

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

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COVER

Vero Beach railroad depot was constructed in 1903. An addition was added in 1916, and the building was remodeled in 1936. The depot was relocated from its original site some years later. The small building to the left is an outhouse. This photograph was taken in 1917. Photograph courtesy of the Indian River Historical Society.

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STANDARDS OF NUTRITION IN A ST. AUGUSTINE HOSPITAL, 1783- 1821

by ANN P. EMERSON

ESTABLISHED by royal decree of the king of Spain in 1776, the Regulations for Royal Hospitals provided guidelines for hospital care in royal Spanish hospitals. This included the one in St. Augustine, Florida, during the Second Spanish Period (1783-1821).¹ Other Spanish hospitals at this time were located in Mobile and New Orleans.² The set of regulations is among the earliest written documents specifying the role and responsibilities of medical personnel, treatment of patients, content of regular and special diets, and preparation of food for patients.³ Earlier, in 1570, Phillip II of Spain had established a law to provide his subjects with physicians, and laws passed in 1621 and 1648 declared that physicians must have a degree and a license.⁴ The 1776 regulations specify standard diets to be provided to the patient.

The hospital in St. Augustine was governed by the regulations, and though the site of the hospital may have changed through the years, the rules governing its operation did not.⁵ The regulations state the duties and responsibilities of the administrative and medical staffs and specify in detail the types of diets to be served. It is not known whether the regulations were precisely practiced in the St. Augustine hospital, but the diets provide a standard for diet and nutrition for that day and age.

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1. Papers of the Comptrollers of the Royal Hospital, Regulations for Royal Hospitals, August 22, 1776, Reel 31, Bundle 83E7, document 1776-1, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, microfilm copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereinafter cited as EFP with appropriate reel and bundle number.)
2. Jack D. L. Holmes, "Spanish Medical Care in the Mobile District: advanced or retarded?" *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 71 (July 1984), 463-68.
3. Abraham P. Nasatir, "Royal Hospitals in Colonial Spanish America," *Annals of Medical History* 4 (November 1942), 481-503.
4. *Recopilacion de leyes de los reinos de la Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Boix, 1841), Libro V. Titulo VI, leyes 1 and 4.
5. The hospital may have been located on as many as three different sites in St. Augustine during the Second Spanish Period.

Information gained from shipping manifests of vessels provisioning St. Augustine from Havana indicate that many foods specified in the diets were ordered and sent to the hospital.⁶ By comparing the expected food intake as specified by the regulations with current Recommended Dietary Allowances (RDA), one can make an educated guess as to the adequacy of the standard eighteenth-century hospital diets in Florida.⁷

Before evaluating the nutrition component of hospital care during the Second Spanish Period, it is desirable to look at the entire structure of the hospital and to examine the type of medical care provided to patients. The hospital served the populace of St. Augustine and the surrounding area, as well as its troops, and was supported financially by the royal treasury. The military personnel were charged based on their rank and civilians on their ability to pay. The poor and slaves received treatment paid for from charity funds. The number of patients fluctuated greatly, from forty to four or fewer.⁸ The administrative structure as defined in the regulations indicates that a comptroller or hospital director was responsible for all aspects of care. He was assisted by a receiving clerk and a steward.⁹ The physician and the surgeon headed the medical staff. In the administrative structure the physician seems to have outranked the surgeon, if wages can be considered a criterion of rank. In at least one instance where salary was indicated (June 1, 1784), the physician was paid fifty pesos per month, with subsistence aboard ship, and two rations ashore, the surgeon received forty-five pesos per month with the same fringe benefits, and the hospital comptroller received thirty-five pesos per month also with the same fringe benefits.¹⁰

The activities of the physician and surgeon, the practitioners (residents, and interns), apothecaries, orderlies, and nurses have been described in contemporary records. The responsibilities of the doctors and staff included twice-daily visits to the patients and dictating, recording, and signing orders, emergency treat-

6. Archivo General de Indias. Santo Domingo, Legajo 2643, Expediente, June 15, 1790, 173p.

7. National Academy of Sciences, Food and Nutrition Board, *Recommended Dietary Allowances* (Washington, D.C., 1980), 186.

8. Robert F. Crider, "The Borderland Floridas, 1815-1821: Spanish Sovereignty Under Siege" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1979), 140.

9. Nasatir, "Royal Hospitals," 483-86.

10. Joseph B. Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785* (Berkeley, 1949), 198.



Twentieth-century replica of the Spanish Military Hospital in St. Augustine.
Photograph courtesy of the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board.

ment of patients, preparation of medications, record-keeping to assure the patient received the ordered treatment, and general supervision of patient care. The wardrobe keeper saw to the clothing of patients and the cleanliness of sheets, mattresses, blankets, pillow cases, and surgical bandages. A chaplain was also assigned to the hospital.¹¹

The orderly was responsible for rations distributed to patients, and he checked his written memorandum (recorded when the physician and surgeon made rounds) to make sure each patient received the ordered diet. The orderly determined that no one introduced anything not prescribed to eat or drink since it might harm the patient. If he suspected that patients had raw brandy, wine, chili, or other food in their rooms, or traded rations, he was to inform the director. He inspected the "chocolate maker" and other vessels if they were copper to make

11. William M. Straight, "Life in the Spanish Colonial Hospitals in the Late 18th Century," *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* 55 (August 1968), 765-69.

sure "they are well tinned" lest they "cause fatal consequences with their verdigris."¹²

The steward supervised the kitchen. The orderly saw to the serving of the trays on the wards, and a cook and a baker were employed to prepare the food in the kitchen. According to a list of St. Augustine hospital employees dated June 1, 1784, the cook was paid eighteen pesos per month and the baker twenty pesos. Other employees on the list may have helped with some kitchen activities such as preparing food for cooking or washing dishes. Presumably all employees were male; no female names appear on the lists of personnel.¹³

Several surviving descriptions of kitchens indicate that they were usually detached from the main building or were at least a separate room. One description of the Hospital and Apothecary's Shop de la Cruz, 1821, indicates that one room was used as the kitchen. It "had a fireplace with a chimney, two small ovens with proper irons for the laboratory of the shop and baking."¹⁴ Irons may indicate cooking utensils such as pots and baking utensils.¹⁵ An appraisal of the royal hospital in December 1763, at the end of the First Spanish Period, stated that the framework of the kitchen, boards, and roofing shingles were worth 350 pesos.¹⁶ On December 31, 1791, the kitchen of the hospital was described as being adjacent to the pantry with a high chimney, a table, a "parador" of wood, shutter door and shutter windows, and iron work.¹⁷ The usual house kitchen during the Second Spanish Period has been described as having a stove with a chimney. Depending upon the size of the family, the stove may have had three or more openings in the top (with covers). The size of the openings was appropriate for the dimensions of the earthenware pots, which seemed to fit directly over the hole. Ovens were sometimes built into the chimneys. "The 1788 map shows many small outbuildings which can be nothing but kitchens." Later tax appraisals indicate that kitchens were built of masonry or timber frame and that they had chimneys. "The kitchen of the Customs House (1787) was most likely one

12. Nasatir, "Royal Hospitals," 495.

13. Lockey, *East Florida*, 199.

14. File, "Hospital and Apothecary's Shop de la Cruz," St. Augustine Historical Society Library, St. Augustine, Florida.

15. Reay Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York, 1973), 108.

16. File, "Appraisal of Royal Hospital of St. Augustine, Florida," St. Augustine Historical Society Library.

17. File, "Old Burnt Hospital," St. Augustine Historical Society Library.

of the better ones. It was a twelve by fifteen foot room with two doors and three windows, tacked onto one of the wings of the building. An oven and a brick stove, its 'three burner' top about twenty-eight by forty-eight inches flanked the fireplace.¹⁸ In some kitchens the fireplace was "raised with stone two foot high and three broad," and it ran the "length of the breadth of the room," and the hearth had several holes in it over which were placed pots in which to boil their "different" soups.¹⁹ There is no plan of what the hospital kitchen contained, but there is evidence that a baker and a cook were on the staff.²⁰

Supplies for most of the hospital diets were probably obtained from locally produced foodstuffs, but some were from imported sources. Letters from the period indicate that in 1786 fresh meat for the hospital was lacking.²¹ In 1794, in a letter to Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, Carlos Howard, director of the hospital, commented on the lack of chickens for the convalescents and stated that it was necessary to have chicken soup for people who were ill.²² In 1816, there was a problem of fresh meat ration and a shortage of salt.²³ Supplies for the hospital were let by contract. In 1807, a contract was made to provide chickens, milk, and eggs for the hospital.²⁴ In 1811, bids were let for the supply of chickens for the hospital.²⁵

Spanish colonials brought with them from Spain the practice of combining foods into *olla podrida*, a stew of innumerable combinations of meat and vegetables cooked together in an earthenware vessel. Meats commonly used in Spain were sheep, hares, hens, geese, and game birds. They were combined with such vegetables as carrots, potatoes, peas, and onions, -and cooked together in a large stew pot for many hours. Other methods of

18. Albert C. Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine; Notes on the Architecture from 1565-1821* (St. Augustine, 1962; reprint edition, Tallahassee, 1978), 124.
19. John Bartram, *Diary of a Journey Through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1776* (Philadelphia, 1942), 55.
20. Lockey, *East Florida*, 199.
21. Juan Manuel Serantes to Governor, February 28, 1786, reel number 31, bundle 83E7, document 1786-2, EFP.
22. Carlos Howard to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, October 3, 1794, reel number 51, bundle 127J10, document 1794-883, EFP.
23. Juan Jose Robles to Governor, August 16, 1816, reel number 62, bundle 150G12, document 1816-133, EFP.
24. Correspondents unknown, June 6, 1807, reel number 118, bundle 278013, document 1807-5, EFP.
25. Governor of Florida to Manuel Romero, January 29, 1811, reel number 60, bundle 147D12, document 1811-41, EFP.

cooking were roasting, frying (eggs, bacon, sausages), boiling (vegetables, milk, fish), baking (bread and pies), and broiling (chicken and beef). The method of cooking stew in a pot was transferred from Spain to the Americas where it was very similar to the aboriginal methods. Here other types of vegetables—cassava, yucca, sweet potato, peanuts, arrowroot, maize, beans, peppers, and squash—were added to the stews. The kind of meat used in the stews changed with the new habitat. Cattle became an important resource; sheep did not. The use of wild food (deer, gopher) more closely resembled the aboriginal culture.²⁶ As indicated in the regulations, other items that may have been used in the St. Augustine hospital were bacon, eggs, chicken, pigeon, beef, meat balls, and hash.²⁷

The primary cooking utensil was the earthenware cooking pot. Olive jars were used for storing oil, wine, and olives. Indicative of the importance of stews is that in archeological digs in St. Augustine, San Marcos (local) aboriginal pottery vessels or Spanish earthenware cooking implements were the most commonly found from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁸ Soups were cooked in an earthenware pot placed over the open hole of a stove. Breads, meats, and meat pies were baked in the oven, and may have been roasted on a spit in the fireplace or over a burner in the stove. Wood was probably the source of fuel. Correspondence between the governor's office and a local citizen in 1798 indicates that the firewood contract for the supply of wood had been let.²⁹ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, similar cooking methods were probably used in the hospital kitchen. The directions for food preparation given in the regulations indicate boiling soup and roasting meats were methods of cooking.³⁰

The Regulations for Royal Hospitals specify in detail eighteen regular diets and thirteen special diets or special diet items to be prepared for hospital patients. Some of the diets seem to have been "ordinary," or by today's standards, regular diets. The diets may have been different types of menus served as

26. Stephen L. Cumbaa, "Patterns of Resource Use and Cross-Cultural Dietary Change in the Spanish Colonial Period" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1975), 195.

27. Nasatir, "Royal Hospitals," 498-501.

28. Cumbaa, "Patterns of Resource Use," 175.

29. Proceedings on firewood contract, December 13, 1798, reel number 118, bundle 279012, document 1798-5, EFP.

30. Nasatir, "Royal Hospitals," 498-501.

regular or ordinary diets from time to time for variety. The diets in this category are the ordinary ration, hen ration, chicken ration, ration of young pigeon, ration of roast beef, ration of roast chicken, ration of roast young pigeon, ration of meat balls, and the hash ration. The menu would have varied depending on food-stuffs available in East Florida. Whether the diets were offered on a daily or weekly basis is not known.

Directions for cooking the diets indicate that the ingredients were to be made into a soup for each meal. Specific amounts were to be served to each patient. The first diet listed— the ordinary ration— was made up of a pound of fresh beef (with bone), one ounce of bacon, one ounce of chickpeas (garbanzo beans), fourteen ounces of bread, and one-half ounce of pork lard. This allowance of food was the amount for one day, and it was further divided into meal plans with a specific number of ounces of each item to be served at each meal and given to the designated patient. The meat, bacon, chickpeas, and lard seem to have been prepared in the same cookpot and served with the bread, either separately or in the soup. Directions for the early morning meal state “with two ounces of bread and one-half ounce of lard the soup for breakfast is made.”³¹

No mention is made of vegetables such as onion, garlic, greens, potatoes, tomatoes, and peppers being cooked in the soup. However, a knowledge of cooking methods in St. Augustine at that time indicates that such vegetables probably were added.³² It is known that growing in household gardens, and probably in fields surrounding St. Augustine, were such vegetables as rice, peas, onions, garlic, greens, lettuce, radishes, plantains, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, corn, squash and pumpkins. Fruits cultivated in St. Augustine included figs, pomegranates, lemons, limes, citrons, plums, peaches, cherries, quinces, and grapes.³³ Neither fruits nor vegetables are mentioned in the regulations.³⁴

The second diet, a ration and a half, provided the patient with a regular ration at the noon meal and a half ration (or light meal) for the evening meal. Again, it is likely that these ingre-

31. *Ibid.*, 498.

32. Cumbaa, “Patterns of Resource Use,” 115-17.

33. Bruce S. Chappell, *A Report on Documentation Relating to the History of the Diego Plains Region in Second Spanish Period Florida (1784-1621)* (Gainesville, 1976), 4.

34. Nasatir, “Royal Hospitals,” 481-503.

NUTRITIONAL ANALYSIS OF GENERAL DIETS AVAILABLE TO PATIENTS IN ST. AUGUSTINE HOSPITAL
DURING 1783-1821

ration	kcal	pro	fat	CHO	Ca	P	Fe	VitA	Thia	Ribo	Niac	Chol	Fol	Vit.E	zinc
		gm	gm	gm	mg	mg	mg	IU	mg	mg	mg	mg	µg	IU	mg
1. ordinary	2939	115	168	230	444	1176	15.8	267	0.785	1.086	22.56	371	251	9.6	20.9
2. one and 1/2	2576	99	150	200	387	1027	14.0	231	0.705	0.942	19.50	321	223	8.71	17.8
3. half	1864	70	112	139	275	728	10.2	159	0.537	0.654	13.38	222	169	6.7	11.0
4. hen	3005	130	169	230	450	1340	12.1	5199	0.783	1.368	45.12	396	263	9.4	9.4
5. half hen	1804	72	105	139	275	764	7.6	2607	0.513	0.750	23.46	210	172	6.5	5.2
6. egg	1593	63	51	214	461	817	7.5	2360	0.514	0.378	4.62	15	294	5.2	4.5
7. soup	1267	37	28	212	353	407	2.9	-	0.294	0.978	4.82	459	164	7.2	2.5
8. half soup	781	21	23	121	202	233	1.7	-	0.168	0.216	2.64	15	94	3.1	1.4
9. soup (eggs)	1269	52	48	154	360	701	6.7	2360	0.43	0.87	3.5	459	247	5.6	3.8
10. chicken	2389	163	81	230	478	1804	17.3	4614	0.936	2.846	41.04	512	276	9.9	11.2
11. young pigeon	1821	85	60	230	427	960	9.4	1548	0.642	1.254	17.52	187	240	8.5	5.9
12. rice	2138	53	29	405	411	633	4.8	-	0.462	0.45	8.46	15	174	5.4	3.8
13. vermicelli	2153	67	31	393	418	79	6.0	-	0.51	0.522	8.72	-	193	8.1	6.1
14. roast beef	3090	116	192	212	401	1137	14.9	288	0.630	1.098	23.82	441	198	7.7	22.8
15. roast chicken	2354	154	89	212	429	1673	14.9	4599	0.735	2.768	39.9	533	218	7.7	10.5
16. roast pigeon	1800	76	68	212	378	829	6.9	1533	0.441	1.176	16.38	208	182	6.3	5.2
17. meatballs	2793	112	162	213	447	1191	14.6	1396	0.764	1.251	19.66	543	254	9.6	18.6
18. hash	2793	112	162	213	447	1191	14.6	1396	0.764	1.251	19.66	543	254	9.6	18.6
RDA†		56			800	800	10.0	1000	1.4	1.6	18.0		400	10.0	15.0

†Recommended Dietary Allowances, male twenty-three to fifty years of age, Food and Nutrition Board, National Academy of Sciences.

NUTRITIONAL ANALYSIS OF SPECIAL DIETS AVAILABLE TO PATIENTS IN ST. AUGUSTINE HOSPITAL DURING 1783-1821

ration	kcal	<u>pro</u>	<u>fat</u>	<u>CHO</u>	<u>Ca</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>Fe</u>	<u>VitA</u>	<u>Thia</u>	<u>Ribo</u>	<u>Niac</u>	<u>Chol</u>	<u>Fol</u>	<u>VitE</u>	<u>zinc</u>
		gm	gm	mg	mg	mg	IU	mg	mg	mg	kg	IU	mg		
19. diet	1992	101	166	18	103	988	13.4	2787	0.555	0.984	32.82	443	99	4.7	16.4
20. ordinary	1970	103	148	50	117	1023	13.7	3057	0.477	1.691	32.4	461	103	3.0	16.4
21. rigorous	2512	136	206	20	217	1489	19.5	5183	0.817	1.674	35.42	936	233	7.1	20.9
22. wine	306	—	—	15	32	36	1.4	—	—	0.036	0.36	—	—	—	—
23. halfwine	153	—	—	8	16	18	0.7	—	—	0.018	0.18	—	—	—	—
24. chocolate	314	8	18	39	73	173	2.4	18	0.044	0.061	1.11	—	23	2.5	2.1
25. broth+															
26. toast	235	5	2	41	55	64	0.6	—	0.042	0.060	0.72	—	23	0.7	0.4
27. extraordinary	140	2	2	19	14	40	0.6	135	0.015	0.048	0.12	14	2	—	—
28. for stomach	375	10	4	64	106	122	1.0	—	0.84	0.114	1.38	—	47	1.4	0.7
29. milk - 1 pint	316	17	18	24	561	442	—	720	0.144	0.816	0.48	130	24	1.7	1.9
2 pints	632	34	36	47	1258	883	—	1440	0.288	1.632	0.96	260	48	3.4	3.8
30. wheat gruel	1460	25	47	228	38	208	1.9	—	0.144	0.12	2.16	45	60	6.6	1.8
31. rice gruel	1041	11	—	243	16	173	9.7	—	0.749	0.202	10.37	—	1	0.2	2.3
RDA†		56			800	800	10.0	1000	1.4	1.6	18.0		400	10.0	15.0

†No. 25 - broth - not analyzed.

‡Recommended Dietary Allowances, male twenty-three to fifty years of age. Food and Nutrition Board, National Academy of Sciences.

dients were made into a soup because directions specify “in the breakfast soup” and “in the dinner (soup).” The half ration of beef and half ration of hen provided a light, or half ration at noon and for the evening meal. The food components for these meals are the same as the ordinary ration for beef and hen, but the amount served was different or reduced by about half. The hen ration was composed of two parts of a hen with bacon, chickpeas, bread, and lard. A hen was considered to have five parts-four of the body and one of giblets, neck, wings and legs. This diet used only two of the five parts of a hen. The egg ration was composed only of eggs, bread, and lard, but directions stipulated that it was to be served with a cup of broth from the “common pot,” one for dinner and another at supper.³⁵ It is difficult to determine how the eggs were incorporated into the diet. They could have been beaten and dropped in the soup or served as scrambled, softboiled, hardboiled, poached, or fried. The seventh diet was a soup ration which provided bread and lard with a “sufficient” portion from the common pot for dinner and an equal portion for supper. The next listed was a half ration of soup, which reduced the amount of bread that the patient was to receive. This diet also specified that “broth from the corresponding pot in the dinner” and “sufficient broth in the supper” be served.³⁶ This wording may indicate that soup contained more solids than broth and that when broth was served the solids were removed from the soup, indicating more of a diet restriction.

In the soup ration with eggs, it is specified that “broth from the pot which is necessary to fry them” be allotted in addition to the soup to be used as part of the diet. The chicken ration provided for a whole chicken, half in the noon and the other half in the evening soup; in ration of young pigeon, one pigeon for the day was specified, and it was to be evenly divided between lunch and supper. The rice ration and the vermicelli ration were each cooked in broth from the pot. Thus, they may have had a beef or chicken flavor, depending upon the pot or broth source.

The roast beef diet, which consisted of fresh beef, bread, and lard, contained more lard than other diets; one-half ounce was used at breakfast and another ounce was divided between

35. *Ibid.*, 499.

36. *Ibid.*

dinner and supper for basting the beef to be roasted. Directions state that the beef was to be cooked in the soup pot, removed when half done, greased with an allowance of lard and then roasted. This method of moist cookery (in the pot) would tenderize the meat before roasting. Roasting after basting with fat would give the meat a different flavor and texture. Patients served this ration were also given a cup of broth from the pot at dinner and another at supper. Ration of roast chicken also provided an extra ounce of lard, half to be added at dinner and half to be added at supper, for basting the chicken as it roasted. The chicken was put in the pot to "cook a little" and was later taken out for roasting. Ration of roast young pigeon consisted of one pigeon, bread, and lard, plus a cup of soup at dinner and supper. The young pigeon was cooked and basted as was the chicken.

Ration of meatballs was composed of beef, bread, lard, bacon, and two eggs. It is not known how the meatballs were formed or cooked; however, the directions state "one egg for the meatballs" at noon and evening which may indicate that the meat and eggs were molded into balls. The regulations do not indicate that a cup of soup was served with this ration. The hash ration was also made up of beef and eggs, as well as bread, lard, and bacon. The preparation of this dish is also unknown, but the directions for the dinner meal specify "used in hash for dinner." Those for the supper state "hash for supper shall be made from" and then lists the ingredients.³⁷

Diet rations and special diet items that were the total diet or could be added to the diets are also included in the regulations. The diet ration was a list of ingredients that were to be converted into a "nutriment," one cup of which was to be served every four hours. The nutriment must have been a thick soup because it contained beef and chicken as well as chickpeas and bacon. Ingredients may have been chopped or minced before cooking and were probably cooked long enough to become the consistency of a puree. Again, vegetables may have been added to this nutriment to be served to the patients "according to what is agreeable to him and to what the physician or head surgeon orders." The ordinary diet ration also provided for a nutriment with slightly different ingredients. Half were to be made into a nutriment of three cups and given to a patient every four hours

37. *Ibid.*, 501.

over a twelve-hour period. The remaining ingredients were combined and made into a nutriment for the following twelve hours. The rigorous diet was similar to the ordinary diet except that it contained an additional four eggs. The cooking and distribution were similar, in that a nutriment was to be given to the patient every four hours.

The wine ration and the half wine ration provided for a daily ration of twelve ounces and six ounces of wine, respectively, to be divided evenly and given with the noon and evening meals. The directions state that "they shall not be given without an express order from the physician or head surgeon." The chocolate ration could be provided at breakfast when the physician ordered it. It consisted of chocolate and bread or sponge cake. It was to be drunk for breakfast, and the patient was not to receive "any other." Utensils for preparing chocolate were usually kept on the patient ward.³⁸

When patients had been given a "physic," a special diet was prescribed stipulating that no breakfast was to be taken other than a cup of broth made from chicken two hours after the "physic" was taken. Toast for breakfast, another special diet, consisted of bread, wine, sugar, and a pinch of cinnamon and was all that the patient could have for that meal. The food for dinner and supper were not prescribed. This may have been a special breakfast to be followed by any other diet for the remaining two meals. Two special preparations contained wine and were only to be given upon special order of the physician or surgeon. These diets were classified as extraordinary regimen and regimen for the stomach. The former was composed of wine and sponge cake; the latter was bread and wine with a pinch of cinnamon. These concoctions may have been prescribed for nausea or an upset stomach. The milk ration consisted of a plain ration (one pint) and a double ration (two pints), and were ordered when a patient had a sore mouth.

Wheat flour gruel made of wheat flour, lard, and sugar could be served for breakfast, dinner, and supper; specific directions for mixing ingredients for each meal were given. The gruel seems to have been prepared fresh for each meal. The rice flour gruel was similar to the wheat flour gruel and was prepared by adding sufficient broth from the diet to prepare the rice; sugar was then added to it. This food item seems to be

38. *Ibid.*

an adjunct to another diet for the directions specify that two ounces of the gruel be given at each meal but that the patient "should not fail to enjoy the rest of the food which the physician should authorize as advantageous." Evidently the rice gruel had a reputation for soothing. The regulations state "its qualities of cooling and nutritive, sweetener of the bitterness of the humors . . . is more appropos than another for the betterment of the patients." Spices to serve as condiments to the food were specified to be saffron, cinnamon, and common salt unless the physician should order others.³⁹ Other regulations specified that a ration of six ounces of salt per month was to be allowed for each person. Salt, of course, was an important substance for preserving food.⁴⁰ It is assumed that the diets were high in salt content, although the amount for each daily ration is not mentioned in the regulations. A final statement regarding food indicates that the physician or surgeon could vary the food or amount of food whenever he considered it necessary for the care of the patient.

An analysis of the eighteen regular diets indicates that they were generally high in calories, protein, fat, iron, cholesterol, and saturated fat.⁴¹ In these nutrients they more than meet the current RDA, based on the requirements of a man between twenty-three and fifty years of age.⁴² This figure is used because most of the residents of St. Augustine at the time were soldiers (male) in the Spanish army and were probably between these ages. Analysis of these diets probably represents a minimal number of calories and nutrients, since other nutrients that were possibly in the diet are not included in the figures reported.

An analysis of the thirteen special diets and diet items was also performed. Some of the special diets were similar to the regular diets in content, but the consistency of the nutriment was different. A number of the special diet items cannot be considered as complete rations, because they were special breakfasts, special treatments for particular conditions, or special items to be added to another diet.

The caloric levels of many of the diets were fairly high. Five of the diets (ordinary, hen, roast beef, meatballs, and hash) pro-

39. *Ibid.*, 502.

40. Governor of Florida to Joseph Truxillo, September 3, 1788, reel number 45, bundle 119B10, document 1788-251, EFP.

41. Detailed information on analysis of diets in possession of the author.

42. *Recommended Dietary Allowances*, 186.

vided between 2,800 and 3,000 kcal per day. The ration and a half diet provided about 2,500 kcal per day, and the half ration diets (half and half of hen), as well as young pigeon and roast pigeon provided around 1,800 kcal per day each. The egg ration diet provided 1,600 kcal. Two diets (chicken and roast chicken) provided around 2,400 kcal per day. The soup ration and half ration of soup provided about 1,200 kcal and 800 kcal, respectively, and the soup ration with eggs was about 1,300 kcal. The rice and vermicelli diets provided more than 2,100 kcal per day. Thus, except for the half soup ration, all of these diets provided more than 1,200 kcal per day.

The caloric values of the nutriments were approximately 2,000 kcal per day for diet and ordinary, and 2,500 kcal per day for the rigorous diet. This is an adequate number of calories for a man weighing 70 kg. The wine rations added pleasure and a few calories, 300 and 150, respectively, but added few other nutrients to the diets. The chocolate ration as a special breakfast added 315 kcal if bread was used and 240 kcal if sponge cake was used. The toast breakfast provided about 200 kcal for the nutrients provided. The extraordinary regimen and the regimen for the stomach, probably only used for a short period of time, provided only 140 kcal and 375 kcal for each diet. When milk was added to the diet, an additional 316 kcal was added for each pint. Wheat flour gruel provided more than 1,400 kcal for a twenty-four hour period, and rice gruel added 1,000 kcal to a diet.

The amount of protein provided in most of the diets (except for the soup ration, the half soup ration, soup with eggs, and rice ration) had more than the RDA for a healthy man between twenty-three and fifty years of age. The protein was primarily of high biologic value because eggs, beef, and poultry were the primary sources. The fat content of most of the diets was high; the fat was animal fat and therefore was saturated. The cholesterol content of most of the diets was high. An adequate amount of carbohydrates was provided for energy primarily in the form of bread and chickpeas. The three nutriments were all very low in carbohydrate content but high in protein and fat.

The amount of vitamin A was low in some of the calculated diets because of the lack of vegetables containing provitamin A. However, all of the diets containing eggs, hen, chicken, or pigeon had adequate amounts of vitamin A. If, as is suspected, vegetables were added to the soup, the vitamin A content of all

diets could well have been adequate because sweet potatoes, tomatoes, corn, and squash were successfully grown in St. Augustine.⁴³ Vitamin D should not have been a problem since St. Augustine is sunny year round. The amount of vitamin E was slightly low in most of the diets.

Because whole grain cereals were not included in the diets, the thiamin content of all of them was low. Garbanzo beans contributed to the thiamin content of the diets, but polished rice and the unenriched bread provided a minimal amount. The bread was made from imported wheat flour shipped to St. Augustine. Whole grain flour did not keep as well as white; therefore, it was not shipped long distances. Because wheat did not grow well in Florida, whole wheat bread was not available.

The riboflavin content of most of the diets was low because they lacked milk, other milk products, and green leafy vegetables. The special diet that added milk to the diet did provide an adequate amount of riboflavin, as did several of the diets containing a good deal of chicken. Depending on the possible use of vegetables in the soup, the riboflavin content in the diets may have been higher. The niacin content of those diets containing an adequate amount of meat and poultry was high. However, there was little niacin in some of the diets-half ration, egg ration, soup ration, half soup ration, soup with eggs, rice, and vermicelli.

The folacin content of all of the diets was low. Although some folacin occurs in poultry, meat, and legumes, the lack of vegetables in the diet caused the total to be inadequate. Green vegetables or tomatoes in the soup and the use of orange juice would have increased the folacin content of the diets.

Ascorbic acid levels in the diets were extremely low and were not included in the analysis. During the winter, if oranges, or orange, lemon, or lime juice were used, all of which were available in St. Augustine, the diets may have been adequate. During seasons when other fresh vegetables and fruits were plentiful, melons, potatoes, tomatoes, squash, sweet potatoes, and green beans would have added ascorbic acid to the diets.

The calcium levels were low in all of the diets except in the diet which provided milk. Collard greens, spinach, oranges, or green beans would have added small amounts of calcium to the diet, but probably not enough to meet the RDA. Custards or

43. Chappell, *Report on Documentation*, 4.

puddings would have increased the calcium content, but they are not mentioned in the regulations. Phosphorus levels in the diets were more than adequate, reflecting the high protein foods—meat, chicken, eggs—which are good sources of phosphorus.

Most of the diets high in meat or poultry contained adequate iron. The half ration diets and the soup, egg, rice, vermicelli, and pigeon diets were low in iron content. Iron cooking utensils and iron in the water may have contributed to the levels in the diet. The zinc content of the diets containing high protein foods, such as meats, poultry, and eggs, was high. The soup, half ration, rice, vermicelli, and pigeon rations were low. All of the nutriment were high in iron and zinc. Peanuts, potatoes, and milk products would have added zinc content. Oysters are a rich source of zinc, but may or may not have been used in the diets of those ill in Florida.

The sodium content of the diets was probably high. It is impossible to establish an average figure because there is no indication how much salt was used for seasoning, and salted meats may have been used frequently instead of fresh.

Whether or not these diets were available at all times is not known. However, the fact that such diets were planned and included in the written regulations shows that the medical science of that time provided a standard of nutritional care for hospital patients. Many of the items specified in the diets may not have been available from time to time, and many substitutions may have been made.

The beef used in St. Augustine could have been fresh beef slaughtered in the city which had a city slaughter house and private butcher shops. Salted meats, cut in manageable portions and packed in barrels, came into the city from Charleston, Savannah, and Havana.⁴⁴ The beef cattle slaughtered locally were probably range cattle with a composition of flesh comparable to a contemporary grade of “good” beef. The bacon was from pigs slaughtered locally or could have been shipped. The figures used in the calculations for chickpeas (garbanzo beans) are for mature, raw, dry seeds which could have been grown in St. Augustine or imported. The bread would have been white, unenriched bread. Although bread is mentioned in the diets, it is possible that in the St. Augustine area, corn may have fre-

44. Cumbaa, “Patterns of Resource Use,” 122.

quently been substituted for wheat in making bread. In this area of Florida two crops of corn were grown each year, and it was a staple in the diet.⁴⁵ Hens were raised locally and used for food after they had ceased to lay eggs. They were probably raised in St. Augustine or in the surrounding area. White leghorn hens, the most common poultry raised in Florida at that time, are estimated to have weighed an average of four pounds each.⁴⁶ Chickens were raised and sold to the Spanish government under contract.⁴⁷ They were probably raised in the open; one chicken is estimated to have weighed two pounds. The young pigeons are assumed to have been passenger pigeons. If they were wild (trapped or shot), they probably weighed nine to twelve ounces and approximately fifty per cent of the carcass would have been edible. Pigeons may have been raised domestically, in which case their weight would have ranged from ten ounces to one pound with fifty per cent of the weight being edible meat. The passenger pigeon has been extinct since around 1900, so the composition of the carcass is an estimate. The mourning dove is probably the most similar existing bird. However, since composition figures of the dove were not available, the figures for chicken were used.⁴⁸

Eggs were produced in St. Augustine and were sold to the government under contract.⁴⁹ Rice was grown locally and was also imported. The sponge cake used in the diet was noted in the Spanish version as "panetela" and may have been a sweet bread or a breakfast bread such as a roll or muffin. Most wine was imported, but since grapes grew plentifully in St. Augustine and most homes had their own grapevines on arbors, it may have been a local product.⁵⁰ Chocolate was imported and was an important drink for the citizens of St. Augustine. Milk was produced locally because without refrigeration it would have been too difficult to ship.

The most prominent fruit in St. Augustine was the orange. Brought from Spain by early explorers and settlers, it was

45. *Ibid.*, 82.

46. Information furnished by Dr. Mary Clench, J. Hillis Miller Health Center, University of Florida, Gainesville.

47. Governor of Florida to Manuel Romero, January 29, 1811, reel number 60, bundle 147D12, document 1811-41. EFP.

48. Information furnished by Dr. Mary Clench.

49. Correspondents unknown, June 6, 1807, reel number 118, bundle 278013, document 1807-5. EFP.

50. Chappell, *Report on Documentation*, 4.

quickly established in Florida because it grew so easily. From time to time, a freeze destroyed most of the groves or trees, but usually they came back from the roots and in a few years were bearing fruit again. By the 1760s oranges were being shipped from St. Augustine to Charleston and New York. Beef, salt, flour, herring, cheese, butter, rum, brandy, corn, peas, tallow, and beer were shipped into St. Augustine.⁵¹ Other fruits, such as grapes, lemons, limes, plums, figs, and peaches, grew in the area. Although these fruits are not mentioned in the regulations, they were available to the population and probably freely eaten. Since oranges are ripe and available in the winter, they would have provided a good source of vitamin C when other vegetables and fruits were not as plentiful.

In St. Augustine, seafood was a major item in the diet although the hospital regulations do not mention seafood. It may have been used as a hospital diet, or it may have been considered inappropriate for the ill. Oysters and clams were consumed by the general public in great quantities. Fish such as mullet, redfish, drum, and flounder were commonly eaten by the citizens.⁵²

Absent from the list of foods utilized are olive oil and butter, which were used extensively in early St. Augustine. Olive oil and butter may not have been considered desirable foods for an ill person. Pork lard seems to have been the preferred fat.⁵³

Hospital diets prescribed in the written Regulations for Royal Hospitals, and used in the royal hospital in St. Augustine provide us with some of the earliest written standards of nutrition care provided in the present day United States. This information preserved in Spanish records enables one to evaluate the quality of hospital diets planned for eighteenth-century patients based on the 1980 RDA. The impact of these standards on the diets of individuals in St. Augustine during this period can only be estimated, but they did provide a guideline for nutritional intake. The most important consideration is that these standards were established.

51. Cumbaa, "Patterns of Resource Use," 122.

52. *Ibid.*, 50.

53. Nasatir, "Royal Hospitals," 498-500.

THE UNION ACADEMY: A FREEDMEN'S BUREAU SCHOOL IN GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

by MURRAY D. LAURIE

THE Union Academy was one of the most important institutions in Gainesville's black community for over fifty years. It was the town's first public high school and from its graduating classes came most of Alachua County's black teachers and black leaders. The facility which housed the Academy was built during Reconstruction by black carpenters who had learned their skill as slaves. Land for the building had been purchased by the school's board of trustees. A symbol of self-sufficiency and pride for Gainesville's black citizens for many decades, the Union Academy also represented the value they placed on education.

When the Civil War ended in April 1865, Gainesville faced the same problems of coping with defeat and privations as other towns throughout the South. The town had expanded in population and economic activity throughout the Civil War as many families refugeeed there, and this growth continued in the post-war era. Sea Island cotton was the staple cash crop, but other agricultural products—vegetables, corn, tobacco, and peanuts—soon reduced the area's dependence on cotton. Commerce expanded as the Florida Railroad, disrupted during the war, was reestablished, linking Gainesville and Alachua County to markets and outlets on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.¹

In addition to white settlers, freedmen came into Gainesville from the outlying areas and adjacent counties, seeking jobs and opportunities for themselves and their families. The 1860 census listed only forty-six black residents; the 1870 census revealed 765 out of a total Gainesville population of 1,444.²

There were few resources available to these blacks until agents of the Freedmen's Bureau arrived. Throughout the South the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands, created by an Act of Congress in March 1865, dealt with

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1. Charles Hildreth, "A History of Gainesville, Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1954), 85-87, 90-92, 110-13.
2. *Ibid.*, 102-03.

a wide range of critical problems, including abandoned farm land, homeless refugees, orphans, labor disputes, health care, and even the provision of banking services for freedmen. Although establishing schools had not been an original concern of the Bureau, this became one of its most enduring and visible functions. Education, so long denied to the freedmen, ranked as one of their first priorities. In his annual report in 1866, E. B. Duncan, superintendent of Freedmen's Bureau Schools in Florida, stated that the "freedmen are all alive to the benefit of schools."³

Alachua County in 1865 had no state-supported public school system. Prior to the war, the Gainesville Academy, a small private school (located on present day NE 1st street) had served the educational needs of the white community.⁴ Slaves were forbidden to learn to read, and poor whites who could not afford tuition seldom took advantage of the very limited offer of free schooling, usually disdained as charity.⁵ The many black youngsters who had moved into town with their families constituted a new potential school population. With the help of teachers and money sent by northern churches and benevolent associations, the Bureau, funded by the federal government, became involved in the task of providing education for the former slaves. Assistant Commissioner John T. Sprague, appointed director of the Bureau in Florida at the end of 1866, urged his agents to set up local school societies to purchase land for school buildings. The Bureau, he pledged, would then provide plans and building materials and assist in coordinating additional funding from private sources. Agents of the Bureau, such as Captain Joseph H. Durkee who was assigned to Gainesville, were in-

3. Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Chapel Hill, 1980), 85; Joe Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965), 97-99; Jerrell Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 72; E. B. Duncan to J. G. Foster, Annual Report, October 31, 1866. Records of the Educational Division of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (hereinafter referred to as RED), Record Group 105, Roll 19, National Archives, Washington, D.C., microfilm copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
4. Hildreth, "History of Gainesville," 98.
5. Frederick Bruce Rosen, "The Development of Negro Education in Florida During Reconstruction" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1974), 24-27; George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (New York, 1970), 190.

structed to help teachers sent by the northern associations find living accommodations, to protect them from harassment when necessary, and publicly to support their efforts.⁶

Miss Catherine Bent of Newburyport, Massachusetts, had arrived in Gainesville by November 1865. She had been assigned to Florida by the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York which had been organized by the American Missionary Association and the Congregationalist Church. Miss Bent taught sixty Negro pupils in an "unfinished, dilapidated church building with no door or windows."⁷ Thousands of teachers and ministers came South after the war, sponsored and supported by philanthropic organizations whose original focus had been the abolition of slavery. Their mission now was to bring the advantages of Yankee patriotism and industry, as well as literacy, to the newly emancipated blacks.⁸

Like most of her fellow Northerners, Miss Bent found that she was not welcomed by the southern white community of Gainesville. Her salary and expenses were paid by the New York Bureau of the Freedmen's Union Commission, and she was able to secure additional funds from her family and friends." Cyrus Woodman, a Northerner who was passing through Gainesville in 1867, wrote that Miss Bent was in her second year of teaching, and was residing with a German family. She lived, he said, more or less in isolation. The white ladies of Gainesville refused to speak to her, and she had stopped going to church. Woodman had high praise for her work: "She keeps an excellent school and is a modest, unassuming, lady-like person."¹⁰

Another New England schoolteacher, Harriet Barnes of

6. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 99; Hildreth, "History of Gainesville," 70; Shofner, *Nor is it Over Yet*, 73; see also circular from J. T. Sprague, October 28, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau correspondence on Microfilm Roll 85, O-Q, in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (hereinafter referred to as FBC). J. H. Durkee was later appointed assistant superintendent of instruction for the Bureau, Special Order 170, December 9, 1868, FBC.
7. H. H. Moore to Thomas W. Osborne, November 21, 1865, February 25, 1866, FBC.
8. Henry Lee Swint, *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (New York, 1967), 178; Jones, *Soldiers of Light*, 4, 12, 26. By 1870 over 5,000 northern men and women had come South to teach and minister to the freedmen.
9. J. H. Durkee to A. H. Jackson, October 27, 1867, FBC.
10. Larry Gara, "Teaching Freedmen in the Post-War South," *Journal of Negro History* 40 (July 1955), 274-76. Woodman was a land speculator from Wisconsin who had come to Florida to investigate pine woodland.

Norwalk, Connecticut, joined Miss Bent in Gainesville.¹¹ In March 1866, they reported that their school was going well, with the children eager to learn and improving rapidly. But the teachers complained that local white boys often disrupted their classes and distracted their pupils, throwing missiles into the classroom and almost hitting the teacher.¹² This taunting and harassment by individuals in the white community was aggravated by the fact that the history lessons and songs, like "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," were deeply resented by the former Confederates. Naturally sympathetic to the Republican party, the northern teachers were also regarded as political proselytizers, in league with carpetbaggers and scalawags who were trying to organize the black vote.¹³

Nevertheless, the pupils made progress, and Captain Durkee regarded the Gainesville school as a success. He noted to his superior that the closing exercises held in June of 1867 were attended by several prominent white men from the community, including State Senator James H. Roper, former principal of the Gainesville Academy, which had been taken over in 1866 by the state-supported East Florida Seminary. The students were orderly and well-disciplined, and Mr. Durkee felt that they showed a real desire to learn.¹⁴

By October 1867, a group of Gainesville blacks had formed a board of trustees with authority to select and purchase property so that a permanent school building could be constructed.¹⁵ According to Alachua County records a lot 200 by 200 feet was acquired on November 20, 1867, from Charles Brush, executor of the estate of Nehemiah Brush. The land was to be used as the site of a school for freedmen to be known as the Union Academy. Isaac Davis, Johnson Chestnut, John Bullard, Anthony Jumper, Henry Roberts, Henry S. Harmon, David Coleman, Thomas Dawkins, and Edward Deyer, as trustees, signed

11. Moore to Osborne, February 25, 1866, FBC..

12. H. H. Moore, "Quarterly Report," *The National Freedman* 2 (January 15, 1866), 5; Catherine Bent and Harriet Barnes to Osborne, March 14, 1866, FBC. The teachers stated that Captain Durkee had taken the matter in hand and that a local judge had also intervened in their behalf.

13. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 106; Gainesville, *New Era*, April 13, June 15, 1866. Joe Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890*. (Athens, Ga., 1986), 241.

14. Durkee to Sprague, monthly report, June 1867, FBC.

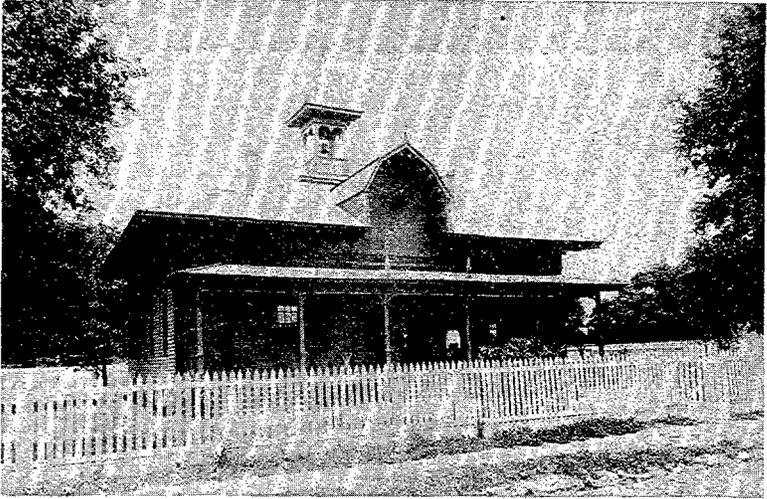
15. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1867, FBC.

the deed for the north half of lot thirteen in Brush's addition to west Gainesville.¹⁶ The site was located on what is now the corner of NW 1st Street and NW 6th Avenue.

The Freedmen's Bureau provided building plans, and Captain Durkee wrote that Miss Bent indicated that she wanted to see a copy of the plans as soon as possible so that she could make possible suggestions.¹⁷ Doors, sashes, windows, nails and screws, desks, and a stove were sent from Jacksonville. Lumber was probably purchased locally.¹⁸

The construction was the work of local black artisans who volunteered their labor. They worked under the supervision of Reuben Alley, who was identified both as an architect and a carpenter. He was employed by the Bureau, as was Jacob Paschall (sometimes spelled Pascal), a plasterer.¹⁹ It is possible that in addition to a set of specific plans, the builders also had available a copy of *A Manual on School-Houses and Cottages for the People of the South* written in 1868 by C. Thurston Chase, superintendent of instruction for Florida. In it are detailed directions, specifications for materials, and illustrations for the construction of school houses, including an elaborate belfry such as the one that topped the roof of the Union Academy. Chase had drawn heavily on the designs and philosophy advocated by architect Calvert Vaux, who wrote that the schoolhouse should be "the most cheerful and soul-satisfying building in the neighborhood."²⁰

16. Deed Book G, 522-23, Clerk of the County Court, Alachua County Court-house, Gainesville. Nehemiah Brush had acquired the property in 1825 as part of the Arredondo grant. See Allan Swanson, "Pilo-Taikita; A History of Palatka, Florida" (typewritten manuscript in P. K. Yonge Library). Further information on some of the Union Academy trustees can be found in Jane Landers unpublished paper, "The Negro Community in Gainesville: 1868-1890." Chestnut served on the Gainesville city commission and Harmon was elected to the state legislature.
17. C. Thurston Chase to J. W. Alvord, July 8, 1867; Durkee to Jackson, October 27, 1867, FBC.
18. Sprague to Reuben Alley, November 5, 1867; Special Order #88 to Jackson, November 16, 1867; Allan to Durkee, May 22, 1867, FBC.
19. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 110; Jackson to J. A. Rembley, January 9, 1866; Special Order #85 from Sprague, November 5, 1867, FBC. The 1870 census indicates that there were over a dozen black carpenters in Gainesville, U. S. Census, *Population Schedule of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*. Jacob Paschall's name appears in the black section of Jesse Burtz's *Gainesville Directory* (Gainesville, 1911), listed as a plasterer.
20. C. Thurston Chase, *A Manual on School-Houses and Cottages for the People of the South*. (Washington, D. C., 1868), 30; Calvert Vaux, *Villas and Cottages* (New York, 1857), 36-37, 95.



Union Academy, circa 1888. Photograph courtesy of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville.

A photograph of the one-story frame structure, which faced North Garden Avenue (now NW 1st Street), shows a white picket fence, shade trees, and an open porch running the full length of the building. There were double-hung windows, an unusually large gable advancing from the high roof, a belfry, and a brick chimney to the rear. Freedmen's Bureau records indicate that the building measured seventy by thirty, with a "piazza" fifty feet long and twelve feet wide. The belfry, twelve feet square, was seventeen feet high. In 1870, the trustees purchased a large bell for forty dollars, one that could be heard for "at least two miles."²¹

All that is known about the interior space is that it was divided by a sliding partition and was furnished with two blackboards and some desks which were shipped from Jacksonville. In 1872 the trustees purchased a parlor organ so that music lessons could be provided. Reports to the general superintendent of education in Washington reveal that the Union Academy, in size and cost, was the second largest school building

21. Richard Davis to Jackson, June 19, 1868, FBC; Emma B. Eveleth to E. P. Smith, May 25, 1870, Microfilm Roll 148 D-E, American Missionary Association correspondence and records, P. K. Yonge Library (hereinafter referred to as AMA).

constructed for black students in Florida by the Bureau. It was second only to Stanton Normal School in Jacksonville.²²

Fragmentary evidence about the educational program carried out in the early days of the Union Academy is contained in the teachers' periodic reports. In 1866 Miss Bent indicated that fifty-one of her 100 pupils were able to read easy readers, thirty-eight were reading at an advanced level, thirty-one studied arithmetic, and fourteen were learning geography.²³ In April 1868 she taught two departments, primary and grammar, and modestly reported to her association, "I am well satisfied with the progress that the children are making . . . and whatever knowledge they acquire is by hard labor."²⁴ In conjunction with academic subjects (which could be tabulated in reports and statistical abstracts), the virtues of sobriety, thrift, industry, and order were also emphasized. Nineteenth-century schoolmarm believed that schools could build strong character and good morals and should also be involved in civic training. In addition to teaching the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, the white teachers faced the task of training their replacements from their own black students. Almost from the beginning the Union Academy was thought of as a high school and a normal, or teacher training institution, as well as a grade school.²⁵

A report filed in January 1870 indicates that Miss Bent and Miss Barnes had left Gainesville. Bent appears to have moved to Ocala during the 1868-1869 school year, and Miss Barnes probably returned to the North earlier. They were replaced by two other white teachers, Miss Maggie Gardner and Miss Emma B. Eveleth, who were sent by the American Missionary Association. They were assisted by two blacks, Eliza James and Lawrence Chestnut. There were 179 pupils in the school. At that time the Union Academy was being partially supported by the

22. Davis to Jackson, June 19, 1868; J. C. Quentin to George Giles, November 26, 1868, FBC. See also a photograph of school on file at Santa Fe Regional Library, Gainesville. The Annual Report of Buildings, January 1, 1870, RED, states that the cost of the Stanton Academy in Jacksonville, a two-story building, was \$15,000, while the Union Academy cost \$6,000. Eveleth to Edward Cravath, December 31, 1872, AMA, reports that the long-awaited parlor organ had arrived.
23. Catherine Bent, monthly report, March, 1866, RED.
24. Catherine Bent, "Florida," *The American Freedman* 3 (April 1868).
25. Elizabeth Jacoway, *Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment* (Baton Rouge, 1980). 24; G. G. Bush, "History of Education in Florida," monograph included in the *Binennial School Reports of Florida*, originally published in Washinaton. D. C., 1889, 25.

Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, which had been organized in 1869, and no tuition was charged. Most of the children were reading in primary readers; seven were in advanced classes, and one was in the higher branch. Geography, spelling, and mathematics were also taught.²⁶ Miss Gardner and Miss Eveleth wrote periodic letters to their supervisors detailing their successes with their students and the problems they encountered, such as inadequate school supplies and books, absenteeism, and overcrowded classrooms.²⁷

In addition to some state funding and county taxes, contributions to both black and white schools came from the Peabody Fund, established by philanthropist George Peabody to aid education in the South. In recognition of the progress made by the school, the Union Academy was awarded \$300 by the Fund in 1868- 1869. Its teachers salaries were also supplemented from 1870 to 1882.²⁸ School board records show that the Academy's staff received salaries equal to those of white teachers for a number of years and that the length of the term was as long or longer than other schools in Alachua County. In 1869 Miss Gardner and Miss Eveleth asked the school board for additional money, and each received \$20.00 a month to supplement the pay they received from their sponsor, the American Missionary Association.²⁹

As the years passed, interest in education for blacks dwindled in Florida and throughout the South. Support by northern societies and the Freedmen's Bureau had ended by 1874, and the conservative white Democratic power structure was in control of institutions such as education by 1877.³⁰ As the social

26. Maggie Gardner and Emma B. Eveleth, Monthly report, January 1870, FBC. Miss Bent transferred to a Freedmen's Bureau School in Ocala. M. Rembley to Jackson, October 31, 1868, FBC.

27. Eveleth to Edward P. Smith, February 26, May 28, 1870, October 24, 1871, February 1, 1872; Eveleth to Cravath, November 24, 29, 1872, January 31, 1873, AMA.

28. Frederic Bruce Rosen, "The Influence of the Peabody Fund on Education in Reconstruction Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (January 1977), 316-18; Alachua County Board of Public Instruction minutes, on file in Gainesville, Florida (hereinafter referred to as ACBPI), March 7, 1870, April 10, August 14, 1879, December 9, 1880, March 10, 1882, August 13, 1883.

29. ACBPI minutes, November 9, 1869; W.P. Haisley, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction Ending 1874* (Tallahassee, 1874), 190.

30. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida*, 111; Rosen, "Development of Negro Education," 3-4; Marjorie Cahill, "The Negro in Florida During Reconstruction" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1954), 64, 67.

stigma of pauper, or free, schooling faded, public schools became more acceptable to the white community. The meagre resources available were directed mainly toward the building and support of schools for white pupils. A segregated school system was mandated, and records reflect that teachers in white schools received higher pay than those in black schools, and that white schools received a greater share of the funding.³¹ Yet the trustees of the Union Academy, working with the Alachua County Board of Public Instruction, remained active in promoting the needs of their institution. Ten years after the Union Academy opened it was stated that it had “enjoyed the largest advantages of any school in Alachua County from the beginning.” The pupils, taught by “well-educated teachers,” made an excellent showing in examinations and attended a full ten-month term. It was the only public school in Alachua county that was graded and that used uniform textbooks.³²

The citizens of Gainesville passed a bond issue in 1883 to benefit its two most prominent schools, the Union Academy and the East Florida Seminary. The city could not spend the money legally on property it did not own, so the Union Academy’s board of trustees conveyed the deed to the property on which the building stood to the city of Gainesville for the sum of \$2,000. That money was to be spent on renovations to the school. This arrangement was also stipulated for the East Florida Seminary, but the sum involved was \$6,000, and it was to be used to construct a new building.³³ Editorial comments in Gainesville’s *Weekly Bee* indicate that the white community did not favor funding the Union Academy with bond money and credited black voters with passage of the bond issue.³⁴

The Union Academy’s board of trustees had stated to the city commission that the renovations were needed in order to expand the normal department. Miss Gardner and Miss Eveleth had left by 1873, and from then on an all-black staff served the school.³⁵ In addition to training teachers to keep up with the

31. Rosen, “Development of Negro Education,” 2, 3, 25.

32. ACBPI minutes, March 9, 1878, August 14, 1879, December 9, 1880; Haisley, *Biennial Report*, 90.

33. Deed Book Q, 239-42, Clerk of the Court, Alachua County Courthouse.

34. Gainesville *Weekly Bee*, March 23, April 13, July 21, 1883.

35. Gainesville *Weekly Bee*, April 6, 1883, reported that at the city council meeting of March 6, 1883, the Union Academy board of trustees petitioned for \$2,000 to make repairs and additions for a normal school.

schools own growing enrollment, its graduates also staffed the majority of the smaller, rural black schools in Alachua County.³⁶ Further support for the normal department came from an annual appropriation of \$3,000 from the state legislature sponsored by Matthew Lewey, a prominent black citizen of Gainesville who served in the Florida House after Reconstruction.³⁷

It is not clear just what renovations were made in 1883. Evidently the building was merely extended to the rear since a Sanborn fire insurance map dated 1897 shows a one-story frame structure on the site.³⁸ However, in the 1890s major structural changes were made. In the 1896 biennial report of Florida's Superintendent of Public Instruction, Alachua County Superintendent W. W. Holloway reported that the "colored Graded school has recently been enlarged by another story. It is now one of the most imposing school structures in the state. It will comfortably house 700 pupils. This school runs eight months, the last two months as Normal School open to teachers free of charge."³⁹ The report is illustrated with a photograph of a two-story frame building with porches running the full length of both upper and lower stories, with an outside stairway leading directly to the second story porch. The picket fence still enclosed the schoolyard which was shaded by large trees, and the belfry had been moved to a prominent position on the new roof. The Union Academy now had a total of eleven classrooms. The new construction had cost \$1,100, and when completed, it was estimated that the value of the building was \$6,000.⁴⁰

The 1903 Sanborn map shows this two-story configuration and another set of stairs to the rear. Two privies provided sanitary facilities, and the frame house on the adjacent property had been annexed, to be used as the primary department. The 1919 Sanborn map reveals that electricity had been installed in the main building, but that the annex still relied on kerosene lights.⁴¹

36. ACBPI minutes, October 5, 1874; Charles Beecher, *Binennial Report Ending 1872* (Tallahassee, 1872), 2.

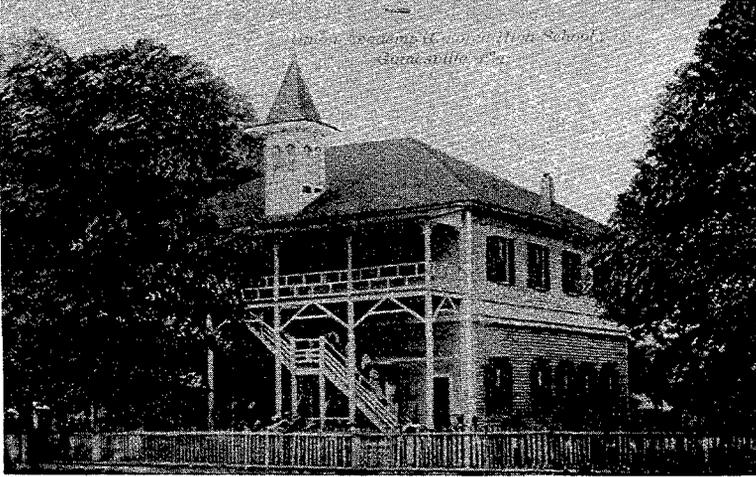
37. Landers, "Negro-Community," 31. Lewey was twice elected to the Florida House of Representatives, in 1876 and 1882, and served on the committee on education; Charles Webber, *The Eden of South* (New York, 1883), 40.

38. Sanborn map of Gainesville, 1897.

39. William Sheats, *Biennial Report for the Year Ending 1898* (Tallahassee, 1898), 354-55.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Sanborn maps of Gainesville, 1903, 1909, 1913, 1922. See also Hildreth, "A History of Gainesville, Florida," 188.



Union Academy, from a 1906 postcard. Photograph courtesy of Mark Barrow, Gainesville.

Contemporary sources indicate that Gainesville recognized the importance of the Union Academy for it was often mentioned in promotional literature, city directories, and the semi-annual reports of the county school superintendents in the late 1800s and early 1900s.⁴² Social life for black families in Alachua County centered around their churches and the Union Academy. Political and ceremonial events were also held on the school grounds. For instance, in 1892, Columbus Day was celebrated there with music, speeches, orations, and salutes to the flag.⁴³

In 1922 approximately 500 students were attending the school for the eight-month term. Grades one through nine were taught by eleven teachers. The new principal, A. Quinn Jones, provided leadership and continuity as the Union Academy, by now a wornout, overcrowded facility, was being phased out by

42. Webber, *The Eden of the South*, 40; Jessie Burtz, *Gainesville Directory* (Gainesville, 1905-1906), 10; Alachua County Immigration Association, *Alachua: The Garden County of Florida. Its Resources and Advantages* (New York, 1888), 19; Sheats, *Biennial Report*, 1898, 354-55.
43. Landers, "Negro Community," 17; interview with Thelma Jordan, by Joel Buchanan, January 24, 1984, FAB17A; interview with A. Quinn Jones, by Joyce Miller, October 27, 1976, AL13A; interview with T.B. McPherson, by Joel Buchanan, March 7, 1984, FAB19AB. All interviews in this article are on tape and transcribed at the Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville.

a new school, to be called Lincoln High School.⁴⁴ Alachua County school board minutes note that the privies from the Union Academy had been moved to the new school building site on Columbia Avenue (now NW 7th Avenue) in August 1923, indicating that the old building was no longer in use.⁴⁵ It was the policy of the board to sell school buildings that were no longer needed, but no record of the fate of the fifty-six year old structure can be located.⁴⁶

A bond issue had been passed in 1920 to build two new public high schools in Gainesville, one for white students, and one for blacks. Both schools were to be of red brick, of comparable size and with similar facilities. Winston and Penny of Gainesville were awarded the construction contract, and when it was determined that the building costs were too high, the auditorium was deleted from both proposed structures.⁴⁷ In an interview, A. Quinn Jones, the last principal of the Union Academy and principal of Lincoln High School for many years, reflected that it was not the custom to build fine brick schools for black students at that time; Gainesville's Lincoln High School was one of the first of such structures in the state.⁴⁸

It is an indication of the enduring value of the freedmen's school that its successor was also a source of pride and dignity. As a symbol of education, one of the brightest aspects of freedom, the Union Academy for more than one-half century had served an important intellectual and social function for Gainesville's black community.

44. Interview with A. Quinn Jones, by Jim Fouches and Daphne Williams, May 4, 1981, AL6ABC.

45. ACBPI minutes, August 17, 1923.

46. ACBPI minutes, July 14, 1922.

47. ACBPI minutes, July 9, 1920, March 11, June 30, July 14, 1922, August 17, 1923.

48. Interview with A. Quinn Jones, by Joyce Miller.

THE FLORIDA SEMINOLES IN THE DEPRESSION AND NEW DEAL, 1933-1942: AN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

by HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

THE Great Depression of the 1930s, following as it did the exuberant prosperity and financial excesses of the "Roaring Twenties," caught millions of Americans both economically and psychologically unprepared to deal with the collapse which was to follow. One of the few groups which was not adversely affected immediately, if only because they were already living perilously close to the poverty level, was the Seminole Indians of Florida. As late as the turn of the century they had participated in a profitable trading relationship with white merchants in the south Florida region. These merchants had purchased a great volume of bird plumes, alligator hides, otter pelts, and other items which the Indians brought in from the Everglades. These were valuable commodities utilized by the international fashion industry, and thus the Indian trade in Florida thrived throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. Then a series of events plunged the Florida Indians into an economic tailspin from which they had not begun to recover when the depression arrived.

The first major calamity to befall the Seminoles was the decision of the state of Florida to begin drainage of the Everglades in 1906, as part of Governor N. B. Broward's scheme to turn the area into a vast agricultural production center. The canals radically lowered the water table with disastrous effects to the wildlife of the region. In addition, the recently-organized Audubon Society fostered federal and state laws which ended the domestic plume trade. The onset of the First World War brought about the collapse of the international fashion trade, and this ended the great demand for Seminole goods. A collateral blow to the life-style of the Seminoles was the steady population growth in south Florida. Beginning with the arrival of the Florida East Coast Railway in Miami in 1896, new towns were

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settled along the right-of-way, while ranches, groves, and farms extended toward the interior. The Indians who had hunted and camped freely in this region found themselves being systematically displaced. This process was greatly accelerated by the Florida land boom during the 1920s. Fortunately, those government officials charged with the supervision of the Seminole Indians had foreseen such an eventuality, and as early as the 1890s had begun acquiring lands to be used as federal reservations in Florida. It was to these enclaves that the Indian people would eventually turn as the Great Depression continued through the 1930s and these would become the land base and sociopolitical nucleus for tribal reorganization some twenty years later.

In 1912 the commissioner of Indian Affairs had reported to Senator Duncan U. Fletcher of Florida that, "during the past year the tanneries have stopped the purchase of alligator skins, so that now a crisis is approaching, as at least 75 per cent of the Indian's income was derived from that source."¹ By 1913, Dr. William J. Godden, the Episcopal medical missionary in the Big Cypress, devised a plan for an agricultural program which would teach the Indians to support themselves, noting, "this they do now by hunting the alligator and otter and selling their hides, but the hunting season will soon be a thing of the past, as a means of livelihood."² Writing in 1921, Indian agent L. A. Spencer found that, "The year just closing has been a season of distress for many of the Seminoles. There was no demand for fur or alligator hides, the only two things that they depend on to obtain money with which to buy the necessities of life other than those which they obtain through hunting."³ From the foregoing, it can be seen that the Seminoles were no strangers to economic hardship well in advance of the depression years.

There have been many studies of Seminole culture during this era, virtually all written by non-Indians. In none of these accounts was there a systematic attempt to present an Indian perspective on the events of the time, nor to have them recount their own tales of survival. With the passing of time there were fewer and fewer surviving Seminoles who were adults during the Great Depression, and the oral tradition from that period

1. U.S. Congress. Senate. *Seminole Indians in Florida*, 63rd Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 42, 1913, 5.
2. *Fort Myers Daily Press*, September 22, 1914.
3. U.S. Congress. Senate. *Special Report of the Florida Seminole Agency*, 67th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 102, 1921, 5.

was in danger of being lost. In 1983, coinciding with the fiftieth anniversary of the inauguration of New Deal programs for Indian peoples, the American Association for State and Local History sponsored a project to gather oral history accounts of the Depression and New Deal from Seminole elders. This effort focused on elders with birth dates of 1913 or earlier, who would have been the work force during the depression years; however, there were also some interviews conducted with informants in the sixty to seventy age group.

Due to advanced age and infirmity many of the Seminole Indian elders chose not to be interviewed, reducing the original pool of forty to fifteen in the pre-1913 category. The interviews were conducted by native speakers of Mikasuki or Creek, the two languages spoken by members of the Seminole Tribe of Florida. All informants responded to a structured interview schedule, and were also encouraged to expand on their experiences during the depression years. A portfolio of historical photographs was also utilized as a memory prompt. The population of informants was skewed in favor of Mikasuki-speakers, most of whom had lived off the reservations during the depression but had moved there at a later time.

All of the informants, whether they were Mikasuki-speakers from the Big Cypress Reservation, or Creek-speakers from the Brighton and Hollywood reservations, shared several common characteristics. The most striking of these was their spirit of independence and total self-reliance. A great majority of the Seminole people did not live on federal reservations at the outset of the Great Depression, and most families were not inclined to do so. Neither did they look to the federal government to provide employment, education, or even medical services except in cases of extreme emergency. Most of the Florida Indians still shunned anything having to do with the United States government, a position reinforced by the fact that only a few generations separated them from the traumatic era of the Seminole Wars and removal from Florida, and it would take many years before these attitudes were modified significantly. In fact, most Seminoles of the depression period would have preferred to remain at their traditional camps deep within the Everglades and pine woods, carrying on the old ways, and maintaining only limited contact with the outside world and the white man. This cultural conservatism was a Seminole hallmark.

The Seminole elders' keen sense of identity with a unique

time/place context may be viewed in the following excerpts. In the first, Albert Billie describes his life before moving to the Big Cypress Reservation: "When young man [I] lived out here, not sure [where]. Lived out in forest of cypress trees. Farmed out there. Most of the people during that time have died. My sister died and I'm not sure how long I'll live. My mother said 'when I go you must live and join with other people.' Not long after that she got very ill and died, not sure of the year."⁴ When asked where his family had lived during the 1920s old Frank Cypress replied simply, "I was told I was born in the clearing, where the big lake lays."⁵ Similarly, most of the elders tied events to particular occurrences in their lives, or to specific places, rather than to chronological dates.

The Seminole camps were amazingly self-sufficient places half-a-century ago. Materials for the thatched roof "chikis" were readily available, and only a small plot of hammock land was required to sustain an extended family group. In their small gardens the Indians could easily grow corn, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, cow peas, and sugar cane. Many camp sites had stands of bananas, along with guava, lime, and sour orange trees; berries were plentiful in season. The women kept herds of hogs which foraged near the camps. A hunter could easily bag deer, turkey, duck, curlew, turtle, and also alligators to provide meat. Fish were always available for spearing in the shallow waters of the Everglades. The staple food of the Seminole camp was "sof-kee" – a gruel derived from hominy grits, often enhanced with chunks of dried meat and eaten with a communal spoon. Despite this relative abundance of food, the Seminoles still needed hard cash to buy grits, coffee, salt, sugar, baking powder, and canned goods, as well as clothing, camp hardware, rifles and ammunition, and the ever-present sewing machines. In short, they were becoming a cash-dependent and less autonomous people.

As their meager cash flow dried up during the depth of the depression, the Seminoles became more peripatetic in their search for employment. Initially only a few came to the

4. Interview with Albert Billie, by Jeanette Cypress, October 30, 1984, SEM 191A, University of Florida Oral History Archives (UFHA), Florida State Museum, Gainesville.
5. Interview with Frank Cypress, by Jeanette Cypress, April 22, 1984, SEM 194A, UFHA.

Seminole Agency seeking assistance— these included both unaccompanied males as well as entire family units, staying only for short periods of time. A much larger number of Indian families moved about south Florida engaging in seasonal agricultural work. Still another segment of the Seminole population took up residence in commercial tourist villages for at least part of the year, returning to their camps periodically or during the “off season.” Even those families which continued to occupy isolated Everglades camps and remained static throughout the 1930s often ventured into urban areas such as Miami to visit their kinfolk at the commercial villages, and sold their own handicrafts and food products to tourists. Increased mobility would expose the Seminoles to both the best and worst elements in white society, and some elders claimed it had a corrupting influence on the younger generation.

Agricultural labor was the most common source of employment for the Seminoles during the depression years. In his 1930 “Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida,” Roy Nash noted, “In the winter and early spring when garden truck is to be harvested the Seminoles make fair wages for perhaps 45 days a year. They receive \$2 a day for picking tomatoes and eggplant; picking beans at 20 to 30 cents a bushel pays them \$4 to \$5 a day. Children generally help their parents and receive no individual wages.”⁶ Later, an Indian agent from this era wrote,

... Indian women have found work on a nearby farm and have fitted into the industry about them. They are picking peppers, and I am told that they were more careful in handling the vines than either white or Negro labor. Like so much farm work, they are employed only a few weeks of the year, but it does help them provide for their homes.⁷ It is noteworthy that this signaled the entry of Seminoles into the wage-labor economy, where formerly they had been almost exclusively entrepreneurial.

Picking crops was just one aspect of the annual economic cycle which the Seminoles developed out of necessity during the depression years. Typical was the account of eighty-five-year-old Susie Billie, a venerated “medicine woman” from the Big Cypress Reservation: “I lived around here. I grew up here. Employment was scarce. People hunted, killed raccoons, killed deer,

6. Roy Nash, “Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida,” 71st Cong., 3d sess., S. Doc. 314, 1931, 38-39.

7. James L. Glenn, *My Work Among the Florida Seminoles* (Gainesville, 1982), 20.

made moccasins and sold them to buy groceries. Ate berries and whatever else could be found or hunted. There was a lot of hunger. If you didn't go looking, or was lazy, if you couldn't help yourself, you would go hungry. . . . There was men who found employment for people but the pay was very cheap back then. There was farm labor. When of age to work in fields you could use money for clothing and food. . . . A day's work pay was \$1 .50."⁸

Another octogenarian, Abraham Clay, still living alone in his camp near Ochopee, recalls earning money, "picking tomatoes, cutting wood, building railroad tracks and various other jobs [such as] cattle fence making . . . [also] looked for alligators, raccoons, otters and hides to sell."⁹ When asked if his people traveled to various locations seeking employment, Willie Tiger answered emphatically, "Yes, Indiantown, Fort Pierce, Vero Beach, yes we traveled and lived in those areas where work was available. Picking oranges and various other farm labor."¹⁰ Evidently the Indian families lived on the farms where they worked, or made temporary camps nearby. In one instance an interpreter inquiring about this aspect of Seminole life, inadvertently learned a bit of her own family's history when a relative recounted: "Oh yes, your mother would go there when she was little. So she was our only child at the time. But she was born past Deep Lake, a place called the big carved tree. On the other side was a cypress forest. We moved there; people there were camping during tomato picking time and that's where your mother was born."¹¹

Nevertheless, in the 1930s economic conditions had led a few Seminole families to take up semi-permanent residence on farms in the vicinity of Lake Okeechobee. Nash reported in his survey that eight or ten Indians, "live in an old house on the farm of a friendly white man, Mr. Clarence Summerlin; they come and go, working for him when he has work for them, hunting and berrying as the mood strikes them, a distinctly transitional type. . . . Dan Parker houses his family in an old

8. Interview with Susie Billie by Jeanette Cypress, May 6, 1984, SEM 187A, UFHA.

9. Interview with Abraham Clay, by Jeanette Cypress, May 6, 1984, SEM 193A, UFHA.

10. Interview with Willie Tiger, by Jeanette Cypress, October 30, 1984, SEM 188A, UFHA.

11. Albert Billie interview.

barn and makes a precarious living as a casual laborer. . . . Mrs. Ella Montgomery . . . by the gift of a Ford car persuaded the family of Charlie Cypress to abandon his home in the Big Cypress and build a camp adjoining Mrs. Montgomery's home at Loxahatchee Farms, 10 miles west of Palm Beach."¹² Although Nash was probably correct in his assessment that these Seminoles were exceptions for that time, at least four of the current informants reported living on farms prior to moving to the Brighton Reservation. Therefore, the practice of settling-in at farms for protracted periods of time may have become more widespread as the depression worsened.

Obviously, many Seminoles were still engaged in hunting and trapping to raise cash as late as the 1930s. It is well documented that the heyday of the Indian trade in pelts, plumes, and hides had long since passed, peaking around the turn of the century.¹³ As Nash pointed out, "the Indian is a minority factor in the Florida fur trade," having been displaced by white hunters who used better equipment and were better organized to take the remaining game.¹⁴ Even so, the hide buyers were an important source of revenue for the Indians. When queried about this, Frank Cypress responded, "Yes, when tomatoes weren't in season we hunted alligators. The gators weren't too abundant either, but when we find a few and kill and sell those. . . . Raccoons were sold in La Belle for \$1.00 apiece. Sometimes even 75 cents or 50 cents."¹⁵ Willie Frank remembered that "before 1941, around 1930-1936, we did sell hides and pelts, raccoons, otters, alligators as a source of income." He had lived all of his life in the area near Miami, "mostly working farm labor, but around that time, along 1941, during war with Japan we helped build boats and things for the war."¹⁶ This is perhaps one of the earliest isolated examples of

12. Nash, "Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida," 21-22.

13. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *Pelts, Plumes and Hides: White Traders Among the Seminole Indians, 1870-1930* (Gainesville, 1975), 1-158.

14. Nash, "Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida," 36.

15. Frank Cypress interview.

16. Interview with Willie Frank, by Jeanette Cypress, May 21, 1985, SEM 192A, UFHA. Evidently some other Seminoles and Mikasukis living in the Miami region were also engaged in work relating to the military. Buffalo Tiger recounted to the author that he and two Indian men from villages west of Miami were employed in building light aircraft around 1942. Believing that Tiger should use an anglicized name, the plant foreman began

Seminole involvement in the war effort. Another source of wages in which none of the Seminoles interviewed had engaged was serving as guides for white sportsmen. However, practically speaking, this was limited to a relatively few well-known Indian hunters, and produced irregular income at best.

There had been commercial "Indian Villages" operating as Florida tourist attractions since 1917, primarily in Miami and St. Petersburg, and later at Silver Springs near Ocala. In Miami the two major villages were at Musa Isle Grove and Coppinger's Tropical Garden, and many of the Mikasuki-speaking Indians were employed there periodically. Evidently a cadre of families resided at these sites year-round, with others visiting randomly. The Seminoles performed in such tourist-oriented activities as dancing, alligator wrestling, and mock "Indian weddings," but they also carried on a camp life similar to what they knew in the Everglades, made and sold handicrafts for income, and a few improved their language skills. These villages were constantly criticized by Indian agents and social reformers as being demeaning and demoralizing to the Seminoles, and they sought to have them closed. Interestingly, a recent study by Patsy West based upon interviews with Indians who actually lived there, presents a more benign assessment of the tourist villages.¹⁷ West contends that the villages provided a transitional environment in which some Seminoles could earn a living while preserving many elements of their traditional culture. Moreover, the Indian people themselves did not feel demeaned or overly exploited, and many seemed to prefer this means of earning a living rather than relocating to the Seminole Agency.

Informants in this study generally confirm the West thesis that some Seminoles viewed commercial villages as acceptable economic alternatives during the depression years. When questioned about visiting the Miami tourist attractions, Albert Billie confided, "My brother and I went there because Indians were living at a place called Indian Village. Three villages, one called Musa Isle. These three villages would visit each other. . . . People

calling him "William." Tiger, the former leader of the Miccosukee Tribe, signed official documents as William Buffalo Tiger. The 1942 census roll of the Seminole Agency also added an Anglo name, but erroneously listed him as Frank (Buffalo) Tiger.

17. Patsy West, "The Miami Indian Tourist Attractions: A History and Analysis of a Transitional Mikasuki Seminole Environment," *Florida Anthropologist* 34 (December 1981), 200-24.

would come in buses and they charged them. They had alligators and wrestled them and they paid to watch. Others stayed in Miami and we lived at Silver Springs. . . . During the winters they would come get us to stay there, then leave when winter was about over."¹⁸ More detail on the third Miami area tourist village was furnished by Buffalo Tiger: "Back in 1926, I was old enough to remember this particular time, there is a village in Hialeah, and my uncle, his name is Willie Willie, established a nice little village; not too many people live around there that time. I am talking about public. . . . My uncle established that and we lived there about a couple of years I believe. 1926 hurricane blew everything down but during that time we were out here to do our hunting, and we have villages out here. I do not mean tourist village. This is our home and we were out here hunting and our village [was] there. It was some of the families that lived in it with my uncle and the village blown down and instead of rebuilding again, he made a choice. He was going to go to a reservation. He went to [the Dania] Reservation, so they come back to Glades."¹⁸ Buffalo Tiger's family never lived on a reservation, and during his youth they moved constantly back and forth between their camp in the Everglades and the Miami tourist villages. Many other informants also reported visiting these villages briefly, or even for "a season," but never considered them a permanent home.

The Great Depression had brought untold economic hardship to millions of people worldwide. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president in 1932 and proposed the New Deal, a legislative package providing for the economic and social rehabilitation of the nation. One of these bills established a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which was to provide employment for young men between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, working in a variety of projects to restore forests and grasslands, improve national parks, provide flood control, and the like. In 1933, a modified version of this program was made available to American Indians as the Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW), later to be called Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian

18. Albert Billie interview.

19. Interview with Buffalo Tiger, by Harry A. Kersey, Jr., May 3, 1984, SEM 185A, UFHA.

Division (CCC-ID).²⁰ The Indians of Florida would receive limited, but significant, benefits from the IECW, CCC-ID, and other New Deal programs.

The Dania Reservation, located several miles southwest of Fort Lauderdale, became the focal point for New Deal programs to benefit the Seminole people. This 360-acre tract in Broward County was originally set aside for Indian use by a presidential Executive Order in 1911, but it remained undeveloped until 1926 when it was designated as "a camp for sick and indigent Indians."²¹ The government built ten one-room cottages and a small administration building, only to have them destroyed by the hurricane that swept through the area that year. Within nine months the camp had been rebuilt with ten two-room cottages, a two-story administration building, a school, infirmary, wash house, and several auxiliary buildings. The ten cottages "were occupied immediately by the Tommies, the Osceolas, and the Jumpers."²³ These were Seminole families which had been displaced from their east coast camps near Fort Lauderdale and Miami, as speculators acquired control of even the most marginal land. Lucien A. Spencer, who served as Seminole agent from 1913 until his death in 1930, seized upon this opportunity to try to develop a self-sufficient Indian community. His long-range goal was to attract as many Seminole families as possible to Dania, where they could benefit from educational and health care facilities, and have an opportunity to learn industrial pursuits. Some thirty-five acres of the reservation were cleared and planted in crops by Indian labor under the direction of a Government Farmer. Seminoles were employed three days a week at \$2.50 for an eight-hour day. Agent Spencer could report, "The lands at this unit are being subdivided into five acre tracts (which are sufficient for any one family) and the Indians are given employment at the Agency sufficient to furnish them with the necessary food and clothing, providing they spend the re-

20. Donald L. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," in *The American Indian: Essays From Pacific Historical Review*, ed. Norris Hundley (Santa Barbara, 1974), 127-30. See also James W. Covington, "The Seminoles and the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Florida Anthropologist* 34 (December 1981), 232-37.

21. Nash, "Survey of the Seminole Indians of Florida," 70.

22. *Ibid.*, 71.

mainder of the week clearing their own tracts."²³ Apparently only a few Seminole families took advantage of this opportunity, preferring instead to work for the government as casual laborers. Thus, wage labor had been introduced at Dania Reservation well in advance of the New Deal employment schemes.

It would fall to James L. Glenn, the Seminole agent from 1931-1935, to implement the New Deal programs that were approved for the tribe. Evidently the early depression years were not noticeably difficult for Indians who were already living at a marginal subsistence level. Only a few old, infirm Seminoles, or women with dependent children received monthly grocery allowances or other direct subsidies. But by 1933, as the depression worsened, the need for aid increased dramatically. Nevertheless, Agent Glenn, who shared the views of former President Hoover that self-help was preferable to government assistance, would write, "Through the last year the Seminole Indians have had all the relief that might be absorbed without injury to the tribe. The Agency has furnished the sick, aged and other dependents with groceries to the amount of \$1571. From ten to fifteen percent of the population have been benefited from these supplies."²⁴ The United States Army had provided the Indians with surplus breeches, overcoats, shoes, shirts, and leggings, while the Red Cross supplied some 2,000 yards of cloth, as well as overalls, jumpers, sweaters, blankets, and infant garments. Glenn was much more proud of the fact that, "A total of 535 work days has been given to the Indian labor. For more than half the year every Seminole who asked for employment was given work. Handling stock, driving trucks and tractors, farming, carpenter work and painting are some of the trades in which they have engaged. Thus the program serves as an industrial training school, preparing these people to take their place in America's larger economic system."²⁵ Glenn's language is full of the rhetoric of the New Deal, for it is highly questionable whether many Indians became skilled enough to enter the off-reservation job market.

The first New Deal program to be authorized for the Seminole Agency— a Civil Works Administration (CWA) pro-

23. Lucien A. Spencer, *Annual Report of the Seminole Agency, 1929: Narrative Section*, p. 10, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

24. James L. Glenn, *Annual Report of the Seminole Agency, 1933: Narrative Section*, p. 11, Record Group 75, National Archives.

25. *Ibid.*, 9.

ject— was approved on November 3, 1933.²⁶ Officials in Washington telegraphed authorization to hire a clerk, supervisor, and two skilled and five unskilled workers. The Indian men were set to work clearing palmettoes from reservation land that was to become a campsite for Seminoles visiting Dania Reservation. They also built rock driveways and laid sidewalks in the housing area. Several weeks of this project were spent in clearing a similar campground on federal land near Miles City in Collier County. The Indian and white employees labored together well, and Agent Glenn believed the Seminoles proved themselves to be excellent workers. Another aspect of the CWA project provided training for Indian women in making quilts, but this had no lasting impact due to the lack of a market for such goods in the Florida climate.

An Indian Emergency Conservation Work project for the Seminole Agency was approved on January 22, 1934.²⁷ The objective was to clear the Dania Reservation of palmetto growth and timber felled during the 1926 hurricane. The work began with Indian laborers using axes and hoes to clear the densely-matted roots, but this proved ineffective. Agent Glenn rigged two Fordson tractors to a plow to pull stumps, and trained Indian drivers to operate the machinery. Later, he secured a large Holt tractor, and Josie Jumper learned to operate it expertly. Glenn admiringly reported, "Josie was never more delighted than when he tied this tractor to a large pine stump, and watched it drag the great roots out of the soil. . . . He ran this machine for more than a year, and although it was a man-killing job he got as much work out of it as any white man anywhere."²⁸ At the end of the year over 140 acres had been cleared and planted in grasses for pasturage. The Indian workmen also fenced the land and constructed a telephone system for the Seminole Agency. A photograph of this 1934 land clearing project at the Seminole Agency was included in the "Final Report of The Indian Emergency Conservation Work and Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division Program, 1933-1942."²⁹

26. James L. Glenn, *Annual Report of the Seminole Agency, 1934: Narrative Section*, p. 3, Record Group 75, National Archives.

27. *Ibid.*, 4.

28. Glenn, *My Work Among the Florida Seminoles*, 16-18.

29. D. E. Murphy, "Final Report of the Indian Emergency Conservation Work and Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division Program, 1933-1942," Typscript, Record Group 75, National Archives. The National Archives

Within a few weeks after this IECW project began, the agent reported that Indians from every section of the state came to Dania seeking employment. This may have been overstating the case. Although at times there were in excess of 150 men, women, and children camped at Dania, the number actually employed rarely exceeded fifty at any given time. The Final Report Of The CCC-ID shows that between June 1933 and June 1942, a total of ninety-two Indians and seven whites were employed in the projects at the Seminole Agency.³⁰ This would have represented approximately thirty per cent of the Seminole adult population at that time. The CCC-ID enrollees were to receive thirty dollars per month, plus food and housing allowances. However, the agents were in complete charge of the projects, and often reduced the hours in order to distribute the limited funds to as many workers as possible.

When questioned about going to the Dania Reservation to seek work, Albert Billie responded, "Yes I did, in 1934. Doing cleaning up reservation. I don't know the name of program."³¹ Although he did not go to Dania himself, Jimmie Cypress recalled that, "first time my dad worked with government was with Mr. Glenn, a superintendent around 1930. During that time we lived in Immokalee. . . . He helped Dania Reservation get established and more developed, like clearing land."³² Another informant who worked in the CCC-ID program was Willie Tiger: "Yes I did for a short period, around five months

provides background on this document which apparently never was printed due to the restrictions imposed during World War II. The Emergency Conservation Work (later Civilian Conservation Corps) program was established by an Act of Congress in March 1933. Work on Indian reservations was included from the beginning. Activities within the Bureau of Indian Affairs were handled briefly by the Forestry Division. On May 23, 1933, a separate Indian Emergency Conservation Work Division (IECW) was established. It was headed by a director and included several field districts. When Emergency Conservation Work became the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1937, the name of the Indian unit was changed to the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division (CCC-ID). Daniel E. Murphy was the director of both IECW and the CCC-ID throughout their existence. See National Archives, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, Volume I, Record Group 75, compiled by Edward E. Hill (Washington, 1965), 287.

30. *Ibid.*, 24.

31. Albert Billie interview.

32. Interview with Jimmie Cypress, by Jeanette Cypress, October 30, 1984, SEM 190A, UFHA.

doing land clearing work, pulling up palmetto bush roots. Then taking the roots and stacking them up in piles to haul away."³³ The oldest member of the group, Abraham Clay, remembered, "Yes, I did a little bit of work there [Dania] clearing the land. Making small farm fields. There wasn't too much farm work. The pay was small, too. We worked at different jobs . . . about six dollars a week. Low pay."³⁴

By 1936 the CCC-ID projects had been extended to the newly-opened Brighton Reservation in Glades County, as well as to the older Big Cypress Reservation in Hendry County. Francis J. Scott was superintendent of the Seminole Agency, and served in that post until 1941.³⁵ He received constantly increasing CCC-ID budgets between 1937 and 1939, and employed Indians in a variety of jobs aimed at making the three reservations more attractive and livable places. Unfortunately, most of the funds were expended on equipment, materials, and supplies, and there was never enough money to provide jobs for all the Seminoles who sought employment. Scott constantly beseeched the officials in Washington to increase his budget allocations for salaries, but had no success. In 1941, Dwight R. Gardin replaced Scott, and he carried on the CCC-ID projects as best he could with the severely reduced budgets. He echoed his predecessor's concerns that if funds were further depleted, Seminoles who had been induced to settle on the reservations hoping for permanent employment, might leave and return to the unsettled life of migratory labor or take up residence in a tourist attraction. Finally, frustrated by bureaucratic indifference to his pleas, Gardin radically overspent his budget and was promptly replaced as superintendent of the Seminole Agency by William B. Hill.³⁶ When the United States entered World War Two, Congress voted to terminate all CCC-ID programs as of July 2, 1942. Accordingly, Superintendent Hill was notified in April 1942, to "close out as soon as possible, except for forest protection, CCC-ID."³⁷ This signalled the end of the New Deal for the Seminoles of Florida.

A majority of the Seminole informants believed that the

33. Willie Tiger interview.

34. Abraham Clay interview.

35. Covington, "The Seminoles and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 234.

36. *Ibid.*, 236.

37. *Ibid.*

white superintendents had worked for the Indians' best interests. When asked if the government agents had been helpful, Frank Billie answered, "Yes, they helped very well, especially Scott and Glenn. Gardin I didn't know too well because he was there only a short time."³⁸ Willie Frank, on the other hand, recalled that, "Gardin help with CCC program. He did help with finding work and helping with assistance for food if needed. . . . We built roads, this main work through Big Cypress, 833 road."³⁹ Frank Cypress had known Agent Spencer only as a "government worker which our people believed was going to send Indians to school, so at our camp we really didn't get involved with him. But at another camp he usually visited them, so on one of his trips out there we heard he died out in woods . . . at a clearing near some woods in Ochopee on this side of Immokalee. . . . His car got stuck and he was pushing it, and during the strain he got short of breath, turned pale, and some people got some canvas down. He lie down on it and died."⁴⁰ Abraham Clay remembered the old government agents; asked if one stood out he said, "Yes, there was a boss, Spencer. I know him, he overlooked [oversaw] the Indian people and assisted them with their problems."⁴¹

Susie Billie had no direct contact with Agent Spencer, but when asked if he had helped the people, she replied, "He might have. I really don't know, but not us personally. I'm sure he helped because he moved around and did a lot. There was also a woman called Old White Woman. She took me to a doctor in Miami several times."⁴² Jimmie Cypress also confirmed the assistance received from a public health nurse, "Yes, there was Miss [Charlotte] Conrad. Indians called her Old White Lady. She wore white uniform and that's why they called her that name. She made home visits even if it was muddy and her car would get stuck, she still visited people."⁴³

Betty Mae Jumper, who attended the day school on the Dania Reservation, and later was one of the first Seminoles to complete high school, credits Agent Scott with a role in that

38. Interview with Frank Billie, by Jeanette Cypress, October 30, 1984, SEM 189A, UFHA.

39. Willie Frank interview.

40. Frank Cypress interview.

41. Abraham Clay interview.

42. Susie Billie interview.

43. Jimmie Cypress interview.

accomplishment, "He was pretty good man, too. He is the one that had me go away to school to Cherokee, North Carolina. He find a school for me to go to."⁴⁴ She also recalled accompanying Agent Glenn, an ordained minister, on visits to local churches. "We used to go out and sometimes he preached at night. We used to go sing for him; I remember that— Indian songs, Christian songs."⁴⁵ Glenn was also known as the dispenser of relief funds. "I remember he gave my grandmother ten dollars a week, or somebody give ten dollars a week, the government or something. Ten dollars a week to buy groceries, and they got a truck and went in back and forth to Dania on Saturdays to get groceries."⁴⁶

From the foregoing accounts one gains the impression that the Seminoles believed the government agents and other workers were trying to perform their duties, and assist the Indians as best they could, given the limitation of funding and scattered nature of the population throughout south Florida. This is not to imply, however, that all of these interactions were without misunderstanding or distrust. It was a long-standing goal of the government to have Seminoles living on reservations, ostensibly to receive continuous education, health, and employment benefits, and the agents were capable of subtle coercion to get the families to relocate. But even after they had resettled, the Seminoles were likely to rebel against government policies which they misunderstood. For example, Jimmie Cypress, commenting on the question of how much pressure was placed on the Indian people to move to the reservation, said, "They didn't ask us to move. Around 1938-1939 it was said all United States citizens were to be registered. CCC program was started first around this time, jobs were being provided, people were counted. Someone said they were counting the people to make soldiers, and even though the Indians were not asked to move off the reservation, they all left and lived about seven miles from here. I told my dad that kind of talk is not true. They are just counting people, everyone in the United States. And he and I moved back and people got mad at us, but eventually all of them moved back too."⁴⁷ In a similar vein, Susie Billie told of a

44. Interview with Betty Mae Jumper, by Jeanette Cypress and Harry A. Kersey, Jr., January 2, 1985, SEM 186A, UFHA.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. Jimmie Cypress interview.

misunderstanding over the Social Security system: "Oh yes, people didn't have social security cards then. People heard you have to have it to seek employment. At that time people were working digging ditches. When they heard, they quit work thinking they were going to get sent off for military reasons. Thinking if signing anything they were being prepared for draft. They quit work and went into woods and started farming their own food, but shortly after someone explained the purpose of Social Security, and that no harm has come to the people. So people signed the papers and returned to work."⁴⁸ These two related incidents reveal a great deal about the Seminole aversion to military service, as well as their lingering distrust of the federal government.

Comparing the documentary sources with these oral history accounts, what generalizations can be made regarding the Seminole experience during the New Deal era? Although the Florida tribe was relatively small, virtually unorganized, and geographically isolated from "Indian Country" in the West, it received the same New Deal programs offered to other Indian groups— and enjoyed the same mixed results. Certainly the federal employment and direct assistance programs afforded short-term, immediate relief to many Seminole families, who otherwise would have been in dire straits. Nevertheless, the long-range impact of the New Deal on the Seminoles is difficult to assess. Evidently this is a general problem of Indian historiography, for as a leading historian of the Indian New Deal, Donald Parman, has noted, "Even though the public has always accepted CCC publicity which stressed the program's wholesome effects on the enrollees, we have no conclusive evidence that these assertions are true on a long-range basis. We badly need careful follow-up studies of former enrollees' careers before any accurate assessment can be made about the social effects of the CCC. Such studies might well reveal that the program had much less rehabilitative effect than is commonly believed. In the case of the Indian enrollees, the impact of the CCC is complicated by their minority status in American society. The obstacles faced by Indians made the benefits of CCC-improved morale, better adjustment to changing conditions, and acquisition of work skills— much more important for Indians than for whites. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient data on the subsequent

48. Susie Billie interview.

careers of former Indian enrollees to be able to determine whether service in the CCC greatly benefitted them.⁴⁹ A limited carry-over from federal programs such as CCC is certainly indicated in the Florida Indian experience, perhaps owing in part to the fact that it was a scaled-down program and lacked a unifying CCC camp experience.

Furthermore, there were those in the federal Indian Service who questioned whether the Seminoles might not be corrupted by the introduction of such programs, limited though they were. An overly paternalistic Commissioner John Collier, following a 1935 visit among the Seminoles in Florida, would write, "Is it our duty to 'civilize' the Seminoles? . . . 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; particularly they might work to lead their people to become conservationists. For now, though they do not kill for 'sport,' the Seminoles are not conservationists. 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 that 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."⁵⁰ Evidently the idealistic Collier believed that he had found a pristine tribe living in a state of nature, rather than people trying to survive the depression. He appeared less concerned with preparing the Seminoles for active participation in American society— a professed goal of the Indian New Deal— than in preserving them as a cultural anachronism.

The CCC-ID apparently did not generate a broad based upgrading of Seminole work skills, or prepare them to enter the labor market outside their reservations. Most of the Indians interviewed were employed as unskilled laborers, and only a very few learned marketable trades such as the operation of heavy machinery. Then, too, the isolation of the reservations limited

49. Parman, "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 144.

50. John Collier, "With Secretary Ickes and the Seminoles," *Indians At Work 2* (April 1935), 3-4. Collier appears to have re-examined his views regarding the Florida Seminoles and their ability to absorb modern life in his work, *From Every Zenith* (New York, 1946), 203-13.

the job opportunities which would have been available to Indians. The Seminole communities were too far removed from urban industrial centers for them to participate in war-related occupations. Equally important, few families were interested in relocating. Thus, the CCC-ID jobs became a closed circuit providing supplementary income, rather than a preparation for broader participation in the expanding off-reservation economy.

Although a limited educational program was available at the day school on the Dania Reservation, few of the adults availed themselves of the opportunity to improve their English reading and writing skills, further limiting their chances for off-reservation employment. Neither would there be any wholesale entry of Seminoles into the military when World War Two was declared. Only three Seminoles are known to have served in the armed forces.⁵¹

Those Seminole families which moved to the reservations during the 1930s tended to remain there, even though employment opportunities were limited and began to decrease rapidly with the outbreak of the war. The federal enclaves at least offered access to financial assistance, medical treatment, and eventually schooling, even on the rural reservations. Over time the reservation residents developed an economic cycle which included some government employment, seasonal agricultural labor in the vicinity, as well as hunting, trapping, and fishing for family consumption. While this socioeconomic transition was taking place, the federal reservations provided a safe haven for people who otherwise would have had no permanent home and limited legal protection. A major function of the Indian agents during this period was to facilitate the transition from displaced wandering to a settled reservation existence for most of the Seminoles. This process took several decades to complete, and some families were just moving to the reservations in the 1950s. However, many traditionalists shunned the reservations and remained in their Everglades camps.

There were a number of positive aspects to the Florida Seminole situation during the New Deal era, not least of which was the acquisition of some 30,000 acres of additional land in

51. Covington, "The Seminoles and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 236. See also James W. Covington, "The Seminoles and Selective Service in World War II," *Florida Anthropologist* 32 (June 1979), 46-51.

1936 to form the Brighton Reservation.⁵² In the previous year, Commissioner John Collier and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes had come to Florida and held a quasi-official meeting with a delegation of Seminoles requesting more land from the government.⁵³ Both Ickes and Collier pledged their support in obtaining more land, and this no doubt helped to expedite the acquisition of the Brighton acreage by the Department of Agriculture and the Resettlement Administration. The latter federal agency also provided a herd of western cattle which was pastured at the Brighton Reservation, and became the nucleus of a nascent Seminole beef cattle industry. Ultimately, Indian families bought cattle from this breeding pool to start their own herds. They received technical assistance from the Seminole Agency, and eventually a Cattlemen's Association was formed to regulate the operation. This successful cattle program was extended to the Big Cypress Reservation by the late 1940s.⁵⁴ The cattle owners became the first prosperous element among the modern Seminole people.

The period of the 1930s also produced the first small cadre of Seminole youngsters who took advantage of the opportunity to attend school, primarily at the Dania Reservation where a day school was in operation from 1927 to 1936. When the school was closed, ostensibly so the Indian children could attend public schools, a few of the youngsters were sent to the Cherokee Indian School in North Carolina. Several of them continued there, and the first Seminoles to receive a high school diploma graduated in 1945.⁵⁵

Perhaps most important, however, the lure of New Deal programs stimulated the process of bringing a scattered and fragmented Seminole population together on their own land—a process that fostered a new tribal unity, and culminated in 1957 with the formation of the Seminole Tribe of Florida as a federally-acknowledged polity. Thus, the adversity of the depression and promise of the New Deal had created the conditions that would lead to Seminole tribal regeneration by mid-century. Thanks to the accounts of these tribal elders, we now have a

52. *Ibid.*, 234.

53. Collier, "With Secretary Ickes and the Seminoles," 3.

54. Merwyn S. Garbarino, *Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community* (New York, 1972), 106.

55. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Educating the Seminole Indians of Florida, 1879-1970," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (July 1970), 28.

clearer picture of how the Seminole people survived, endured, and ultimately prospered.

COW CAVALRY: MUNNERLYN'S BATTALION IN FLORIDA, 1864-1865

by ROBERT A. TAYLOR

SECESION and civil war filled the air along with the blossoms of spring in Florida and the rest of the rebellious South in 1861. Florida's membership in the new Confederate States of America augmented southern leader's confidence in the region's basic agricultural strength. It was well known that antebellum Florida possessed large numbers of beef cattle, which in an emergency could feed thousands of rebel soldiers. Florida beef would figure prominently in Confederate logistics, but could never meet the high expectations placed upon it by the government.

By 1863, Florida had become the primary source of beef for the Confederate troops defending Charleston and the Army of the Tennessee. The fall of Vicksburg and the closing of the Mississippi had stopped the trickle of beef from the Trans-Mississippi region, placing added pressure on supply officers to find food. To facilitate such collections, Florida was divided into five commissary districts under the overall command of Major Pleasant W. White of Quincy. As the chief commissary of Florida, White was charged with procuring foodstuffs for the Richmond government, especially cattle. His task grew difficult as enemy forces threatened cattle herds moving northward to the armies. The Florida prairies and woodlands often became battlegrounds as Union troops, pro-Union Floridians, and Confederate deserters and draft evaders attempted to stop the flow of needed cattle. Herds coming from the rich beef areas in south and central Florida came under increasing attack as the Civil War entered its third year.

By 1864 it was clear that an increased Confederate military presence was needed in south Florida in order for the beef shipments to continue. Even if the state had the troops under its command to restore order, the problems of operating in the primitive area could not easily be overlooked. South Florida was

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especially isolated because there was no transportation into the interior. No railroad lines ran south of Cedar Key, and any military units operating in the region would be hard-pressed to find adequate food, unless they knew the land. Captain J. J. Dickison, already a famous cavalry leader in north Florida, noted the difficulties involved: because of the lack of rail transportation and roads, "an expedition to that field was one attended with great inconvenience and fatigue." While a command should be sent to the area, it could not be done "while threatened by so formidable a force of the enemy" then in north Florida.¹

In the meantime the attacks on the cattle herds continued unabated. Captain James McKay, Tampa resident and commander of south Florida's Fifth Commissary District, was convinced that something had to be done to regain control of the countryside. He vented his anger at Richmond's seeming inaction in a letter to White on March 25, "the government is certainly very blinded to their interests in leaving this country as they do."² McKay had gone so far as to hire additional men to protect herding parties and do picket duty. By the end of March he sent a letter to Secretary of War James A. Seddon via Major White proposing the formation of a special unit that would gather and protect the herds from any and all threats.³

White had already received similar proposals from the other officers in his command. They recommended that a unit of at least 300 men was needed to collect and drive cattle. Under the chief commissary's command these companies would be organized along the lines of regular cavalry units with attached quartermaster and transport to supply food and forage. These companies would have the capacity to defend themselves from Union raiders and deserters while insuring a continuous and certain supply of beef for the army. The unit should be formed as soon as possible for the upcoming cattle driving season to

1. J. J. Dickison, "Florida," *Confederate Military History* Vol. II (Atlanta, 1899), 90.
2. James McKay to Pleasant W. White, March 25, 1864, Pleasant W. White Papers, Collection of the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida, Tampa (hereinafter cited as White Papers).
3. James McKay Receipt Book, December 2, 1863, James McKay Papers, Collection of the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida, Tampa (hereinafter cited as McKay Papers); White to Lucius B. Northrop, February 25, 1864, White to A. G. Summer, March 10, 1864, Agents to White, March 5, 1864, White Papers.

begin in April. Trying to drive cattle under any other mode of operation would be "extremely precarious," and the chances were that little Florida beef would reach the troops at the front.⁴

While the unit that would become the Cow Cavalry was the brainchild of McKay and was supported by every officer who knew anything about Florida conditions, it was not a totally original idea. During the Second Seminole War, a body known as the "cracker cavalry" was formed. These recruits from the local area knew eastern and southern Florida well, were good horsemen, and even better shots. It was said that "twenty of these men were equal to any thirty city dwellers."⁵ McKay had memories of past battles with the Seminoles when he offered the plan. His meetings with the few remaining tribal leaders had not comforted him; he still feared that they might take advantage of the military weakness and confusion in the region and go on the warpath. There was little likelihood that the Seminoles would become pro-Union, but they did have many scores to settle with their white neighbors.

Major White formally submitted the request to Richmond, and its reception was favorable. Major Alonzo B. Noyes of the Second Commissary District informed the commanding officer of the depot at Madison and soon after that the plan to organize "a battalion of cow drivers" had been approved by the War Department. There was still the question of who would be given this important command. Captain C. F. Stubbs, commander at Madison, urged White to appoint his brother, Thomas M. Stubbs, since he was qualified and truly deserving. Jefferson Davis, however, had already decided on Charles J. Munnerlyn for the position.⁶

Born in Georgetown, South Carolina, in 1822, Munnerlyn's family had lived in Georgia and Florida. Charles Munnerlyn was a successful lawyer and a planter of some wealth when the Civil War began. He enlisted as a private in the First Georgia Volunteers seeing action at Pensacola and in West Virginia. In 1862, he was elected a member of the Confederate House of Representatives from Georgia. When he lost his reelection bid

4. White to Summer, March 10, 1864, White Papers.

5. D. B. McKay, "My Memories of Pioneer Florida," *Tampa Tribune*, August 24, 1958.

6. White to Northrop, January 15, 1864, White to Charles J. Munnerlyn, January 15, February 25, 1864, C. F. Stubbs to White, April 11, May 21, 1864, White Papers.

in 1864, he hoped to become a military judge since he felt that his health was not good enough for the rigors of field duty. President Davis decided, however, that Munnerlyn was the man to go to Florida to organize and lead the new cattle guard. He received a major's commission and the command of the First Battalion, Florida Special Cavalry.⁷

Major White was pleased with the president's choice. He had met Munnerlyn before the war, and had more recently discussed the possibility of his becoming the state superintendent of fisheries. White gladly informed his superiors in Richmond that Munnerlyn possessed "business capacity in a high order" and had operated his own large plantation with great success. The government would be well served to confer with him on questions pertaining to Florida. White thought that this principled patriot would serve the cause well as the senior officer in the new battalion.⁸

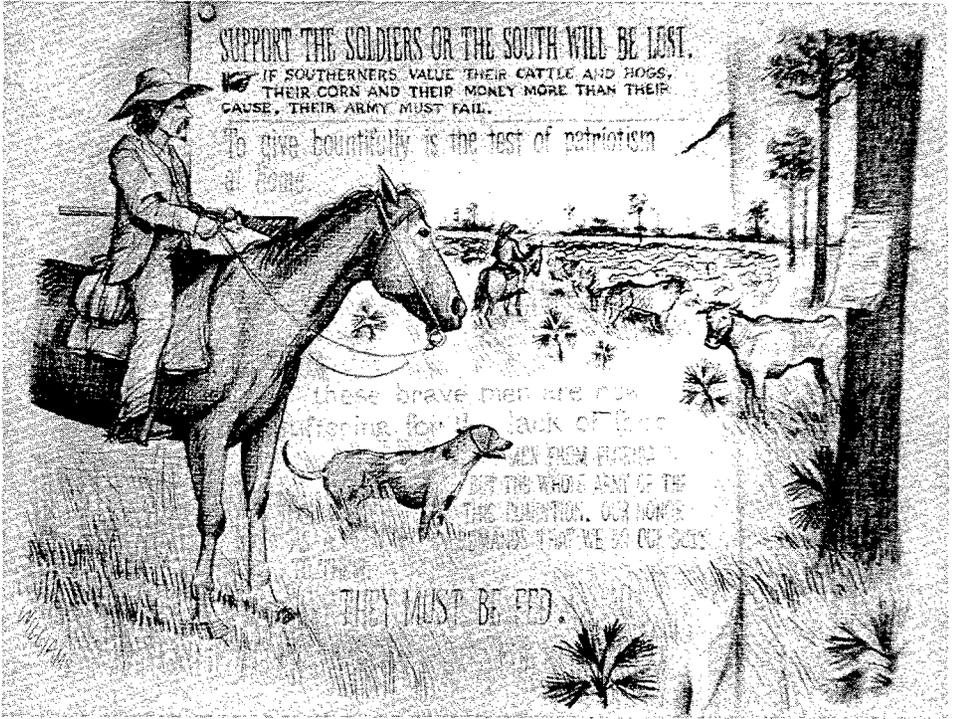
Munnerlyn arrived back in Florida in the late spring and began the not inconsiderable task of building his battalion in a state almost barren of military-age males. One of his first decisions was to appoint Captain William Footman as his executive officer. Footman, a native of Leon County, had a good record as a cavalry officer. He had commanded F Company of the First Florida Cavalry during operations on Amelia Island and Fernandina in 1862, and his commander there had praised him as a "zealous, intelligent, and efficient officer." He then moved north with the First Florida in December 1862, into the Cumberland Gap area. By mid-1863 he was leading most of the regiment on raids deep into Kentucky. Munnerlyn would rely heavily on Footman because of his experience in cavalry operations, an area in which Major Munnerlyn himself had little exposure.⁹

Munnerlyn still had the problem of where he would find the enlisted men that he needed. The first place he turned to was the Army of the Tennessee, as it was dependent on Florida beef for its fresh meat. General Joseph E. Johnston was easily persuaded to detach some of the Florida men in his army for service with Munnerlyn. Willing volunteers skilled in working with cat-

7. Jon L. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* (Westport, CT., 1971), 327.

8. White to Northrop, January 15, 1864, White Papers.

9. U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Series 1, Vol. 6, 133, Vol. 21, 142 (hereinafter cited as O.R.).



The Confederate Commissary Agent in Florida issued an urgent plea for food supplies in November 1863. His circular was widely distributed throughout the area. Photograph reprinted from the *Tampa Tribune*, March 15, 1886. The artwork is by Greg Williams.

tie were needed; conscripted men would be useless on the range if their hearts were not in the work. Sixty such men came south under a Lieutenant Spencer. They reported for duty at Live Oak, which served as a base for the moving of supplies to Johnston's army. Munnerlyn asked for and received volunteers from the various Commissary Bureau depots from Tampa to Quincy. But these were nowhere near the number of troops needed to patrol the line from Lake Okeechobee to the Georgia border. Munnerlyn knew that individual companies would have to be raised from the remaining local men living in the afflicted counties. Since the alternative was increased chaos, the call for volunteers went out.¹⁰

10. Thomas B. Ellis Diary, 8, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, manuscript collection, Box 26, University of Florida, Gainesville; J. P. Baldwin to White, March 29, 1864, White Papers.

Floridians throughout the state answered Munnerlyn's call. There were finally nine companies, with local men serving as officers. Cow hands and ranchers, who were exempt from the Confederate draft, enlisted because they had seen the depredations being committed in the countryside with their own eyes. Farmers and other settlers joined to protect their homes and serve the South at the same time. The fact that these men would be fighting on their own doorsteps decreased the possibility of their deserting at the first shot. Because they were natives, they knew the terrain well and would be able to use that knowledge against the Yankees and their cohorts. There were also a number of veterans from units like J. J. Dickison's cavalry who could use their hard-learned skills as soldiers to add to the battalion's efficiency. These troopers were rugged individuals who had banded together for a common purpose, so they may have lacked the military bearing of professionals. All who joined did receive an exemption from regular army service, but had full combatant-status in the event of Union capture.¹¹

The nagging manpower shortage intensified when orders from the War Department arrived calling for the return of the detailed men to their parent units. Major White protested to Colonel Lucius B. Northrop, commissary-general of the Confederacy, that these men must stay until Munnerlyn's battalions were ready to take their places in the field. Along with a few armed civilians, they were the only defense that south Florida could muster. If the detailed men were ordered out, the citizens would be quickly overwhelmed. Their retention, urged White, was a necessity for some degree of stability in the region. General P. G. T. Beauregard, the regional commander, had already issued a proclamation of amnesty for deserters intended to decrease the number of such men roaming the Florida range. Captain McKay was forced to rely on some of these returning deserters to supplement his drover forces for the upcoming season. Major A. G. Summer also used them in his Fourth Commissary District, but found them unsatisfactory. These "renegades" from Tennessee and Georgia should be back in the regular army, thought Summer, and he promptly turned them over to the nearest enrolling officer.¹²

11. Joe A. Akerman, Jr., *Florida Cowman: A History of Florida Cattle Raising* (Kissimmee, FL., 1976), 95.
12. Summer to White, April 17, 1864, White to McKay, April 4, 1864, White to Northrop, April 19, 1864, White Papers.

Meanwhile, companies of the Cow Cavalry took the field to protect the cattle drivers in April. One of the first to begin operations was under Captain John T. Leslie of Tampa. A member of a prominent family, Leslie resigned his commission as a major in the Fourth Florida Infantry to organize and lead a company. The roll of Leslie's unit read like a who's who of Hillsborough County society. Residents often joined more from a desire to defend themselves and their community than from any abstract loyalty to the Confederacy. Tampa and its surrounding area looked to these men to restore order. Leslie and his lieutenants set out to do just that.¹³

Leslie established a base at Ichepuckassa (present-day Plant City) and began patrolling. These missions often reached points as far inland as the shores of Lake Okeechobee. They also ranged southward into the cattle areas of Manatee County. It was here that they fought their first battle in April 1864. A skirmish with Unionists at Bowlegs Creek cost the life of Private James Lanier. His son was the company surgeon, and probably attended his father on the battlefield. Another trooper was wounded in the brief action but lived to fight again.¹⁴

John Leslie was an aggressive commander who longed to take the fight to the enemy. While leading a night raid against Union forces at the hamlet of Bay Port, east of Brooksville, he suffered a serious wound. Two other soldiers were killed in this clash and another on the banks of Twelve Mile Creek. This degree of action, by south Florida standards, may be a factor in explaining why the company roster showed five men as having deserted. Leslie was leading his men into harm's way too often for their tastes. But the other 158 men in the company stayed on for the duration of the campaign.¹⁵

Battle casualties soon forced Leslie and other company commanders to bend the rules about enlisting under-age males. Private Thomas K. Spencer, who would later edit a Tampa newspaper, served under Leslie in the Fourth Florida at the age of fifteen until his status was detected and he was discharged. He promptly enlisted in another unit and soldiered until captured and interned at Fort Lafayette, New York. After being paroled

13. U.S. Adjutant-General's Office, *Compiled Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida* (Washington, D.C., 1957), Leslie's Company, roll 5.

14. D. B. McKay, "My Memories of Pioneer Florida," *Tampa Tribune*, December 6, 1959.

15. *Ibid.*

he returned home and once again joined Leslie. J. T. "Dick" Robles was only sixteen, but was considered one of the unit's best scouts. One lad died under the wheels of a government wagon. Another was discharged for being under-age, but he later enlisted in the company being formed under Captain Francis A. Hendry.¹⁶

Another man who would serve under Hendry was Francis C. M. Boggess. Born in 1833 in Huntsville, Alabama, Boggess was a veteran of the Mexican War, the Lopez filibustering expedition, and the Second and Third Seminole Wars. In the late 1850s he settled near Fort Meade in Polk County as a school teacher and rancher. But the outbreak of yet another war disturbed his peaceful sojourn. Boggess railed against secession and swore fidelity to the Union, but he had no desire to put on another uniform. So he packed up his family and moved farther out into the wilderness near Fort Ogden. But there was no escape for him. "A man was hunted," Boggess wrote in later years, "no difference where he went."¹⁷ When the call went out for volunteers for Munnerlyn's force, Boggess and men like him were expected to serve. As a cattleman, he knew that the attacks must be stopped or his income would suffer. His family was potentially threatened by the outlaws, and what matter did it make for what cause they were fighting. The veteran soldier enlisted under Hendry and was commissioned as a lieutenant.¹⁸

Captain Hendry had established his base at Fort Meade, and his area of operations included the wilderness tract of southwest Florida from the Peace River to Lake Okeechobee. Like Leslie's men they drove small herds of 300 or fewer cattle, and provided cover for others driving larger herds. But the Union forces were by no means stagnant during this period. A unit from Fort Myers made a raid deep into the interior and struck at Fort Meade in the early summer of 1864. Lieutenant Boggess and thirty of his men pursued them, but the Federals escaped unharmed. On returning to the fort, Boggess heard a rumor that his company might be ordered to Lake City for duty. He believed, however, that any order of that nature would be foolish,

16. Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars* (Live Oak, Fl., 1903; facsimile ed., Macclenny, Fl., 1983), 135.
17. Francis C. M. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars: The Autobiography of F. C. M. Boggess* (Arcadia, Fl., 1900), 67-68.
18. *Ibid.*

because neither he nor his men would leave their families behind at the mercy of the enemy.¹⁹

With enemy activity like the raid on Fort Meade, few cattle were being gathered because the drovers were being used to defend the area while the Cow Cavalry companies finished organizing. Captain McKay believed that the large numbers of Confederate deserters in south Florida gained encouragement from the government's inability to control the country. As the Union base at Fort Myers grew stronger it served as a rallying point for Florida Unionists. Unless something was done soon to reduce Fort Myers and remove its influence, no cattle could be expected from south Florida. The government could either help field Munnerlyn's battalion, a relatively small force, or delay and be forced to commit large bodies of regular troops to reopen the cattle trails. Captain McKay thought that Munnerlyn should be strengthened by at least a battalion of good infantry. Richmond replied that such troops would be sent only when they could be safely spared from other fronts.²⁰

McKay was surprised that the Indians in south Florida had not contacted the Federals at Fort Myers. Perhaps Confederate gifts of woolen cloth and two dozen muskets had mollified them, or perhaps they just did not want to become involved in the white man's war. Their attitude was much easier for McKay to understand than that of some south Florida ranchers. A few refused sell their cattle; they preferred them to any monetary profit. Others would allow the government to have the stock if they would not have to be bothered by collections and droving. A third group refused to sell for Confederate currency, and to avoid losing their cattle by impressment drove them farther into the interior. The upper sections of the Myakka and Kissimmee river valleys served as hiding places for such cattle. Dispersed in such a manner, they proved almost impossible to gather.²¹

The tide in southwest Florida turned when Captain Henry's 133-man company began operations. In his first report, Major Munnerlyn rated this company as the most efficient and

19. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars*, 68; Rodney Dillon, "The Civil War in South Florida," (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1980), 290.

20. McKay to White, March 25, 1864, White to W. S. Barth, April 12, 1864, Barth to White, April 19, 1864, White Papers.

21. McKay to White, March 25, 1864, White to Northrop, February 23, 1864, White Papers; Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A History of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 146.

reliable in the entire battalion. Their presence had a marked effect on Union rustlers and renegades, who could no longer operate at will or with impunity. The company also contained many of the most prominent families of the region. There were three Hendrys, two Blounts, and a Summerlin on the roster. The company soon suffered casualties as a result of its aggressive patrolling. Some of these were not combat-related, however, as in the case of Private J. R. Durrance who was accidentally shot by a fellow soldier's discharging rifle.²²

A third company was eventually formed in the Tampa Bay area, under the Reverend Leroy G. Leslie, father of Captain John Leslie. He had been a resident of Tampa, a prominent slaveholder, and had fought in the Third Seminole War. Many of the 112 members of his company were no doubt also members of his congregation at the First Methodist Church of Tampa. He and his men fanned out to the north of Tampa and established a base camp at Brooksville. He also set up four picket posts for added security in Hernando County. The company was fortunate to have in its ranks a number of commissary bureau veterans who were skilled in cattle herding.²³

Increased cattle operations in the summer of 1864 led to added vigilance on the part of the Federals and their surrogates. Cow Cavalry units in the field also remained active in order to meet the threat the Unionists posed. John Leslie, recovered from his wound, returned to the saddle having lost none of his desire to strike at the enemy. With a platoon of nineteen men Leslie launched a surprise attack against a force of over 100 deserter-outlaws near the village of Cork and quickly routed them. The Union army proved not to be so easily scattered. Sergeant Thomas B. Ellis recorded the events of a Union raid in July 1864. The Federals landed a force of 400 regulars, a group of ex-deserters, and a contingent of black troops on the coast of Hernando County. They then moved inland toward Brooksville after brushing aside a Cow Cavalry picket force and taking eleven prisoners. Ellis learned of the landing and dashed off to alert Reverend Leslie's company.²⁴

The Federals in the meantime continued their march, burning barns and looting homes to within two miles of Brooksville.

22. *Soldiers of Florida*, 316.

23. Gary R. Mormino, and Anthony P. Pizzo, *Tampa: The Treasure City* (Tulsa, 1983), 55; *Records of Confederate Soldiers*, Leslie's Company, roll 5.

24. Ellis Diary, 10.

An estimated 500 people jammed country roads, either fleeing the raiders or flocking to witness the expected clash with Confederate defenders. When the Confederates arrived, a sharp fight broke out despite the fall of darkness. Firing was reportedly heard as far away as Ocala, but the Cow Cavalrymen got the worst of it and fell back in confusion. The Federals then retraced their march to the coast with their booty and re-embarked on their waiting vessels.²⁵

Despite setbacks like this, Munnerlyn continued to build up his battalion's strength. Captain W. B. Watson enlisted ninety-eight soldiers in a company at Mellonville (present-day Sanford) on the St. Johns River. Watson had served as an officer in the Second Florida Infantry and had seen combat at the Battle of Williamsburg and the other battles in Virginia in 1862. His mission now was to clear Orange and Volusia counties of Unionists who were rustling cattle and driving them to northern-controlled St. Augustine. Major White found that Watson's men were "experts in their profession and absolutely indispensable" if cattle were to be forwarded north.²⁶

Watson's career in central Florida soon ended, however, when he and four other men were captured by surprise at Enterprize on Lake Monroe in October 1864. Several of his men escaped, minus their horses. They blamed their ambush on a betrayal by a spy in their midst. Watson's capture and the company's frequent absences under Munnerlyn threatened the gathering of cattle in central Florida's Fourth District. Taking command, Lieutenant W. B. Allen moved the company's base back to the village of Orlando, an important watering stop for the herds. Central Florida also provided a second company for the battalion, commanded by Captain Samuel Agnew. It was comprised of the usual mix of veterans and locals, such as Private Thomas Pedrick who had been wounded that spring near Chattanooga. Agnew made his base at Hodge Ferry on the Withlacoochee River from where he could protect the herds from Union raids operating out of Cedar Key. Skirmishes and ambushes soon left dead and wounded on both sides as the conflict

25. J. S. Acton to White, July 12, 1864, White Papers; Akerman, *Florida Cowman*, 94.

26. Edward C. Williamson, ed., "Francis P. Fleming in the War for Southern Independence," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (July 1949), 41; Summer to White, October 31, 1864, White Papers.

continued. Agnew often led his men on regular scouting patrols in the Gulf Hammock area while driving beef.²⁷

Captain James Faulkner raised a company of west Florida men for service in Taylor and Lafayette counties. On June 29 the company had been detached for a highly successful cattle-gathering mission, the first of many for Faulkner's men. Hogs were also collected and guarded until they could be driven northward. Faulkner's command faced a strong enemy in the Taylor County "Independent Union Rangers." This band of Unionists and deserters followed the lead of W. Strickland and were dedicated to the overthrow of Confederate rule. The Rangers, highly disciplined and well-organized, challenged the Confederates for control of the county. The two forces grappled with each other with both fury and cruelty. Strickland himself was later captured and executed by Confederate troops.²⁸

Madison County provided the seventh Cow Cavalry company. Commanded by Captain J. C. Wilcox, it guarded vital rail terminals in that county, and provided protection for Georgia-bound beef. Special Order No. 1, issued from the chief commissary's headquarters, placed Wilcox's unit under Major White's direction if and when such action was necessary. Wilcox and his officers also had the added responsibility of scouting the Gulf coast west of the Suwannee River. This mission was often shared with Faulkner's company, along with herding, under the direction of the district commander. West Florida also had its share of Union sympathizers, who attempted to slow or stop altogether the flow of food from reaching the rest of the Confederacy.²⁹

Another west Florida unit was raised in Jefferson and Leon counties by William J. Bailey. A volunteer colonel during the Second Seminole War, Bailey had seen more recent action with the Fifth Florida Infantry in Virginia. Bailey was soon replaced, however, by Captain E. A. Fernandez, who, as it turned out, could never recruit enough men for his command to be very effective and he had little impact on his area of operations. The

27. Summer to White, October 11, 1864, White Papers; *Soldiers of Florida*, 314; Akerman, *Florida Cowman*, 93.
28. White to Barth, June 29, 1864, White Papers; John F. Reiger, "Anti-War and Pro-Union Sentiment in Confederate Florida," (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1966), 94-95.
29. Special Order No. 1, July 26, 1864, White Papers; Akerman, *Florida Cowman*, 93.

company had the same general duties as Wilcox's and Faulkner's, and they often worked together in the field. These north Florida Cow Cavalrymen cooperated with the regular Confederate forces commanded by General James Patton Anderson.³⁰

While Confederates fought for control of the Florida cattle ranges, Union prisoners held in Georgia faced a daily battle to remain alive. An urgent request came in May for Florida beef to feed the 14,000 prisoners held in the stockade at Andersonville. Some beef was released, but the supply could never keep up with need. By the end of June, Andersonville's population had increased to 26,000, and supply-officer Captain H. M. Allen was forced to detach prison guards to drive beef back to the camp and to the depot at Albany, Georgia. Major White ordered all cattle at Madison and Tallahassee to be turned over to the Andersonville party. The depot at Madison had supplied 1,170 head for the Union prisoners by the beginning of August. But the battles in Georgia interfered with the regular lines of communication which heightened difficulties in matters of supply. By mid-August there were more than 30,000 captives behind the camp's grim walls with a staggering death rate. But little more could be done for them when Confederate combat troops were fortunate to be issued any type of meat two days out of seven.³¹

White was very pleased with the efforts of Munnerlyn's troops. Munnerlyn cooperated fully with White, instructing his company commanders to do the same with the commissary officers in their areas of operation. But these companies were almost taken away from their vital mission in October 1864 by the bureaucracy in Richmond. The War Department wanted men detached from other Confederate units to be returned to them now that the battalion was organized. There was also a move to change the draft status of the troopers in order to bring them into the regular army. Commissary-General Northrop personally argued against such a shift in policy, and praised the important services of the battalion. While only partially organized and equipped, it had "afforded a nucleus for the militia of that re-

30. Samuel Pasco, "Jefferson County, Florida, Part II," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 7 (January 1929), 250; *Soldiers of Florida*, 316.

31. H. M. Allen to White, May 6, June 29, July 25, August 11, 13, 1864, Stubbs to White, August 9, 1864, Alonzo B. Noyes to White, September 23, 1864, White Papers.

gion . . . checked desertions and restored the confidence of the people." Many citizens were returning to homes that they had once abandoned. During this time the Cow Cavalry guarded a line over 300 miles long "in a country infested with traitors and deserters."³²

Northrop summed up his case to the Secretary of War: "The efficiency of this battalion . . . depends on the detailed men connected with it. They, a small number, have been selected with special reference to their fitness for the duties to be performed, and around them as a nucleus have rallied a number of men whose services to the Confederacy would have been lost . . . take away these detailed men and you destroy the battalion, virtually lose possession of the country and certainly all the cattle in it. It is with confidence claimed that nowhere in the Confederacy can the services of these few detailed men be so valuable as in the present organization."³³ Secretary Seddon agreed with Northrop; the men remained where they were. He also rewarded Munnerlyn by promoting him to colonel and Footman to major by the end of the year.³⁴

The Cow Cavalry continued to patrol the trails and gather cattle on into the fall and winter of 1864. A Union scouting report dated December 9 placed Captain McKay with a force of Confederate drivers below the Withlacoochee River. His party included Lieutenant Stephen W. Hogans, reputed to be the best drover in south Florida. Captain Leslie's eighty men camped near Brooksville. Lieutenant Sloane had a party of thirty-five men near Cork, while Hendry's company was said to be near Alfafia and Peace Creek with a strength of 215 men. The Confederate command did not have specific details of where their scattered companies were located. Supply officer Noyes complained that he had been ordered to estimate the supply needs of the "Cattle Battalion," but that he did not know where they were located in the Florida wilderness. Except for the units in the Madison area, Noyes was hampered in his efforts to supply companies constantly on the move.³⁵

32. White to Northrop, October 11, 1864, Northrop to White, October 15, 1864, White Papers; *O. R.*, Series 4, Vol. 3, 730.

33. *Ibid.*, 731.

34. Rodney Dillon, "The Battle of Fort Myers," *Tampa Bay History* 5 (Fall/Winter 1983), 30.

35. *O. R.*, Series 1, Vol. 41, part 4, 808; Noyes to White, December 27, 1864, White to Northrop, November 27, 1864, White Papers.

December brought the formation of the ninth company of the Cow Cavalry. Munnerlyn saw the need to defend the rail line that ran from Gainesville to Cedar Key. That section of track had fallen into disrepair, but the iron rails were valuable property to the Confederates. The Federals greatly over-estimated the number of cattle being taken out of the counties along the railroad, and worked to cut the flow. Union General Q. A. Gilmore placed the figure at 2,000 head per week, a number that did not reflect reality. Beef from south Florida often grazed in the vicinity of Payne's Prairie, located just south of Gainesville. Because there were so few men available, Major Munnerlyn came up with a novel idea; he proposed organizing a force from the pool of Confederate deserters roaming the countryside. Captain E. J. Lutterloh was made company commander and charged with finding men who would serve under him. Lutterloh convinced twenty men to join his force. Taking the field, they swung into action by driving the enemy back in a series of short skirmishes.³⁶

The rest of the battalion remained active until the 1864 - 1865 cattle season came to an official end on January 9, 1865. In January there were important reassignments of military forces in Florida that directly effected the Cow Cavalry. Munnerlyn's battalion was transferred from White's command and made a component of the state troops under General William Miller. The commissary bureau would now have to apply for detachments from the battalion to aid in collections or to provide covering forces. White did not favor this new arrangement, but realized that he would have to accept it for the sake of the cause. He informed his district commanders that they should make out lists of experienced men that they would need in the spring and forward it to Miller in Tallahassee. Without these specialists, Florida could never meet the 1,500 head per month minimum the bureau had set. White wanted to resume cattle collecting in April as the ranges in the upper districts could not sustain beef before then. He warned Captain McKay that the bulk of the year's cattle would be coming from his south Florida area. "I

36. Summer to White, October 31, 1864, Munnerlyn to William Miller, December 11, 1864, White Papers; Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Tallahassee, 1960-1965), March 1964, 2; "History of Gainesville," Edward C. F. Sanchez Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

can not anticipate when the demand may be made," he wrote, "nor its strength."³⁷

Cow Cavalry units maneuvered to meet Union probes and deserter bands in February 1865. Lutterloh and his men found themselves under fire on February 8. A force of almost 400 Union cavalry and infantry left Cedar Key on a raid northward into Levy County. The Federals surprised a seven-man picket post at Yearty's Farm, taking three of Lutterloh's men prisoner and four of their mounts. The rest of the company rushed to join a force commanded by J. J. Dickison that was moving to intercept the raiders. The two bodies of troops clashed near Levyville on February 13. Confederates and Federals blazed away at each other from seven in the morning to almost midnight. Fatigue and the lack of ammunition ended the engagement. The Federals retreated toward Cedar Key with their booty of 100 head of cattle and fifty slaves. Dickison later claimed that the Federals had lost as many as eighty killed and wounded, while only six of his 125 men had been wounded. Only one Cow Cavalryman was known to be wounded. In his report the Union commander of the raiding party put his casualties at six killed and eighteen wounded.³⁸

While Lutterloh's men were helping to repel the Union raid, the Cow Cavalry's biggest operation of the war, the raid on Fort Myers, was getting under way. Captain McKay had been arguing for a strike against the center of Union activity in his district since the previous summer. McKay believed that his plan had merit, and when the companies of the battalion in south Florida were relatively idle, he urged such an attack. Major Footman led the command out of Tampa in the second week of February and began the 200-mile march to Fort Myers. He had about 275 men with him, including John Leslie's company and Hendry's unit under James McKay, Jr. On February 19 they reached Fort Thompson, a deserted Seminole War post located on the Caloosahatchee River near present-day La Belle. Here the command's supply train would be left for the duration of the attack.

37. White to McKay, White to Summer, January 14, 1865, White to T. M. Dudley, January 30, 1865, White to Northrop, February 10, 1865, White Papers.
38. Edwin C. Bearss, "Federal Expedition Against Saint Mark's Ends at Natural Bridge," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45 (April 1967), 375; *O. R.*, Series 1, Vol. 49, 41-42.

Footman decided to assault the fort on the twenty-first, hoping to take the Federals by surprise.³⁹

Rain on the night of February 20 shielded the Confederate approach to the enemy base, but the knee-deep water slowed the attacker's progress. Twelve miles from Fort Myers on the Fort Thompson road stood a Union picket post manned by ten Federals. Footman knew that this post must be taken or he would risk losing the element of surprise. Lieutenant George W. Hendry, with ten men, was to make an assault on the Federals without gunfire if possible. Hendry moved out into the rainy night, only to miss the target by yards in the blackness. A Union guard heard their horses splashing through the flooded plain, but assumed that it was only some wandering cattle. Hendry returned to the main body by daybreak, leaving the troublesome Union position intact. Footman then sent another Hendry, Lieutenant W. Marion Hendry, to rush the position. He led ten men in a daylight charge on the post, sweeping over the camp at full gallop. The stunned Union soldiers offered no resistance. The Confederate column then pushed on to Fort Myers.⁴⁰

The main attack began in the late morning after other Union picket guards were surprised and taken prisoner. Shots were exchanged, and a black Union sergeant was killed. The Confederates blazed away with their rifles and a brass six-pounder. Union guns answered in what the veteran Lieutenant Boggess thought was a poor example of fire discipline on both sides. Footman soon realized that the fort's defenses were too strong for his light cavalry. He ordered a withdrawal, and the march back to Fort Thompson began. The Federals possessed neither the horses nor the desire to pursue them.⁴¹

It rained on the tired and hungry troopers as they plodded toward their supply base. Men ate the corn that had been brought along as feed for the horses. The column passed the Boggess homestead, where the lieutenant provided some bread and salt from his own stocks for his men. This angered Major Footman who wanted the entire command to be similarly supplied. Boggess was already disgusted with the major and the

39. McKay to White, July 4, 1864, White Papers; Dillon, "Battle of Fort Myers," 32-33.

40. Frances K. Hendry, "Lee County: Early Days in Fort Myers," *South Florida Pioneers* 10 (October 1976), 4-5.

41. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars*, 69-70; Dillon, "Battle of Fort Myers," 33.

whole operation, and he cared little about Footman's complaints. He called Footman "a complete failure" and believed that only the rain had prevented the useless slaughter of the entire command. So ended the Cow Cavalry's Fort Myers campaign.⁴²

In spite of bleak prospects for the Confederacy in March 1865, no commander in Florida pondered capitulation. The new commander of the Military District of Florida, Major General Samuel Jones, hoped to improve the command structure in the state. He wanted J. J. Dickison to be made a colonel and placed in charge of south Florida in the event of its being isolated by Union forces. This grant of authority would include the "commissary battalion," another name for the Cow Cavalry. Jones reported that it had about 800 men collecting cattle and rendering much service in the field where they were often the only Confederate troops operating. "I do not propose to interfere with the organization of the battalion," Jones wrote, "but to give Captain Dickison sufficient rank to enable him to exercise command over it." General W. J. Hardee, the departmental commander, consented to the new arrangement.⁴³

As the cattle herding season began in April 1865, word reached Florida that Robert E. Lee had surrendered in Virginia. Lieutenant Boggess, now quartermaster of Hendry's company, first heard the news while in Tallahassee on court martial duty. He returned to Brooksville with the information about the time that Lieutenant William B. Henderson arrived from Tampa with the same news. Both reported to Major Footman, who warned them that they would be arrested if they repeated it to anyone. Footman knew what information like this, coupled with rumors that Governor Milton had died mysteriously at his Marianna home, would do to the morale of the entire command. The strain of waiting led to tension between the officers and men of the Cow Cavalry. Boggess and James McKay, Jr., had an argument over the issuing of needed clothing to the former's men. McKay was reluctant to release government property with the future so uncertain, but Boggess threatened that if the uni-

42. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars*, 69-70.

43. *O.R.*, Series 1, Vol. 47, part 2, 1390.

forms were not forthcoming he and his men would take them by force.⁴⁴

Cow Cavalrymen yearned for home, but the war was not officially over. The Confederacy still lived in name and in the hearts of its most hard-core partisans. But it was obvious that further bloodshed was pointless. Colonel Dickison turned over command of all Confederate forces in south Florida to Colonel Munnerlyn on May 5. He informed Captain Lutterloh of his action, and then left for home. Tampa was occupied on May 27, and Union commissioners set out to accept the surrender of Confederate units in the vicinity. There was no choice but to concede defeat. On June 5, 1865, at Bay Port, Munnerlyn's Battalion surrendered to representatives of the Second Florida Cavalry of the Union army.⁴⁵

Lieutenant Boggess left for his new home in Manatee County before the surrender ceremonies. A company of black Union troops under a Lieutenant De Costa was sent out to parole any Confederate soldiers who had not been processed. Some held back, but not Francis Boggess. He reported and was promptly paroled. He recalled in his autobiography that he disliked the fact that he had surrendered to a unit of black men.⁴⁶ But that was only one of the changes that Boggess and the other veterans of Munnerlyn's Battalion would have to accept. They would return to homes that were often shells, and try to make a living in a state with a shattered economy. And they would have to learn to live in peace with men who had been their mortal foes. Things would not be as they were before, and it would be decades before the wounds of a shattered community could heal.

44. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars*, 72-73; Daisy Parker, "John Milton, Governor of Florida, a Loyal Confederate," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 20 (April 1942), 360-61.

45. Mary E. Dickison, *Dickison and His Men* (Louisville, Ky., 1890; reprinted Gainesville, 1962), 212; *O. R.*, Series 1, Vol. 49, part 2, 984.

46. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars*, 74.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jackson County, Florida— A History. By Jerrell H. Shofner. (Marianna: Jackson County Heritage Association, 1985. 627 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, appendix, census, notes, bibliography. \$27.75.)

With this much needed history of Jackson County, Jerrell Shofner has once again established his mastery of local history and demonstrated its relevance to state, regional, and national affairs. His exhaustively researched book contains twenty-four chapters. The Jackson County Heritage Association and Mrs. Violet N. McLendon and other patrons have every right to be proud of the product that they have sponsored.

Utilizing available secondary sources and an abundance of primary materials (many of them used for the first time), Professor Shofner has crafted a balanced study. In the first ten chapters he traces the county's development from pre-history to 1860. A chapter on the Civil War, another on Reconstruction, and four more on the last half of the nineteenth century bring him into the twentieth century, a period often neglected in county histories. He deftly brings the story up to the present. Each chapter is footnoted, marked by careful scholarship, and concisely written. The author deals with his subject both topically and chronologically and neglects no area of significance: politics and politicians, transportation and communication, agriculture, slavery, wars (Indian, Civil, and international), religion, social affairs, economics— all receive attention.

The on-going treatment of agriculture is illustrative of the book's contributions. The county's early farming, the development of a cotton culture and society and its commercial outlet at the port of Apalachicola are treated with fresh insights. The shift in agriculture from its slave-based labor to sharecropping and the crop lien system in the post-war years is told analytically but with compassion. The efforts of the Farmers' Alliance to achieve equity and the failure of the abortive Populist revolt are given local emphasis. With the harsh but accurate "agribusiness" as the operative word, Professor Shofner goes beyond World War II to show the decline of cotton and the advance of livestock, dairying, peanuts, soybeans, corn, timber, and nurseries.

He concludes that “farming is likely to be the backbone of the Jackson County economy for some time to come” (p. 564).

Space limitations prevent giving the book the extended review it deserves. It is attractively packaged with easy to read type, and there are few typographical errors. The dust jacket, pen and ink drawings by Jane Ludlum Pender, is fine, but the faint pink color takes away from its visual effectiveness. A second printing of the dust jacket should be done and a darker color used to give full display of Pender’s obvious talent.

Anyone, from casual readers to scholars, can use this book with profit. It has no charts, and no graphs, but it does have readability, and it establishes a strong case that narrative history still lives. The author does not hesitate to interpret history, but he is not condemnatory. One reads the book and is convinced that Jerrell Shofner likes and respects all those Jackson countians— the rogues as well as the heroes.

Florida State University

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

The Lines of Vizcaya: Annals of a Great House. By Kathryn Chapman Harwood. (Miami: Banyan Books, Inc., 1985. xx, 316 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$17.95.)

Nothing is quite so appealing to the researcher as the discovery of that which was lost, and the piecing together of a puzzle in order to reconstruct the story of another time. Such a discovery, precious documents relating to the building of Vizcaya, came to light some twenty years ago in a hidden vault of a farm village building on the property. This wealth of archival material has enabled Kathryn Chapman Harwood to tell a fascinating tale.

When James Deering, former vice-president of International Harvester decided to build a winter home in Miami in 1910, he had something comfortable but unpretentious in mind. That Vizcaya became the grand and classical Italian villa designed in the Renaissance manner was the result of the other “lives” involved in the conceptualization of the estate.

Principal among these talented individuals whose personalities sometimes clashed was Paul Chalfin, described as the

entrepreneur and perhaps more aptly as “the eye of the needle” through which all decisions had to pass. A former painter, Chalfin was well connected in the art world of his day. Young scholars and practitioners were drawn to him, and he was known to such artists and collectors as James McNeil Whistler and Mrs. Jack Gardner of Boston. He had been influenced by his association with Elsie de Wolfe, an interior decorator whose rooms of “lightness and grace” were a reaction to conventional Victorian decor. Chalfin, the flamboyant arbiter of taste, seemed an improbable choice for the aging, rather prosaic Deering, but together they achieved an aesthetic masterpiece. The selection of a young and untried architect, F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr., and an equally young and untried landscape architect, Diego Suarez, was left to Chalfin. That he sometimes took credit for their designs reveals just one facet of a complex personality. There was enough credit to go around for everyone in this vast undertaking.

Mrs. Harwood has written a valuable and stylishly readable history, the first comprehensive one on the subject. Her portrayal of the people involved and their specific contributions is quite successfully handled. Colateral research done both here and abroad relating to Vizcaya’s art, artifacts, and architectural and landscaping inspirations enhances the story. Vizcaya becomes to the reader what it was meant to be in the minds of its creators, not just the sum of its parts but an integrated whole.

Following Deering’s death in 1925 and the devastating effects of the 1926 hurricane, Vizcaya became in time an overgrown white elephant. It had been the product of an Edwardian mentality and lifestyle that had survived into an unsympathetic age marked by the collapse of the real estate boom in south Florida, the nationwide economic depression, and social attitudes that reflected hard times. Not until well after its purchase in the 1950s by Dade County and its subsequent use as a museum was Vizcaya to return to its former grandeur. Mrs. Harwood’s main concern in this book has been Vizcaya’s beginnings. One can only wish that she had told us more about the long road back.

Educating Hand and Mind: A History of Vocational Education in Florida. By Robert G. Stakenas, David B. Mock, and Kenneth M. Eaddy. (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1984. xii, 215 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, tables, epilogue, notes, bibliography. \$25.75; \$12.75 paper.)

Funded by the Bureau of Program Improvement of the Florida Division of Vocational, Adult and Community Education, the authors of this volume sought to use Florida as a case study to draw attention to an underlying conflict in education over the relative worth of vocational education as opposed to academic instruction. According to the authors, recent legislative activity in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Florida indicated that the "pendulum is again swinging in favor of academic education in the high school." The authors perceive this to be unfortunate, considering "that the production of goods and services under a technologically oriented society cannot be done effectively unless workers are competent both manually and intellectually." Citing John Dewey, they point out that "an inadequate understanding of the structure of occupations and society leaves workers enslaved in their current jobs without much hope for advancement and personal fulfillment."

They accomplish their espoused goals. The initial chapter is devoted to Florida's establishment and the beginning of its school system. For vocational education nothing significant happened in Florida until it was encouraged by federal grants—the Morrill land grant acts of 1863 and 1890. In order to participate, Florida established at Lake City an agricultural college with an agricultural and mechanical (A & M) component. Under the 1890 law the state provided funding for the black college at Tallahassee. While the white college placed considerable stress on academics, William Sheats, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, sought to transform the Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students into an industrial and agricultural institution modeled after Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. While teaching boys a trade and girls domestic arts, this system stressed Christian values and the work ethic. Both the Lake City and Tallahassee institutions offered farmers agricultural extension courses. Through state-funded rural school inspection, Sheats, together with many county school superintendents, encouraged student participation in clubs devoted to various agricultural pursuits.

In the next several chapters the authors do an admirable job of clarifying the multitude of federal and state programs affecting vocational education. All of these programs had as their goal the balancing of agricultural and domestic pursuits with trades that would be germane to industrial development. Florida, the fifth state to embrace the Smith-Hughes program (1917), innovated the teacher trainees system whereby an experienced vocational teacher worked closely with a school receiving Smith-Hughes support to develop an appropriate program while letting the community know the advantages of having an industrialized work force.

During the 1930s, emphasis shifted from industrialization to developing marketable skills as a means to get more people employed. The federal government again led the way through its New Deal vocational and agricultural programs and its defense contracts. Florida took a leading role in 1939 by applying the idea of Diversified Cooperative Training (DCT). The public schools provided academic and vocational skills and businesses provided paid on-the-job training. Designed to guarantee every child a minimum level of educational quality regardless of the local tax revenue available, the Florida Minimum Foundations Program, an innovation copied by every state but Hawaii, encouraged vocational education by funding it at twice the rate of general education because of the expensive equipment. In post-high school education, Florida's innovation of area vocational centers joined with a rapidly developing community college vocational program to bring training in a wide variety of occupations within easy reach of nearly every Floridian. In all these innovations, Florida, in the authors' opinions, has provided adequate state leadership but placed too much emphasis on local control leading to parochialism and expensive duplication of effort. In the midst of these critical problems, Florida, again following national trends, has shifted away from vocational education in favor of a more rigorous academic program in the high schools. Thus, the authors in their final statements concluded rightly that Florida had not attained the desired balance between academic and vocational education.

As one of the few studies available in the field of state leadership in vocational education, this book is an outstanding contribution. Still, its value could have been enhanced by a well constructed index, an avoidance of trivial errors such as citing Duncan U. Fletcher as a former governor— an office he never

attained— though he did become United States Senator from Florida, and guarding against misspelling like Halloway for Holloway. In general, it must be repeated that the authors are to be commended for bringing clarity to the often confusing and overlapping program designed to enhance vocational preparation in Florida's population.

University of Florida

ARTHUR O. WHITE

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 10: December 12, 1774-January 4, 1776. Edited by David R. Chesnutt, et al. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1985. xxxvi, 700 pp. Introduction, list of abbreviations, principal dates of Laurens's life, appendix, index. \$34.95.)

Covering the exciting months before and after the battles of Lexington and Concord, this volume is perhaps the most interesting to date. From Laurens's perspective the reader can follow the deepening crisis with Britain, the activities of the Sons of Liberty and Committees of Correspondence, and the impact of the news of the fighting at Lexington. The successful planter-merchant Laurens was simultaneously alarmed by Britain's uncompromising policies and by the increasing radicalism of urban artisans and backcountrymen. Though he became reconciled to the fact that armed resistance was necessary to protect American liberties, he was annoyed that many Carolinians from the lower classes now thought it appropriate to "establish Right and Wrong according to the number of Votes" (p. 324). Nor was Laurens happy when "Back Woods-Men," unaccustomed to legislative formalities— sauntering, reporting, disclaiming, amending, etc.— challenged the authority of "the Rich Rice-Planter" (p. 39).

As president of the Council of Safety, the conservative Laurens labored up to sixteen hours a day on governmental affairs, at the same time trying to manage his plantations and commercial interests. His Calvinistic background, emphasizing frugality and hard work, stood him in good stead.

The Revolution was very much a civil war, pitting neighbor against neighbor, and Laurens was distressed that some of his friends and business associates remained loyal to George III.

Still another civil war— a Negro slave uprising— threatened. Slaveowner Laurens championed the liberty of white but not black Carolinians, and he urged stern measures against slaves who ran away to the British or who in any fashion during the confusion attempted to win their freedom.

During these unsettled times the combative, fifty-one year old Laurens repeatedly demonstrated his bravery. A duel with young John Grimke was a case in point, and Laurens was not greatly exaggerating when he contended that by taking up arms against Britain he was putting his head in a noose.

This volume contains relatively little Florida material. The close pre-Revolutionary economic and political ties between South Carolina and East Florida were severed as most white Carolinians, like Laurens, broke with the mother country while East Floridians remained overwhelmingly loyal. Henry Laurens in South Carolina and his son John in London kept in contact with their friend and business associate, absentee East Florida planter Richard Oswald, who up to a point during the crisis remained a friend of America.

The editors have continued their high editorial standards. Considering the time and expense involved, their decision, starting with this volume, not to include fifty-one per cent of Laurens's papers seems a wise one. Researchers eventually will be able to consult a microform edition for items not published.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Black and White Women of the Old South. The Peculiar Sisterhood in American Literature. By Minrose C. Gwin. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985. vii, 238 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

In this book, which belongs to the genre of literary analysis and criticism and developed out of a doctoral dissertation, the author explores the "peculiar sisterhood," the complex and ambivalent relationships of black and white women in the Old South as portrayed in American literature. She does this by examining selected characters, most of them from fiction, but also includes some examples from autobiographies and memoirs. "At the base of my concerns," she says, "are literary explorations

of the institution of slavery and its moral and psychological reverberations within the American literary consciousness, as that consciousness is expressed by male and female, black and white American writers, and as it is created in women characters" (p. 10).

She deals first with two antebellum novels, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the less well-known *Aunt Phillis's Cabin* by Mary H. Eastman. Although one is an antislavery tract and the other written to defend slavery, there are certain similarities in the treatment of women, black and white, as the voices of morality who furnish a challenge to patriarchy. Although the characters are stereotypical spokeswomen for slavery or abolition, in both novels they develop strong interracial attachments. This is followed by a chapter of diverse examples drawn from slave narratives, journals, and memoirs, some of them published in the antebellum and Civil War period, others, reminiscences, published many years later. A chapter is devoted to each of the following: William Faulkner's *Absolom Absolom!* (1936); Willa Cather's *Sapphira and the Slave Girl* (1940); and Margaret Walker's *Jubilee* (1966).

Diverse as are the examples, some themes recur repeatedly. One is the inability of white women to see black women as individual human beings, while at the same time subconsciously yearning for recognition of the sisterhood of all women. The cruelty of white mistresses, so often recalled by black women, the author attributes to their suppressed sexuality and their envy of what they saw as the sexual freedom of slave women and to their resentment over miscegenation. On the other hand, in retrospect, white women often remembered black women as the "mammy" stereotype, a figure described as created by whites as "the positive emblem of familial relations between black and white . . . a trumped-up figure in the mythologizing of slavery,' who in her maternal benignity came to be an acceptable symbol to whites of black power" (p. 93). In reality, many of the black women who appear in the literature examined in this book showed not only fortitude and resiliency but the capacity for self development and growth when given a degree of freedom.

"What we learn from these women," the author concludes, "whether they be re-creations of self or fictional entities, is the intensity of human need and human connection and human terror embodied in racial encounters in the Old South and by implication in universal human experience, and the profound

impact of racial encounter upon its literary interpreters" (p. 173).

Butler University

EMMA LOU THORNBROUGH

Broken Churches, Broken Nation: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the American Civil War. By C. C. Goen. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985. x, 198 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. \$16.95.)

This treatment overstates previous scholarly neglect of the tie between pre- 1850 sectional ecclesiastical schisms and the subsequent political secessions that provoked the Civil War. But the author makes a major contribution in delineating the connection more systematically, authoritatively, and persuasively than others have done.

Goen traces Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian retreats from prior antislavery positions during the early nineteenth century— coincident with expansions of cotton production and plantation agriculture, and with the hardening of southern attitudes on race and manumission. He attributes these shifts to an obsession with numerical growth and a concomitant eschewal of temporal purposes that impaired spiritual harvests. It was easier to convert southern whites without requiring "the hard moral discipline demanded by Christian sensitivity to the evil of human bondage" (p. 147). Church leaders proved themselves to be less "distressed by the evils of human bondage than concerned with the tasks of [religious] institutional maintenance" (p. 180). In yielding on slavery, the churches may have lost an opportunity to influence history profoundly (or so Goen intimates)— though the possible opportunity seems to have been of short duration. In any case, by the late 1830s and 1840s, disunionist attitudes were getting out of control inside and outside the churches, remedial steps were less attainable, and acrimonious sectional ecclesiastical ruptures became an actuality. The divided churches thereafter intertwined themselves even more intimately with white opinion in their respective areas, prospering numerically as they became more sectional relative to slavery and other public issues. The author finds "much truth" in the boast of a Kentucky religious editor in 1861 that political seces-

sion had been impossible "until the religious union of North and South was dissolved, . . . until they [political leaders] received the *moral support and co-operation of Southern Christians*" (p. 107). In other words, "The churches were critical agents in a reciprocal process of cumulating alienation" (pp. 133-34).

As war approached, southern churchmen "walked in lockstep with the rest of the South's molders of public opinion" (p. 103), fomenting warlike emotions. On the other hand, Goen indicts northern evangelicals for their racism, for failing to comprehend "the complexities of custom, prejudice, and sectional or class conflict that lie at the root of so much social injustice" (p. 154), and for almost welcoming "a Final Solution, even if that meant trampling out the grapes of wrath with the God of battles" (p. 175). As the ordeal finally moved toward a conclusion in 1865, few churchmen of either section joined Lincoln in contritely acknowledging that God may have inflicted upon "both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence [of slavery] came" (p. 178).

This admirable volume should become required reading for those who wish to comprehend the chain of events that culminated in the Civil War—the blood bath that took the lives of more than 600,000 men and left the larger aspirations of blacks so much unfulfilled.

University of Texas at El Paso

KENNETH K. BAILEY

The Union Cavalry in the Civil War, Volume III. The War in the West, 1861. By Stephen Z. Starr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xv, 616 pp. Guide to illustrations and maps, preface, epilogue, appendix: The Mutiny of the 15th Pennsylvania, addenda to bibliography, index. \$32.50.)

"Glamor was the word for the cavalry when the Civil War broke out. . . . Otherwise sober men, a generation or two removed from an utterly unromantic frontier, saw the cavalry through the eyes of Sir Walter Scott." With those words Stephen Z. Starr began a comprehensive, three-volume treatment of the Union cavalry from its pre-war roots through four years of spirited struggle and painfully slow, but growing effectiveness. Now, after two decades of work and more than 1,500 pages, Starr has

brought the trilogy to its consummation— and only a short time before his death.

The first two volumes described the raising, organizing, equipping, and training of the mainly volunteer Union cavalry, in both the East and West, and went on to trace its development and operations in the East. The early years of the war demonstrated that the Union cavalry was no match for its Confederate counterpart. The northern recruits, particularly in the East, lacked the skill to ride or care for a horse. They also suffered from inadequate training and equipment. Gradually the Blue troopers were turned into an effective fighting force, reaching their highest level of competence under the energetic direction of the colorful Philip Sheridan.

Now, the present concluding volume, *The War in the West*, provides accounts of the cavalry's role in the Vicksburg campaign, the conquest of middle Tennessee, Sherman's Atlanta campaign, the March to the Sea, and the campaign through the Carolinas. Based on research in a wide variety of sources, Starr's balanced, objective narrative details the numerous problems the cavalry faced: shortages of personnel, horses, and equipment, and sometimes inadequate weapons and unsuitable organization. The author questions the traditional concept, insofar as the cavalry is a test case, of the Confederacy being overwhelmed by "the limitless industrial might of the North" (p. 566).

Starr also points out, and here he makes a convincing case, the too-often inept use of the cavalry by various members of the Union high command. For example, he writes of Sherman and Grant when the Confederates surprised them at Shiloh: "Enough-more than enough— Federal cavalry was present at Shiloh to . . . shake Sherman's . . . assumption that the Confederates would wait patiently at Corinth to be attacked." Instead, the cavalry should have been used, "to patrol the roads leading up from Corinth, where the enemy was known to be, to Shiloh. Certainly both Sherman and Grant . . . knew that patrolling in the direction of the enemy was a primary function of cavalry" (p. 47). And again, concerning Sherman's later use of his cavalry in an ill-fated attempt to raid the Confederate railroads south of Atlanta, Starr writes: "It may not be unfair to wonder what the outcome of the raid might have been if instead of sending three widely separated divisions on the raid, Sherman had joined all four of his divisions into a single corps . . . and had

sent them as a unit against the railroad and the Confederate cavalry protecting it" (p. 467).

Despite all the problems, failures, and missed opportunities, "the culmination of a grim, costly four-year apprenticeship" (p. 565) was an enormously effective Union cavalry arm. More and more, and especially in the West, the Federal cavalry had developed in the direction of the dragoon concept: equally adept at skirmishing and fighting on foot as infantry and on horseback as cavalry. The story of James H. Wilson's 1865 invasion of Alabama, first to Selma, east to Montgomery, and then on to Columbus and Macon, Georgia, provides the most impressive evidence of the cavalry's effective evolution. The "planning, organization, tactics, and operations . . . are a model of their kind and show the officers and men . . . at the height of their powers and effectiveness" (p. 565).

Starr's history is well-constructed and very readable. The three volumes constitute, without question, an outstanding study of the Union cavalry, and should be the standard work on the subject for many years.

Pepperdine University

JAMES LEE McDONOUGH

The Long Surrender. By Burke Davis. (New York: Random House, 1985. xii, 319 pp. Acknowledgments, epilogue, sources, bibliographical notes, index. \$19.95.)

Burke Davis is a prolific writer particularly talented at relating history for general readers. A journalist for twenty-four years, he turned to the writing of novels, history, biography, and children's books. Among his forty titles published since 1949 are works on Jamestown, the American Revolution, Andrew Jackson, Amelia Earhart, and World War II.

The American Civil War is Mr. Davis's favorite subject. In addition to biographies of Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, and "Jeb" Stuart, he has written histories of the Appomattox Campaign and Sherman's March to the Sea. In evaluating these works, scholars agree that Burke Davis is a gifted storyteller who relates the past without a great deal of insight or interpretation, but with a whole lot of color and verve.

This same assessment applies to *The Long Surrender*, Mr.

Davis's latest work. Advertised by its dust-jacket as "the dramatic you-are-there story of the collapse of the Confederacy concentrating on the frantic flight of Jefferson Davis and his cabinet to escape the Yankee pursuers," *The Long Surrender* is actually more of a biography of Jefferson Davis's postwar years. The book is organized into five sections, pertaining to the president's escape from Richmond, his pursuit, capture, and imprisonment by Federal authorities, and his life after his release from Fort Monroe in 1867. The author's narration of all this is zestful and quick-paced, and his handling of fact is confident. He recounts particularly well the disbursement of the Confederate treasury, about whose "lost millions" unfounded rumors still circulate. Other notable chapters relate how Jefferson Davis suffered hardship at Fort Monroe, and how his wife, physician, and others stirred the government to effect his release. Spiciest of all topics is the allegation that Davis had an affair with Virginia Clay in 1871. The author draws no conclusion, but he clearly enjoys relating the gossip. Some readers will regret that he does so without making much effort to understand Davis's relationship with his wife or, for that matter, Davis's complex personality in general.

As a good storyteller, Mr. Davis embellishes his narrative by introducing secondary characters. Robert E. Lee is a key figure; some attention is also given to Judah P. Benjamin, John C. Breckinridge, and other cabinet officials and generals. Their scattered flight out of Richmond is a dramatic tale, summarized pointedly by a Confederate general's remark to the president's secretary: "Well, Harrison, in all my days I never knew a government to go to pieces in this way" (p. 115). The author sketches the postwar careers of these individuals, and adds more color to his text through an eclectic array of anecdotes similar to those featured in Mr. Davis's *Our Incredible Civil War* (1960).

Knowledgeable readers will find in *The Long Surrender* a few questionable assertions or outright errors. In February 1865, Robert E. Lee was appointed general-in-chief, not commander-in-chief, as Mr. Davis repeatedly states; in the Confederacy (as in the United States) the president held the latter title among his constitutional powers. Regarding the controversy of the missing rations at Amelia Courthouse, or the restoration of Lee's full rights of citizenship, the author overlooks important details. He overlooks completely Clement Eaton's *Jefferson Davis* (1977) when he refers to Hudson Strode as the president's most recent

biographer. And he overlooks a complete bibliography of modern scholarship when he bases his brief treatment of the "Compromise of 1877" upon Robert S. Henry's outdated work, *The Story of Reconstruction* (1938).

Intelligent but not scholarly, Burke Davis's *The Long Surrender* combines history and biography in a lively and entertaining way. With its graceful, flowing prose it is, as the saying goes, a good read.

Atlanta, Georgia

STEPHEN DAVIS

When the War Was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South, 1865-1867. By Dan T. Carter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xiv, 285 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, note's, index. \$27.50; \$12.95 paper.)

When the War Was Over focuses on the leadership of the South during the ending of the Civil War and that period usually identified as "presidential Reconstruction" which Professor Dan Carter calls "self-Reconstruction." Professor Carter is concerned with that diverse body of Southerners who opposed secession but then reluctantly supported the Confederacy. Included with them are former secessionists who were converted by the war's calamitous end, and a few Unionists who remained true to their sentiments throughout the war. He first relates the enormous confusion, disorder, and violence which beset the South in the waning days of the Confederacy. His portrayal of the psychological numbness, sense of loss, and indecision about the future which affected many Southerners at the end of the war is especially noteworthy. But that was only a temporary condition for most. As President Johnson's permissive policies became clear, leaders in the various southern states began attempting to rebuild their shattered political, economic, and social systems. There was considerable evidence of the old Whiggish policies of growth and development as the legislatures attempted to stimulate new railroad construction and other internal improvement projects. Although he cautions that earlier works have perhaps been too harsh on southern leadership for its failures on racial policies, he does not ignore the fact that

these people were so imbued with ideas of racial inferiority that their laws regarding freedmen (which they considered reasonable) ultimately raised the suspicions of the national Congress.

As congressmen began scrutinizing southern legislation more closely and the northern press began attacking it, Southerners divided. Some dug in their heels and became defensive while others attempted to cooperate with Congress. In the meantime, violence by whites against blacks accelerated until some Southerners abandoned their efforts to work with the post-war conservatives and joined the Republican party. By that time the Congressional Radicals had overcome President Johnson's efforts to rebuild the South and the southern leadership had failed at "self-Reconstruction."

In writing of the South during the first two years after the Civil War, Professor Carter has set out on a much-travelled road. He is to be applauded for his enormously broad and deep research in the original records and for successfully telling a good story about a tragic and complicated period of American history. While historians of Reconstruction may not find much that is new in *When the War Was Over*, they will find a well-reasoned and well-written story and a shift of emphasis toward the positive side of the post-war legislatures which attempted to rebuild the states' economies and improve transportation while also dealing with the problems resulting from the end of slavery. All in all the book is a fresh and cogent addition to the abundant literature on the period.

University of Central Florida

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

The Self-Inflicted Wound: Southern Politics in the 19th Century. By Robert F. Durden. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985. x, 150 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.00.)

Between the 1790s and the 1890s the South moved from a two-party to a one-party system and from a "predominantly nationalistic, optimistic mood" to a "sullenly sectional, chronically defensive attitude." How the South came to this "essentially tragic political fate" is the subject of Robert F. Durden's latest book. His thesis is that Southerners— the white majority of them— suffered a "self-inflicted wound" as victims of their own

racism (p. ix). Their racism found expression in slavery and the proslavery argument, in secession and the war for the Confederacy, in Ku Kluxism and the overthrow of Reconstruction, and finally in discrimination and the maintenance of white supremacy. "The South's greatest enemy in the nineteenth century, in short, proved all too sadly to be the great majority of southern whites" (p. 132).

The story in itself is old and familiar enough, but Durden's retelling of it is unhackneyed and up-to-date. It assimilates the most authoritative of recent works on southern history, including works of his own, most notably *The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation*. The writing is admirable for its economy and clarity.

In any extremely compact narrative, such as this one, there are almost bound to be some statements so condensed as to be a little less than strictly accurate, but these instances are very few in the present work. Only one statement appears to be seriously questionable: in arguing for slavery in the territories, "Calhoun and the South were insisting that there was nothing different or special about slave property" (p. 56). As the record will show, Calhoun argued that slavery occupied a very special place in the United States Constitution. Slavery, he constantly maintained, was "the only property recognized by it" and "the only one that entered into its formation as a political element."

This volume is the third of a projected twenty volumes to be published in a series titled "New Perspectives on the South" and edited by Charles P. Roland. "The series is designed to give a fresh and comprehensive view of the region's history as seen in the light of recent developments in the South and the nation," Roland explains (pp. vii-viii). "Each volume is expected to represent both a synthesis of the best scholarship on the topic and the author's own interpretive analysis." The two previous volumes, both excellent, are John B. Boles's *Black Southerners, 1619-1869* and Albert E. Cowdrey's *This Land, This South: An Environmental History*. Durden's *The Self-Inflicted Wound* perfectly meets the editor's specifications and fully maintains the high standard set by its predecessors.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

RICHARD N. CURRENT

Hoover, Blacks, and Lily-Whites: A Study of Southern Strategies. By Donald J. Lisio. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985. xxii, 373 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Herbert Clark Hoover remains something of an enigma. "The Great Humanitarian," who directed campaigns to feed starving Europeans following World War I, could not manage to furnish relief for starving Americans during the Great Depression. A much admired public servant swept into the presidency by a landslide in 1928, Hoover vacated the White House four years later in defeat and disgrace. No group had been more loyal to the Republican party than black Americans; yet Hoover succeeded in alienating a large segment of this faithful minority. That most blacks still voted for Hoover in 1932 attests less to their approval of him than to their perception that they would have received even worse treatment from a Democratic president.

Donald J. Lisio argues that Hoover has been misunderstood on the racial issue. Rather than a bigot, the president was a firm believer in black advancement and sought to promote equal opportunities for those who could take advantage of them. As secretary of commerce, he had encouraged the Red Cross and private philanthropists to develop plans to challenge peonage in the South, a proposal which failed. More successfully, he abolished segregation in the Census Bureau and established the Division of Colored Industries. As president, Hoover and his wife invited prominent blacks to the White House for social occasions, despite the vigorous objections of influential white Southerners. In addition, he promoted black higher education and created commissions to study black economic problems.

In contrast to these favorable actions, Hoover also supported measures that greatly alarmed blacks. He believed state Republican parties in the South operated as corrupt patronage machines that were badly in need of reform. Because blacks still played a key role in running these organizations and dispensing political offices in Dixie, they would suffer from Hoover's attempts to reshape the party apparatus. Toward this end, the chief executive hoped to identify honest white leaders, whose first concern was clean government rather than political gain, and install them as his overseers of appointment to federal offices in the South. The president did not want to eliminate hon-

est black politicians from consideration, but he hoped instead to recruit a black elite to cooperate with the new white leaders. By restructuring the Republican party along these lines, Hoover envisioned it competing successfully with the Democrats on the basis of economics not race, thereby giving both whites and blacks real policy choices. Despite these intentions, the president gave the impression that he sided with lily-white Republicans against black and tan factions, a view reinforced by his controversial nomination of John J. Parker of North Carolina to the United States Supreme Court. His stubbornness in defending Parker, who had once made racist remarks as a gubernatorial candidate, further eroded confidence in his regime and contributed to his defeat on this issue.

Although Lisio contends that Hoover was not a foe of black progress, he does fault the president for creating fatal misunderstandings concerning his policies. Hoover consistently refused to explain his true motives for fear of arousing white racist demagoguery and jeopardizing his dream of a two-party South; nevertheless, his silence only convinced blacks that he meant to abandon them. More importantly, Lisio points out that Hoover failed because he could not transcend the racist assumptions of his era. He did not comprehend that racism, not the spoils system, was the poison of southern politics. His beliefs in voluntarism and self-help, no matter how well meaning, were inappropriate to combat the forces of white supremacy. The brand of elitism and paternalism offered by Hoover was no more successful in opening up first-class citizenship to blacks than in combating the Great Depression. In the end, as the author accurately concludes, "Hoover's venture into southern politics proved a sad encounter both for him and for black Americans" (p. 282).

This book provides a judicious account based on a thorough investigation into archival sources and a well-informed reading of the secondary literature. Overall, the author does not turn Hoover into a sympathetic figure, but he does succeed in portraying a more complex individual than the one pictured in standard works on the subject. This volume illuminates the tragic flaws not only in Hoover's approach to race but also in his handling of the presidency in general.

The Little Mans Big Friend: James E. Folsom in Alabama Politics, 1946-1958. By George E. Sims. (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985. x, 271 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, essay on sources, index. \$29.50.)

Big Mules and Branchheads: James E. Folsom and Political Power in Alabama. By Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985. xv, 307 pp. Figures and tables, preface, acknowledgments, appendix, notes, bibliography, indes. \$27.50 cloth.)

James Elisha "Big Jim" Folsom served as governor of Alabama from 1947 to 1951, and from 1955 to 1959. His eccentricities, enormous size (6'8"), and unorthodox political sentiments have accorded him a legendary stature. After four decades of oral tradition, two books on Folsom's career have recently been published. Persons interested in southern history and government will be pleased with both books.

George E. Sims, author of *The Little Man's Big Friend: James E. Folsom in Alabama Politics, 1946-1958*, convincingly depicts Folsom as an influence on Alabama's transition from local to national values. Oral tradition has overemphasized Folsom's unconventionality. "Unfortunately," Sims writes, "the drama and color of Folsom anecdotes overshadow the fact that Folsom's life and his public service confronted all the tensions that accompanied the thrusting of a locally oriented society into the confusion of America's mass culture" (p. 5). To validate his theme, Sims details the political intrigues of Folsom's gubernatorial years. In bypassing traditional county leaders, Sims writes, "Folsom's campaigns belonged to the politics of the coming mass culture" (p. 22). Moreover, Folsom's legislative victories on taxes, pensions, schools, and roads pointed to Alabama's future. Folsom's progressive stance on unions and civil rights also demonstrated his forward-looking platform.

As the subtitle states, this book is a study of politics, not a biography. Sims offers little historical perspective on the people, place, and time of Folsom's life. Apparently, Sims's objective is narrowly defined to describe Alabama politics in a specific era, and he succeeds admirably. The inclusion of a preface might have clarified the author's goals for the reader. Sims is a skilled writer. His prose is spare, yet precise and descriptive. Occasionally his keen wit adds to the reader's enjoyment. He uses oral history well and has researched the necessary resources. Al-

together, Sims has commendably recounted and analyzed the intricacies of a political epoch.

Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff's *Big Mules and Branchheads: James E. Folsom and Political Power in Alabama* is a more thorough biography and a superior book. According to Grafton and Permaloff, a commitment to political and economic democracy motivated Folsom's career. "The Big Mules—the electric utilities, steel companies, and plantation owners" dominated Alabama government and society (p. 22). By advocating reapportionment, civil rights for blacks, and economic justice, Folsom challenged elite politics in Alabama. Folsom "wanted nothing less than to be the leader of a revolution" (p. 254). He failed to remove the Big Mules from power, but he "mobilized the forces of change" and "gave hope and a sense of worth to average men and women" (p. 263). Those who view the man as a buffoon or as a spoilsman reflect "a common misunderstanding of the powerful ideological motivations that drove Folsom" (p. 195).

Grafton and Permaloff are talented historians. They conducted over 100 interviews, exhaustively researched the documents, and imaginatively analyzed the data. Their language is carefully crafted. For example, in a sentence describing Folsom's lieutenants, Grafton and Permaloff write, "Some of them were honest, others dishonest in varying degrees; some were competent, even brilliant, others completely inept; a few were idealistic, but most were utterly self-serving" (p. 212).

Both *The Little Man's Big Friend* and *Big Mules and Branchheads* include a sampling of "Big Jim stories." Sims's account of the Baptist minister's invocation at the 1955 Southern Governors' Conference, New York Governor Averell Harriman's visit to Alabama, and the crash of a United States Navy plane off a carrier in Pensacola Bay (the pilot was unscathed) are hilarious. Grafton and Permaloffs description of Folsom's meeting with state business leaders in Mobile is also well recounted.

Sims and Grafton and Permaloff have written good books. Certainly all libraries (high school, college, and public) should order them. Yet, if you confront financial limitations, which should you purchase for your personal library? Save your money and celebrate the day you can afford to buy both *The Little Man's Big Friend* and *Big Mules and Branchheads*.

In Pursuit of Power: Southern Blacks and Electoral Politics, 1965-1982. By Steven F. Lawson. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. xix, 391 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

Professor Lawson's first volume in William Leuchtenburg's Columbia series, *Black Ballots, Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969*, covers the struggle from the attack on the whites-only primary through the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the subsequent enrollment of black voters in the South. In this succeeding study, Lawson continues the story through the battle with the Reagan administration over the 1982 extension of the law. While his initial account deals with the more dramatic confrontations which produced a legal revolution in southern race relationships, the second takes up the further adjudication and application of the law.

History has proven Lyndon Johnson correct, Lawson maintains, in seeing the ballot as the path for keeping black America within the system. With the decline of the 1960s radicalism, the black bourgeoisie has been pursuing a path of coalition politics which has been basically accepted by both black and white. While it has done much to ease off police violence and political race-baiting, it has offered little to meet the needs of the black underclasses, rural and ghetto poor, for jobs, adequate housing, health care, education, and involvement in American mainstream life.

Government voting rights strategy, aimed at voluntary local compliance rather than maximum black registration, was pursued through minimum federal intervention in state election affairs. Its success has been shown by the acceptance of black voting rights as part of the American system. As such, with the support of a growing constituency, including Republicans and white southern legislators, it has resisted the relatively mild attempts of the Nixon, Ford, and Reagan administrations to weaken the law when it was up for renewal in 1970, 1975, and 1982.

By the 1970s the struggle over voting rights had shifted from registration to a "second generation of franchise subterfuges." The requirement of "preclearance" of voting law changes became the chief protection against racially motivated reregistrations, reapportionments, redistricting, annexations, and conversions to multi-member and at-large elections. Black goals had shifted from registration to electoral representation,

but despite impressive gains, the number of office-holders remained disproportionately small. In 1980, there were still no elected black officials in one-fourth of the black majority counties in the seven southern states originally covered by the Voting Rights Law.

By the late 1970s political resistance, drawing upon a growing national conservatism, equated compensatory treatment of minorities with "reverse discrimination." Litigation revolved around the crucial question of whether discrimination was to be measured by electoral results or by proving the "intent" of arrangements such as at-large elections which diluted black voting power. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall pushed for a "disproportionate impact test" to measure the effect of voting arrangements. In the 1980 *City of Mobile* decision, however, Justice Stewart wrote for the majority that "The Fifteenth Amendment does not entail the right to have Negro candidates elected" (p. 277), but the Court continued to uphold "preclearance" and the right of the federal government to legislate further voting arrangements.

By the 1980s Professor Lawson concludes, the acceptance of black suffrage had justified neither white fears nor black hopes. The vote had not necessarily conferred power. It had brought improvement in race relations but fell short of political and far short of economic equality. However, while Lawson properly offers these three measures of the role of the ballot, none of these is the subject of his study. His carefully researched concern is the legislative, judicial, and administrative history of the Voting Rights Law. It is not an exciting story, but it is a necessary one, and he tells it well.

University of Florida

DAVID CHALMERS

Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History. By C. Vann Woodward. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986. x, 158 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, selective list of critical works, index. \$12.95.)

C. Vann Woodward is easily the greatest living historian of the South, and possibly the greatest living American historian. In *Thinking Back* he reviews his own books, discusses the critics

of these works, and, in the interesting prose style which marks all of his writings reflects on the meaning of history and how he has sought to interpret this meaning. In addition to a number of essays and articles his books represent half a century of significant contributions.

The first title in the Woodward panorama is *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* produced in the 1930s. This was followed by *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, then *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, *The Burden of Southern History*, and *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue*. He also has edited *The Comparative Approach to American History*, is co-author of a general history of the United States, is editor of *Mary Chestnut's Civil War*, and is the general editor of the multi-volume *The Oxford History of the United States*. He has also written several volumes on naval history, including *The Battle for Leyte Gulf*. Thus his writing is broader than southern history as it also embraces an interpretation of populism in America. Then, in the area of comparative history, he ranges beyond the United States to include comparisons with both slavery and emancipation in other countries.

The main focus of this book, is, however, an interpretation of the South. Prior to Woodward, the leading historians of the South, such as Ulrich B. Phillips, Edward Dunning, and Philip Bruce, romanticized the southern tradition as one in which from colonial times on into the twentieth century an enlightened southern aristocracy led united whites in a move which also protected blacks and which brought the South from the plantation system to modern beneficent industrialism and capitalism. These romantic historians wrote that the exception was that in the period of Reconstruction in the South, 1865-1876, northern-scalawags misled newly-freed blacks in a period marked by rejection of the old southern leadership, which only resulted in mismanagement, hate, and corruption. From his earliest writings on the populist leader Tom Watson, Woodward differed sharply, pointing to neglect of blacks, conflicts between poorer and wealthier whites, and also arguing that change, rather than continuity was a significant part of the southern legacy. This was especially the message of the first three books by Woodward, and caused him also to differ from Wilbur J. Cash who, in his *The Mind of the South*, stressed southern continuity. Cash never embraced the full romanticization of the South as found in Phil-

lips, Dunning, and Bruce. I would point out that Woodward, himself, in *The Burden of Southern History*, somewhat revises his earlier sharp criticism of continuity in the southern tradition by arguing that the South does have its own distinctiveness and common characteristics, one of which is admiration for individuality. In this respect he finds the best expression of southern culture to be in its literary tradition, especially as exemplified by the novels of William Faulkner and by such interpreters as Robert Penn Warren and Walker Percy. Part of this Woodward attributes to the southern experience in hardship following defeat in the Civil War, although he again finds it wrong to over-emphasize its' impact on the latter part of the twentieth century. He identifies his own system of values with that of Reinhold Niebuhr.

Looking at the growth of the South in the last two decades Woodward hopes it will not go the way of tinsel and glitter or pop culture and pop religion. He strongly objects to the application of the term "sun-belt" as correctly embracing the rapid-growth area from California and Texas and then on through the South. From the standpoint of politics and economics, however, students in those disciplines, including myself, do find many common characteristics in both attitudes and political behavior of this entire "sun-belt." However, I would also point out that environmental concerns in these areas possibly point the way to a check on earlier exploitation, especially as personal income rises in many of these areas, such as Florida.

The general reader will find this book to be easily readable, thought provoking, and of a high intellectual level. This is no mere narrative of past writings and how they have been received, although it includes that. But what stands out most clearly is that this is a work by a many-sided interpreter of civilization with a first-rate mind.

University of Florida

MANNING J. DAUER

American Brahman: A History of the American Brahman. By Joe A. Akerman, Jr. (Houston: American Brahman Breeders Association, 1982. xiv, 384 pp. Preface, foreword, acknowledgments, notes, illustrations, bibliography. \$10.50.)

BOOK REVIEWS

Joe Akerman's *American Brahman* is the first comprehensive study of this uniquely American breed of beef cattle. The author describes the American Brahman as "developed from an amalgamation of four predominant Indian breeds with early native range stock under American conditions with a particular beef standard in mind." Akerman outlines the old world backgrounds of the Indian breeds that were the ancestors of today's Brahman cattle and then proceeds to detail the introduction of representatives of these breeds in the United States. The author provides a narrative history of the development of the breed from the earliest introduction of "Bramah, Brahman, or Bremer" type cattle into this country in the 1830s to present date.

Pioneer cattlemen, primarily Texans, but otherwise scattered throughout the Southeast, who introduced and experimented with early Brahman cows, are featured in the narrative. Several fine illustrations help capture the flavor of the pioneer cattle industry in nineteenth-century America.

Later chapters concentrate on the establishment of the American Brahman Breeders Association in 1924 and its later growth, the development of Brahman crossbreeds, and an analysis of the Brahman's overall contribution to the cattle industry and to the future outlook of the breed.

The book is well researched, as evidenced by its extensive bibliography and footnotes. The author, who teaches history at North Florida Junior College, is author of *Florida Cowman, A History of Florida Cattle Raising*. In *American Brahman* he includes numerous references to Florida and this state's role in the development of Brahman cattle. Dr. A. C. Ambler is cited as introducing Indian cattle or "Brahmins" into Florida as early as 1858. An important Brahman crossbreed, the Braford— three-eighths Brahman and five-eighths Hereford— has been fostered and publicized by the Adams Ranch in Fort Pierce.

The author has skillfully combined an interesting narrative history with sufficient technical data to provide a well-organized study of the American Brahman breed of cattle.

Bluegrass: A History. By Neil V. Rosenberg. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1985. xii, 447 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, discography, aural history, interviews, index, song title index. \$24.95.)

This is a fascinating book. I pity anyone currently working on a history of bluegrass music. In a field laden with ersatz scholarship and pseudo-critics, Neil Rosenberg has produced a volume on the history of the American music known as bluegrass which is unlikely to be surpassed— or equalled— by any subsequent scholar. There is no way in a short review to do it justice.

Rosenberg comes to his subject with much more than scholarly credentials. Not only is he a perceptive folklorist, he is also a professional (he calls himself a semiprofessional) musician, having spent the last twenty-five years in and around bluegrass music and its principal figures. He therefore brings to this study an understanding of the nuances and subtleties of both the music of the genre and the techniques of the craft which only a picker can possess. This happy combination of scholar and musician gives Rosenberg's book an authority and a depth that make this work not only the best this reviewer has yet seen on the music of rural America, it is, in addition, one of the best books ever written on any kind of American music. It is as if Leonard Feather and Billy Strayhorn in collaboration had written a history of big-band jazz. Published in the Illinois Press's Music in America series, the study is a notable addition to that fine list.

Bluegrass has come to mean a stylized musical form. Aficionados, who sometimes declare themselves bluegrass connoisseurs after fifteen minutes at the Florida Folk Festival, would insist that certain elements must be present or the music is not "pure bluegrass." Only specific instruments are permitted by this definition, all of them acoustical and stringed: guitar and string bass— the percussion section— fiddle, five-string banjo, mandolin, lead guitar, and dobro (steel or Hawaiian guitar— the "hound dog," as Lester Flatt used to call it). The only permitted electrical current is in the sound system which magnifies a live performance, or the juice which powers the stereo system that plays the record.

"Expert legend" has it that bluegrass music is the soul of the southern mountains, handed down in the distant past by generations of mountain folk unspoiled by commercial culture— the

myth as expounded in the movie *Deliverance*. In fact, as Neal Rosenberg shows, bluegrass, although its mountain antecedents are genuine, is a post-World War II phenomenon, and from its inception has been a commercial and professional music. Moreover, the reliance on acoustic instruments to the exclusion of all others is more or less an historical accident, although the continued insistence on non-electric instruments has today become what Rosenberg calls a "philosophical position."

In twelve scintillating chapters, Rosenberg traces the history of this remarkable cultural phenomenon and the people who made it. He is especially informative on the origins of the genre and its founding father, the storied Bill Monroe. His cultural and historical perspective is broad, and therefore his grasp of the context out of which bluegrass emerged gives his work its comprehensiveness. Yet he never strays from the task at hand, hence the book is neither discursive nor rambling. It is as tight, as ordered, and as harmonious as Bill Monroe's greatest band, which numbered among its members Lester Flatt, Earl Scruggs, and Lake City's Chubby Wise. Readers, whether bluegrass fans or not, will find themselves captured by the author's command of the subject and his clear and reasoned analysis.

University of Florida

AUGUSTUS M. BURNS, III

The History of Southern Literature. By Louis D. Rubin, Jr., et al. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xiv, 626 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

A one-volume history of southern literature (the first, the editors tell us, since the early 1950s) which extends bravely through southern writing since then right up to 1982— a history of such a span of letters, particularly one written by nearly fifty scholars and edited by five others, takes on the air, and the dependable utility, not so much of a history but of a portable encyclopedia. As perhaps the *Columbia Desk* might be said to stand against *Britannica*, so this handy text must be considered against the vast territory it stakes out. The multiple authors, top-of-their-field scholars, provide in their discrete essays— of genres, of movements, of minor figures, of majors— a kind of

clean, academic, yet not altogether homogenous style which further removes us from the tone of a customary history written by one historian, and there is sufficient and necessary overlap among the pieces to effect a quality of redundancy if one were to demand finally a linear, considered, one-perspective treatment. One doesn't. A signal departure this kind of clinical, corporate view provides may be seen in, say, the academic assessment of George Washington Harris's *Sut Lovingood* – the reader familiar with Edmund Wilson's Draconian contempt for *Sut* in *Patriotic Gore* will marvel at the evenness here.

The book is secondarily a "history" of the criticism of southern literature as well, in that our current critics, in citing the work of their forbearers, seek to dismiss the misinformed and wrong-headed and elevate the intelligent, and they frequently refer to reigning modern authority, quite often themselves. Thus the book can serve as a guide to both southern literature and to the story of its vicissitudes of critical fate.

Organization is into four historical sections, each with a brief over-view introduction followed by the longer articles: Colonial and Antebellum Literature, 1607-1860; The War and After, 1861-1920; The Southern Renaissance, 1920-1950; The Recent South, 1951-1982. This final section, without which the book would have been "easier, and far more tidy" (and less interesting), features chapters on individual authors and groups of authors deemed most likely enduring – with less effort than in the previous sections to establish rank in the pantheon, which efforts, when premature, the editors warn, are often "not merely confusing but frequently absurd." These last pieces are as a result higher in their ratio of fact to interpretation, of event to "history," than those pieces dealing with earlier and prudently canonizable periods.

Having declared this a book to use as an encyclopedia, as a teaser into broader reading where teased (James Matthews Legare "turned to fiction, painting, and invention, eventually discovering a fiber he called 'Plastic-Cotton' from which he formed various pieces of furniture" – ?), as a locator of access points to an *oeuvre* totally unfamiliar (one couldn't help but start Kate Chopin at *The Awakening*), it must be said that most finally intriguing is the business of seeing the history of southern literature. That is, in seeing the rangy corpus as something of a piece. It takes a nearly cosmic effort, and most likely it is foolish to push the matter so far, but one can allow, in this interest of

continuum, certain large contours and patterns to evolve. Does the tormenting irony of supporting the insupportable “peculiar institution” of slavery for so long by the South’s brightest men of letters create the natural and inevitable breeding ground for a view of the world and art predicated precisely upon that kind of searing, deep, tension-is-all irony that would be the clarion call of the Fugitives a hundred years later? Does John Smith (the book’s first southern writer) somehow— in beheading Turks in Transylvania before holding Powhatan and heathen at bay in a swamp with a compass and a lecture on cosmography— does he somehow derail the South from a concern with the transcendental for a concern with the “myth of history?” Facts, trends, titles, dates, characters, summaries, historical/intellectual plate tectonics, exotica— this text is grand in its scale, good in its parts, a rich reference work up-to-the-minute.

University of Florida

PADGETT POWELL

BOOK NOTES

Punta Gorda and the Charlotte Harbor Area: A Pictorial History is by Vernon Peeples, one of the recognized authorities on the history of that area of the Gulf Coast. Many of the rare photographs are from the author's collection, and are appearing in print for the first time. Manatee County was established in 1855, and Peeples describes its early beginnings in an introduction. There are six chapters, five describing the history of the area from 1860 to the present. The final chapter deals with the islands— south Boca Grande, Boca Grande, and Gasparilla. The pictures and narrative cover the economic development of Punta Gorda and Charlotte Harbor: agriculture, cattle, tourism, fishing, boating, and shipping. Included also are photographs of churches, homes, motion picture theaters, businesses, and many street scenes. There are pictures of people, not only the business, political, and social leaders of the community, but also ordinary people, white and black, young and old. There are many photographs of children, and a picture of a De Soto County cowboy. The photographs are of good quality, particularly when one considers the age and condition of many of the originals. An index, which too often is not included in illustrated histories, is a welcome addition. It is an attractively packaged book. *Punta Gorda and the Charlotte Harbor Area: A Pictorial History* was published by the Donning Company; Norfolk, Virginia, for the Medical Center Foundation of Punta Gorda. Order from the Foundation, Box 1309, Punta Gorda, Florida 33951; the price is \$29.95.

Kathy Pickel of Vero Beach wrote *Changes: Indian River County History for Elementary School Students* at the request of the Indian River County School Board. It is being used by fourth-grade students who are now able to learn about the geography and history of their own community and county. It is in the fourth grade that public school children are supposed to receive their first organized course in Florida history. Unfortunately there are not always enough basic source materials for teachers to use in their programs. Ms. Pickel has provided excellent resource material for the teachers in her part of Florida. Her work should stimulate other Florida communities to encourage,

and subsidize if needed, similar projects. Geography, Indians, transportation, weather, wildlife, and agriculture are a few of the subjects described in Ms. Pickel's workbook. *Changes* sells for \$5.00, and the *Teachers Guide*, which includes a bibliography, is priced at \$3.00. Both may be ordered from Kathy Pickel, 515 Holly Road, Vero Beach, Florida 32963. Ms. Pickel received an award from the Florida Historical Confederation for her publication at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society held in Bradenton in May 1986.

Anthropology in Florida: History of a Discipline was a study done for the *Florida Journal of Anthropology* by Brian M. du Toit of the University of Florida. He traces the establishment and development of anthropology, both teaching and research, at the University of Florida, Florida State University, and the other state universities. At the University of Florida, anthropology was first introduced in the sociology department. The 1949-1950 catalog lists courses in cultural anthropology and American Indian culture, and field sessions in archeology. The author describes the roles played by sociologists like Lucius M. Bristol, John M. Mac-lachlan, and Winston W. Ehrmann at the University of Florida, and Raymond F. Bellamy at Florida State College for Women in Tallahassee. The major names in Florida anthropology, du Toit notes, are William H. Sears, John W. Griffin, John M. Goggin, Hale G. Smith, and Charles H. Fairbanks. Professor du Toit's monograph lists theses and dissertations written at Florida universities. Free copies of his publication are available as long as supplies last. Regular issues of the *Florida Journal of Anthropology* are available to members of the Florida Anthropological Student Association. For information on the special issue and on membership write, 1350 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611.

Steamboating on the Indian River was written by Fred A. Hopwood from interviews that he did with steamboat men and their families and friends. He also utilized unpublished manuscripts, memoirs, records, and the schedules and travel brochures issued by the steamboat companies. According to available records the *Pioneer* was the first steamer to arrive at Titusville; it sailed into port in 1877. Over the years more than 200 boats operated on the Indian River, but the main period of activity was 1880-1899.

The steamers provided transportation for both freight and passengers. A few vessels were large enough to carry dozens of passengers, but most of them were small. There is information on the mail boats, which were so important to the people who lived in the area. Order from the author, Box 443, Melbourne, Florida 32935; the price is \$5.00.

History of West Melbourne, Florida is also by Fred A. Hopwood. When Melbourne was founded in the 1870s, the areas west of town were called the North Indian Fields, the South Indian Fields, and sometimes just the "Back Country." Hopwood's monograph is a collection of stories and anecdotes, many collected from older citizens of the area. They include stories told by the fishermen and hunters. Order from Mr. Hopwood; the price is \$5.00.

Florida Historical Index, compiled by John Cameron, is an excellent research tool because it indexes every historical platt site in the state by township, range, and section. The first civilian survey team began mapping sections of Florida in 1826, and the surveys continue to the present. Cameron's index lists brick-yards, bridges, natural bridges, ferry crossings, creek and river fords, fortifications, homesteads, Indian sites, landings, mills, related sites, named roads, springs, towns and settlements, and wharfs. To use information in the *Florida Historical Index* to locate a specific site, the town and range of an area must first be determined. Categories are checked by range to determine if any sites are available in the desired area. The specified platt map is then ordered from the state of Florida. Order from Internal Improvement Fund, Elliott Building, Tallahassee. The cost is \$2.00 each, plus tax. The platt maps will need to be checked with Topographical Engineer's maps, which are generally available in local communities. The *Florida Historical Index* may be ordered from John Cameron, Box 8501, Tampa, Florida 33674. The price is \$12.95, plus .75 for handling.

Coacoochee: Made of the Sands of Florida is the story of the famous Seminole Indian chief who was imprisoned, together with Osceola, at Fort Marion in St. Augustine in 1837. Coacoochee escaped from the fort by squeezing through a small

opening in the prison cell and then scaling down the outside wall. Osceola was not so fortunate; he was taken as a prisoner to South Carolina where he died. Coacoochee was actively involved in the Second Seminole War, the longest Indian war in United States history. The account of Coacoochee, by Arthur E. Francke, Jr., is presented in verse. In a short concluding chapter, Mr. Francke provides information on Coacoochee's activities after the war until his death from small pox in 1857. Order from the author, 50 Palmetto Drive, DeBary, Florida 32713. The price is \$5.00, plus \$1.00 for handling.

The City Slant is a new literary journal published by Miami-Dade Community College at its Mitchell Wolfson New World Center Campus in Miami. The first issue includes articles on art, ecology, bilingualism, and medical research. For information, write the Public Affairs Office of the College; 300 N.E. Second Avenue, Miami, Florida 33132.

The Legendary Mizners, by Alva Johnston, was first published in 1953. It is the story of Wilson and Addison Mizner and the roles they played in the history of South Florida, particularly the Palm Beach and Boca Raton areas, during the Florida boom of the 1920s. The original illustrations by Reginald Marsh are also included in this paperback reprint published by Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York. The price is \$8.95.

George E. Merrick and Coral Gables, Florida is by Kathryn Ashley. It is a short biography of one of Florida's most important 1920s, Boom-era developers and the city he created. Merrick was not only the builder of a city once described as the most beautiful in the country, he was also a philanthropic and civic leader. He founded the University of Miami and played an active role in the public affairs of Dade County. *George E. Merrick and Coral Gables, Florida*, sells for \$15.00. Order from Crystal Bay Publishers, Box 140507, Coral Gables, Florida 33134.

Every year millions of American's go to state, county, and community agricultural fairs. Although fairs had their origin in medieval Europe, they were introduced into America in the colonial period. The first such fairs may have been community

sheep shearing, which attracted many people. Prizes were awarded for superior sheep, wool, and domestic manufactures. One of the largest of these affairs was held annually at George Washington Parke Custis's farm in Arlington, Virginia. He was the step-son of George Washington, and his farm is now part of Arlington National Cemetery. Agricultural fairs were first held in Florida in the territorial period after 1821. The *Historical Directory of American Agricultural Fairs*, by Donald B. Marti, lists the fairs and other agricultural events in each state. The largest such event in this state is the Florida State Fair in Tampa, held each February to coincide with the Gasparilla Festival. This fair was first named the Central Florida Fair when it began in 1904. It then became the Mid-Winter Festival, and adopted its present name when the Florida State Fair of Jacksonville was discontinued. The Florida Strawberry Festival held each March is another popular event. Throughout the state there are many fairs sponsored by counties and cities. There is also the Central Florida Fair, Florida Citrus Festival, Kissimmee Valley Livestock Show and Fair, North Florida Fair, Northeast Florida Fair, South Dade County Fair and Festival, South Florida Fair and Exposition, Southeastern Youth Fair, Southwest Florida Fair, and the Suwannee River Livestock Show and Fair. Schedules and program information, a bibliography, and a subject index, are included in *Historical Directory*, published by Greenwood Press, Inc., Westport, Connecticut; it sells for \$55.00.

Black History: A Guide to Civilian Records in the National Archives was compiled by Debra L. Newman. It is a guide to the records of 141 non-military federal agencies that pertain to black Americans. Arranged by record groups and series, the book describes the activities of each agency and provides information on the volume and characteristics of each specific group. There is a comprehensive index. Order from the National Archives *Black History*, Department 404, Box 37066, Washington, D.C. 20013. The price is \$13.00 for paper, and \$18.00 cloth.

Kathryn Lee Seidel in her study of *The Southern Belle in the American Novel* examines the ways that nineteenth and twentieth-century writers have portrayed young, unmarried southern women in their novels. John Pendleton Kennedy described the

first southern belle in his *Swallow Barn*, published in 1832. She lived on a great plantation, was of a marriageable age (over sixteen years), and was ready to be courted by a strong and mannerly cavalier. The portrait of the southern belle in the popular novels published before the Civil War was that of an intelligent (although not particularly well-educated) young woman with impeccable morals who seeks a gallant man to marry for love. After the war, the fiction set in the period of the 1860s and 1870s tended to allegorize the belle as a symbol of the "fallen south." Seidel notes in her succeeding chapters how the image of the belle changed in the twentieth century, during the period of southern literary renaissance, the Depression era, and the post-World War II era. *The Southern Belle in the American Novel* was published by the University of South Florida Press, Tampa, and sells for \$10.00.

Paperback reprints of Frederick Lewis Allen's *Since Yesterday* and *The Big Change* have been published by Harper and Row in its Perennial Library series. *Since Yesterday* covers the years, 1929-1939, and *The Big Change* deals with the half-century from 1900 to 1950. *Since Yesterday* sells for \$6.95, and *Big Change*, \$7.95.

For the bicentennial celebration of the United States Constitution, Brown and Company have reissued two histories by Catherine Drinker Bowen in paperback editions. They are *Miracle at Philadelphia: The Story of the Constitutional Convention, May to September 1787*, and *The Most Dangerous Man in America: Scenes from the Life of Benjamin Franklin*. *Miracle at Philadelphia* sells for \$8.95, and *Most Dangerous Man*, \$8.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Conferences

“Rediscovering the 1930s: The WPA and the Federal Writers’ Project’s American Guides,” is the theme of a symposium to be held at the Broward County Library in Fort Lauderdale, November 7-8, 1986. The papers and discussions will address the relationship between government and the arts and artists, and it will investigate the development, significance, and history of the American Guide Series. There will be special emphasis on the *Florida Guide*. For information write Dr. Margaret G. Wilson, Center for Labor Research & Studies, T-2, Florida International University, Tamiami Campus, Miami, FL 33199 or Jean Trebbi, Florida Center for the Book, Broward County Library, 100 South Andrews Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301. There will also be a major collection of published Writers’ Project materials on exhibit.

The Southern Jewish Historical Society will hold its eleventh annual conference in Fort Lauderdale, November 7-9. The theme of the conference is the “Southern Jewish Experience.” There will be sessions on Jewish history in the Caribbean, Florida, and Miami, on survivors of the Holocaust settling in Florida, and workshops on oral history and Jewish genealogical research techniques. The convention hotel is the Hilton Inn at Inverrary. For information call or write Renee Spector, 1201 West 69th Avenue, Plantation, FL 33137 (305-587-8568).

The Florida State Genealogical Society will hold a conference on November 7-8, 1986, in Tallahassee. Speakers will include Robert Scott Davis, Jr., of Jasper, Georgia; Brent Howard Holcomb, editor and publisher of the *South Carolina Magazine of Ancestral Research*; Gayle P. Peters, director of the National Records Center, East Point, Georgia; and LaViece Smallwood, whose articles on genealogy appear weekly in the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*. The Tallahassee Hilton is the convention hotel. For information on registration write Dorothy Garate, 2502 North Glen Avenue, Tampa, FL 33607.

The Florida Museum Association will meet in Tallahassee, November 13-15, 1986. The Tallahassee Junior Museum and the Museum of Florida History are in charge of arrangements. The conference theme is "Innovations in Museums." It will feature sessions on new technologies (including a computerization workshop for small museums and the application of videodisc technologies to museums), outreach and interpretive programming, museum stores and concessions, and advances in conservation techniques. The convention hotel will be the Holiday Inn, 1302 Apalachee Parkway. A pre-conference session on November 12 will be a grant writing workshop sponsored by the Institute of Museum Services. For information write to the Tallahassee Junior Museum, 3945 Museum Drive, Tallahassee, FL 32304.

The University of Florida will be the site of an International Conference on Wet Site Archaeology, December 12-14, 1986. For information write Dr. Barbara Purdy, Department of Anthropology, 1350 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

The fifth Citadel Conference on the South will be held in Charleston, South Carolina, April 9-11, 1987. Formal invitations to those who will be delivering papers or chairing sessions will be issued by November 1, 1986. Direct all inquiries about the conference to Winfred B. Moore, Jr., or Joseph F. Tripp, Department of History, The Citadel, Charleston, SC 29409.

Exhibitions

The Prime F. Osborn Convention Center, which opened in Jacksonville on October 17, was converted from the Union Terminal. It is on the National Register of Historic Places. The terminal was described, when it was opened in 1919, as the largest railroad station in the South. It replaced the station constructed by Henry M. Flagler in 1895. On November 17, 1986, the Ramses II exhibit will open at the Convention Center. It includes seventy-two artifacts from the Egyptian Museum and is larger than the King Tut exhibit that toured the United States. The Ramses II exhibit will be at the Convention Center through March 15, 1987.

The Arthur M. Sackler Collection of Peruvian sculptured and painted ceramics are being exhibited at the Florida State Museum, Gainesville, through March 11, 1987. The Art of the Andes, a 160-piece pre-Columbian Peruvian exhibit, represents the major cultures in Peru from the first millenium B.C. to the Spanish conquest. The exhibit is open Monday through Saturday from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., and Sundays and holidays from 1:00 P.M. to 5:00 P.M. The research emphasis at the Florida State Museum, the Museum at the University of Florida, is on the natural sciences and anthropology of Florida, the Caribbean, and South America.

"In Search of the *Mary Rose*: Henry VIII's Lost Warship," is the title of an exhibit that will open at the Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee, on November 18, 1986, and continue through January 25, 1987. It will include artifacts from the Tudor vessel and videos of its raising at Portsmouth, England, in 1982. The *Mary Rose* sank on July 19, 1545, as an attacking France fleet sailed toward the English coast. More than 700 lives were lost in the disaster.

Announcements and Activities

John P. Daniels, formerly in charge of education, public service, and state programs at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, has been appointed director of the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. He succeeds James Moody who has retired.

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society has received a grant from the Institute of Museum Services for the conservation of its photo collection, one of the largest in Florida, numbering over 210,000 images. It includes the Gene Hyde Collection which covers the history of Fort Lauderdale and Broward County since 1938. There are also many Seminole Indian photographs in the Society's files.

The first recipient of the William C. Lazarus Award was Yulee Lazarus of Fort Walton. The announcement was made at the annual meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society held in Gainesville, April 11-12, 1986. Together with her husband, Colonel William C. Lazarus, Mrs. Lazarus established the Fort Walton Temple Mound Museum. She served as its' curator for more than twenty years.

The first issue of the *Pencil Press Quarterly* includes an article, "A Gentle Warrior," which is based on an interview with Patrick D. Smith, the winner of the 1985 Florida Historical Society's Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize. Smith's short story, "Miss Jenny and the Minnows," is also in this first issue. *Pencil Press Quarterly* is published in Orlando. Annual subscription rates are \$10.00. For subscription information write P. O. Box 536177, Orlando, FL 32806. The Quarterly includes short stories, feature articles, poetry, book reviews, information on workshops, and a calendar of literary events in Florida.

The Fred W. Morrison Award of Southern Studies, which may be given annually, has been established by the board of governors, University of North Carolina Press. It will be awarded to authors of books of southern studies published by the Press. The review committee will be historians not connected with the Press. The prize is \$5,000.

The *Encyclopedia of Jewish-American History and Culture* will be published by Garland Publishing Company. Persons interested in contributing either comprehensive essays or individual entries on a variety of available topics should contact the editors: Jack Fischel, Department of History, Millersville University of Pennsylvania, Millersville, PA 17551, or Dr. Sanford Pinsker, Department of English, Franklin & Marshall College, P. O. Box 3003, Lancaster, PA 17604.

ANNUAL MEETING
EIGHTY-FOURTH MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTY-FOURTH
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
AND
FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
WORKSHOPS
1986

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 1

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
Registration:

Holiday Inn, Riverfront, Bradenton, Florida

Morning Sessions

PORTABLE HISTORY: Exhibits That Remain To Be Seen

TEXT: *Defining the Situation*
Michael Carrigan, Smithsonian Institution
Patricia Bartlett, Fort Myers Historical Museum

Scripting Portable Exhibits
Michael Carrigan, Smithsonian Institution
Donald Curl, Florida Atlantic University

GRAPHICS: *Making the Point*
Edward Jonas, Museum of Florida History,
Tallahassee
Patsy West, Seminole Photo Archive, Fort
Lauderdale

Don't Come Unglued
Edward Jonas, Museum of Florida History
Robert Cottrell, St. Petersburg Historical Society

Evening Sessions

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MEETING OF THE DIRECTORS

Friday, May 2

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: REGISTRATION

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS

Session I: *Quest for De Soto*Moderator: Amy Turner Bushnell, St. Augustine Historical
SocietyPapers: Jerald T. Milanich, Florida State Museum
"Tampa Bay: De Soto's Bahia Honda"
Jeffrey M. Mitchem, Florida State Museum
"Archaeological Evidence of Early 16th Century-
Spanish-Indian Contact in Citrus County"Session II: *Race and Ethnicity in Florida*

Moderator: Larry Rivers, Florida A & M University

Papers: David Colburn, University of Florida, and
Steven Lawson, University of South Florida
"Florida's Little Scottsboro"Glenda Rabbi, Florida State University
"Struggle for Civil Rights: The Tallahassee Story"Raymond A. Mohl, Florida State University
"Politics of Ethnicity in Miami, 1960-1985"

Evening Program

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

Presiding: Randy Nimnicht, president

Speaker: Hampton Dunn, Tampa
"Fifty Years on the Front Row"

Presentation of Awards

Florida History Fair Awards
Presented by Paul S. George

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History
Presented by David R. Colburn to John H. Hann

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize
Presented by Thelma Peters to David R. Colburn

Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize
Presented by Charlton W. Tebeau to Patrick D. Smith

Florida Historical Confederation Awards
Presented by Patricia Wickman

Saturday, May 3

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

Session III: *The Seminole Wars: A Roundtable*

Moderator: John Mahon, University of Florida

Panel: George Buker, Jacksonville University
Harry Kersey, Florida Atlantic University
James Covington, University of Tampa
Frank Laumer, Dade City

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

May 1, 1986

Randy F. Nimnicht, president of the Florida Historical Society, called the 1986 spring meeting of the Society's board of directors to order at 7:15 P.M., May 1, 1986, at the Manatee County Historical Records Library, Bradenton. Present were Lucius F. Ellsworth, president-elect; Paul S. George, vice-president; Linda K. Williams, recording secretary; Samuel Proctor, editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*; Thomas D. Greenhaw, editor, *Florida History Newsletter*; Gary Mormino, executive director; and directors: J. Earle Bowden, Gregory Bush, David R. Colburn, Alva L. Jones, Wright Langley, Mary C. Linehan, Raymond A.

Mohl, Owen North, George F. Pearce, Olive D. Peterson, Larry E. Rivers, Daniel L. Schafer, Michael Slicker, William M. Straight, Kyle S. VanLandingham, and Patricia Bartlett, vice-chair of the Florida Historical Confederation. Joining the meeting were Hayes Kennedy, finance committee member, Patsy West, and Samuel Boldrick. Richard Brook, Jr., was absent.

The minutes of the December 7, 1985, board meeting were approved as printed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (April 1986), 490-97.

Dr. Greenhaw reported on the status of the *Florida History Newsletter*. At a meeting in March, called to review the *Newsletter*, there were several recommendations, which will be implemented in future issues. Graphics will be included when possible.

Mrs. Bartlett announced that over 100 persons are attending the Confederation workshop which is being financed in part by a \$4,000 grant from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. The Confederation's executive committee met April 30 to work on the resource handbook, which is being funded by the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Department of State. The Confederation awards this year will go to Kathy Pickel for her education program and publications: *Changes: Indian River County History for Elementary School Studies* and *Teachers Edition*, and to Dr. Dorothy Dodd of Tallahassee, in whose honor the Distinguished Service Award was created. New committee members are Susan Clark, for a second term, Robert Burke, Kendrick Ford, and Andrew Brian. President Nimnicht commended the Confederation for its work during this past year.

Dr. Ellsworth reported on the activities of the Confederation study committee which met in March to review the purpose of the *Newsletter* and its relationship to the Confederation. In the report circulated to all Society board members, the study committee recommended that the directors reaffirm the role of the Confederation. It provides still another way for the Florida Historical Society to help, advise, and support community, county, and regional historical organizations. The primary function of the *Florida History Newsletter* is to provide pertinent history information to persons and organizations who are affiliated with the Florida Historical Society.

At the December 1986 meeting Dr. Greenhaw and Dr. Mormino will present recommendations for changes and expansion

of the *Newsletter*. Dr. Ellsworth moved for adoption of the committee's recommendations, with two changes: to include, in section 2, interpretation along with the study of Florida history, and an annual, not per issue, budget ceiling of \$3,500. The motion passed. Mr. Nimnicht urged board members to recruit new members for the Confederation.

In his report, Dr. Mormino noted several of the Society's activities. Notwithstanding an increase in dues, membership had increased more than twenty-five per cent in the past two years. As of April 28, 1986, there were 1,661 members in the Society. Each member costs the Society between \$12-\$13 per year, while the average annual revenue is \$23.00 per member. Dr. Mormino predicts 2,000 members by the time of the annual meeting in May 1987. Dr. Ellsworth complimented Dr. Mormino on his activities in securing new members. It was noted that the Society loses a number of members annually who do not renew their memberships. Board members will be asked to urge these people to continue their involvement in the Society. Dr. Mormino is planning several membership drives, using the mailing lists of the *American History Illustrated* as well as those from local societies.

Dr. Mormino gave a brief analysis of the financial status for 1985. There was a net balance of \$11,173.90. After deducting the restricted accounts, there was an increase of \$5,201.24 in the general account. During the past year the literary prize money was taken from operational accounts. The \$25,000 invested in government securities in December 1985 has increased to \$27,251. Hayes Kennedy has been administering the Society's investment accounts, and he reports a balance of more than \$90,000. Fund-raising letters mailed in October 1985 resulted in more than \$2,000 in gifts.

At Dr. Mormino's request, Dr. Colburn moved and Dr. Proctor seconded a motion that \$3,000 be transferred into the Julian Yonge Publication Fund from the Society's operating account. The motion passed.

Mr. Bowden moved and Dr. Rivers seconded a motion that the annual literary prizes be each increased from \$150 to \$200. Dr. Proctor announced that Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau has made an additional gift of \$1,000 to the endowment for the Tebeau Book Prize. Dr. Rivers suggested that in addition to a cash award, a certificate should be given to prize winners.

Dr. Proctor moved that the finance committee transfer

\$15,000 of restricted funds from savings accounts into higher yield accounts. The motion carried. Dr. Proctor explained that money received for permission to reprint articles from the *Quarterly* has heretofore been deposited in the Julien Yonge Publication Fund. He moved that such money go into a special fund to support the Patrick Prize which does not have an endowment. The motion carried.

There was discussion on how best to secure funds to pay for staff positions. Dr. Mormino announced the provisions of the \$4,250 grant from the Saunders Foundation. Millie St. Julian has been appointed assistant director for a six-month period.

In his report on the status of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Dr. Proctor noted that the journal is interested in receiving articles relating to all aspects of Florida's history and people, and publications that are appropriate for the book review and book notes sections of the journal. Photographs are needed for the *Quarterly* covers. Dr. Proctor thanked his editorial board and the University of Florida for their continuing support.

Dr. Proctor announced the winners of the three literary prizes for 1985-1986. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize will be awarded to John H. Hann for his article, "Demographic Patterns and Changes in Mid-Seventeenth Century Timucua and Apalachee," which appeared in the April 1986 issue of the *Quarterly*. Judges were George E. Pozetta, Lucius Ellsworth, and Jerrell Shofner. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Prize will be presented to David Colburn for his book, *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida 1877-1980*. Judges were James McGovern, Lee Warner, and Michael Gannon. The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award will be given to Patrick D. Smith for *A Land Remembered*. Judges were Kyle VanLandingham, Daniel Hobby, and Norman Simon. The awards will be presented at the banquet.

Dr. Proctor reported on his discussion with Dr. Karen Sang about the compilation of an index for the *Quarterly* beginning with volume 54. The printing estimate is \$6,000 for 3,000 copies. Dr. Proctor moved that we contract with Dr. Sang to do the work, with payment from the Julien Yonge Publication Fund. The motion carried. President Nimnicht asked the Executive Director to investigate matching grant possibilities to finance this project. Dr. Proctor reported that Dr. Jerrell Shofner has begun selecting the articles for the Florida history reading book, and that he will make the manuscript available to the edi-

torial committee for comment and suggestions. Dr. Proctor concluded his report by announcing his own future personal intention to retire as editor of the *Quarterly* in the next few years. Dr. Colburn indicated to the board that the University of Florida would like to keep the editorship of the *Quarterly* in Gainesville.

Dr. Mormino announced that Windsor Publications and Continental Heritage Press have approached the Society about the publication of an illustrated history of Florida. Dr. Ellsworth explained that with Continental Heritage Press, the Society would receive seven and one-half per cent of gross sales plus 250 books. With Windsor it would be five per cent of gross sales and fifty books. He moved that the president be authorized to appoint a committee to enter into negotiations with Continental Heritage Press and to proceed with the project if a contract agreement is reached. Target date for publication is December 1987. Discussion followed on the proposed committee's responsibilities to protect the Society's rights in contract negotiations and in the selection of an author. J. Earle Bowden will chair the committee, whose members are Charlton Tebeau, Kyle VanLandingham, and Janet Snyder Matthews.

Dr. George reported on the results of the History Fair for 1985. The judges were Alva L. Jones, Mary C. Linehan, Pete Peterson, and Gerald McSwiggan. Mr. McSwiggan contributed \$500 to support the Fair. Dr. Rivers moved and Dr. Ellsworth seconded a motion that the Society sever relations with the National History Fair since that organization has requested \$3,000 from the state. After some discussion, the motion was amended to continue the Society's association with the Fair (at a cost of \$850) for 1986-1987, and to plan separate guidelines for the 1987-1988 year. The motion carried.

Dr. Rivers reported on the President's Award, to be given annually for the best essays written by an undergraduate student and graduate student on some aspect of Florida history. A gift of \$5,000 has been offered from a private donor, which will be matched. Interest from this endowment will provide the cash prizes. Mr. Nimmicht announced that a gift of \$500 has been received from Glen Dill to support the project. Dr. Proctor noted that the winning essays may be published in the *Quarterly*.

Slicker, chair of the Library Committee, reported on the satisfactory status of the Society's library.

Dr. Mormino announced that the next annual meeting will be held in St. Augustine, May 8-9, 1987. It will be co-sponsored

by the St. Augustine Historic Preservation Board and the St. Augustine Historical Society, with local arrangements being coordinated by Dr. Thomas Graham, Susan Clark, and Amy Turner Bushnell. The Confederation will hold its workshop in St. Augustine on May 7, 1987. The Society has been invited to Sanford for its 1988 meeting.

Ms. Williams, chair of the nominating committee, thanked her committee which included J. Leitch Wright, William Adams, Alva Jones, Teresa Horrow, and Paul George. She announced that the following slate for 1986-1987 will be recommended to the membership: president-elect, Dr. Paul George; vice-president, Hampton Dunn; and secretary, Michael Slicker. For directors, the following slate is being proposed: Patricia Bartlett for a one-year term replacing Michael Slicker; Gwendolyn Waldorf and Amy Turner Bushnell from district 1; Robert C. Harris from district 2; and Patsy West and Gerald McSwiggan, at-large directors.

Dr. Mormino is planning a one-day seminar to be held in St. Petersburg. The theme will be Florida journalism and it will be supported by the University of South Florida and a grant from the Poynter Foundation. The December meeting of the board of directors is scheduled for December 6, at the Society's headquarters at the University of South Florida.

Dr. Colburn reported on the status of the Society's collections of artifacts and memorabilia. An inventory has been completed on the items stored at the Florida State Museum. Dr. Colburn recommends that these materials remain at their present locations. Dr. Mormino will investigate insurance for the high value items.

Mr. VanLandingham moved that the board recommend two by-law changes to the membership. Article II, Section 2: add "The Board shall appoint the editor of the *Florida History Newsletter* as an officer of the Society, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board. His/Her duties shall consist of serving as editor of the *Newsletter* and overseeing the publication of the *Newsletter* three times yearly." Article IX, Section 1: "The assets and archives of the Florida Historical Society shall, in the event of the dissolution of the organization, be donated to a state or a local history society or agency in Florida. The decision shall be made by the board of the Florida Historical Society." The motion was approved.

Dr. Ellsworth reported that Secretary of State George Fire-

stone has established a State Preservation Advisory Council to prepare a legislative proposal of plans for the Quincentenary Celebration of the Columbus voyage. Mr. Nimnicht will represent the Florida Historical Society on the committee.

The meeting was adjourned at 10: 15 P.M.

Minutes of the Business Meeting

May 2, 1986

President Bandy F. Nimnicht called the annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society to order at the Manatee Village Historical Park, Bradenton, on Saturday, May 2, 1986, at 9:20 A.M. Dr. Gary Mormino gave his report as executive director. Membership has increased from 1,300 in 1982, to 1,661 in 1986. He requested mailing lists from local historical organizations to enable the Society to solicit other members. The Society's operation will be even more efficient because of the new word processor in the office. This purchase was made possible by a grant from the Saunders Foundation. Millie St. Julian has been appointed as part-time associate director. Dr. Mormino reported that the Society ended the last fiscal year with a net profit of \$6,000, in addition to the interest earned on restricted funds. The amount of the prizes for each literary award has been increased from \$150 to \$200. The Florida Endowment for the Humanities awarded a grant of \$4,000 to the Confederation workshop. Dr. Mormino thanked William Goza for the \$1,000 check from the Wentworth Foundation. This is an annual contribution to support the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Dr. Mormino gave the *Florida Historical Quarterly* report in the absence of Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor. Dr. Proctor thanked his editorial assistants, editorial board, staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Dr. Gary Mormino, Dick Johnston of the E. O. Painter Printing Company, and the University of Florida and the Florida State Museum for their support. The editor of the *Quarterly* encourages the submission of articles on all periods of Florida history from both professional and non-professional historians. All manuscript material must be typed and double-spaced. Footnotes, typed and double-spaced, go at the end of the article. The *Quarterly* is interested in publishing reviews of all books, booklets, monographs, pamphlets, etc., de-

aling with any aspect of Florida history, including community and county histories. Review books should carry price and ordering information. If both a hardback and a paperback edition are published, the hardback should be sent as the review copy.

Mr. VanLandingham read the two proposed changes to the by-laws that are being recommended by the board of directors: addition to article II, section 2: "The Board shall appoint the Editor of the *Florida History Newsletter* as an officer of the Society, who shall serve at the pleasure of the Board. His/Her duties shall consist of serving as Editor of the *Newsletter* and overseeing publication of the *Newsletter* three times yearly;" article IX, section 1: "The assets and archives of the Florida Historical Society shall, in the event of the dissolution of the organization, be donated to a state or local historical society or agency in Florida. The decision shall be made by the board of the Florida Historical Society." This is required for tax-exemption in the state of Florida. Both changes were adopted.

President Nimnicht announced a new President's Prize to be given by the Society. A \$5,000 gift has been offered by an anonymous donor, which the Society must match during the next three years. Dr. Ellsworth explained that beginning in 1988 the President's Prize will be given annually for the best article written by an undergraduate and a graduate student at a Florida college, university, or community college. Glen Dill presented a check for \$500 towards matching the President's Prize grant.

Linda Williams, chair of the Nominating Committee, thanked the other committee members, J. Leitch Wright, William Adams, Alva Jones, Teresa Horrow, and Paul George, for their work in preparing the following proposed slate: Paul George, president-elect; Hampton Dunn, vice-president; Michael Slicker, recording secretary; and directors: Patricia Bartlett, for a one year term, district 1; Gwendolyn Waldorf and Amy Turner Bushnell, district 1; Robert C. Harris, district 2; and Patsy West and Gerald McSwiggan, at-large. Charles Williamson seconded the slate, which passed.

President Nimnicht thanked the following officers and directors whose terms were ending, for their past service on the Board: Olive D. Peterson, Linda K. Williams, Daniel L. Schafer, George F. Pearce, Alva L. Jones, Mary C. Linehan, and Richard Brooke, Jr.

Mr. Nimnicht reported on his two-year period as president of the Society. Working with Dr. Ellsworth and the members of

the board of directors, the following goals were reached: upgrading the executive secretary's position to executive director, and appointing Dr. Gary Mormino as executive director; assessing the Society's library; revising the by-laws; redefining the role of the Florida Historical Confederation; redefining the relationship of the Society with the University of South Florida; defining our restricted funds; increasing membership; and providing better financial and program stability for the Society.

Dr. Ellsworth announced that the Tallahassee Historical Society is directing a statewide effort to raise \$800 to restore the Florida monument in the Gettysburg National Park. It will also coordinate the rededication of the monument in 1987.

Dr. Lucius Ellsworth was installed as the new president, and he presented a plaque to Mr. Nimmicht in recognition of his service to the Society.

President Ellsworth announced that the next annual meeting of the Society and Confederation will be held in St. Augustine, May 7-9, 1987. The program chairs are Dr. Herbert J. Doherty and Linda Williams. Other members are David Colburn and William M. Goza. Dr. Thomas Graham, Susan Clark, and Dr. Amy Turner Bushnell are in charge of local arrangements. Milton Jones is chairing the nominating committee. The board of directors will hold its mid-winter meeting on December 6 at the University of South Florida.

Kyle VanLandingham offered the following resolutions, which were seconded and passed unanimously:

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society recognizes that Pine Island in Township 50 South, Range 41 East, Sections 17 and 20 of Broward County, is a historically sensitive area which should be preserved. Prior to development, we recommend that the Island receive a full-scale historical survey in order to determine specific sites which should receive further attention.

WHEREAS the 450th anniversary of the landing of the Hernando de Soto expedition takes place in 1989; and WHEREAS the de Soto expedition has great historical significance for Floridians and all the other people of the United States; and WHEREAS much additional study and research must be pursued in order to develop the information needed to properly commemorate this highly significant event.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society supports the State of Florida in its effort to commemo-

rate the de Soto Trail and foster research on the de Soto expedition, its impact on aboriginal populations, and its importance to our State's heritage.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society expresses its sorrow and sense of loss in the death of the following members during the past year:

Richard E. Bozeman, Gulfport, Florida
Henry Chester Hamilton, Monticello, Florida
Rubi G. Jackson, Fort Pierce, Florida
Lydia F. Keefe, Jacksonville, Florida
Carl D. King, Bradenton, Florida
Marjorie Smither, Fort Pierce, Florida
W. W. Thompson, Arlington, Virginia

The meeting was then adjourned.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION
Executive Committee Meeting
May 1, 1986

The general meeting of the Florida Historical Confederation was called to order by Patricia R. Wickman, at 1: 15 P.M. on May 1, 1986, at the Holiday Inn Riverfront, Bradenton. Ms. Wickman extended a special welcome to Florida Historical Society president, Randy Nimnicht, and president-elect, Lucius Ellsworth.

Patricia Bartlett read the minutes of the last meeting, and they were accepted as read. The treasurer's report was presented by Dr. Gary Mormino. There is a current balance of \$2,100, pending changes, as a result of the grant from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. Dr. Mormino also reported a membership total of eighty members. Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, requested more news for the publication.

Ms. Wickman presented the Awards Committee report. The Education award is being presented to Kathy Pickel for her pro-

gram and publication *Changes*; she was nominated by the Indian River Historical Society. A plaque will be presented to Dr. Dorothy Dodd in recognition of her many contributions to Florida history. The Dorothy Dodd Distinguished Service Award has been established by the Confederation in her honor.

The notebooks and dividers have been received for the Confederation's Florida History Resource Notebook. These have been provided through the support of the Division of Historical Resources, State of Florida. The notebooks will be available to members in 1987.

The ad hoc committee that is reviewing the organizational structure of the Confederation will meet this weekend at a time and place to be announced by Daniel Hobby. Ms. Wickman reported that, at the meeting of the Florida Historical Society's ad hoc committee to review the Society's *Newsletter*, it was recommended that the Society reaffirm its strong support of the Confederation and the utilization of the *Newsletter* as a means of providing members of the Confederation with pertinent information and news. A plan will be presented at the board meeting in December 1987 describing a larger and more graphic *Newsletter*.

The next annual meeting of the Confederation will be held in St. Augustine on May 7, 1987, together with the Florida Historical Society. Possible themes for workshops include staffing of historical agencies, living history interpretation, and research in museums. Suggestions for other topics are welcomed.

Henry Mannheimer announced, on behalf of the Tallahassee Historical Society, a goal to raise \$800 in order to participate in the restoration of the Florida monument at Gettysburg National Park. Organizations or persons interested in cooperating with this project should contact Mary Louise Ellis, president of the Society.

A request was made by Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, for the submission of photographs to be used as covers of that publication. Suitable pictures should be black and white glossy prints. Societies and organizations are also encouraged to submit books and other publications for review in the *Quarterly*. Information concerning prices and ordering should be included.

Outgoing Society president Randy Nimnicht expressed his gratitude to past Confederation officers and meeting participants for the excellent work they are doing and have done. He

strongly urged all state historical organizations to join the Confederation.

The nominating committee— Daniel Hobby, chairman, Rodney Dillon and Robert Harris— recommended the following slate: Robert Burke and Susan Clarke (second term), district 1; Kenneth Ford, district 2; and J. Andrew Brian, district 3. The proposed slate was adopted.

Ms. Wickman introduced Michael J. Carrigan, assistant director of the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institute, who spoke to the group concerning the technical and support resources available to Florida historical organizations in Washington. He noted the importance of viewing the state's agencies as part of the national museum community. He also praised the Confederation for its promulgation of the *Florida Historical Directory* and the forthcoming "Florida History Resource Notebook."

The meeting was adjourned at 1:45 P.M.

Respectfully submitted
Linda K. Williams

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY 1985-1986

The Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented a check for \$1,000 to help support the activities of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Other gifts were received from Arthur Loy and Elizabeth Jackson Morton. Books and periodicals were received from Lucius and Linda Ellsworth, Kathy Pickel, Cathryn Garth Lancaster, Fred Farris, the Tampa Historical Society, the New Jersey Historical Society, Allen Morris, Jerrell Shofner, the University Presses of Florida, University Press of North Carolina, the University of South Florida Library Association, and Columbia University Press. A collection of *Florida Historical Quarterly*lies were the gift of Mrs. Ruby Jane Hancock.

TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1, 1985– December 31, 1985

Net Worth, December 31, 1985	\$109,357.34
<i>Current Assets:</i>	
University State Bank (Tampa, FHS checking)	6,341.13
University State Bank (Florida Historical Confederation checking)	1,730.09
First Federal Savings & Loan, Gainesville	1,284.54
Florida Federal Savings & Loan (Thompson Fund, Gainesville)	4,696.34
Glendale Federal Savings & Loan, Tampa	4,740.67
Florida Federal Savings & Loan (Yonge Publication Fund, Gainesville)	1,050.87
University State Bank, Tampa	3,154.96
Freedom Federal Savings & Loan, Tampa	9,516.74
E. F. Hutton	76,716.00
Middle South Utilities (126 shares)	126.00
Total Assets	109,357.34
<i>Receipts:</i>	
<i>Memberships:</i>	
Annual	11,772.00
Family	4,125.00
Contribution	1,450.00
Library	8,277.50
Historical Societies	795.00
Student	305.00
Florida Historical Confederation (Annual)	250.00
<i>Contributions:</i>	
Transfer	2,770.00
<i>Other Receipts:</i>	
Quarterly Sales	280.05
Index	25.42
Duplicating	231.74
Labels	150.00
Photographs	552.15
Microfilm	290.00
Directory	6.00
<i>Interest income:</i>	
First Federal	68.73
Florida Federal	251.30
Glendale Federal	253.70
Florida Federal	29.39
University State Bank	166.95
Freedom Federal	509.25
<i>Dividends Income:</i>	
E. F. Hutton	7,393.00
Middle South Utilities	5.34
<i>Annual Meeting:</i>	
Expenses	230.95
Total Receipts	40,928.47
<i>Disbursements:</i>	
<i>Florida Historical Quarterly:</i>	
Printing and Mailing	14,682.52

Mailer Labels and Envelopes	616.39
Post Office Box Rental	29.00
Copyright	80.00
Editor	1,000.00
University of Florida Teaching Resources Center (photographs)	—
<i>Annual Meeting:</i>	
Expenses	—
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize	150.00
Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prize	150.00
Charlton W. Tebeau Award	150.00
<i>Other Expenses:</i>	
<i>Florida Historical Society Newsletter</i>	1,886.08
Postage	2,206.67
Telephone	315.15
Duplicating and labels	613.67
Educational Resources	445.91
Supplies	1,918.15
Travel	89.25
Insurance	100.00
C.P.A. (preparing income tax)	75.00
Taxes	23.00
History Fair	1,178.09
Florida Historical Confederation Administrative	208.29
Books	173.20
Florida Historical Society Bank charges	8.38
Florida Historical Confederation Bank charges	7.32
Stationary	152.00
Total Disbursements	29,754.57
Net Income	11,173.90
Balance, December 31, 1985	109,357.34

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1986

Oct. 23 -25	Oral History Association	Long Beach, CA
Nov. 7- 8	Federal Writers' Project Symposium	Fort Lauderdale, FL
Nov 7- 8	Florida State Genealogical Society	Tallahassee, FL
Nov. 7-9	Southern Jewish Historical Association	Fort Lauderdale, FL
Nov. 12-15	Southern Historical Association	Charlotte, NC
Nov. 13 -15	Florida Museums Association	Tallahassee, FL
Dec. 27- 30	American Historical Association	Chicago, IL

1987

Feb. 26 - 28	Southern Humanities Conference	Nashville, TN
Apr. 2 - 5	Organization of American Historians	Philadelphia, PA
Apr. 9 - 11	Fifth Citadel Confer- ence on the South	Charleston, SC
May 5 - 7	Society of Florida Archivists	Orlando, FL
May 7	Florida Historical Confederation	St. Augustine, FL
May 8 -10	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 85th MEETING	St. Augustine, FL

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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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All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Gary R. Mormino, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, FL 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Mormino.

