History, Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Department of State: Margaret Anne Lane, Mark Driscoll, Andy Brian, Kermit M. Brown, Ed Jonas, and John LoCastro.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING May 1, 1980

The executive board meeting was called to order by Margaret Anne Lane, at 4:45 p.m., May 1, 1980. Present were Elizabeth Ehrbar, Addie Emerson, Christian LaRoche, Olive Peterson, and Paul Camp. Absent were Marjorie Patterson and John Opdyke.

Ms. Lane made a motion to reaffirm and include as a permanent part of the minutes the board's sincere appreciation to Dr. Robert Harris for the excellent work he has done during his tenure, and to extend sincere wishes for his speedy recovery.

Ms. Lane announced that next year's meeting will be held at St. Petersburg, Florida, at the Bay Front Concourse Hotel on Thursday, April 30, 1981, in conjunction with the Florida Historical Society's convention, May 1-2, 1981.

The board directed that all records of the Confederation will be assembled and a system for retaining these records will be established. The need for a better bookkeeping system was discussed so as to better control Confederation funds. It was agreed that existing Confederation memberships would be evaluated, and steps taken to increase the number of members for the coming year. The suggestion was made that a packet of material be assembled to include membership application form, a statement of Confederation goals and objectives, and other useful information. Mrs. Ehrbar explained that information on the workshops has been made available in the past to all Confederation members. There was discussion regarding the adoption of a logo for the Confederation, but there was no final decision.

The relationship of the Confederation with the Florida Historical Society was a matter for discussion. Ms. Lane will represent the Confederation as an ex-officio member of the board of directors of the Society. The board unanimously requested she discuss this matter at the Florida Historical Society board meeting.

A middle year workshop is under consideration, possibly to be held in Tallahassee. Conservation was suggested as an interesting theme to be developed at such a workshop.

Paul Camp told the board that he was in the process of updating the Confederation Directory and hoped to have it completed soon.

The meeting adjourned at 5:10 p.m.

There is some misunderstanding regarding what constitutes membership fees for attendance at the Confederation workshops. Clarification of this matter will be needed before the next workshop.

Business Meeting May 1, 1980

Margaret Lane called to order a meeting of the general membership of the Florida Historical Confederation at 1:10 p.m. She introduced Jerrell Shofner, president of the Florida Historical Society, who announced the incapacity of Dr. Robert Harris. He offered the following resolution which was accepted unanimously:

WHEREAS: Dr. Robert Harris has been an exemplary chairman of the Confederation, having established some brilliant workshops, and whereas he has been afflicted with a most unfortunate accident, be it resolved that the Confederation wishes to express its appreciation for his outstanding services and wish him a speedy recovery.

Linda V. Ellsworth on behalf of the nominating committee offered the following slate of nominees: Margaret Lane, Tallahassee; Elizabeth Ehrbar, Tallahassee; Addie Emerson, Fort Pierce; Christian LaRoche, Valparaiso; Marjory Patterson, Fort Lauderdale; and Shirley Boutwell, Orlando, as ex-officio recording secretary. There were no nominations from the floor, and the slate was elected unanimously.

Linda V. Ellsworth reminded the members that the American Association of State and Local History meeting will be held in New Orleans on September 7-10, 1980.

The meeting adjourned at 1:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted, Shirley Boutwell Ex-officio Recording Secretary

G REAT 1	EXPECTATIONS			
Oct. 8-12	National Trust for Historic Preservation	New York		
Nov. 12-15	Southern Historical Association	Atlanta		
Nov. 13-15	Southeastern Archaelogical Conference	New Orleans		
Nov. 21-23	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Jacksonville		
Dec. 27-31	American Historical Association	Washington, D.C.		
1981				
Feb. 9-16	Regional Tour of the Smithsonian National Associates Program	Tampa/ St. Petersburg		
April 1-4	Organization of Americar Historians	n Detroit		
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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A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

A one-year membership costs only \$15.00, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the Executive Secretary of the Society will notify the recipient of your gift of your generosity and consideration. Convey your respect for that special person's dignity and uniqueness. What better way to express your faith in the lessons of the past and to celebrate old friendships?

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

Please send as a special gift:

- Annual membership-\$15
- Family membership-\$20
- Contributing membership-\$50
- Student membership-\$10
- Check or money order enclosed
- Cash enclosed

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FROM			

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

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PAUL EUGEN CAMP, executive secretary and librarian
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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.

