

# COVER

Bahamian workers arriving in Miami for work in Florida fields, April 1943 Photograph courtesy of State Photographic Archives, Tallahassee.

# The Florida Historical Quarterly



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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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# BLACK IMMIGRANTS: BAHAMIANS IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY MIAMI

by RAYMOND A. MOHL

Main is generally thought of as a new immigrant city—a city that only recently became the haven of Caribbean and Latin American exiles and refugees. Until the first big wave of Cubans began to arrive in 1959, Miami seemed the quintessential tourist town and retirement haven. From the 1920s through the 1950s, sun and surf, gambling and horse racing, and endless promotional extravaganzas helped to shape Miami's public image. The fact is, however, that Miami has always had a magnetic attraction for peoples of the Caribbean. Indeed, the magnitude and diversity of current immigration to Miami tends to mask the fact that the city had a substantial foreign—born ingredient from its early days in the 1890s. Black immigrants from the Bahamas, in particular, gave immigration to Miami its special character in the early years of the twentieth century.

The extent of the Bahamian influx to Florida's new tourist town is revealed in the United States census reports. Miami had only a few hundred people when it was incorporated as a city in 1896. By 1900, the population had increased to 1,681, including a sizable number of black immigrants from the Bahamas. Over the next twenty years, the Bahamian influx helped to swell the population. By 1920, when Miami's population stood at 29,571, the foreign-born made up one-quarter of the total population. More than sixty-five per cent of Miami's foreign-born residents were blacks from the West Indies. Black islanders, almost all from the Bahamas, totaled 4,815. They comprised fifty-two per cent of all Miami's blacks and 16.3 per cent of the city's entire population. By 1920, Miami had a larger

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population of black immigrants than any other city in the United States except New York.<sup>1</sup>

The story of how Miami became a destination for black immigrants from the Bahamas begins early in Florida history. Bahamian blacks had been familiar with Florida's lower east coast, and particularly the Florida Keys, long before the building of Miami. In the early nineteenth century, when Florida was isolated and undeveloped, the area was commonly frequented by Bahamian fishermen, wreckers, and seamen, as well as traders who dealt with the Seminole Indians. According to one Bahamian writer, these early visitors regarded Florida "much as another island of the Bahamas." In fact, many black Bahamians first arrived in the islands from Florida as slaves of the 3.200 British Loyalists who fled after the American Revolution. Still later, in the early nineteenth century, numbers of Seminole Negroes from Florida settled on Andros Island. Through the middle years of the nineteenth century, British officials in the Bahamas made sporadic efforts to recruit black immigrants from the American South. Thus, from an early date Bahamians were knowledgeable about Florida, and many Bahamians immigrated to the islands from there.2

But a reverse migration had also begun by the midnineteenth century. Unlike the rest of the British West Indies, plantation agriculture was never very successful or profitable in the Bahamas. Only about two per cent of the total Bahamian land area of about 4,000 square miles was considered suitable for crops. Most nineteenth-century Bahamians earned a livelihood from the sea or from subsistence agriculture. By the 1830s, black and white Bahamians were beginning to migrate to the

- U. S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population, II (Washington, 1913), 332; U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population, II (Washington, 1922), 760, 795.
- 2. Quotation from Larry Smith, "Coconut Grove: Bahamian Roots in Florida," Nassau Tribune, October 12, 1977, clipping file, Miami-Dade Public Library, Miami. See also, Gail Saunders, Bahamian Loyalists and Their Slaves (London, 1983), 1-17; Sharon Wells, Forgotten Legacy: Blacks in Nineteenth Century Key West (Key West, 1982), 7-9. The Bahamas Public Records Office (hereinafter cited as Bahamas PRO) in Nassau contains a thick sheaf of correspondence detailing British efforts to recruit black immigrants to the Bahamas from the United States. See Emigration and Immigration File, 1803-1921, Bahamas PRO.

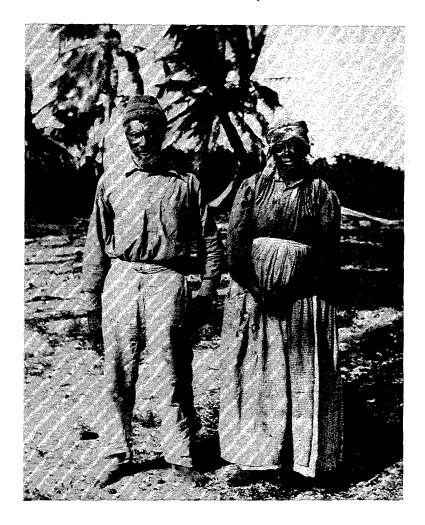
Florida Keys, especially Key West, where they worked in fishing, sponging, and turtling. The distance was short, and jobs in Florida paid cash wages. Facing meagre economic prospects at home, free Bahamian blacks found better employment opportunities in Key West. By 1892, according to a recent study of blacks in the city, "8,000 of the 25,000 people in Key West were Bahamians and sponging was their mainstay." A large majority of Key West blacks can trace their ancestry to Bahamian origins.<sup>3</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, a second stream of Bahamian blacks had begun arriving on Florida's lower east coast for seasonal work in the region's emerging agricultural industry. As a result, after about 1890 these newcomers from the Bahamas served as an early migrant labor force in Florida agriculture. Until about 1900, one chronicler of early south Florida has noted, "all of our heavy laborers were Bahamian negroes." The scrubby pine and oolitic limestone topography of south Florida was similar to that of the islands. The Bahamians "knew how to plant" on this land, and they brought in "their own commonly used trees, vegetables, and fruits." Thus, they demonstrated to native American planters the rich agricultural potential of what seemed at first a desolate and forbidding land.<sup>4</sup>

The building up of Miami after 1896 created new opportunities for Bahamian immigrants. Indeed, black Bahamian immigrants were attracted to Miami for the same reasons that European immigrants poured into the industrial cities of the northeast and midwest at the turn of the century. The new and rapidly growing resort center provided opportunities for better jobs and higher wages than they had known in the islands. As one Bahamian historian put it, "wonderful things were going on in Miami, and there was a great demand for labour there . . . . A remarkable building boom was on, and any Bahamian who wanted a job could find it." According to Bahamian population studies, ten to twelve thousand Bahamians left the islands for

Wells, Forgotten Legacy, 7, 12-13; Robert C. West and John P. Augelli, Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), 233–26; Sandra Riley, Homeward Bound: A History of the Bahama Islands to 1850 with a Definitive Study of Abaco in the American Loyalist Plantation Period (Miami, 1983). 228-31.

George E. Merrick, "Pre-Flagler Influences on the Lower Florida East Coast," Tequesta 1 (March 1941), 5; Thelma Peters, Biscayne Country, 1870-1926 (Miami, 1981), 229, 239.



The "Boss" and the "Cook," Plantation Key, 1895. All photographs courtesy of Historical Association of Southern Florida.

Florida between 1900 and 1920– about one-fifth of the entire population of the Bahamas.  $^5$ 

The economic lure of the United States had a powerful influence in the West Indies, as it did in Italy, Greece, and other parts of southern and eastern Europe at the same time. John Wright, a Bahamian immigrant interviewed by Ira De Augustine Reid for his book, The Negro Immigrant, recounted a typical immigrant's story. Agriculture was depressed and job prospects discouraging in the Bahamas, Wright said, and many young Bahamians were sailing west to Florida to make their fortunes. "Miami was a young Magic City where money could be 'shaken from trees'," Wright noted. "Home-returning pilgrims told exaggerated tales of their fame and fortune in the 'promised land'. As convincing evidence to their claims, they dressed flashily and spent American dollars lavishly and prodigally. Those American dollars had a bewitching charm for a country lad who worked for wages ranging from 36 to 50 cents a day. Moreover, the splendid appearance of those boys from the States stood out in striking contrast to us ill-fashionably clad country lads." At age nineteen, and with his parents' permission, Wright arrived in Miami in 1911, along with more than 3,200 other Bahamian immigrants.6

The Bahamian immigration to Florida in the early twentieth century represented only one aspect of a larger pattern of Caribbean migration. As geographer Bonham C. Richardson noted in his study, *Caribbean Migrants*, "West Indians have for generations migrated from and returned to their islands to sustain their local societies. In many smaller Caribbean islands, migration traditions are so pervasive and of such long standing that they are a way of life." Centuries of plantation agriculture in the Caribbean islands resulted in extensive deforestation and consequent soil erosion. These ecological disasters severely affected island agricultural patterns, making it difficult to produce a sufficient food supply and provide full agricultural employment. As a result, migration became a form of economic adaptation,

Paul Albury, The Story of the Bahamas (London, 1975), 168-69; Bahamas Government, Demographic Aspects of the Bahamas Population, 1901-1974 (Nassau, 1976), 5.

<sup>6.</sup> Ira De A. Reid, The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937 (New York, 1939), 184–85.

an essential economic strategy that enabled Caribbean people to survive despite their depleted and insufficiently productive lands.<sup>7</sup>

Caribbean migration actually began in a substantial way in the mid-nineteenth century. The destination, at first, was Panama. In the early 1850s, when an American company began building a railroad across the Isthmus, several thousand Jamaicans were recruited for the heavy clearing and construction work. When a French company began work on the Panama Canal in 1881, some 35,000 Jamaican laborers migrated to Panama within three years. That project failed by the end of the decade, but in 1905, the American controlled Isthmian Canal Commission resumed the building project. Over the next decade, about 150,000 West Indians migrated to Panama for canal labor.<sup>8</sup>

The Panama Canal migrations provided, perhaps, the most dramatic early example of the mobility of the Caribbean work force. By the early twentieth century. Caribbean workers were on the move throughout the region. Jamaicans and Barbadians labored on sugar, banana, and coffee plantations in Trinidad. Colombia, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica. Haitians cut sugar cane in the Dominican Republic, Cubans rolled cigars in Key West and Tampa, while Cuba itself attracted workers from both Haiti and Jamaica. The opening of oil fields in Venezuela in 1916 drew black workers from Barbados, Trinidad, and Curacao. Puerto Ricans were coming to the United States long before the massive post-World War II migrant waves. Residents of smaller islands in the British Caribbean moved to larger ones in search of employment, while British colonial officials tried to fill changing labor needs by permitting the importation of first Chinese, and later, East Indian indentured workers-a migration pattern that continued intil 1917. The Caribbean, in short, had developed incredibly complex pat-

Bonham C. Richardson, Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis (Knoxville, 1983), xi, 6, 172.
 Stephen Knox, "The Men Who Dug the Canal," Caribbean and West Indies

Stephen Knox, "The Men Who Dug the Canal," Caribbean and West Indies Chronicle 100 (February/March 1985), 24; Malcolm J. Proudfoot, Population Movements in the Caribbean (Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, 1950), 14-15; Bonham C. Richardson, Panama Money in Barbados, 1900-1920 (Knoxville, 1985), 3; Michael L. Conniff, Black Labor on a White Canal: Panama, 1904-1981 (Pittsburgh, 1985), 4.



Coconut Grove Bahamian in Sunday best, late nineteenth century.

terns of "livelihood migration" by the early decades of the twentieth century. 9

The Bahamian migration experience was part of the larger Caribbean labor migration pattern. By the 1890s the islanders' migratory urge had intensified. The governor's official report for 1898 noted that Bahamian laborers were in demand as stevedores and deck hands on steam ships engaged in the fruit and lumber trade to Central America. Ships from United States ports had begun to call at islands in the southern Bahamas, particularly Inagua, Mayaguana, and Long Cay. Signed to labor contracts, the Bahamian workers traveled on these ships to ports in Panama, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, where they unloaded and loaded cargo, and then were dropped off again at their

9. Dawn I. Marshall, "The History of Caribbean Migrations: The Case of the West Indies," *Caribbean Review* 11 (Winter 1982), 6-9, 52-53; Proudfoot, *Population Movements in the Caribbean*, 13-17; Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants*, 8.

home islands as the steamers carried their cargos of bananas, lumber, and other products to Atlantic coastal cities in the United States. In 1899, sixty-nine steamers outbound from American ports called at Inagua, picking up almost 3,000 Bahamians for short-term shipboard and dock work in Central American ports. The new labor pattern, the governor opimistitally reported, "bids fair to become . . . an important source of prosperity by affording excellent remuneration for the unskilled labour which abounds in these Islands, but has hitherto sought in vain for an outlet."

Work on the steamers expanded horizons and opened new labor opportunities. Soon Bahamians were working all over Central America. Many worked for the United Fruit Company or the Hamburg-American Line as stevedores in Central American ports. Others worked for railroads in Panama and Mexico, as canal laborers in Panama, or as contract laborers in the lumber trade, on banana and coffee plantations, or clearing land and building roads in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Colombia, British Honduras, and Spanish Honduras. In fact, the American consular agent at Inagua served as well as a labor agent for private United States companies, supplying by 1906 as many as 150 Bahamians a month for contract work in Panama, Mexico, and Nicaragua. 11

Contract labor in Central America had its costs, however. Bahamian workers were often exploited by unscrupulous labor agents and storekeepers. As Bahamas Governor Grey-Wilson noted in 1906 in an official dispatch to the Colonial Office, "the system under which coloured laborers are now shipped under contract from the Southern Islands of the Colony for service in Mexico & Panama is very far from satisfactory." Heavy charges for food and drink put the workers in debt to the company stores; workers were sometimes forced to labor for longer than

L. D. Powles, The Land of the Pink Pearl: or Recollections of Life in the Bahamas (London, 1888), 254, 271; Great Britain, Colonial Office, Bahamas: Report for 1898 (London, 1899), 49-50: Great Britain, Colonial Office, Bahamas: Report for 1899 (London, 1900), 47

Report for 1899 (London, 1900), 47

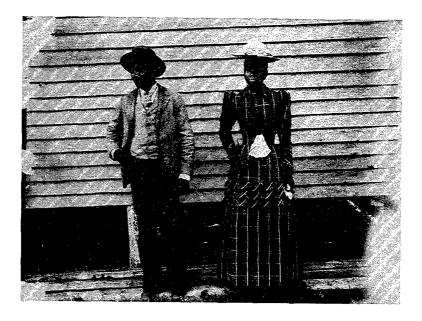
11. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Bahamas: Report for 1904-05 (London, 1905), 32-33; Great Britain, Colonial Office, Bahamas: Report for 1905-06 (London, 1906), 37; D. D. Sargent to Alvey A. Adee, U. S. State Department, January 26, 1905, Despatches from U. S. Consuls in Nassau, New Providence Island, 1821-1906, Record Group 59, microfilm edition, reel 24, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

contracted periods, or were discharged with little or no pay as a result of indebtedness to storekeepers. The abuses of the contract labor system led in 1907 to the passage of legislation in the Bahamas to protect these wandering Caribbean workers. Indeed, a labor migration that appeared to be a positive economic advantage in 1898 had become onerous to British officials in the Bahamas by 1905. The governor addressed the question in his report to the Colonial Office for 1904-1905: "It is questionable whether this movement of population in search of work is of any benefit to the interests of the Colony. . . . These islands are not over-populated, and by the same hard work which the labourers have to give on board ship, and working on the mainland of the Gulf, they could make as much at home with greater ease and less risk." British officials, apparently, prefered to keep the Bahamians on the land and maintain population stability.

But it was not to be. Indeed, soon after the turn of the twentieth century, a vast Bahamian migration to Miami began to dwarf the earlier contract labor migration to Panama and Central America. The Bahamian economy was in the midst of a great "squeeze," as new citrus and vegetable production in Florida competed with the output of the Bahamas. Rising American import duties on Bahamian agricultural production made superfluous much of the islands' pineapple, orange, grapefruit, banana, and tomato output. Both the sisal (hemp) and sponging industries fell on hard times, as well. At the same time, new economic opportunity beckoned in Florida with the building up of Miami after the mid-1890s, and the extension of Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railroad south from Miami into the Florida Keys after 1905. The introduction of regular steamship service between Miami and Nassau by the early twentieth century made the trip to Florida cheap and convenient for Bahamians. It was a classic case of immigration prompted by economic pushes and pulls- the same kinds of economic forces that lay behind the massive European migration to the United States during that same era. The changing economic pattern had a powerful impact on Bahamian migration trends.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12.</sup> W. Grey-Wilson to Colonial Office, June 11, 1906, Governor's Despatches, 1904-1912, Bahamas PRO; Bahamas: Report for 1904-05, 32.

Bahamas Government, Demographic Aspects of the Bahamas Population, 4-5;
 Michael Craton, A History of the Bahamas (London, 1962), 246-55;
 Anthony A. Thompson, An Economic History of the Bahamas (Nassau, 1979), 17-18.



Nat Simpson and Alice Burrows, Bahamian workers at Peacock Inn, Coconut Grove, late nineteenth century.

While Bahamians from the southern islands went off to contract labor in Central America, residents of the northern Bahamas tended to be among the first of the islanders attracted to Florida in this period. The governor's report for 1901 noted the decreasing population in Abaco, Bimini, and Harbour Island, and explained that "the decrease is mainly due to emigration to Florida." The trend continued over the next decade, as Bimini, Eleuthera, Harbour Island, Crooked Island, Rum Cay, Long Cay, and Inagua all had population losses ranging from three per cent to twenty-five per cent between 1901 and 1911. <sup>14</sup>

By that time, Bahamians from the southern islands had joined the migration stream to Florida. In a 1911 report on Bahamian contract laborers to the British Colonial Office, the

<sup>14.</sup> Great Britain, Colonial Office, Bahamas: Report for 1901-02 (London, 1902), 32; Bahamas Government, Report on the Census of the Bahama Islands, Taken on the 2nd April, 1911 (Nassau, 1911), 2.

colony's governor, W. Grey-Wilson, noted the beginnings of a shift in the destination of Bahamian migrant workers. An economic downturn in the United States in 1908, Grey-Wilson suggested, "paralyzed" the Central American mahogany industry, while the fruit steamers that had engaged numbers of Bahamian stevedores ceased to call at the southern islands. But new labor opportunities for these workers were opening up in Florida, the governor wrote: "Florida has been offering for free labour very much better terms than have hitherto been obtainable under contract. The draining of the Everglades and the development of the hinterland of Florida is proceeding apace, and I anticipate that the labourers of the Colony will find an adequate outlet in that direction." "15"

In Florida, the Bahamian newcomers found jobs in a variety of occupations and activities. The Bahamians were noted for their masonry skills. In particular, they were adept at building with the oolitic limestone common to the Bahamas and south Florida. Thus, Bahamian blacks who came to Miami after its founding in 1896 found work in the burgeoning construction industry. As Flagler pushed his railroad south into the Keys, some of the heavy clearing and grading work was assigned to Bahamians, along with another group of West Indian labor migrants- Cayman Islanders. The Bahamians also worked in local lumber yards and gravel pits, as stevedores on the docks, in the rail yards and terminals in the city, and, more generally, as day laborers in whatever jobs could be found in Miami's growing economy. Most of the Bahamian newcomers were men, but the emergence of Miami as a tourist resort provided special job opportunities for Bahamian women, especially as maids, cooks, and laundry and service workers in the city's new hotels and restaurants. In addition, Bahamians worked as domestic servants and caretakers for wealthy whites with permanent or winter residences in Miami. 16

Grey-Wilson to Lewis Harcourt, June 7, 1911, Governor's Despatches, 1904-1912, Bahamas PRO.

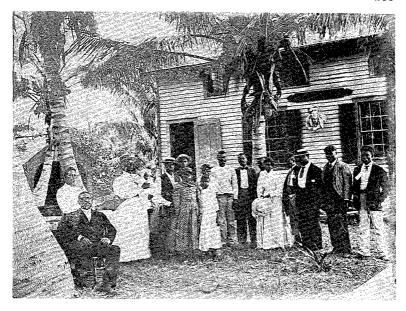
<sup>16.</sup> Merrick, "Pre-Flagler Influences," 5; Carlton J. Corliss, "Building the Overseas Railway to Key West," Tequesta 13 (1953), 16-17; Thelma Peters, Lemon City: Pioneering on Biscayne Bay, 1850-I925 (Miami, 1976), 230; Miami Metropolis, June 12, 1909. On Bahamian women "running away" to Miami, see Amelia Defries, The Fortunate Islands: Being Adventures with the Negro in the Bahamas (London, 1929), 15.

Agriculture prospered in the Miami area along with tourism. Given the agricultural pattern in the islands, it is not surprising that many Bahamians worked in the local citrus industry, particularly in and around Coconut Grove, a community near Miami where some Bahamians had lived since the 1880s, working primarily at an early hotel called the Peacock Inn. The Bahamian presence in Coconut Grove gave the area's black community "a distinctively island character that is still evident." They also labored in the expanding vegetable farms on Miami's agricultural fringe. Many of the Bahamians came as migrant laborers during harvest season, returning to the islands each summer. This pattern was especially evident during the World War I years, when the federal government sought to boost Florida agricultural production. Indeed, in the years before effective federal regulation of immigration, Bahamian blacks moved easily and at will between south Florida and the islands. 17

Manuscript census schedules for 1900 and 1910 give a more detailed picture of the black Bahamian immigrants in Miami. The McCloud family typified the early Bahamian presence in South Florida. Hiram McCloud, a forty-eight year old Bahamian, had come to the United States in 1878. The census described him as a "common laborer." He was a naturalized United States citizen. He rented his house in Coconut Grove, he could read but not write, and he had been unemployed for two months during the year. His thirty-nine year old wife, Clotilda, also came to the United States in 1878, although she was not yet a citizen. A "washerwoman" who worked continuously throughout the year, Clotilda could read and write. During twenty years of marriage, she had given birth to eight children, although only five were still living in 1900. The oldest child, Curtis McCloud, had been born in Florida in 1881, and was also working as a laborer. Four other children, ranging in age from five to fifteen, had all been born in Florida; two were attending school.18

 Manuscript Census Schedules, Dade County, 1900, microfilm edition, reel 167, National Archives.

Arva Moore Parks, "The History of Coconut Grove, Florida, 1821-1925," (master's thesis, University of Miami, 1971), 38-41; Bruce Porter and Marvin Dunn, The Miami Riot of 1980: Crossing the Bounds (Lexington, MA., 1984), 2; Paul S. George, "Criminal Justice in Miami, 1896-1930," (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1975), 185; Peters, Biscayne Country, 264; Helen Muir, Miami, U. S. A. (New York, 1963), 11.



Black Bahamian community of Coconut Grove, late nineteenth century.

The McClouds came to Florida before the establishment of Miami in 1896. Many other Bahamians arrived during the 1890s, typically young, single males who worked as farm laborers or fruit pickers. Few were naturalized American citizens. They lived together in groups of four and five in rented premises, or lodged with Bahamian families. Other occupations listed by the census enumerators for Bahamians included carpenter, fisherman, boatman, blacksmith's helper, deck hand, seamstress, dressmaker, cook, chambermaid, house servant, and "odd jobs." <sup>18</sup>

By 1910, the Bahamian community in Miami had increased to well over 1,500. Indeed, a veritable wave of new Bahamian immigrants had arrived in Miami in 1908 and 1909– an early boatlift from the islands that captured the attention of the city's leading newspaper, the *Miami Metropolis*. According to the paper, more than 1,400 Bahamians arrived in Miami during the

single year after July 1908, many of them temporary farm workers. They came fifty or sixty at a time on small schooners, often "so crowded with people that there was barely standing room on their decks." Apparently, these new arrivals were processed by immigration authorities, for the *Metropolis* noted that about ten per cent of the Bahamians were sent back to the islands after "failing to meet the requirements of the immigration laws."

The new wave of Bahamians worked extensively in citrus groves and vegetable fields. As the census schedules suggest, these workers tended to be young, single men living in boarding houses; most of them had been in Miami less than a decade. Some had already applied for citizenship, perhaps in order to get or retain an agricultural laboring job. Another large segment of the Miami Bahamian community continued to work as common laborers or in the resort town's service economy as maids and porters in hotels, cooks, waiters, and dishwashers in restaurants, servants and housekeepers in private homes, and the like.<sup>21</sup>

A typical Bahamian household during this period was that of Albert A.. Taylor, a thirty-eight year old "car cleaner" in a local railroad shop. Taylor entered the United States in 1898, and in 1910 was renting a house at 721 Third Street in Miami's Negro section. Taylor lived with his Bahamian-born wife, two American-born children, a sister (a cook for a white family), a brother (an odd-job laborer), and two cousins (both laborers). Completing this extended Bahamian household were three boarders, two young men who worked as laborers, and a twenty-one year old girl who worked as a maid for a white family. <sup>22</sup>

The surge of migration from the Bahamas to Miami intensified between 1910 and 1920. This mass movement of population is reflected in several sets of population statistics. Bahamian census reports, for instance, showed decennial increases in total population ranging from four to twenty-nine per cent between 1851 and 1911. But in the decade after 1911, the Bahamas to Miami intensified between 1851 and 1911.

<sup>20.</sup> Miami Metropolis, June 12, 1909; Albury, Story of the Bahamas, 168-69; Thelma Peters, Miami 1909: with Excerpts from Fannie Clemon's Diary (Miami, 1984). 24-26.

Manuscript Census Schedules, Dade County, 1910, microfilm edition, reel 158. National Archives.

<sup>22.</sup> Ibid.

mian population decreased by over five per cent, slipping from 55,944 in 1911, to 53,031 in 1921. Most of the missing Bahamians went to south Florida. Indeed, the 1915 census taken by the state of Florida reported 3,743 foreign-born blacks in Dade County, 1,870 in Monroe County, 615 in Palm Beach County, and 490 in Broward County. About eighty-one per cent of all the immigrant blacks in Florida resided in the state's four southeast counties in 1915. And by 1920, over 4,800 immigrant blacks lived in the city of Miami alone; over sixty-eight per cent of these newcomers came to the United States after 1910.<sup>23</sup>

More detailed, year-by-year migration statistics are reported in the annual reports of the governor of the Bahamas to the British Colonial Office. These records reveal a constant flow of Bahamians to Florida and an equally constant pattern of return migration. While some Bahamians came to Florida permanently, it is clear from these reports that for many other Bahamians temporary or seasonal labor provided the chief attraction. As one observer noted in 1913, "our people go away in October to meet the great demand for labour in Florida for the winter crops of tomatoes and peas and they return after that is over in May." In fact, in some years, such as 1915 or 1917, more Bahamians returned to the islands than left for Florida. Bahamian officials attributed the decline in emigration in 1915 to "decreased rates of wages in Florida." Like European immigrants of the early twentieth century. Bahamians were knowledgeable about American economic conditions and apparently based their migration decisions on the labor market situation in the United States.24

Workers from other Caribbean islands were making similar migration decisions during this period. Between 1900 and 1920, West Indian immigration to the United States surged far ahead of the totals for the late nineteenth century. Almost 231,000 West Indians immigrated to the United States between 1901

Bahamas Government, Report on the Census of the Bahama Islands Taken on the 24th April, 1921 (Nassau, 1921), 1-2; W. A. McRae, The Fourth Census of the State of Florida, 1915 (Tallahassee, 1915), 66: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population, II, 795.

Walter F. Wilcox, International Migrations, 2 vols. (New York, 1929), I, 515;
 Great Britain, Colonial Office, Bahamas: Report for 1914-15 (London, 1915), 25;
 Great Britain, Colonial Office, Bahamas: Report for 1915-16 (London, 1916);
 Nassau Tribune, December 9, 1913.

and 1920. During World War I, in particular, Bahamians and other West Indians filled agricultural jobs in an expanding wartime labor market. Between 1916 and 1920, as European immigration declined markedly during the war, West Indian immigrants (including Bahamians) totaled almost five per cent of all immigrants to the United States-a dramatic proportional increase over earlier years.<sup>25</sup>

The dimensions of the Bahamian migration to Florida created official concern and tension among the Bahamian commercial elite. The British ambassador to the United States, James Bryce, noted these concerns as early as 1911 in a dispatch to the Foreign Office: "The attraction that Florida has for the labouring classes of the Colony is now very great and the emigration from Nassau to Miami, has now reached such proportions as to cause anxiety to the Government and inconvenience to the sponge outfitters and other employers of labour." Similarly, in a letter to the Nassau Tribune in 1913, "A Planter" complained that the exodus to Florida would leave few workers for the sisal and sponge industries. "In a very short time our lovely islands will soon be depopulated, gone to swell the millions on the great American continent." This correspondent suggested that only greater government support for agriculture in the Bahamas could stem the outward migration. Another observer argued the need for a better distribution of land among the islanders "to anchor them in the Bahamas." "Now is the time to help," one worried employer wrote, "before the great part of the population leave the Colony to go to Florida and elsewhere to earn a livelihood." 26

The Bahamian government did little, apparently, but the *Nassau Tribune* embarked on an extensive campaign in 1913 to check the migration to Florida. The paper published a series of long editorials on "The Exodus to Florida," calling attention to the potentially serious economic consequences of "the continuous drain upon our labour supply." Numerous suggestions were

<sup>25.</sup> Wilcox, International Migrations, I, 263-87; Richardson, Caribbean Migrants, 3-31

<sup>26.</sup> James Bryce to Edward Grey, April 13, 1911, Colonial Office Records, microfilm edition, CO 23/268, Bahamas PRO; Nassau Tribune, November 8, 1913. See also, James Martin Wright, History of the Bahama Islands, with a Special Study of the Abolition of Slavery in the Colony (Baltimore, 1905), 583.

offered, including the promotion of tourism, the renewal of the pineapple industry, and the attraction of foreign capital and new industries to the Bahamas— all of which might create more jobs and keep people in the islands. Land in the Bahamas could be as productive as land in Florida, the *Tribune* argued, and "if the Bahamian labourer is good for Florida, he should be better for the Bahamas." The paper found it difficult to explain why "men who scorn the idea of field labour here, do it over there in Miami and many other things that they won't do here."<sup>27</sup>

But the Bahamian labor migrants themselves found that an easy question to answer. As one Bahamian who made the trip to Miami put it in a letter to the Tribune, "there is plenty of guessing as to what may be the cause of this emigration but if your various correspondents would only take a trip to the states they themselves would be a goner." Wages were higher in Florida, this migrant from the islands asserted, and "the half starved labourers here that go there- gets better to eat, to drink, to wear, to sleep, and so he got very little use for his home." Another writer put it differently. For men forced to migrate by poor agricultural conditions in the Bahamas, the discovery "that they could earn money and bring some of it back was an inducement to more timid neighbors, and they too went to Miami." For thousands of Bahamians, the widespread perception of economic opportunity in Florida was too strong to resist. As the Tribune put it in 1913, "most of our people who go are afflicted with a severe attack of travel fever which is epidemic here." 28

But while the Bahamians found economic opportunity in Florida, they also encountered segregation and white racism. The Miami press routinely denigrated the Bahamian newcomers as lazy and shiftless, and generally referred to them as "Nassau niggers." One Bahamian interviewed by Reid in *The Negro Immigrant* quickly became disenchanted by conditions in Miami: "Arriving in Colored Town, I alighted from the carriage in front of an unpainted, poorly-ventilated rooming house where I paid \$2.00 for a week's lodging. Already, I was rapidly becoming disillusioned. How unlike the land where I was born. There colored men were addressed as gentlemen; here, as 'niggers'. There policemen were dressed in immaculate uniforms, carried

<sup>27.</sup> Nassau Tribune, October 23, November 8, 11, 13, 22, 1913.

<sup>28.</sup> Ibid., October 23, November 13, 1913.

no deadly weapon, save a billy; here, shirt-sleeved officers of the law carried pistols, smoked and chewed tobacco on duty. Colored Miami certainly was not the Miami of which I had heard so much. It was a filthy backyard to the Magic City." <sup>29</sup>

Not only were the Bahamians discriminated against because of their race, but also because of their foreign citizenship. The Miami newspapers carped at the reluctance of the islanders to seek citizenship. Years later, one Bahamian immigrant who arrived in Coconut Grove in 1911, remarked on his early refusal to become a citizen: "I filled out an alien card every year. I didn't take out no citizenship. I kept thinking I'm not going to stay here because of the way white people treat you." This Bahamian later joined Marcus Garvey's black nationalist Universal Negro Improvement Association as a means of taking a stand against white racism. Not surprisingly, in 1911, Miami Bahamians protested the imposition of a hefty public school fee of \$1.50 per month on all black Bahamian students whose parents remained British.<sup>30</sup>

No issue stirred as much anger and hostility among the Bahamians in Florida as conflict with local police. The Bahamians were unaccustomed to the racial segregation of America's deep South. By nature and practice, Miami historian Paul S. George has written, "these British subjects were less obsequious toward whites than native blacks. Many Bahamian blacks preached racial equality, causing a majority of whites, including the police, to regard them as troublemakers." <sup>31</sup>

Racial confrontations involving white Miami policemen often resulted. As early as 1907, British officials received complaints about police brutality directed toward Bahamians in Miami. In a May 1907 dispatch to the Foreign Office, British Ambassador Bryce reported that a Bahamian had been shot in the back by a Miami policeman "after having been otherwise maltreated by the police, and afterwards died." This shooting came shortly after a similar killing of a black Bahamian in Key West. Bryce urged the Foreign Office to send a letter of protest to the United

<sup>29.</sup> Miami Metropolis, June 12, 1909; Reid, The Negro Immigrant, 189.

Miami Metropolis, June 12, 1909; Miami Herald, February 10, 1975; Grey-Wilson to Harcourt, November 17, 1911, Governor's Despatches, 1904-1912, Bahamas PRO.

<sup>31.</sup> George, "Criminal Justice in Miami," 185-86.

States government, but he was quite candid in his analysis of the situation: "There seems no doubt that the aggressors were whites and the victims blacks and, in such cases, little hope can be entertained of getting justice in certain Southern States." 32

Police brutality and other forms of racial discrimination led Miami's Bahamians in 1911 to petition Bahamas Governor W. Grey-Wilson for a greater degree of official protection, perhaps with the appointment of a British vice-consul for Florida. As Ambassador Bryce put it in a letter to British Foreign Minister Edward Grey, "the treatment of Bahamians in Florida is not from a British standpoint, altogether satisfactory, and I venture to think that the appointment of a British Vice Consul at Miami would be welcomed by the inhabitants of the Bahamas and would relieve the Governor of a considerable amount of work and anxiety." But when Foreign Minister Grey sought the opinion of the British consul general at New Orleans on such an appointment, he received a rather negative response: "A British vice consul at Miami would have practically nothing else to do but investigate the complaints and grievances of the coloured Bahamians." Not only was Consul General Lewis E. Bernays unsympathetic to the plight of Bahamians in Florida, but he did not think much of Miami either. "The Town of Miami," Bernays wrote, "is situated in the most inaccessible part of Florida and is of no commercial importance whatever." Racial discrimination and police brutality, Bernays seemed to suggest, were insignificant problems, and certainly no self-respecting British diplomat would want to be stationed in a backwater town like Miami.<sup>33</sup>

The boom years of the 1920s brought tremendous population growth and urban development to south Florida. Miami more than tripled its population to over 110,000. The Bahamians continued to flow into Florida, too. Officially, Miami's immigrant black population increased by about 1,800 during the 1920s giving the city some 5,512 foreign-born blacks in 1930. The black islanders, according to the census reports, comprised about twenty-two per cent of Miami's total black population

<sup>32. !</sup>Miami *Metropolis*, May 8, 1907; Bryce to Grey, June 21, 1907, Colonial Office Records, microfilm edition, CO 23/262, Bahamas PRO.

Bryce to Grey, April 13, 1911, Colonial Office Records, microfilm edition, CO 231268, Bahamas PRO; Lewis E. Bernays to Grey, July 11, 19 11, ibid.

lation. As in 1920, only New York City had more immigrant blacks than Miami.<sup>34</sup>

These aggregate census numbers, however, do not reveal the full extent of the Bahamian migratory urge. In addition to Miami's Bahamian population, many thousands more came to Florida for seasonal work each year. The *Miami Herald* noted the pattern in 1924: "Negro laborers from Nassau and Bimini have poured into Miami. . . . They worked on the municipal docks, on new Miami buildings or in the tomato fields stretching from Fort Pierce to Florida City, and then after six or seven months returned to their homes in the Bahamas, to come back for work the next year." <sup>35</sup> In fact, during the 1920s Bahamians migrated to Florida at the rate of about 6,000 per year (see Table 1). <sup>36</sup>

There is evidence that during the 1920s large numbers of uncounted Bahamian farm workers were being brought into the south Florida area illegally by large farm operators— at least it would seem that they were by-passing the normal immigration channels. As early as 1921, newspaper reports from Palm Beach County revealed that "the smuggling of negroes from the Bahama Islands has attracted the attention of the immigration department in the past few weeks." By mid-1924, when new immigration quotas went into effect, the Nassau newspapers were suggesting that prohibition-era bootleggers had turned to smuggling people into Florida, with West Palm Beach a favored destination.<sup>37</sup>

New federal immigration legislation in 1924 introduced the national--origins quota system and temporarily muddled the situation for Bahamians in Florida. Confusion over the details of the law, and particularly how it might affect the Bahamian labor migrants, created a panic in the south Florida labor market. One Miami labor agent, for instance, suggested that local agriculture would suffer "a serious labor shortage" and that wages would be driven up rapidly as a result. The *Miami Herald* noted that "since 75 per cent of the labor used in and around

<sup>34.</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States, 1920-32 (Washington, 1935), 32-33.

<sup>35.</sup> Miami Herald, July 6, 1924.

Bahamas Government, Bahamas Blue Book, 1919-1930 (Nassau, 1920-1931).

<sup>37.</sup> Palm Beach Post, July 29, 1921; Nassau Guardian, August 9, 1924.

Miami comes from the Bahamas, the sudden checking of this stream would injure Miami commerce." Local businessmen believed that the Bahamian immigrants would come under the general quota of Great Britain and be limited to 100 per month. 38

This was startling news to the Miami business community, which had come to rely on the steady supply of cheap labor from the islands. The Miami Chamber of Commerce and other local organizations led an effort to get the Bahamians excluded from the immigration law's restrictive provisions. Petition drives were organized, seeking particularly the help of Florida senators and congressmen. Amid the confusion, Bahamians crowded the steamers plying between Nassau and Miami, trying to beat the deadline of July 1, 1924, when the immigration law became effective. "Boats in the Miami-Nassau passenger and freight service are laden to their capacity rushing the people into America," the *Herald* reported, "causing a virtual evacuation of Nassau and the Bahamas." <sup>39</sup>

In Nassau, the news of the new immigration law came "like a bomb" to islanders planning to work in Florida. The business community in Nassau was worried, too. Work in Miami and south Florida had provided a sort of safety valve for Bahamians without jobs or prospects in the islands. The remittances sent back by laborers in Florida and the capital brought in by returning migrants helped keep the Bahamian economy afloat at a time when the local commercial elite had failed to invest in economic development. By the early twentieth century, the islands had become heavily reliant on the economic connection with the United States. Bringing the Bahamas and the British West Indies generally under the quota system, the Nassau Guardian asserted, "cannot fail to affect the economic condition of those colonies materially, and it will become more necessary than ever to take effective measures to secure the development of local industries." Ten years earlier, the Nassau papers had complained about the economic consequences of emigration,

<sup>38.</sup> Miami Herald, June 24, 28, July 6, 1924; Miami Daily News and Metropolis, July 2, 8, 1924.

Miami Herald, June 28, July 6, 1924; Miami Daily News and Metropolis, June 24, 1924.

but now they worried about the economic impact of its termination. $^{40}$ 

As it turned out, however, the 1924 quota law had little impact on the Bahamian migration to Florida. According to the law, British West Indians, including Bahamians, were included under the quota of Great Britain. But since Britain's generous annual quota of 65,000 was never filled, Bahamians found little problem in obtaining permanent entry to the United States. And by the 1920s most of the Bahamians coming to the Miami area were temporary labor migrants, who were able to enter the United States with six-month work permits. Thus, once the initial confusion was sorted out, the pattern of Bahamian movement to and from Florida continued uninterrupted, as the emigration statistics collected for the Bahamas Blue Book demonstrate (see Table 1). Only in 1926 was there any marked decline in Bahamian emigration— a drop in labor migration most likely due to the end of the Florida real estate boom, a severe economic decline, and a disastrous hurricane in September 1926.41

Actually, the Bahamian migratory urge intensified in the 1930s, when the numbers of annual emigrants from the islands surpassed 10,000 in most years. In the single year 1937, for instance, almost 14,000 Bahamians left the islands—more than twenty per cent of the total population of the Bahamas. Almost the same number returned to the islands in 1937, suggesting the dual nature of the migratory flow (see Table 1). Many of the islands continued to lose population during the 1930s as well, some substantially so. The Bahamas during this period serve as a classic case of the "livelihood migration" that had typified the Caribbean since the late nineteenth century. 42

The number of short-term labor migrants was on the rise through the 1920s and 1930s, but apparently fewer Bahamians

<sup>40.</sup> Nassau Guardian, July 1, September 16, 1924; Nassau *Tribune*, June 11, Sentember 20, 1924.

Rekd Ueda, "west Indians," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (Cambridge, MA., 1980), 1021-22; President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, Whom We Shall Welcome (Washington, 1953), 54.

<sup>42.</sup> Bahamas Government, Bahamas *Blue Book*, 1930-1940 (Nassau, 1931-1941); Bahamas Government, *Report on the Census of the* Bahama Islands *Taken* on *the 25th April*, 1943 (Nassau, 1943), 2.

TABLE 1

BAHAMIAN MIGRATION 1919-1940

Year	Total Population	No. of Arrivals in Bahamas	Numbers Departing Bahamas	Percentage of Population Departing
1919	55,944	2,234	5,477	9.8
1920	55,352	2,964	5,134	9.3
1921	56,151	4,763	4,955	8.8
1922	56,924	6,057	5,614	9.9
1923	56,886	5,877	8,126	14.3
1924	55,423	5,872	5,665	10.2
1925	56,854	6,140	5,171	9.1
1926	58,101	3,188	2,178	3.7
1927	56,294	6,976	5,801	10.3
1928	60,230	8,343	7.844	13.0
1929	60,848	8,864	8,862	14.6
1930	61,741	7,555	7,317	11.9
1931	60.650	7,136	6,903	11.4
1932	61,812	4,851	4,714	7.6
1933	62,679	5,099	4,918	7.8
1934	63,763	7,684	7,578	11.9
1935	64,982	8,941	8,774	13.5
1936	66,219	11,308	10,917	16.5
1937	66,908	13,466	13,947	20.8
1938	67,720	11,377	11,489	17.0
1939	68,903	12,905	12,696	18.4
1940	70,332	13,656	13,360	19.0

Source: Bahamas Government, Bahamas Blue Book, 1919-1940 (Nassau, 1920-1941).

were staying permanently in the Miami area. The 1935 Florida state census recorded 5,047 Bahamians in Dade County, down from the Miami total for 1930. And the United States census reported 4,063 foreign-born blacks in Miami in 1940, a decline of about 1,500 since 1930. In fact, as the Miami area became more urbanized, and as agriculture expanded northward into Palm Beach County, the geographical distribution of Bahamian labor migrants followed suit. In 1945, for the first time, the Florida state census recorded more West Indian blacks in Palm Beach County than in Dade County.

43. Nathan Mayo, The Sixth Census of the State of Florida, 1935 (Winter Park, 1935), 110; U. S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population, II (Washington, 1943), 142; Nathan Mayo, The Seventh Census of the State of Florida, 1945 (Tallahassee, 1945), 118-19. In 1945, there were 4,609 West Indian blacks in Dade County, 5,957 in Palm Beach County, and 712 in Broward County.

The Bahamian influx continued into the 1940s. Labor shortages during World War II led to federal recruitment of temporary agricultural laborers from the West Indies, as well as of workers from Mexico, Central America, and Canada. Both the War Food Administration and the War Manpower Commission were involved in this labor recruitment effort. Under this program, some 3,000 to 6,000 Bahamians annually picked fruit and harvested vegetables in Florida. Florida's county agricultural extension agents supervised the recruitment process and distributed the Bahamian workers to farm labor camps as needed. 44

The annual recruitment of Bahamian farm workers continued after the war, as well, at first under a special agreement between the United States and Bahamian governments. This intergovernmental agreement expired in 1947, but private American companies were permitted to negotiate similar agreements for West Indian and Bahamian workers. Under this arrangement, the Florida Vegetable Committee, a growers group, contracted with the Bahamian government for several thousand temporary laborers a year for farm work in Florida. As late as 1951, some 4,500 Bahamians were laboring in Florida fields. As in the past, British officials in the Bahamas believed that "their employment makes a notable contribution towards the economy of the Colony." 45

From the early 1930s fewer Bahamians were coming to south Florida for permanent residence. Yet some islanders continued to drift into Miami with the idea of remaining in the United States. One such Bahamian immigrant, a boy of fifteen, arrived in Miami in 1943. In his autobiography, *This Life*, Sidney

- 44. Wilbert E. Moore, "America's Migration Treaties During World War II," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 262 (March 1949), 34; William S. Bernard, ed., American Immigration Policy: A Reappraisal (New York, 1950), 47-48; International Labour Office, Labour Policies in the West Indies (Geneva, 1952), 117-18; Julia Henderson, "Foreign Labour in the United States during the War," International Labour Review 52 (December 1945), 609-31; Miami Herald, January 24, 1945.
- 45. U. S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary, The West Indies (BWI) Temporary Alien Labor Program: 1943-1947. 95th Cong., 2d sess., 1978, 8; Bahamas Government, Votes of the Honourable Legislative Council of the Bahama Islands, 1946-1947 (Nassau, 1947), 167; Bahamas Government, Votes of the Honourable Legislative Council of the Bahama Islands, 1947-1948 (Nassau, 1948), 141-44; Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report on the Bahamas for the Years 1950 and 1951 (London, 1952), 3.

Poitier wrote of the torn emotions that must have confronted many Bahamians about to make the trip across the Gulf Stream: "For many days before my departure I had been anxious about leaving. . . . Yet much of me was straining to go and see this Miami– this America– this *other* part of the world." Poitier was the son of Cat Island tomato farmers, who twice a year packed up a hundred or so boxes of tomatoes and brought them to market in Miami. Actually, Poitier had been born in Miami on one of these economic pilgrimages in 1927. Fifteen years later, with few prospects in Nassau where the family then lived, he iourneved to Miami to make his fortune. He lived first with an older brother and then an uncle, both earlier migrants to Miami. Like most Bahamian newcomers throughout the early twentieth century, Poitier had a succession of service-type jobs- cleaning up in a hotel, parking and washing cars, working in a warehouse or as a delivery boy, and washing dishes in restaurant kitchens. His autobiography reflects the typical Bahamian dismay about white racism in Miami, reports the seemingly ubiquitous police harrassment of Bahamian blacks, but also exudes the essential determination and optimism of the Bahamian immigrants. 46

Poitier's later success as an actor belied his modest Bahamian immigrant origins. Poitier did not remain long in Miami, but most of the islanders who came permanently to the United States tended to stay in Miami or Coconut Grove or Key West. The permanence and stability of their neighborhoods, along with strong links to the islands, contributed to cultural maintenance and a strong sense of nationality. From Miami's earliest days in the late nineteenth century, the Bahamian presence made the city's black population distinctively different from that in most southern cities. The Bahamians had an impact on food ways, cultural patterns, work habits, educational aspirations, musical and artistic activities, and other social characteristics. They had several distinctively Bahamian churches and fraternal organizations, all of which conveyed the sense of a cohesive ethnic community. He is a content of the conveyed the sense of a cohesive ethnic community.

The Bahamian newcomers brought many of their cultural

<sup>46.</sup> Sidney Poitier, This Life (New York, 1980), 1, 36-52.

Bahamas Government, The Bahamian American Connection (Nassau, 1976),
 38; Arva Moore Parks, "Yesterday," in Coconut Grove U. S. A. Centennial,
 1873-1973 (Miami, 1974); Miami Herald, July 11, 1973.

traditions with them to the United States. Florida Bahamians. for instance, annually celebrated the anniversary of West Indian slave emancipation. In 1911, Bahamian farm workers in West Palm Beach celebrated the coronation of King George V. Following British and Bahamian traditions, Miami's black immigrants regularly observed Guy Fawkes Day. They paraded through the streets every November, carrying an effigy of Guy Fawkes, the celebration ending with the burning of the Fawkes effigy. These parades ended in the 1930s however. As one Bahamian later remembered, when Miami city officials "found out that this person they were burning in effigy was a white man," they put an end to the celebration.<sup>48</sup>

Despite such official efforts to stamp out islander traditions, a definable Bahamian presence continues in Miami to this day a testimony to the powerful surge of immigration from the islands in the early years of the twentieth century. Coconut Grove, in particular, retains the "indelible imprint" of the Bahamas. As one writer put it recently in the Nassau Tribune, the Grove still has "an atmosphere more akin to a Bahamas settlement than an American neighborhood." An annual Bahamian Goombay Festival in Coconut Grove, complete with a visit from the Royal Bahamas Police Band, reflects local enthusiasm for the celebration of black ethnicity in modern Miami.<sup>49</sup>

The Bahamian immigration to the United States shared many of the characteristics of the more general European immigration of the early twentieth century, especially in the economic motivations of the newcomers. But there were some obviously distinctive patterns to the Bahamian migration experience. From a very early period, there had been considerable movement back and forth between the islands and south Florida. By the late nineteenth century, the Bahamians were participating in the wider "livelihood migrations" of the other Caribbean islands. The nearness to Florida and the opportunities opening up in Miami by 1900 drew the islanders to the Magic City like a magnet. The flow of agricultural workers back and forth across the Gulf Stream continued up to mid-century, but enough Bahamians came to Miami permanently that they

<sup>48.</sup> Nassau Tribune, August 14, 1911; Miami Herald, February 1, 1976. 49. Nassau Tribune, October 12, 1977; Miami Times, June 5, 1986; Miami News, June 6, 1986.

were able to build thriving communities with a strong sense of nationality and cultural distinctiveness. In this sense, the Bahamians established a pattern that would be replicated by later waves of newcomers from the Caribbean who found a congenial home in Miami.

# THE SEYMOUR DECISION: AN APPRAISAL OF THE OLUSTEE CAMPAIGN

by William H. Nulty

UST before seven A.M. on February 20, 1864, Colonel Guy V. Henry's mounted brigade, the advance guard of the Union forces commanded by Brigadier General Truman Seymour, departed Barber's Ford, Florida, heading west on the Lake City and Jacksonville Road. Composed of the Fortieth Massachusetts Mounted Infantry with the First Massachusetts Independent Cavalry attached and Captain Samuel S. Elder's Horse Battery with four pieces of artillery, the mounted men soon outdistanced those marching in brigade columns. The sky was clear and gold sunlight was just starting to filter down through the pines. In a report written two days later, Seymour stated that his objectives were to make contact with a Confederate force (he estimated it between 4,000 and 5,000) at or near Lake City, and then to push his mounted force on to the Suwannee River and destroy the railroad bridge crossing that stream.<sup>2</sup> General Seymour's force included, in addition to the mounted force, eight infantry regiments and two artillery batteries, a total of 5,115 men and sixteen pieces of artillery. By dawn the following day, 1,355 men, a little over twenty-six per cent of the Union force involved, would be killed or wounded, and 506 would be missing or captured. The battle that took place that day was proportionately the third bloodiest battle of the entire Civil War for the Union Army and the bloodiest of any of the Federal defeats 3

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- 1. New York Herald, March 1, 1864.
- Truman Seymour to John Wesley Turner, February 22, 1864, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 53 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), (hereinafter cited as OR), Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. I, 286-87.
- Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson, Attack and Die (University, AL, 1982), 10; Thomas Leonard Livermore, Numbers and Losses in the Civil War (Bloomington, 1957), 75, 109.

General Seymour's decision to advance that morning, precipitating the Battle of Olustee, was made in direct disobedience to a plan of operations given him by his immediate superior, General Quincy A. Gillmore, commander of the Federal Department of the South headquartered at Hilton Head, South Carolina. It also demonstrated the complete contradiction of Seymour's intentions as he had conveyed them the previous week to General Gillmore. The decision was a crucial one, it was responsible for the failure of the Federal expedition into Florida that had been so far highly successful. At the time of General Seymour's decision to advance, the Federals possessed great potential for both taking Florida out of the Confederacy and severing a subsistence supply line upon which both General Braxton Bragg's Army of the Tennessee and General P. G. T. Beauregard's Confederate forces, located on the South Atlantic coast, were dependent. While the reasoning behind Seymour's decision to confront the Confederates is not known, an examination of the events surrounding his changed plan may help explain it.

In Florida Seymour was in charge of a mobile maneuver force that was part of a larger expedition led by General Gillmore. On December 15, 1863, Gillmore had suggested a Florida expedition to Henry Wager Halleck, commanding general of the Army. General Gillmore believed that he could recover a valuable part of the state, cut off a rich source of the enemy's supplies, and recruit colored troops.<sup>4</sup>

The Union forces laying seige to Charleston and Savannah had been stalemated for some time, and the possibility of successful raids into Florida had been demonstrated in 1862 and 1863, although not on as large a scale as the expedition now contemplated. On December 22, 1863, General Halleck granted general approval for a military expedition into Florida as long as Federal positions at Charleston remained secure.<sup>5</sup>

Coincidently, President Lincoln had written to Gillmore on January 13, 1864, requesting that he give what assistance he could to Major John Hay, Lincoln's private secretary, who was being sent to Florida to enroll voters loyal to the Union. No

<sup>4.</sup> Quincy A. Gillmore to Henry Wager Halleck, December 15, 1863, *OR*, Ser. I, XXVIII, Pt. II, 129.

<sup>5.</sup> Halleck to Gillmore, December 22, 1863, ibid., 134.

mention was made in Lincoln's letter of any proposed military operation. Major Hay, who arrived at General Gillmore's head-quarters at Hilton Head, South Carolina, on January 20, 1864, was en route to Florida in response to the urgent requests of Union supporters who believed that the state could be reconstructed.<sup>6</sup>

General Gillmore responded after more than a week's delay to General Halleck's request for a clarification of the objectives for the proposed Florida expedition. In his report, Gillmore added the political goal to the three he had listed in his December 15 request. He stated that this additional objective was "in accordance with instructions which I have received from the President."7 Gillmore, in order to gain Halleck's approval for the proposed expedition, was not being completely candid in his statement. In a subsequent inquiry by the United States Senate Joint Committee on the Conduct and Expenditures of the War into the origin, progress, and results of the Florida expedition, Gillmore's chief of staff, Brigadier General John W. Turner, was asked: "Did Major Hay bring down any orders or directions of a military character, or were his instructions entirely of a civil nature?" Turner answered: "My understanding was that Major Hay's instructions were entirely of a civil nature; that General Gillmore was simply to afford him facilities for taking a register of the names of the qualified legal voters of the State of Florida."8

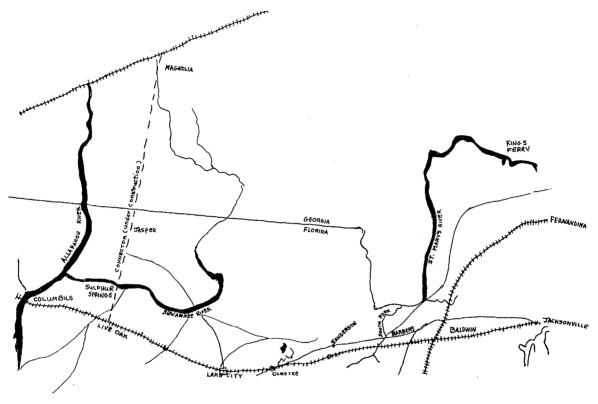
Under cover of a diversionary attack against Confederate forces at Charleston, the Federal expedition sailed on February 6, 1864, for Florida, and made a surprise landing at Jacksonville, the following day. The plan was to push rapidly inland to the rail junction at Baldwin and to seize a train if one was there. There was a delay in crossing the bar at the mouth of the St. Johns River, and the full Union force was not ashore until noon on February 8. Before sundown, a portion of the invading force left Jacksonville in three columns heading west. Camp Finegan, a Confederate installation some ten to twelve miles distant, was

Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln: The War Years, 4 vols. (New York, 1939), III, 6.

<sup>7.</sup> Gillmore to Halleck, January 31, 1864, OR, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. I, 279.

U. S. Congress. Senate. Conduct of the War, 38th Cong., 1st sess., S.R. 47, 1864, 9.

<sup>9.</sup> Seymour to Gillmore, February 5, 1864, OR, Ser. I, XXXV, 280-81.



Drawn from an 1870 Surveyor General's map, state of Georgia.

surprised and seized although a number of its southern defenders escaped. The Union mounted force under Colonel Henry bypassed the camp and captured four pieces of artillery belonging to the Milton Light Artillery. Baldwin was reached about sunrise on February 9. Three railroad cars were captured, one containing a gun belonging to the Milton Light Artillery, and a large quantity of supplies- cotton, rice, tobacco, pistols, and other property valued at a half million dollars." The Baldwin junction connected the rail line from Fernandina to Cedar Key with the road running from Jacksonville to the area west of Tallahassee. It was a key point, important to the flow of subsistence supplies for the Confederacy.

General Seymour reported the capture of Baldwin to General Gillmore but expressed disappointment over the failure to seize a train. A locomotive was essential to resupply his troops moving westward beyond Baldwin. Using wagons would not be a very satisfactory alternative. 11 Gillmore assured Seymour that a locomotive would be available within a day and instructed him to push forward towards the Suwannee River. 12 Colonel Henry's mounted force had already left Baldwin on the morning of February 10, capturing thirteen bales of cotton about four miles from the town. Upon approaching Barber's Ford the Federals found 1,000 barrels of turpentine and 500 pounds of bacon in a building next to the railroad. 13 Colonel Henry's troops continued through Barber's Ford, cautiously approaching the South Fork of the St. Mary's River where the advance guard ran into an ambush manned by elements of the Second Florida Cavalry. Both sides lost several men, but the much stronger Union force continued through to Sanderson, arriving about six in the evening. Here they found several buildings in flames, one which reportedly held 3,000 bushels of corn and another some 2,000 barrels of turpentine and resin.<sup>14</sup> The Federals captured 200 bags of salt, fifty bushels of oats, and other commissary supplies.1

<sup>10.</sup> New York Tribune, February 20, 1864.

<sup>11.</sup> Seymour to Gillmore, February 10, 1864, OR, Ser. I, LIII, 99.

<sup>12.</sup> Gillmore to Seymour, ibid., XXXV, Pt. I, 473.13. New York Tribune, February 20, 1864.

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15.</sup> Ibid.

The mounted Union raiding force left Sanderson about two the following morning, moving west towards Lake City. Within a mile and one-half from Lake City the horsemen encountered a Confederate force deployed in a line of skirmishers in a belt of woods. After some initial sparring by both sides, Colonel Henry decided to pull back until such time as the infantry, now some thirty-four miles to the rear at Sanderson, had reached him. Henry also had to take into consideration the approaching darkness, the condition of the horses, and an impending rainstorm. 16

Reporting to Gillmore from Baldwin on the morning of February 11, and prior to Colonel Henry's contact with the Confederate forces at Lake City, General Seymour assessed the status of the operation. 17 Without adequate transportation for resupply, any move towards Lake City, he felt, was impractical. Moreover, he believed that the Confederates there had more infantry and artillery than he currently had available. Furthermore, Seymour agreed that, "the backbone of rebeldom is not here" in Florida; he did not believe that Florida would rejoin the Union until there were other Federal victories. He suggested a possible political motive for the operation, noting that it was "in opposition to sound strategy" and would have not been permitted had General Halleck been directing the operation. 18 He recommended that the advance force be withdrawn, that only Jacksonville and Palatka be held, and that the St. Johns River

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid.; Benjamin W. Crowinshield, A History of the First Regment of Ma sachusetts Cavalry Volunteers (New York, 1891), 261.

Seymour to Gillmore, February 11, 1864, OR, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. I, 281-82.
 Ibid. In September 1863, L. D. Stickney, federal tax commissioner for Florida, suggested to Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury and a potential Republican candidate for president in 1864, that a Florida military expedition was needed and that General Gillmore was favorable to the idea. In December of the same year Stickney wrote to Chase again promoting an expedition and suggesting that Gillmore might be confirmed as a major general for his "services" in such an operation. Since federal tax commissioners could only function in occupied territory, Stickney, obviously, would profit from expanded federal control in Florida. Seymour was also bringing up the fact that approval for the Florida expedition had come from a higher source than the commander in chief of the army. See Ovid L. Futch, "Salmon P. Chase and Civil War Politics in Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 32 (January 1954), 169-70; Stickney to Chase, December 11, 1863, quoted in David Herbert Donald, ed., Inside Lincoln's Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase (New York, 1954), 190.

be used as the base for a cavalry assault into the middle of the state. Any movement forward, Seymour noted, would have to be predicated upon what Colonel Henry encountered at Lake City. He indicated that he would "regret being compelled to go beyond the Saint Mary's South Fork with my infantry." <sup>19</sup>

Gillmore and Seymour conferred together at Baldwin the night before the latter's letter was written. Captain Gustavas Sullivan Dana, chief signal officer on Seymour's staff, recorded that the two men had spent most of the night talking while "us poor staff officers were trying to catch 40 winks on the floor." <sup>20</sup> According to Captain Dana, "neither general had much faith in the success of the expedition and that it was purely a political move, intending to drive the rebels to the west side of the Suwannee River giving us the whole east side of the State which was to be protected by gunboats patrolling the Suwannee and Saint Mary's Rivers, and thus enabling the large part of the State to have a vote in the coming presidential election." 21 If Dana's observations were accurate, both Gillmore and Seymour were taking a much more limited view of the expeditions objectives than had been originally proposed. It would also seem that Gillmore had not really understood, or was deliberately disregarding, the instructions given him by President Lincoln and John Hay, and was elevating the political purpose to top priority over the other objectives.

Apparently apprehensive about the advance of Union forces past Sanderson, Gillmore ordered eight companies of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts to Baldwin and directed Seymour not to "risk a repulse in advancing on Lake City, but hold Sanderson unless there are reasons for falling back which I don't know."<sup>22</sup> Gillmore followed this message with another advising Seymour that if his advance met serious opposition, he should concentrate at Sanderson and at the South Fork of the Saint Mary's.<sup>23</sup> Seymour replied by telegraph (it had just been installed that day) from Baldwin to Jacksonville that there was no news from

<sup>19.</sup> Seymour to Gillmore, February 11, 1864, OR, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. I, 281-82.

Lester L. Swift, ed., "Captain Dana in Florida: A Narrative of the Seymour Expedition," Civil War History 11 (September 1965), 248.

<sup>21.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22.</sup> Gillmore to Seymour, February 11, 1864, OR, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. I, 282-83.

<sup>23.</sup> Ibid

Colonel Henry and that his command had already left for Sanderson. One regiment, the Third U. S. Colored Troops, remained at Baldwin, and another, the Eighth U. S. Colored Troops, at Pickett's (Ten Mile Station).<sup>24</sup>

From Sanderson, on the morning of February 12, General Seymour informed General Gillmore that although he still had not heard from Colonel Henry, he was ordering the advance force back to Sanderson and was sending a regiment out to meet them. Seymour planned to destroy public property at Sanderson, and to return with Colonel Henry's force to the South Fork of the Saint Mary's. <sup>25</sup> Gillmore warned Seymour of a possible mounted force that might be approaching from the north, and he ordered him to concentrate his forces at Baldwin. He also informed Seymour that the expected locomotive had not yet arrived. <sup>26</sup>

Although neither Gillmore nor Seymour had anything concrete indicating the presence of any formidable opposition, they appeared to be warning each other to be cautious. Seymour's loss of contact for a time with his advance force left him without specific information on the enemy situation. At the same time, General Gillmore assumed that if Seymour was ordering Colonel Henry back it was because he knew the Confederates were too strong.<sup>27</sup> Gillmore took additional precautions by ordering the Twenty-fourth Massachusetts regiment which had been garrisoning St. Augustine to Palatka. Elements of the Third U. S. Colored Troops were to scout the South Ford of the St. Mary's River.<sup>28</sup>

When Henry returned to Sanderson in the early afternoon on February 12, Seymour apparently became less cautious. He informed General Gillmore that while both Colonel Henry and Captain Elder agreed with him on the need of only holding the South Fork of the Saint Mary's for the present, he was dispatching Henry on a raid to Gainesville to try to intercept the trains that were supposed to be there. Seymour asked that the reinforcements he had requested, including another artillery bat-

<sup>24.</sup> Seymour to Gillmore, ibid., 283.

<sup>25.</sup> Ibid., February 12, 1864, 283.

<sup>26.</sup> Gillmore to Seymour, ibid., 283-84.

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid., LIII, 100.

<sup>28.</sup> Ibid.

tery, be sent to Baldwin. He also wanted troops concentrated at a point where they could be supplied in anticipation of being called up to Barber's Ford before the next advance. Seymour ordered all ferry boats on the St. Mary's River destroyed and suggested that there be a naval demonstration at Savannah prior to or during his next advance.<sup>29</sup>

General Gillmore apparently was satisfied with the progress of the expedition, although he wondered about its future potential for greater success. In a report, February 13, to General Halleck, he noted that the military operations necessary to achieve the objectives of the expedition "promise to be of no great magnitude." General Seymour, he reported, was holding Baldwin and the crossing at Saint Mary's South Fork. Gillmore planned to construct small works "capable of resisting a coup de main" at Jacksonville, Baldwin, Palatka, and perhaps other places, each holding some 200 to 300 men. He felt that 2,500 men, in addition to the two infantry regiments currently in garrison at Fernandina and St. Augustine, together with captured artillery, would be sufficient for his operation. Gillmore intended to occupy the St. Johns River permanently, and he hoped "the lumber and turpentine trade" would be revived by "loval" men. He informed General Halleck that he would be leaving Florida the following day, February 14, for Hilton Head, and that General Seymour would be temporarily in command.<sup>30</sup> A letter from General Halleck, written on February 26, apparently before news of the defeat at Olustee had reached Washington, accepted Gillmore's assessment. Halleck requested information on the number of men that could be freed for use against some "other point of the Atlantic or Gulf coast," mentioning Mobile and North Carolina.31

General Seymour conducted a series of small raids with his advance force. A fifty-man unit from the Fortieth Massachusetts moved out of Sanderson on February 13 for the raid on Gaines-ville. The instructions were that no private property was to be destroyed or molested. Federal General Order Number Twenty-four, issued a few days later, threatened dismissal to

<sup>29.</sup> Seymour to Gillmore, ibid.

<sup>30.</sup> Gillmore to Halleck, February 13, 1864, ibid., XXXV, Pt. I, 293.

<sup>31.</sup> Halleck to Gillmore, February 26, 1864, ibid., 493-94.

any officer involved in the destruction or pillage of private property.<sup>3</sup> The idea was to create good will and encourage more Floridians to support the Union. The Gainesville raid resulted in the capture of property estimated to be worth \$1,000,000, including cotton, turpentine, rosin, sugar, tobacco, and subsistence stores. In accordance with the new policy this property was neither removed nor destroyed, but the subsistence stores were distributed among the residents.<sup>33</sup> No railroad locomotive was captured, although some thirty-six blacks were brought to Jacksonville. Thirty-three enlisted in the Union army.<sup>34</sup>

A second Federal raid was conducted by Colonel Guy Henry who left Barber's Ford on February 14 with three mounted companies from the Massachusetts Independent Battalion, the 115th New York Infantry regiment, and one gun from Elder's horse battery. The plan was to advance towards Callahan Station near the Georgia border, scour the country, destroy the railroad, and burn ferry boats. 35 On February 15, Major Galusha Pennypacker, with 300 men from the Ninety-seventh Pennsylvania and supported by gun-boats, departed Fernandina and moved towards Woodstock Mills and Kings Ferry Mills on the St. Mary's River. He was to seize lumber and a mill gear both of which were needed.<sup>36</sup> An additional 200 men from the Ninetyseventh joined the Pennypacker raiders on February 16. Some 1,500,000 board feet of lumber was captured, one-half of which was transported to Fernandina.<sup>3</sup> Pennypacker also brought in two deserters, four refugees, and twenty-five blacks.<sup>38</sup>

Perhaps encouraged by their successes, General Seymour notified General Gillmore on February 16 that he was advancing

<sup>32.</sup> Federal Order Number Twenty-four issued by Ed. W. Smith, February 15, 1864, Ibid., 481.

<sup>33.</sup> Seymour to headquarters (J. W. Turner), February 17, 1864, ibid., 296-97. 34. New York Herald, March 1, 1864.

James H. Clark, The Iron Hearted Regiment: Being An Account of the Battles, Marches, and Gallant Deeds Performed by the 115th Regiment N.Y. Volunteers (New York, 1865), 79-80.

<sup>36.</sup> Isaiah Price, History of the Ninety-Seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers Infantry During the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865, With Biographical Sketches of Its Field and Staff Officers and a Complete Record of Each Officer and Enlisted Man (Philadelphia, 1875), 234-35.

<sup>37.</sup> Ibid., 238.

<sup>38.</sup> Galusha Pennypacker to Henry R. Guss, February 23, 1864, OR, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. I, 359-60.

from Baldwin with three additional infantry regiments. He requested that elements of three other regiments be sent from Jacksonville. 39 On February 16, Seymour, in a message sent to General Gillmore at his Hilton Head headquarters, demonstrated his knowledge and understanding of the plan of operations that Gillmore had described to Halleck. Referring to a "strong movable column to push well in advance and to be kept constantly active," Seymour asked who was to be commander of these forces. 40 Although no displeasure with Colonel Henry had been officially recorded, General Seymour believed that the command position should go to an officer of "approved judgement and experience," and he suggested Colonel M. R. Morgan from the Subsistence Department. 41 General Seymour reversed a belief he had held earlier when he stated that the "people of this State, kindly treated by us, will soon be ready to return to the Union." He needed a printing press so that he could communicate with the local populace.4

Later that day, February 16, Seymour informed Gillmore that he would no longer wait for a locomotive or additional supplies and that he was planning to advance, "with the object of destroying the railroad near the Suwannee that there will be no danger of carrying away any portion of the track." Seymour urged that a demonstration be made at or near Savannah to deter Confederate troops being dispatched from there. He reported on the troop dispositions he had made to support his own movement, and noted again his critical need for both a locomotive and a printing press. He stated in his letter that he expected to be underway by the time Gillmore received his message. 44

Upon receiving General Seymour's communications, General Gillmore immediately sent him a note, hand-delivered by his chief of staff, Brigadier General J. W. Turner, suspending the forward movement and ordering the troops back to Baldwin. General Gillmore called attention to his plan of oper-

<sup>39.</sup> Seymour to Gillmore, February 16, 1864, ibid., 482.

<sup>40.</sup> Ibid., LIII, 101.

<sup>41.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42.</sup> Seymour to Turner, ibid.

<sup>43.</sup> Seymour to Gillmore, ibid., XXXV, Pt. I, 284-85.

Ibid.

ations and to his last instructions to Seymour. He was to "hold Baldwin and the Saint Mary's South Fork, as your outposts to the westward of Jacksonville, and to occupy Palatka, Magnolia, on the Saint John's." Colonel Henry's mounted force would be kept in motion "as circumstances might justify or require." Gillmore cited Seymour's earlier statements about the futility of the operation and the poor chances of restoring Florida to the Union. Gillmore indicated that he was confused over what Seymour was doing, and he was ordered to comply with the instructions he had received before General Gillmore had left Florida. Unfortunately, General Turner's ship ran into bad weather, and he did not arrive in Florida with General Gillmore's letter until after the Battle of Olustee had been fought and lost.

General Seymour's decision to advance is highly controversial and is shrouded in mystery. When General Turner was later questioned by the Senate Committee on the Conduct of the War, and was asked if this advance was considered a breach of orders, he replied: "General Gillmore did not intend or expect to have General Seymour advance." Seymour had made that decision, according to Turner, because he believed the population was ready to return to the Union. He did not anticipate a large Confederate force in front of him, and he believed the destruction of the Suwannee River railroad bridge would prevent enemy forces from coming into Florida. \*\*

Colonel Joseph W. Hawley, regimental commander of the Seventh Connecticut and acting commander of one of General Seymour's four brigades at the Battle of Olustee, later wrote of a meeting "a night or two before the battle" that General Seymour had held with "six or eight" of his officers. <sup>49</sup> According to Hawley, the officers felt that it would be impossible to hold a position in the middle of the state "having for its line of communication a rickety railroad with one engine running sixty

<sup>45.</sup> Gillmore to Seymour, February 18, 1864, ibid., 285-86.

<sup>46.</sup> Ibid

U. S. Congress. Senate. Conduct of the War, 38th Cong., 1st sess., S.R. 47, 1864, 9.

Ibid.

Joseph Hawley, "The Battle of Olustee or Ocean Pond," Johnson and Buell, eds., Battles and Leaders, 4 vols. (New York, 1888), IV, 79.

miles back to the base at Jacksonville." <sup>50</sup> They believed that the Confederates could both trap the Union forces by allowing them to advance one more day and then interdict the railroad that connected to Jacksonville. Most officers favored using the St. Johns River as the main western line, but Seymour, according to Colonel Hawley, "thought it his duty to go on." <sup>51</sup>

Another theory as to why Seymour changed his mind so suddenly has to do with a plan for a military action in South Carolina that he had submitted to United States Senator Ira Harris from New York on January 12, 1864, one month before the Florida expedition. 52 The plan suggested an amphibious landing on the South Carolina coast, a march inland of some forty miles, and an attack on the key railroad junction at Branchville, South Carolina. The operation would divide the Confederacy by driving a wedge between Generals Robert E. Lee and Joe Johnston. 53 The Branchville rail junction would be fortified, and if the Confederates attacked they would be at a disadvantage. General Seymour was echoing the offensive- defensive strategy envisioned by the former railroad executive, Union General George C. McClellan, who foresaw the importance of rail junctions as strategic targets and the advantage that rifled guns had given to the defense. The plan had a good probability of success at the time of the Port Royal attack in 1862, but it would have been more difficult in 1864. General Lee and General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander of the Confederate forces in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, had reorganized the southern coastal defenses into mobile defenses, giving special attention to the use of railroads and their defense.

When he sent his plan to Senator Harris, General Seymour suggested that General Gillmore would favor it. Since there was no endorsement by Gillmore, apparently Seymour was acting without official approval. Seymour did suggest that Harris bring the plan to the attention of President Lincoln, but asked that "these views might, if you please, be expressed as your own." <sup>54</sup>

<sup>50.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52.</sup> Seymour to Ira Harris, January 12, 1864, OR, Ser. I, LIII, 95-98.

<sup>53.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54.</sup> Ibid.

It would seem that General Seymour was being motivated to some extent by his own personal ambitions.

Assigned to the Florida expedition, General Seymour may have become disenchanted with the prospect of being involved with an operation that was smaller in scale and less strategically important than the one that he was proposing for South Carolina. In his letter to Senator Harris, he belittled a Florida expedition, claiming that the state would fall by itself into Union hands when General Johnston was defeated.<sup>55</sup> He also expressed this opinion later in substance to General Gillmore. Finding himself in Florida with no immediate prospect for more glorious fields of battle, General Seymour seemed to be applying the same strategic reasoning that he had used in his Branchville operation proposal to the situation in Florida. If the railroad bridge over the Suwannee at Columbus could be destroyed, it would separate east and west Florida. Seymour may also have heard that there was a possible second bridge crossing the Suwannee River in the vicinity of Sulphur Springs. Supposedly it was not complete, but was on the proposed rail connector line between Lawton, Georgia, and Live Oak, Florida. The connector line route had been graded and cross-ties laid, but it needed rails. If rail iron became available to the Confederates, the connector line could have been in operation within six weeks.<sup>56</sup> The existence of even an incomplete connector line bridge, particularly one crossing the Suwannee River relatively close to the bridge at Columbus, may also have tempted General Seymour to risk an advance. The opportunity not only to separate east and west Florida, but to insure the separation of Florida from Georgia by rail made that area of the Suwannee strategically important.

Whether Seymour was aware of the existence of the connector line is not known, but General Gillmore had mentioned to General Halleck that one objective for the Florida expedition would be to prevent the Confederates from moving rail to the connector point. <sup>57</sup> Seymour did believe that some rail for Florida might be removed to Virginia and used to repair lines there.

<sup>55.</sup> Ibid.

C. McClenaghan to H. C. Guerin, October 29, 1863, ibid., XXVIII, Pt. II, 461

<sup>57.</sup> Gillmore to Halleck, January 31, 1864, ibid., XXXV, Pt. I, 279.

That had to be prevented. General Seymour may also have felt that his career was languishing in comparison to his fellow officers. Although he had graduated from West Point in 1846, he was subordinate in command to General Gillmore who had graduated from West Point three years later. Seymour had served with distinction as an artillery officer in the Mexican War and against the Seminoles in Florida in 1856-1858. He was at Fort Sumter during the bombardment in April 1861. He commanded a division at Malvern Hill in the Peninsula Campaign, and was brevetted a lieutenant colonel for his actions at Second Manasass. He also distinguished himself at the Battle of South Mountain, and was brevetted a colonel for his performance at Sharpsburg.<sup>5 8</sup> He was transferred to Charleston harbor in November 1862, where, under a master plan conceived by General Gillmore, he was the field commander charged with the abortive attack on Battery Wagner in July 1863. In that engagement, the North lost 1,515 men, the South only 181. Military analysts have charged Seymour with being too slow to order supporting units into the attack, a charge that would be repeated in relation to his conduct at Olustee. <sup>59</sup> If Union battles were listed in terms of losses by percentages of men killed and wounded against the number that participated, Olustee would rank third and Battery Wagner sixth. The percentage of casualtities (wounded and killed) for Olustee was 26.5 and for Battery Wagner, 21.4. 60 One analyst ranking assaults on fortified positions listed Olustee first among the bloodiest defeats for the Union and Battery Wagner second.<sup>61</sup> What is appalling is that the same man, General Seymour, commanded at both battles. Perhaps after a series of distinguishing performances early in the war, General Seymour found himself bogged down for two years, performing the tedious requirements of seige duty in a military area that was a side show to more momentous events and with only a bloody failure to show for his efforts. Anxious

<sup>58.</sup> Ezra J. Warner, Generals In Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders (Baton Rouge, 1959), 176-77, 432-33.

Peter Burchard, One Gallant Rush: Robert Gordon Shaw and His Brave Black Regiment (Battleboro, VT, 1965), 133, 181.

<sup>60.</sup> Thomas Leonard Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America*, 1861-1865 (Bloomington, 1957), 75.

<sup>61.</sup> Ibid.; McWhiney and Jamieson, Attack and Die, 11.

to recoup his personal career fortunes after the disaster at Battery Wagner, he blundered into an even worse one in Florida.

The decision to advance was made rather suddenly. Despite General Seymour's statement on February 17 that he would be on the move by the time General Gillmore received his letter, it would appear that the final decision to advance was made some time during the night of February 19. George Whittemore, a newspaper correspondent accompanying General Seymour's forces, noted that on Friday, the nineteenth, no one, including General Seymour, supposed that an advance would be made for a few days. 62 This was evidenced by the activities of men and officers in constructing shelters and other conveniences to provide additional comfort. This probably would not have been done had an immediate move been expected. 63 Whittemore reported: "Sometime during the night General Seymour received information of the enemy's whereabouts and plans which led him to believe that by pushing rapidly forward his column, he would be able to defeat the enemy's designs and secure important immediate advantages. Whatever that information may have been, the events of Saturday would indicate it was by no means reliable, or that General Seymour acted upon it with too much haste." 64

Except for the raids on Gainesville and Callahan Station, Seymour's forces, concentrated in the vicinity of Baldwin and Barber's Ford, had been relatively inactive for nine days after the skirmish at Lake City on February 11. By contrast, the Confederate forces were moving quickly to meet the threat. When Colonel Henry was repulsed at Lake City, General Joseph Finegan, commanding the Confederate troops facing the Federal expedition, reported having 600 infantry and cavalry and two guns. By February 13, Finegan reported 2,250 infantry and cavalry and ten guns, and by the time General Seymour made his move, he had amassed 5,200 infantry and cavalry and three batteries containing twelve guns. Most of these troops were

<sup>62.</sup> New York Times, March 1, 1864.

<sup>63.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65.</sup> George Baltzell, "The Battle of Olustee," Florida Historical Quarterly 9 (April 1931), 207.

<sup>66.</sup> Ibid.

from the now weakened Charleston and Savannah defenses. but General Beauregard considered the threat to his subsistence supply line from Florida critical. <sup>67</sup> Beauregard also realized the possible potential of the Federal expedition which apparently the Union commanders had not comprehended. He warned General Finegan to be careful of a second landing from the Gulf of Mexico. 68 A Federal invasion of the Florida Gulf coast, combined with the one at Jacksonville, could have been very successful. Finegan had concentrated all of his forces at Lake City and the rest of the state was almost completely undefended.

General Beauregard was taking a calculated risk by concentrating such a large force in Florida. He was not only risking the weakened coastal defenses before Charleston and Savannah, but he was also placing troops in Florida that the war department in Richmond was pressuring him to send to the relief of the Army of the Tennessee. Beauregard made several attempts to secure a replacement for himself so that he could go to Florida and take charge of the Confederate defense, but he was not successfu1.68 It was an indication, however, of how strongly he felt the threat posed by the Federal expedition. More than 10,000 Confederate troops were eventually diverted from other areas to Florida. The 4,000 or so that fought in the Battle of Olustee traveled by rail through southern Georgia to a point north of Madison, Florida, and then marched overland to the railroad at Madison. Although this massive movement of troops and equipment had to pass relatively close to the Union positions, nowhere is there any indication that General Seymour was either aware of the movement or the number of troops involved during the nine days of his inactivity. He had the means to obtain this information with his mounted units and to do something about it. He also had the means to feel out the Confederate strength in front of him, but there is no indication that he took any such precautions.

Up until the time of General Seymour's command decision

<sup>67.</sup> Ibid. 68. P. G. T. Beauregard to Joseph Finegan, February 11, 1864, *OR*, Ser. I, XXXV, Pt. I, 600.

<sup>69.</sup> Beauregard to Samuel Cooper, February 9, 1864; Beauregard to D. H. Hill, February 9, 1864; Beauregard to Howell Cobb, February 9, 1864, ibid.. 581.

to move forward, the Federal expedition into Florida in 1864 was an unqualified success. The landing at Jacksonville had been a surprise, and the rapid movement inland had produced notable results in the capture of men and materials and disruption of Confederate defenses. At the Lake City skirmish on February 11, Colonel Henry had the advantage in men and mobility. Had he been able to push on to Lake City, and then to the Suwannee. he could have captured a locomotive and destroyed the bridge or bridges. Even after the Union troops pulled back, they were successful in conducting raids. General Gillmore conceived of creating a Federal enclave extending from Fernandina to Baldwin to Palatka to St. Augustine and using it to control the central part of the state. It would have significantly reduced Florida as a base for Confederate supplies. Also it would have provided a source of recruits for the Union's black regiments and helped restore Florida to the Union. General Seymour was a combat-experienced officer, yet he made his decision to move forward after more than a week's inactivity in the middle of enemy-occupied territory with little knowledge of the strength or location of his opponent and with inadequate logistic support. Within a few days he had completely reversed his assessment of the expedition and disregarded the advice he had sought from his immediate subordinates. Although informing General Gillmore that he would be on the move on or about February 17, he did not begin until three days later and from all indications that move was the result of a quick decision.

Whatever compelling reason or reasons caused General Seymour to override prudent military judgement and make his fateful decision will never be known. One can only speculate on his strange behavior the week prior to Olustee and the factors that contributed to that decision. His defeat at Olustee ended further Federal interest in Florida and the relatively moderate treatment of the enemy's civilian population as General William T. Sherman would shortly demonstrate. Surprisingly, General Seymour's military career managed to survive both Battery Wagner and Olustee. He was transferred to the Army of the Potomac where he was captured at the Wilderness. After being exchanged, he commanded a division in the Shenandoah Valley, at the seige of Petersburg, and in the Appomattox campaign. He was brevetted a major general in both the regular army and the volunteers at the end of the war. He was promoted to the

substantive rank of major in the Fifth Artillery in 1866, and he served in that position until he voluntarily retired in 1876. He then moved to Florence, Italy, where he died in 1891.70

The Federal expedition into Florida in 1864 was not a total failure. It forced the Confederates to divert manpower badly needed elsewhere, it disrupted for a while, and diminished thereafter, subsistence supplies from Florida, and it demonstrated the ability of black soldiers, such as those in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, to perform under fire. Union forces continued to occupy coastal portions of Florida and conduct raids into the interior until the end of the war in the spring of 1865.

70. Warner. Generals in Blue. 432-33.

## OPEN-RANGE CATTLE-HERDING IN SOUTHERN FLORIDA

by John S. Otto

The herders of the Old South held little land and few slaves but owned considerable numbers of livestock. They grazed their livestock on the unclaimed public lands, or "open-range," at no charge, a practice which was safeguarded by state laws until after the Civil War. Living throughout the Old South, the herders were especially numerous in the mountains and the coastal plain, where the soil possessed little fertility, and where most of the land was unclaimed public domain. In the southern mountains, herders raised hogs in the unfenced hardwood forests, exporting porkers to southern plantations and to midwestern slaughter houses. In the southern coastal plain—the sandy coastal lowlands which stretched from the Chesapeake Bay to the Rio Grande River—herders raised cattle in the pine forests, exporting beeves to southern cities and to the West Indies. In the same the coastal plain is the pine forests, exporting beeves to southern cities and to the West Indies.

During the past decade, historians have rediscovered the southern herders. Much of the recent historical research, however, has focused on the hog-herders of the mountains, and less attention has been devoted to the cattle-herders of the coastal plain.<sup>4</sup> The latter have been largely overlooked by historians

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- Frank L. Owsley, Plain Folk of the Old South (Baton Rouge, 1949), vii, 26, 33-35.
- 2. Edmund C. Burnett, "Hog Raising and Hog Driving in the Region of the French Broad River," *Agricultural History* 20 (April 1946), 86-103.
- Sam B. Hilliard, Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860 (Carbondale, IL, 1972), 115-22.
   See Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern
- See Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsmen: A Reinterpretation," Journal of Southern History 61 (May 1975), 147-66; Ibid., "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation," American Historical Review 85 (December 1980), 1095-1118.

because so few of them left personal documents, such as letters and diaries, describing their behavior and thoughts.

Although the lives of cattle-herders are documented incidentally in public records such as federal census manuscripts and county tax lists, these documents were little more than lists of names and numbers describing the quantitative results of past behavior but not the behavior itself.<sup>5</sup> The behavior of cattle-herders was occasionally described in the travelogues which were written by northern and foreign visitors to the Old South, but such publications contained the inevitably biased observations of visitors who only partly comprehended the reality of the livestock-herders' lives.<sup>6</sup> In addition to travelogues by outsiders, a few herders and members of their families left written testimonies about their antebellum lives in the form of autobiographies and "old-time" reminiscences. Some of these were later published.<sup>7</sup>

Though few cattle-herders had the time or the inclination to write down their feelings and thoughts, many left oral testimonies of their antebellum lives. Herders often related their experiences to their children and grandchildren who in turn transmitted these oral testimonies to their descendants. These accounts, or traditional oral histories, offer one of the best sources for studying the lifeways of the antebellum cattle-herders.<sup>8</sup>

Oral traditions, nevertheless, leave much to be desired as historical sources. In contrast to written documents, which, if left unaltered, can be regarded as permanent records of past events, oral histories possess no such permanency. Oral tradi-

- John S. Otto, "Hillsborough County (1850): A Community in the South Florida Flatwoods," Florida Historical Quarterly 62 (October 1983), 190.
- 6. Francis Tuckett, A Journey in the United States in the Years 1829 and 1830, ed. by Hubert C. Fox (Plymouth, MA, 1976); Charles Lanman, Adventures in the Wilds of the United States and British American Provinces, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1856); James Stirling, Letters from the Slave States (London, 1857).
- F. C. M. Boggess, A Veteran of Four Wars: The Autobiography of F. C. M. Boggess (Arcadia, 1900); Deacon E. I. Wiggins, A History of the Mt. Enon Association (Tampa, 1921); Webster Merritt, "A History of Medicine in Duval County: Part IV," Journal of the Florida Medical Association 31 (May 1945), 523-28.
- 8. Oral traditional history is defined in Richard M. Dorson, "The Oral Historian and the Folklorist," in Peter Olch and Forrest Pogue, eds., *Selections from the Fifth and Sixth National Colloquia on Oral History (New York, 1972)*, 44-46.

tions may change with each telling. Yet, even these deficiencies of oral traditions may be overcome. As folklorist William L. Montell has found, the veracity of oral traditions can be established if there is geographic continuity of populations in an area, and if traditions can be corroborated with local records. 10

Fortunately, these conditions exist in southern Florida, an area where numbers of families have resided from antebellum times to the present, and where many of the statements in oral traditions may be corroborated and supplemented with local historical sources. During the course of an historical study of antebellum Hillsborough County, the author met a life-long resident of the community, Mr. Seth Alderman, whose family had lived in southern Florida since the mid-nineteenth century. 11 With this degree of geographic continuity, the Aldermans were able to hand down successfully their family's traditions. Included in their oral traditions were descriptions of the lifeways of James Alderman, a cattle-herder who was born in Duplin County in eastern North Carolina in 1801, and who died in southern Florida in 1880.<sup>12</sup> Alderman moved to Bulloch County, Georgia, in 1815 with his parents, and after marrying Roxie Ann Holloway there, he migrated to Thomas County, Georgia, in 1827, where he engaged in livestock-herding and farming. 13 About 1850. Alderman moved his family and livestock to sparsely-settled Hillsborough County, Florida: "My greatgrandfather came to Florida. . . . [He was] James Alderman. He and my grandfather [Timothy, James' second son] and the whole family moved down here from Georgia. . . . That was before there was anyone in Hillsborough County much." 14

- 9. Ruth Finnegan, "A Note on Oral Tradition and Historical Evidence," *History and Theory 9* (Spring 1970), 200-01.
- William L. Montell, "The Oral Historian as Folklorist," in Olch and Pogue, eds., Selections from the Fifth and Sixth National Colloquia on Oral History, 50-53.
- John S. Otto, "Florida's Cattle-Ranching Frontier: Hillsborough County (1860)," Florida Historical Quarterly 63 (July 1984), 71-83.
- 12. Interview with Seth Alderman by John S. Otto, August 28, 1986 (hereinafter Alderman interview). Transcript of interview on file at Hillsborough County Historical Commission Library, Hillsborough County Courthouse, Tampa. Mr. Alderman is the great-grandson of James Alderman, who lived in Hillsborough County from 1850 to 1880.
- 13. Kyle S. VanLandingham, "James Alderman, 1801-1880," South Florida Pioneers 14 (October 1977), 15-16.
- 14. Alderman interview.

James Alderman's name was missing from the 1850 census for Hillsborough County. It first appeared in the local records in 1851, when he purchased 160 acres from a private landowner. In later years, he enlarged this farmstead by purchasing additional acreage from the federal government, accumulating a total of 240 acres by 1860. <sup>15</sup> Although he acquired a modest homestead, James Alderman did not purchase grazing lands for his livestock. Florida law permitted citizens to graze their stock on the public land, or open-range, at no charge. <sup>16</sup> By 1860, James Alderman grazed a total of 1,770 cattle on the public lands of Hillsborough County. <sup>17</sup>

Alderman's sizable cattle herd was composed of "scrubs" – hardy range animals which survived on coarse native forage, tolerated the heat of southern Florida, and developed an immunity to endemic stock diseases. In spite of their hardiness, scrub cattle were small and scrawny, gaining weight during the wet, warm months when forage was plentiful, and losing weight during the dry, cool winters when food was scarce. At best, a "three year old steer would weigh about 600 pounds," the "cows weighed 500 or 600 pounds," and the "bulls weighed 700 or 800 [pounds]. "19

Weighing only a few hundred pounds, scrub cattle "could cover range so sparse that heavier blooded stock literally walk[ed] themselves to death trying to find enough to eat." Roaming the unfenced public lands in search of native forage, scrubs lived in herds which had a known territory: "They

- VanLandingham, "James Alderman," 16; Otto, "Florida's Cattle-Ranching Frontier," 79.
- Alderman interview; Leslie A. Thompson, A Manual or Digest of the Statute Law of the State of Florida (Boston, 1847), 135.
- 17. Data on James Alderman's agricultural wealth and household composition in 1860 are from the manuscript returns of the Eighth U.S. Census, 1860, Hillsborough County, Florida, Schedule 4 (Agriculture), Schedule 1 (Free Inhabitants), and Schedule 2 (Slave Inhabitants), on microfilm, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee (hereinafter cited as Eighth Census, 1860, with appropriate schedule numbers).
- W. Theodore Mealor, Jr., and Merle Prunty, "Open-Range Ranching in Southern Florida," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 66 (September 1976), 365; John M. Scott, "Native Cattle Small from Lack of Feed," University of Florida Agricultural Experiment Station Press Bulletin, No. 191 (Gainesville, 1912).
- 19. Alderman interview.
- 20. Stetson Kennedy, Palmetto Country (New York, 1942), 216.

formed herds. Oh, like, they'd be various sizes. A lot of them would be like 75 to 110 [in size]. . . . They wandered a lot; but for the most part, they'd stay in a given area. You wouldn't exactly know where you was going to find them, but you'd have a fair idea.  $^{^{12}}$ 

A typical herd of scrub cattle included an old bull, several young bulls, and a few dozen cows, calves, and steers. A herd generally wandered within a three square-mile area. Given the ecological complexity of southern Florida, this territory usually included tracts of hammocks, prairies, and flatwoods. During the winters, when forage was less abundant, cattle would browse in the dense hardwood stands, or hammocks, which were located on hillocks or along streams: "They liked the hammocks in the wintertime, because there was moss strewing out of the oaks and that sort of thing. They ate the moss out of the trees. . . . They'd probably eat the leaves off some of the trees . . . . There'd be ferns and various other small plants they would get some good out of. But this grey [Spanish] moss that grows in Florida, cattle liked that, especially in the wintertime. "23"

Cattle also sought out the seasonally-flooded prairies and ponds which contained stands of maidencane: "A lot of times those prairies were some of the best grazing, especially during dry weather [in winter]. . . . [In addition], there were some old ponds that had 'maidencane' in them that were real good, especially in the winter. . . . I think that in this particular area, the 'wiregrass' and the 'maidencane' were the big things." <sup>24</sup>

Wiregrass was the most abundant grass in the pine flatwoods— the dominant ecological community in southern Florida. Containing little more than pine trees, saw palmettos, and seasonal grasses, the flatwoods were characterized by low relief, sandy soils, and an underlying hardpan which hindered drainage and caused flooding during the rainy, warm months. How-

<sup>21.</sup> Alderman interview.

Ibid.; John H. Davis, "The Natural Features of Southern Florida," Florida Geological Bulletin, No. 25 (Tallahassee, 1943), 44.

<sup>23.</sup> Alderman interview.

<sup>24.</sup> Ibid., "Maidencane" (Panicurm hemitomon) was a tall perennial cane that offered forage for cattle during most of the year. In turn, "wiregrass" (Aristida stricta) was a seasonal grass that provided forage from late winter to early fall. See Lewis Yarlett, Important Native Grasses for Range Conservation in Florida (Gainesville, 1965), 75-77, 119-20.

ever, during the dry winters, the flood-waters receded, and the flatwoods were susceptible to fires. To improve the flatwoods range for his cattle, Alderman deliberately burned the woods during the winter-a practice which removed the frost-killed wiregrass, exposed the spring grass, and reduced the palmetto undergrowth: "The grass-after it gets old and tough— it's not much good. There's a lot of wiregrass; and when it's fresh burned, it's real good grazing. Then, I guess it kept down the palmetto some. . . . And when the palmetto's young and tender [after a fire], they [scrubs] would eat it." <sup>26</sup>

Within a few weeks, the burned flatwoods yielded a carpet of fresh grass. When the spring grass was most abundant, about half of the cows dropped calves. To protect the young calves from wolves and other predators, Alderman collected the newborn calves and their mothers and penned them on his farmstead: "They used to do what they called 'penning' cows. . . . They would be wooden pens or pole pens. . . . They'd get a herd of cows up, and they'd separate the cows from the calves. They'd put the calves on one side . . . and the cows on the other. . . . That would make the cows come up at night."

Grazing in the flatwoods during the day and returning to the cowpens at night to nurse their calves, the penned cows furnished milk for the Alderman household: "Some of those old cows were trained to milk. They'd [herders] have a bucket sitting on the gate posts; and they'd have a small bucket; and they'd go around and milk a little from each cow; and they'd pour it in there, so they wouldn't have to carry the big bucket around. That was usually before they turned the calves in [to nurse] in the morning. They'd usually just do that once a day." <sup>28</sup>

When the wiregrass faded in the summer, and when the milk supply declined, Alderman released the cows and calves, allowing them to rejoin the herds on the unfenced range. Predators, however, still posed a threat to young cattle: "I re-

<sup>25.</sup> Joe A. Edmisten, "The Ecology of the Florida Pine Flatwoods," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1963), 1-3, 13, 18.

Alderman interview. The benefits of burning the flatwoods are discussed in J. B. Hilmon and C. E. Lewis, "Effect of Burning on South Florida Range," Southeastern Forest Experiment Station Paper, No. 146 (Asheville, NC, 1962), 1-12.

<sup>27.</sup> Alderman interview.

<sup>28.</sup> Ibid.

member hearing them talking about panthers [cougars]. . . . There were panthers and wolves here at that time. . . . They'd shoot them. They had muzzle-loading rifles. I heard them talk about the muzzle-loading rifles. "  $^{29}$ 

Although they hunted predators, burned the flatwoods, and penned the calves, the Aldermans devoted little labor to cattleherding during most of the year. James Alderman did not provide his scrub cattle with any supplementary fodder, veterinary care, or salt doles. Each fall, however, Alderman found it necessary to collect his hundreds of range cattle, mark and brand the calves, and select the beef steers for market.<sup>30</sup> Collecting the range cattle, the "cow-hunt," was the most difficult task confronting Alderman since his animals were scattered across thousands of acres of unfenced range. Although some southern Florida cattle-herders had used black slaves to aid them in collecting cattle, James Alderman possessed no slaves. In fact, Alderman's 1860 household contained only two other adult laborers-his two grown sons, William and Townsend. Given his small work force, James Alderman turned to his scattered neighbors for aid in gathering his cattle. Alderman's neighbors lived within the Alafia Settlement which had grown up around his homestead. Though each farmstead in the Alafia Settlement was located several miles apart so that cattle could graze in the intervening range, the settlement constituted a rural neighborhood, whose members were linked by friendship, kinship, and marriage. In the case of James Alderman, his Alafia neighbors included friends, as well as his four married sons- Matthew, Timothy, Mitchell, and Michael Alderman- and his two sons-inlaw. 31 Calling on his in-laws, sons, and neighbors for casual labor. James Alderman collected his cattle, identified calves, and chose beeves for market.

Meeting on the open-range, Alderman and his Alafia neighbors constructed temporary pens to hold the cattle they collected. In gathering the range cattle, herd-dogs proved indispensable: "They were mostly 'cur-dogs'. . . . Some had a little hound in them and a little bull [dog]. . . . They were just good

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31.</sup> Otto, "Florida's Cattle-Ranching Frontier," 79-80; VanLandingham, "James Alderman," 16.

old dogs. A good dog was worth two or three men, really. Anyhow, they'd get the cows and circle them and get them together and help drive them into the pen. "32 After penning the cattle, Alderman and his neighbors marked the calves' ears and branded their flanks: "They'd have the brand. Build up a lighter-knot fire and have the branding iron on that. Catch the calves. Somebody would do the marking, somebody the castrating, and somebody the branding."

Each cattle-herder had his own brands and ear-marks which were registered at the county courthouse. James Alderman, for example, used the "4" and "22" brands. In addition, he cut the ears of his calves: a "swallow-fork in one ear and an upper and underbit crop" in the other.<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>As they marked and branded the calves, Alderman selected the beef steers—those older than three years. Though he saved a few for home butchering, James Alderman sold the bulk of his steers. Southern Florida cattle-herders usually sold a tenth of their cattle each year. Thus, in 1860, Alderman's 1,770 cattle should have yielded at least 177 marketable beef steers.<sup>35</sup>

The problem was finding a market for the steers. In the early 1850s cattle-herders in southern Florida drove beeves on the hoof to such markets as Jacksonville, Savannah, and Charleston. With the opening of the Cuban cattle trade in the late 1850s, this pattern began to change. James McKay, a Tampa merchant, has been credited with opening the Cuban cattle market in 1858. McKay exported live scrub steers to Cuba in exchange for Spanish gold and Cuban ponies. By 1860, McKay was shipping about 400 beeves each month to Cuba. Taking advantage of the new market, James Alderman and his neighbors drove steers to Tampa for shipment to Cuba. A typical drive consisted of "seven and eight hundred steers with about

<sup>32.</sup> Alderman interview.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid

<sup>34.</sup> Richard M. Livingston, ed., "Hillsborough County: Early Marks and Brands," South Florida Pioneers 7 (January 1976), 23; ibid., "Hillsborough County: Early Marks and Brands," South Florida Pioneers 8 (April 1976), 15.

Alderman interview; W. Theodore Mealor, Jr., "The Open Range Ranch in South Florida and Its Contemporary Successors," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1972), 40.

<sup>36.</sup> Otto, "Florida's Cattle-Ranching Frontier," 78.

<sup>37. &</sup>quot;A New Era in the History of Tampa," *Tampa Florida Peninsular*, July 28, 1860.

eight or ten men with dogs." Since Tampa lay less than a dozen miles from the Alderman homestead, the drive took only a day or two. In Tampa, scrub steers were worth as much as \$15.00 per head. At such prices, Alderman's harvest of 177 steers may have earned as much as \$2,655.00. Since Alderman grazed his cattle on public lands, and since his stock required no fodder or medicines, it cost little to raise a steer for market, and the money realized from the sale of range steers was nearly all profit.

Despite his sizable income, Alderman lived modestly in a home-made log house. On their farmstead, the Aldermans built a series of unhewn pine-log structures, including a small barn, corn crib, meat house, detached kitchen, and a multi-room house with stick-and-clay chimneys. By 1860, this pine-log house sheltered James, his wife Roxie, their sons, and five daughters.<sup>39</sup> In addition to pine-log buildings, Alderman's farmstead contained the cow pens, which protected young calves and milk cows from predators during the spring. Since the manure from the penned cows enriched the soils, old cowpens offered fertile garden spots: "They'd pen them on this parcel of land that they were going to farm. Well, the droppings, manure, and urine [would accumulate]. . . . They'd do that on the same tract of land for maybe six or eight weeks at a time. It got the land real rich with all that fertilizer they brought in. That's where they'd plant their sweet potatoes and their [sugar] cane following their sweet potatoes. . . . From the cane, they made syrup and sugar."40

Farming the old cowpens, Alderman produced 400 bushels of sweet potatoes, 1,000 pounds of cane sugar, 400 bushels of corn, and 100 bushels of peas in 1860. The enriched cowpen soils yielded more than enough corn, potatoes, and peas to feed his family. Alderman used the surplus foodstuffs to feed his two horses and fifty hogs. <sup>41</sup> Raising food crops to feed his family,

<sup>38.</sup> Alderman interview; "List of Produce, &c. Shipped from the Port of Tampa, during the past season," Tampa *Florida Peninsular*, December 3, 1859.

<sup>39.</sup> Alderman interview; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 1.

<sup>40.</sup> Alderman interview.

<sup>41.</sup> In 1860, James Alderman's household contained ten white adults and children, each of who would have required thirteen bushels of corn per year to meet their subsistence needs. Using a modification of Sam Hilliard's formula for measuring self-sufficiency in corn, one finds the farm's total production (400 bushels of corn) minus the seed requirements (five per

and selling scrub steers in Tampa, Alderman easily met his subsistence and cash needs: "It was a self-sufficient farming, really. . . . They lived largely for their livestock and small farming. Most all of them grew sweet potatoes and [sugar] cane. . . . But they had to buy their cloth and make their clothes. I guess they had to buy their salt [to cure their meat]."

Purchasing a few consumer necessities, Alderman used the remainder of his cash income to pay taxes and to acquire property. By 1860, Alderman had accumulated \$9,009 worth of livestock and farm land valued at \$1,500. This was somewhat more than the average southern Florida cattle-herders, who owned \$1,410 worth of livestock and \$766 worth of land in 1860. Although he was wealthier than the average cattle-herder, Alderman's cattle-herding practices and lifeways were typical of southern Florida. He and other Florida cattle-herders acquired farmsteads, grazed cattle on the open-range, burned the flatwoods range to improve forage, hunted predators, penned calves and cows for protection, planted food crops in old cowpens, conducted annual cow-hunts to collect range cattle, identified calves with marks and brands, and drove beef steers overland to coastal markets.

cent) and minus the human needs (ten people times thirteen bushels) would have furnished a surplus of 250 bushels of corn. And by converting sweet potatoes and peas to their corn equivalents (400 bushels of potatoes equals 100 bushels of corn and 100 bushels of peas equals 100 bushels of corn), this would have yielded an additional 200 bushels of corn equivalents. Even after feeding his horses and hogs at the following yearly rates (two horses times seven and one-half bushels of corn and fifty hogs times four bushels of corn), Alderman would still have achieved a surplus of 235 bushels of corn and corn equivalents. See Eighth Census, 1860, Schedules 1, 2, and 4; Hilliard, Hog Meat and Hoecake, 158; and Raymond Battalio and John Kagel, "The Structure of Antebellum Southern Agriculture," Agricultural History 44 January 1970), 28.

- 42. Alderman interview.
- 43. Ibid.; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 4.
- 44. Commercial cattle-herders may be identified in the federal census manuscripts as those owning more than eighteen cattle. Eighteen cattle would have furnished a farm family with one work ox, a bull, two milk cows, six breeding cows, and eight steers for sale. The 167 cattle-herders in Hillsborough County in 1860 owned livestock worth \$235,541 and farmland valued at \$128,800, Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 4; Otto, "Florida's Cattle-Ranching Frontier," 77.
- James W. Covington, The Story of Southwestern Florida, 2 vols. (New York, 1957), I, 100-01, 132-33; Wiggins, History of Mt. Enon Association, 3-5; Boggess, Veteran of Four Wars, 66, 74, 76, 82; Doris Lewis, The Kissimmee Island 'Piney Wood Rooters' (Moweaqua, IL, 1982), 2-3, 11.

This complex of cattle-herding lifeways, moreover, was not confined to southern Florida. These cultural traits were also found in Georgia and the coastal Carolinas. In fact, this cattle-herding complex apparently originated within coastal South Carolina, an area which was settled after 1670. Although the founders of Carolina wanted "Planters there and not Graziers," they supplied their colonists in the 1670s with cattle from Virginia, New York, and Bermuda. Despite the presence of such predators as the "Tyger [cougar], Wolf, and wild Cat," cattle multiplied rapidly in coastal Carolina. By the 1680s, cattle were so plentiful in the new colony that Carolina was exporting barrels of salt beef to the British West Indian colonies.

The center of Carolina's early cattle industry (1680-1710) was Colleton County, a spacious community located south of Charleston. It had been settled primarily by British immigrants during the late seventeenth century. <sup>51</sup> Among these were many from western England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. <sup>52</sup> Signifi-

- John Ben Pate, History of Turner County (Atlanta, 1933), 29, 31, 36, 41-42;
   Julia E. Harn, "Old Canooche Backwoods Sketches," Georgia Historical Quarterly 24 (March 1940), 382-83; John H. Goff, "Cow Punching in Old Georgia," Georgia Review 3 (Fall 1949), 341-48; Elizabeth W. A. Pringle, Chronicles of Chicora Wood (New York, 1923), 17-18.
- Lewis C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933; reprint ed., Gloucester, MA, 1958), I, 55-57, 148-49; Terry G. Jordan, Trails to Texas: Southern Roots of Western Cattle Ranching (Lincoln, NE, 1981), 38-42.
- 48. [Langdon Cheves, ed.], Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, 5 vols. (Richmond, 1897), V, 272, 275, 286, 298, 320, 437, 440-41 (quotation from p. 437).
- 49. T. A. [Thomas Ash], Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of that Country (London, 1682), 19-20.
- [Samuel Wilson], An Account of the Province of Carolina in America (London, 1682), 13; Editor, "Letters of Thomas Newe from South Carolina, 1682," American Historical Review 12 (January 1907), 325.
- 51. Verner W. Crane, The Southern Frontier 1670-1732 (Durham, 1928), 163; Clarence L. VerSteeg, "Origins of a Southern Mosaic: Studies of Early Carolina and Georgia," Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, No. 17 (Athens; 1975), 115. The three original counties (1682) of South Carolina included Colleton, Berkeley, and Craven. Colleton lay south of the Stono River; Berkely, between the Stono and Sewee rivers and included Charleston; and Craven, to the north of the Sewee. Colleton's inhabitants were largely British; Berkeley's population, mainly British West Indian; and Craven's settlers were French Hugenots. See Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government 1670-1719 (New York, 1901), 193, 329; M. Eugene Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina: A Political History 1663-1763 (Chapel Hill, 1966), 17, 36-37, 61.
- 52. McCrady, History of South Carolina, 193-94; [John Norris], Profitable Advice

cantly, cattle-herding was the leading agricultural pursuit in this part of Britain during the seventeenth century.  $^{53}$ 

In western Britain, herders lived in hamlets and scattered farmsteads, but they grazed their cattle on the "commons"— the mutually-shared unfenced range. Most British commons were "moors"— tracts of poor soils which supported little more than heather and coarse grass. To improve the moorland forage for their cattle, Britons burned the moors in winter to remove dead vegetation and promote the growth of new grass. If they were periodically burned, moors provided forage from spring to fall. Since cattle ranged on the unfenced moors, owners identified their animals with distinctive marks or brands. Stock grazed on the commons under the care of herdsmen, or "moormen." At night, herdsmen drove their animals into pens, or "folds," for protection from predators and thieves. Folding of

- for Rich and Poor . . . Containing a Description, or True Relation of South Carolina, an English Plantation, or Colony, in America (London, 1712), 13, 83-84; R. F., The Present State of Carolina with Advice to the Settlers [sic] (London, 1682), 6; [Wilson], Province of Carolina, 7.
- 53. Crispin Gill, The West Country (Edinburgh, 1962), 9-10; Robert Trow-Smith, A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700 (London, 1957), 213, 223, 229. In this article, western Britain includes southwestern England, the Welsh borderland, Wales, northern England, Scotland, and Ireland, the area which Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney have termed the "Celtic frontier." McDonald and McWhiney, "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation," American Historical Review 85 (December 1980), 1107-08.
- F. V. Emery, "England circa 1600," in H. C. Darby, ed., A New Historical Geogaphy in England (Cambridge, 1973), 261; E. Estyn Evans, The Personality of Ireland: Habitat, Heritage, and History (Cambridge, 1973), 38-39, 53, 60-61; W. G. Hoskins and L. D. Stamp, The Common Land of England and Wales (London, 1963), 108.
- 55. John F. Hart, "The British Moorlands: A Problem in Land Utilization," University of Georgia Monographs, No. 2 (Athens, 1955), 3-4, 9-10, 18-19; A. J. Kayll "Moor Burning in Scotland," Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Tall Timbers Fire Ecology Conference, No. 6 (Tallahassee, 1967), 32-35. In seventeeth-century England, moor-burning was permitted only during the winter months from November to March. A Collection in English, of the Statutes Now in Force (London, 1621), 279-80.
- 56. R. Bradley, The Gentleman and Farmer's Guide for the Increase and Improvement of Cattle (London, 1732), 75; Ian Whyte, Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland (Edinburgh, 1979), 83; Edmund Spenser, A View of the State of Ireland as It was in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (Dublin, 1763), 251-52.
- 57. Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967), 76; J. E. Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1953), 70; Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (Shannon, 1969), 167-68. Pen was the generic British term for a

cattle also manured the soils, providing enriched fields for food crops. <sup>58</sup> In addition to supplying manure, cattle provided milk for households and beef for markets. Each fall, when frost killed the grass and moorland forage became scarce, owners rounded up their cattle. They spared the breeding animals, which were housed and fed on winter fodder, but sold the remainder of their herds to the drovers who toured the moorlands. <sup>59</sup> Drovers, accompanied by "cur-dogs," herded beef cattle from the western moors to English markets and slaughterhouses. Beef, whether fresh or salted, was a common food in Britain, and barrels of salt beef provisioned the British ships which sailed for the American colonies. <sup>60</sup>

Arriving in the Carolina colony, British immigrants could easily reproduce their cattle-herding system by acquiring farmsteads, buying breeding stock from the established settlers, and grazing their cattle on the unfenced lands. A Carolina law of 1694 required agriculturalists to fence in their crops, allowing cattle to graze freely on any unfenced lands without fear of trespass. Since cattle grazed on unfenced range, Carolina laws of 1683 and 1704 required owners to identify their stock with "ear [marks] and burnt marks [brands]." To comply with the law, herders annually collected their stock, "bringing their cattle to their respective pens and marking them as they were accustomed." Once marked, cattle required little care during most of the year, receiving neither veterinary care nor supplemental "fother" [fodder]. Herders, however, deliberately burned the

- stock enclosure. Such enclosures were also known as "folds" in Scotland and Ireland and as "ffalds" in Wales. See Joseph Wright, ed., *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 vols. (London, 1898), II, 439; ibid., IV, 464; Dorothy Sylvester, *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland* (London, 1969), 508.
- Trow-Smith, History of British Livestock Husbandry, 239; Eric Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution (New York, 1968), 156.
- Hart, "British Moorlands," 24, 26; G. E. Fussell, "Farming Methods in the Early Stuart Period, II," *Journal of Modem History* 7 (June 1935), 130; A. R. B. Haldane, *The Drove of Scotlands* (Newton Abbott, 1973), 20; Richard Colyer, *The Welsh Cattle Drovers* (Cardiff, 1976), 7.
- K. J. Bonser, The Drovers, Who They Were and How They Went (London, 1970), 23, 35, 45, 104, 106-08.
- [Wilson], Province of Carolina, 15-16; Editor, "Letters of Thomas Newe," 323; [Norris], Profitable Advice, 86-87, 91.
- 62. Thomas Cooper and David McCord, eds., The Statutes at Large of South Carolina, 10 vols. (Columbia, 1837), II, iii, 81-82, 106-07, 261-62.
- 63. [Wilson], Province of Carolina, 13.

unfenced range during the "month of March," a practice which removed "great Quantities of the dry [frost-killed] Russet Grass" and exposed the spring grass for their cattle. 64 In the spring, when grass was abundant and cows dropped their calves, owners collected new-born calves and mother cows, penning them in a "Fold," or "rail-fenc'd Field," for protection against predators. Cows continued to graze on the unfenced range during the day but returned to the safety of the fold at night to nurse their calves. At this time, owners milked their penned cows sparingly. The practice of folding, or cow-penning, also manured the soils, providing sites for planting "Garden Ware" and "West India [sweet] potatoes. "65 Before the fall season, herders released cows and calves, allowing them to rejoin the herds on the open-range. By fall, the beef steers were ready for butchering after fattening on the "Summer Russet Grass." 66 Using dogs to collect range steers, herders drove beeves to Charleston for butchering, salting, and barrelling.67

Although Carolinian cattle-herders retained such British practices as grazing on the unfenced range, marking and branding of stock, burning of range lands, folding to protect stock and enrich soils, and fall cattle sales, changes occurred as they adapted to local conditions in South Carolina. Much of coastal Carolina was flatwoods, or "Pine barren Land," which was roughly comparable to the British moors with their poor soils, heather, and grass. The term "pine barren" implied its character, for the soil was a "light, sterril [sic] Sand, productive of little else but Pine-Trees" and grass. [8] If regularly burned, the pinewoods yielded forage from spring to fall, as did the British moorlands. [9] Unlike the British moors, however, the Carolina pinewoods contained hardwood hammocks and ponds filled with evergreen cane. During the brief Carolina winters, cattle

<sup>64. [</sup>Norris], Profitable Advice, 91.

 <sup>[</sup>Thomas Nairne], A Letter from South Carolina; Giving an Account of the Soil, Air, Product, Trade, Government, Law, Religion, People, Military Strength, &c. of that Province (London, 1710), 50; [Norris], Profitable Advice, 41-43, 51.

<sup>66. [</sup>Norris], Profitable Advice, 25, 49-50.

<sup>67.</sup> Jordan, Trails to Texas, 33, 41.

<sup>68.</sup> Mark Catesby, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands,* 2 vols. (London, 1743), 11, iv.

John Drayton, A View of South-Carolina as Respects her Natural and Civil Concerns (Charleston, 1802), 7; Robert S. Campbell, "Extension of the Range Front to the South," Journal of Forestry 49 (November 1951), 787.

browsed upon the "long. . . green [Spanish] Moss" in hardwood forests and upon the "Cane growing plentifully on the lower moist Land," which kept them "in very good plight, till the Grass springs again. "<sup>70</sup> Thanks to canes and Spanish moss, there was no need to provide cattle with winter fodder and housing, as in Britain. "Having little winter, the [Carolina] woods furnished them [cattle] with both shelter and provisions all the year; neither houses nor attendants were provided for them, but each planter's cattle, distinguished only by his mark, everywhere grazed with freedom. "<sup>71</sup>

Since cattle required little care, herding proved the ideal industry for early Carolina, a colony that was chronically short of labor. The early Carolina, as in Britain, labor was too costly to provide cattle with daily care. Laborers were needed only to burn the woods in winter, pen the calves and cows in spring, mark and brand the stock, and collect the beeves in fall. Given this small labor input, a herder and a handful of laborers could successfully manage a herd of cattle and produce beef for the West Indies. The export of salt beef provided Carolinians with the necessary capital to purchase more land and laborers while they searched for suitable cash crops to supplement the cattle industry. During the late seventeenth century, Carolinians experimented unsuccessfully with such exotic cash crops as citrus, grapes, ginger, and sugar-cane. By 1700, they found rice to be the cash crop best suited for Carolina's climate and soils.

Although rice surpassed beef as Carolina's main export during the early eighteenth century, Carolinians continued to raise cattle on "cowpens" for the West Indian trade. Cowpens were isolated farmsteads with cattle pens, dwellings, and fields, sitting amidst large expanses of unfenced range.<sup>74</sup> By 1750, cowpens

<sup>70. [</sup>Norris], Profitable Advice, 49-50.

<sup>71. [</sup>Alexander Hewatt], An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, 2 vols. (London, 1779), I, 95.

<sup>72.</sup> Peter H. Wood, Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion (New York, 1974), 33, 48-49.

<sup>73.</sup> Gray, History of Agriculture, I, 52-55, 277-78.

<sup>74.</sup> Converse D. Clowse, "The Charleston Export Trade, 1717-1737" (Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1963), 51-52; Gary S. Dunbar, "Colonial Carolina Cowpens," Agricultural History 35 (July 1961), 126-28; Charles W. Towne and Edward Wentworth, Cattle and Men (Norman, OK. 1955), 143. The earliest mention of "cowpen" in Carolina was in a law of 1703 which equated cowpens with stock farms. See Cooper and McCord,

were found throughout South Carolina, and the colony contained an estimated 100,000 head of cattle. South Carolina was so overstocked with cattle that herders were leading their animals into the neighboring colonies of North Carolina and Georgia.

North Carolina was a colony of farmers and small planters who resented the intrusion of the South Carolina cattle-herders. In 1766, the North Carolina colonial assembly passed an act "to prevent the Inhabitants from South Carolina driving their Stocks of cattle from thence to range and feed in this Province," unless they purchased "a sufficient quantity of Land for feeding the said Cattle." In spite of this law, cattle-herders gained a foothold in the flatwoods of eastern North Carolina, an area which included Duplin County, the birthplace of James Alderman. To

Carolinian herders found a more favorable legal environment in Georgia. That colony adopted cattle-herding laws which resembled those passed in South Carolina. Georgia required farmers to fence in their crops, while allowing marked cattle to graze on unfenced lands at no charge. And by the 1750s Carolinian cattle-herders were moving into Georgia to graze their stock in the coastal flatwoods. By 1775, on the eve of the American Revolution, cattle-herders were found throughout coastal Georgia as well as South Carolina. The war temporarily interrupted the expansion of the cattle-herders. Since it was not un-

- eds., *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, II, 220-22. The term "cowpen" may derive from "cow-pine"-a compound noun from Somersetshire in western England which meant a stock enclosure. See Wright, ed., *English Dialect Dictionary*, IV, 5 10.
- John H. Logan, A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina (Columbia, 1859), 151-52; David D. Wallace, The History of South Carolina, 3 vols. (New York, 1934), I, 451.
- Walter Clark, ed., The State Records of North Carolina, 26 vols. (Goldsboro, 1904), XXIII, 676-77.
- 77. Jordan, *Trails to Texas*, 40, 52; Faison and Pearl McGowan, eds., *Flashes of Duplin's History and Government* (Raleigh, 1971), 19; VanLandingham, "James Alderman," 15.
- 78. Allan D. Candler and Lucien Knight, eds., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 26 vols. (Atlanta, 1910), XVIII, 73-75; Goff, "Cow Punching in Old Georgia," 345; Louis DeVorsey, Jr., ed., *DeBrahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia, 1971), 95.
- 79. William Bartram, Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida (Philadelphia, 1791), 18-19, 309-10; Jordan, Trails to Texas, 45.

common for a herder to own a "thousand . . . head of cattle," and since each cow needed more than fifteen acres of range to find enough forage during a year, such a herd required over 15,000 acres of unfenced range. <sup>80</sup> In search of range for their cattle, many coastal herders migrated westward into the pine forests of southern Georgia. <sup>81</sup> Included among such migrants was James Alderman, who moved from Duplin County, North Carolina, in 1815, to Bulloch County in coastal Georgia, and then in 1827, settled in Thomas County in southern Georgia.

Many Georgia cattle-herders, in turn, migrated southward into Florida. A Spanish colony from 1565 to 1763 and from 1783 to 1821, Florida had been the scene of a thriving cattle industry during the seventeenth century, but little was left by 1821 except the descendants of the Iberian cattle- the Florida scrubs. 82 Incorporating scrub cattle into their herds, herders had occupied much of northern Florida by 1835. Only a few had entered the southern Florida flatwoods which lay within the Seminole Indian reservation. Following the removal of most Indians at the close of the Second Seminole War, herders began settling the southern Florida flatwoods. Their cattle grazed on wiregrass during the warm months and then retreated to hammocks and ponds during the winter months to browse on moss and cane-plants which had provided winter forage from the Carolinas to Florida. Included among the herders settling in southern Florida was James Alderman, who migrated in 1850 from Thomas County, Georgia, to Hillsborough County, Florida.

As cattle-herders entered Florida, the territorial legislature adopted a series of herding laws which resembled those passed in colonial South Carolina. A Florida law from 1823 required all farmers to enclose their crops with fences, so cattle were free

<sup>80.</sup> James S. Schoff, ed., Life in the South 1778-1779: The Letters of Benjamin West (Ann Arbor, 1963), 29; Hilliard, Hog Meat and Hoecake, 136.

Fussell M. Chalker, Pioneer Days Along the Ocmulgee (Carrollton, 1970), 45;
 Folks Huxford, The History of Brooks County, Georgia (Athens, 1949), 25,
 227; Victor Davidson, History of Wilkinson County (Spartanburg, SC, 1978),
 107.

<sup>82.</sup> Charles W. Arnade, "Cattle Raising in Spanish Florida, 1513-1763," *Agricultural History* 35 (July 1961), 116-24; John E. Rouse, *The Criollo: Spanish Cattle in the Americas* (Norman, 1977), 75-77.

<sup>83.</sup> Otto, "Hillsborough County," 182-83; G. R. Fairbanks, "Florida," DeBow's Review 5 (January 1848), 11-12.

to graze on the unfenced lands. Five years later, the Florida legislature passed a law requiring herders to identify their range cattle with ear marks and brands.<sup>84</sup>

Finding familiar laws and grazing environments in Florida, cattle-herders retained traditional lifeways, which were traceable to colonial South Carolina and to western Britain. Drawing upon their customary cattle-keeping practices, herders successfully raised vast numbers of scrub cattle in the southern Florida flatwoods. By 1860, the three southern Florida counties of Hillsborough, Manatee, and Brevard contained a total of 77,464 cattle. Southern Florida herders annually exported thousands of beeves to the West Indies, thus continuing an export beef trade which began as early as the 1680s in coastal South Carolina.

- 84. Thompson, Statute Law of the State of Florida, 134, 419.
- 85. U. S. Bureau of Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1864), 18. The total number of cattle in Hillborough, Manatee, and Brevard counties was determined by adding those listed as "milch cows," "working oxen," and "other cattle."

## MAJOR GENERAL JAMES PATTON ANDERSON: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

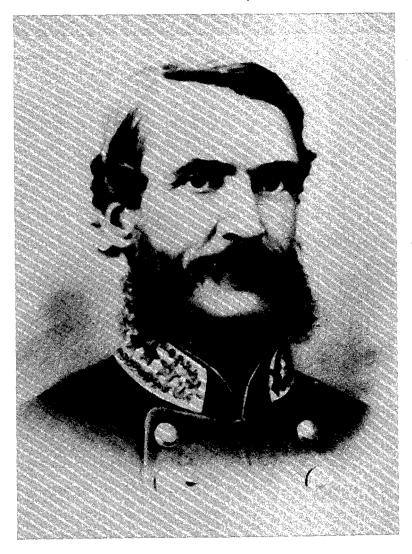
by Margaret Uhler

A LTHOUGH James Patton Anderson has received relatively little historical recognition, the contributions he made to Florida's Civil War effort are worthy of historical study.

Many incidents of Anderson's life are revealed in letters of his wife, Etta. In fact, their combined reminiscences complement each other to form a compelling narrative of romance, adventure, and devotion. In response to a letter from a Mister Earle requesting biographical information, Etta wrote on April 11, 1889: "I do not believe it possible for any pen to do justice to his private character, for brilliant, pure, and good as his public life was, his private life excelled it in every respect. We were married 19 years in April- he died the following September. In that time as son, husband, father & master, I never saw him do or say anything I did not admire and approve. It seemed to me every day I saw something new to admire and love. Every member of his household idolized him. He never spoke out of patience to his children or his servants. He required obedience- but he ruled with quiet firmness. His plantation was conducted with the same system that his command was in the army. He had no trouble to control. He seemed on entering home to leave his business 'outside the gate- ' and to enter fully into the amusements of his children. Sympathizing with them in their joys and their childish sorrows, directing, guiding & instructing at the same time. Every little occurence [ sic ] of the day was 'kept to tell Father when he came.' Don't you see how utterly impossible it would be for me to write a sketch that would do to

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 James Patton Anderson Papers (including his autobiography), boxes #64 and #64A, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; Margaret Anderson Uhler, "Civil War Letters of Major General James Patton Anderson," Florida Historical Quarterly 56 (October 1977), 150-75.



Major General James Patton Anderson.

publish? I knew him too well. And since I have lost him & have been thrown around on the world, the more perfect he seems & the farther I come from meeting any like him."<sup>2</sup>

Even though her inability to be objective caused some hesitancy in complying with the letter writer's request, Etta, nevertheless, provided several significant incidents absent in Anderson's own rather modest account. During Anderson's tenure as United States marshal of Washington Territory, from 1853 to 1856, an event took place that Etta asked Mr. Earle to keep confidential: "Genls. McClelan [ sic ] (a great favorite with us), Grant, Auger, & many other officers were our friends there; & let me tell you a little thing that for Genl. Grant's children's sake will be kept between us. While my husband was taking the census, way up near the Dalles, on the Columbia River, Genl. Grant, then a Lieut, paymaster with the rank of Capt., was suffering from mania\_\_\_\_ [delirium tremens]. Got away from his soldiers. They were all camping on the bank of the river. My husband had Indians with him. The soldiers woke him & told him of Grant's condition & that he had gone. He woke his Indians, made them understand, & put them on the trail. They tracked him by the pieces of his outside woolen shirt on the bushes; found him crouched down under some bushes ready to plunge into the river hundreds of feet below. One false step & both would go down to certain death. The banks were solid rock hundreds of feet high & the water so cold that they could not live in it a moment without cramp. Genl. A. was strong and active. He climbed carefully until he was between Grant and the river- gave one spring against his breast- forced him back to the ground. & caught to the bushes near & held him fast until the soldiers came & helped to secure him & take him into camp. Patton rarely spoke of it. About the time of the fall of Vicksburg, it got out through some officer writing to one of his staff & his staff insisted on knowing the particulars & were much amused." 3

Devotion to duty governed Anderson's life, and, like his Confederate commander and hero, Robert E. Lee, he was imbued with an equally strong sense of personal loyalty. Etta's letter to Mr. Earle continues with another revealing incident:

<sup>2.</sup> Etta Anderson to Mr. Earle, Palatka, Florida, April 11, 1889, James Patton Anderson Papers.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid.

"He [James Patton Anderson] never recovered from his wound & died from the effects of it on Sept. 20, 1872, at Memphis, the anniversary of the battle of Chickamauga. He always remembered it & would add, 'How we whipped them that day- poor Lytle. 4 He and Genl. A. were warm personal friends. The last time they met before the war in the Charleston Convention, talking of the prospects of war, which both believed they would have—as they parted, they agreed if it came—& either was in the hand of the other, the more fortunate one would do all they could consistently with their duty as officers to alleviate the suffering of the other. Once Genl. A's [Anderson's] mother was left in the Federal lines. Genl. L. [Lytle] was very kind and attentive, & finally accompanied her through the lines with a flag of truce. During the battle of Chickamauga a soldier reported to my husband that a federal officer had been killed. He rode back and was shocked to find it was Genl. Lytle & that his own brigade had killed him. He secured some articles from his pockets- a lock of his hair, his ring, & pistol, placed a guard over the body & said his spurs were gone (the history of which Genl. A. knew some way). A wounded Yankee man said, 'A rebel took them & has gone up the lines.' My husband rode on, overtaking one of his own couriers & asked if he had seen anyone with them. He said, 'I took them myself, Genl., & have just buckled them on Maj. Thompson's heels. He is just ahead of you.' My husband rode on, for his duties called him to that part of the field. He found the Maj., but he too was dead, his body stripped & the spurs gone. He tried often during the war & after, but could never hear of them. He asked as a personal favor of Genl. Bragg that he might make the effort to send Genl. Lytle's body to his friends (I think his sisters) with the articles mentioned. The request was readily granted & his body was exchanged for Genl. Adams of La., who was behind mortally wounded. 5

General Anderson won distinction on the battlefields of Corinth, Shiloh, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, and Missionary Ridge. In March 1864, he assumed command of the

Ibid.; Brigadier General William Haines Lytle of Cincinnati, Ohio, 10th Ohio Infantry, Reginald C. McGrane in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. (New York, 1933), XI, 538.

Anderson to Earle, Palatka, Florida, April 11, 1889, James Patton Anderson Papers.

District of Florida and, with a small army of 12,000 men, managed to hold the superior Federal forces beleaguered in Jacksonville. In July 1864, Anderson was ordered to report to Lieutenant General John Bell Hood in Atlanta. On August 31, during the Battle of Jonesboro, where he commanded a temporary corps of two divisions, he was seriously wounded. Etta describes the scene to Mr. Earle: "Riding close to the Federal line to reconnoiter, he was honored by a regimental salute by the enemy. Then a halt was ordered, and while riding to rejoin his command, under a hailstorm of bullets, he was shot through the Jaw, nearly cutting off the tongue." <sup>6</sup>

Not expected at first to survive his wounds, General Anderson surprisingly made a partial recovery and returned to his plantation, Casa Bianca, near Monticello, Florida. During his convalescence he wrote his autobiography in a plantation ledger book (now in the James Patton Anderson Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida) for his children. Although not fully recovered from his injury, and against the advice of his physicians, Anderson rejoined the army in March 1865 and was assigned to a new command from Charleston, South Carolina. After the Battle of Bentonville, North Carolina, Anderson, along with Generals Edward Cary Walthall and Winfield Scott Featherston, both from Mississippi, was still unwilling to surrender. Aware of their sentiments, their superiors signed the terms of surrender before they could be present at the caucus. Anderson was parolled at Greensboro, North Carolina, on May 2, 1865. Borrowing a wagon and four mules from Union General John M. Schofield, he was able to return to Monticello.9

In 1856, Anderson bought Casa Bianca, a 6,000-acre plantation, from his aunt, Ellen Adair White Beatty, widow of Joseph M. White, one of the most influential men in Florida during the Territorial Period. White had represented Florida in Congress from 1825 to 1837. In 1860, Anderson sold Casa Bianca to

<sup>6.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8.</sup> Anderson's parole in possession of author.

<sup>9.</sup> Jerrell Shofner, History of Jefferson County (Tallahassee, 1976), 269.

Margaret Uhler, "Florida White,' Southern Belle," Florida Historical Quarterly 55 (January 1977), 299-309.

Robert W. Williams, a prominent Leon County planter.<sup>11</sup> However, when Anderson returned to Monticello after the war he arranged to rent Casa Bianca. He lived there until his health forced him to seek a more congenial climate. In 1868, with his wife and five children, Anderson moved to Memphis, Tennessee, where he lived until his death. Anderson refused to sign the oath of allegiance to the United States, and, unable to resume his legal practice, died in poverty, unreconstructed to the end. To have signed the oath, he felt, would have "implied a regret for what he had done & he had none. And if his life was to go over he would do just as he had unless if possible he would be more devoted to the cause." <sup>12</sup>

Anderson's death left Etta with no means of supporting herself and her children. Consequently, she lived the next ten years with her brother, Cromwell Adair, in Morganfield, Kentucky. In 1883, she and her children, William Preston, Theophilus Beatty, James Patton, Jr., Elizabeth Cromwell, and Margaret Bybee, returned to Florida and settled in Palatka. Etta organized the Patton Anderson Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Palatka and served as its president until her death in 1917.

General Anderson's autobiography was published in Volume XXXVIII of the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, a compilation of essays, autobiographies, and paroles published by the Southern Historical Society between 1876 and 1959. The volume containing General Anderson's autobiography was published by the Virginia State Library, Richmond, and edited by Robert Alonzo Brock. No changes have been made from the original autobiography in spelling or punctuation; paragraphing, however, has been modified for ease in reading.

Agreement between Ellen A. Beatty and James Patton Anderson, January 7, 1856, and Ellen Beatty to James Patton Anderson, January 12, 1856; Agreement of sale, Ellen A. Beatty and Robert W. Williams, January 10, 1860; and Agreement between James Patton Anderson and A. G. A. Godwin, February 28, 1860, James Patton Anderson Papers; Clifton Paisley, From Cotton To Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967 (Tallahassee, 1968), 20.

<sup>12.</sup> Etta Anderson to Earle, Palatka, Florida, April 11, 1889, James Patton Anderson Papers.

#### AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I was born in Winchester, Franklin County, Tennessee, on the 16th day of February 1822. My father, William Preston Anderson, was a native of Botetourt County, Virginia, and was born about the year 1775 [ sic ], during the second term of General Washington's administration. He received from the President a commission of Lieutenant in the United States Army. About this time, or soon after, he removed to Tennessee and at one time was United States District Attorney for that Judicial District, and was subsequently Surveyor General of the District of Tennessee. In the War of 1812 he was Colonel of the 24th United States Infantry and was accidentally with Col. Crogan in his defense of Fort Harrison.<sup>13</sup> During this war he married my mother (Margaret L. Adair) who was the fifth daughter of Maj. Gen. John Adair of Mercer County, Kentucky. 14 He had previously been married to Miss Nancy Belle, by whom he had three children, Musadora, Rufus King, and Caroline. In the second marriage there were Nancy Belle, Catherine Adair, John Adair (who died in infancy), James Patton, John Adair (who died in 1858). Thomas Scott, and Butler Preston. When I was an infant my father removed from the town of Winchester to his farm Craggy Hope, about six miles distant, where he resided until his death in April 1831.

When about eight years old I was sent, for a short time, to a country school near home, where I learned the alphabet and began to spell and read. Soon after my father's death my mother returned with her six children to her father in Mercer County, Kentucky. My brother John Adair and myself were soon after sent to the house of Charles Buford (who had married my mother's youngest sister) in Scott County, Kentucky, and remained there about a year attending a country school taught by a Mr. Phillips— this was in 1831-2. In 1833 I returned to my grandfather and went to school to a young man named Van Dyke who taught in the neighborhood. Afterwards to Mr. Tyler

Possibly Colonel George Croghan. Fort Harrison, on the Wabash River, was attacked by the Indian leader, Tecumseh. Though the attack was repulsed, the Indians burned a large part of the fort. Reginald Horsman, The War of 1812 (New York, 1969), 82.

<sup>14.</sup> John Adair was governor of Kentucky, 1820-1824. James Barnett Adair, *Adair History and Genealogy* (Los Angeles, 1924), 68.

and still later on to a Mr. Boutwell, who were successively principals of Cone Burr Academy in Mercer County.

I was then sent to the house of Judge Thomas B. Monroe in Frankfort. Mrs. Monroe was also a sister of my mother. <sup>15</sup> Here I remained for about a year, perhaps more, attending a select school taught by B. B. Sayre. About this time my mother was married to Dr. J. N. Bybee of Harrodsburg, Ky. I was taken to his house and went to school in the village to a Mr. Rice and afterward to a Mr. Smith. In October 1836 I was sent to Jefferson College at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania. I remained there a year when pecuniary misfortune compelled my stepfather to withdraw me. In the winter of 1838 I kept up my studies with a young man named Ferry then teaching in Harrodsburg. During this winter I boarded at the house of my Uncle John Adair three miles in the country.

In the spring of 1838, I was sent up to the Three Forks of Kentucky River in Estill County, where my stepfather had established a saw mill and had opened a coal mine. During this year, too, I made a trip with my mother to Winchester, Tennessee, on horseback, where she went to close up some of the unsettled business of my father's estate. In the fall of 1838 my stepfather determined to remove to North Mississippi, then being rapidly settled, the Indians having been removed west of the Mississippi River. I accompanied him from Harrodsburg, Ky. to Hernando in DeSoto County, Miss. I remained here during the winter of 1838-9, assisting in building cabins, clearing land &c. for the comfort of the family. In April 1839, I was sent back to Jefferson College. I entered the Junior class and graduated in October 1840. I returned to DeSoto County, Miss. and began the study of law in the office of Buckner & Delafield, and was admitted to the bar by Judge Howry in 1843. In the summer of 1844 and 1845 I spent three months of each year at the law school of Judge Thomas B. Monroe at Montrose over near Frankfort, Kv. I have always regarded these months as more profitably spent than any others of my life.

Having no money with which to support myself and the bar being crowded with the best talent of Tennessee, Alabama and other states which had been attracted to this new country by its great prosperity and promise, I accepted the position of Deputy Sheriff of DeSoto County, under my brother-in-law, Col. James H. Murray, who had been elected to that office in 1843. I held this position, from which a comfortable support was derived, till 1846, when the prospect seemed favorable to commence the practice of law. In 1847 I formed a partnership with R. B. Mayes, a young lawyer of the State about my own age. (During the time that I discharged the functions of Deputy Sheriff I also practiced law in partnership with my former preceptor— E. F. Buckner— whenever I could do so consistently with the duties of the office).

In October 1847, I received an earnest appeal from Gov. A. G. Brown of Mississippi, to organize a company in response to a call from the President of the United States for service in Mexico. (I had previously made several efforts to enter the military service during the war with Mexico, but all the organizations from DeSoto County had failed to be received by the Governor - their distance from the capitol making them too late in reporting). In a few days I organized a company of volunteers from the Regiment of Militia in the County, of which I was then a Colonel. I was elected Captain of the Company without opposition. H. Car Forrest was elected 1st Lieutenant - my brother John Adair was elected 2nd Lieutenant and my brother Thomas Scott, Orderly Sergeant. The Company repaired hurriedly to Vicksburg, the place of rendezvous. Two other companies had already reached the encampment. After waiting a fortnight or more for the other two companies of the Battalion called for by the president to report, the five companies were sent to New Orleans for equipment and organization. Having received arms. clothing &c. they embarked about 2nd January 1848 for Tampico, Mexico. On the 22nd February 1848, I was elected at Tampico Lieutenant Colonel to command the Battalion. I remained at Tampico till the close of the war, when I was mustered out of the service along with the battalion at Vicksburg, Miss. and reached my home at Hernando on the 4th of July 1848.

I resumed the practice of law in partnership with R. B. Mayes. Our prospects were flattering as the business of the firm was gradually increasing. In the fall of 1849 I was elected one of the members of the Legislature from DeSoto County, after a very heated and closely contested canvass. In January 1850 I took my seat in the Legislature. Gen. John A. Quitman was at

the same time inaugurated Governor of the State. The celebrated Compromise Measures were then pending in the Congress of the United States and the country much excited on the topics then being discussed. <sup>16</sup> Jefferson Davis and H. S. Foote were then the United States Senators from Mississippi. I took the same view of the question with Davis and Quitman—voted for a resolution in the House of Representatives of Mississippi, requesting Senator Foote to resign his seat inasmuch as he did not reflect the will of the State in voting for the Compromise Bill. I sustained cordially and sincerely all the prominent measures of Governor Quitman's administration, and believed great injustice and wrong was done the South in the passage of the Compromise Bill by the Congress of the United States.

In 1851 I was renominated by the Democratic Party for a seat in the Legislature. My health (from my service in Mexico) at this time was very bad, which precluded me from making a thorough canvass of the County. The contest was an exceedingly warm one and in many portions of the state was even bitter. It has passed into history. Mr. Davis was defeated for Governor by General Foote. The whole Democratic Party was left in a minority. With the rest I was defeated by over a hundred majority in an aggregate vote of about eighteen hundred. Resumed practice of law, succeeded as well as could be hoped; health still bad from fever and ague.

In 1853 Jefferson Davis was tendered the position of Secretary of War in Mr. Pierce's Cabinet. In answer to a letter of mine in February of this year, he advised me to proceed to Washington City, where he would use his influence to procure me a commission in the new rifle regiment then about to be raised by Congress for frontier defense. My health by this time became so bad from the effects of sedentary habits and the agues engendered in a miasmatic climate that friends and physicians advised me to remove from Mississippi, to a colder and dryer climate. I accepted Mr. Davis' proposition and repaired to Washington City, where I arrived on the night of the 4th of

<sup>16.</sup> The Compromise of 1850 provided that California would come into the Union as a free state; that the remainder of the Mexican cession would be organized as territories without restrictions by Congress, allowing popular sovereignty to rule; that the slave trade would be abolished in Washington, D.C.; and that a more effective Fugitive Slave Law would be passed.

March 1853, in time to learn that the bill to raise a rifle regiment had failed for want of time to receive President Fillmore's signature. I remained, however, a fortnight without making any effort or application to receive any other position. The bill to organize the Territory of Washington had become a law on the 3rd of March. My Uncle John Adair, who had removed to Astoria, Oregon in 1848, was now in Washington City and extremely anxious for me to remove to that distant region, where my brothers John and Butler had gone in 1850.<sup>17</sup> Through his instrumentality and the kindness of Mr. Davis (now secretary of war) I was appointed United States Marshal for the Territory of Washington. I accepted it and set out making preparations for the journey. Two difficulties were in the way- 1st: the want of money, and- 2d: I was engaged to be married to my cousin Henrietta Buford Adair, and I doubted the policy of taking her into such a wild and new country with no other help or dependence for a support than my own exertions. I returned to Memphis, where she was, consulted her, and we agreed to try our fortunes on this unknown sea. Her father gave her eight hundred dollars, and by borrowing six hundred from Stephen D. Johnston of DeSoto County, I raised the same amount. We were married in Memphis on the 30th of April 1853 and in an hour afterwards were on our way to the Pacific Coast aboard a steamer bound for New Orleans. We embarked at New Orleans on the 7th of May on board a steamer bound for Graytown in Nicaragua. The first day at sea my wife was taken very ill of fever. For several days her life seemed to be suspended by a thread. Those were the most anxious days of my life. Happily she was better by the time we reached Graytown. Taking a small river steamer there we commenced the ascent of the San Juan River. After several days of toil we reached Virgin Bay, only to learn that the steamer from San Francisco, on which we had expected to reach that city on her return trip, had sprung a leak and was compelled to go on down the coast to Panama for repairs and that she would probably not return for a month. This was a great disappointment to the eight hundred passengers at Virgin Bay, who were eager to reach the gold fields of Califor-

<sup>17.</sup> John Adair, son of Governor Adair, was customs inspector for Astoria, Oregon, 1848-1860.

nia, but to me it was a matter of rejoicing, since a few weeks rest in Nicaragua would probably restore my wife to health before undertaking another long sea voyage. We remained at Virgin Bay nearly a month. My wife recovered, we embarked at San Juan del Sud the first week in June. Reached San Francisco in fourteen days, where we had to stay near a fortnight in waiting for the steamer which was to take us to the Columbia River.

At the expiration of this time we set sail on the steamer "Columbia" bound for Astoria, Oregon. Among the passengers were my uncle, John Adair, and his eldest daughter; Captain George B. McClellan, U.S.A.; Major Larned, U.S.A. and several other officers of the Army besides two companies of [4th.?] infantry. After passing the bar at the mouth of the Columbia, a reckoning was taken between myself and wife, of the state of our finances. It was ascertained that the sum total on hand was exactly one [worthless paper] dollar. It would not pay for landing our trunks at Astoria which place was then in sight and was our present destination. I threw the dollar into the raging Columbia and began to whistle to keep my courage up. My health had not improved. An officer came up on deck whom I had not seen at table or elsewhere during the voyage. He inquired if Colonel Anderson was in the crowd. I replied and introduced myself to him. He made himself known as Lieutenant Rufus Saxon, U.S.A. and said he had left New York on the steamer that came out a fortnight after I had left New Orleans and that he had an official communication for me from the Secretary of the Interior, at the same time handing me a paper in a large official envelope. Taking it in my hand, I began depositing it in my coat pocket without breaking the seal, when he requested that I would open it and see whether he had brought it and contents safely to hand. On opening it I found that it contained instructions for me as U.S. Marshall to proceed at once to take a census of the inhabitants of the new Territory of Washington and also a Treasury Draft for a thousand dollars to defray my expenses in the work. This was a piece of good fortune in the nick of time, for in two minutes more the steamer dropped her anchor off the city of Astoria and soon we disembarked.

My wife remained at the house of our Uncle, near Astoria and I started in a few days to Puget Sound to commence the official labors assigned me. I reached Olympia on the 4th of July and on the 5th started through the territory to take the census. The only mode of travel then known in the country was by canoe with Indians as watermen, or on foot. For two months I was constantly engaged this way, frequently walking as much as twenty-five miles per day and carrying my blankets, provisions and papers on my back. My health was already robust and the work was a pleasure.

On completing the census my wife accompanied me in a canoe &c. up the Cowlitz River, to Olympia where the capital of the Territory was likely to be established and where I had determined to settle. At first we rented a little house and then bought one in which we lived very happily and pleasantly during our stay in the territory. In addition to my duties as U.S. Marshall I practiced law in the Territorial Courts, whenever the two duties did not conflict.

In 1855 I was nominated by the Democratic Party of the Territory for the position of delegate to the U.S. Congress. My competitor was Judge Strong, formerly U.S. District Judge in Oregon. We began a thorough canvass of the whole Territory as soon as appointments for public speaking could be distributed among the people. I was successful at the election which came off in June. Soon thereafter the report of gold discoveries near Fort Colville on the upper Columbia reached the settlements on Puget Sound and several persons began preparations for a trip into that region. Not desiring to start for Washington City before October, in order to be in Washington City on the 1st Monday of December, the meeting of the 34th Congress, to which I had been elected, I determined to go to Fort Colville to inform myself about the gold deposits of that and other unexplored regions of the territory, the better to be able to lay its wants and resources before Congress and the people of the states. I started with seven other citizens of Olympia the latter part of June, on horseback, with pack animals to carry our provisions. Our route lay over the Cascade Mountains through what was then called the Na-chess Pass across the Yakima River and valley striking the Columbia River at the Priest's Rapids, where we crossed it and taking the Grand Coulee to the mouth of the Spokan River thence up the left bank of the Columbia by Fort Colville to the mouth of Clark's Fork, where gold was reported to have been found, which we proved by experiment to be true. The trip from Olympia to the mouth of Clark's Fork as thus described occupied us about twenty-four days. Other parties followed us

soon after. The Indians on the route became alarmed lest their country would be overrun with whites in search of gold and commenced hostilities, by killing a man named Mattice, who was on his way to the mines from Olympia. A general Indian war was threatened. I had not been at the mines a week till Angus McDonald of Fort Colville sent an express to inform me of the condition of affairs between me and home. We were unarmed, except with two guns and one or two pistols in the party. Our provisions were being exhausted and the appointed time for my return had arrived; so the miners concluded to return with me. To avoid the most hostile tribe led by the Chief Owhe, we made a detour to the east in returning, crossed the Spokan about forty miles above its mouth, passed the old Whitman Mission, crossed Snake River about ten or twenty miles above its mouth, took down the Pelouse to Walla Walla, thence across the Umatilla near the Mission and "Billy McKey's," crossing the Deo Shuttes at its mouth, then down to the Dalles, the Cascades, Fort Van Couver, and up the Cowlitz back to Olympia, which we reached in safety about 1st October.

During that month my wife and I took steamer to San Francisco, thence to Panama, Aspinwall and on to New York. We reached Washington City a few days before the meeting of Congress. This (34th) Congress will be long remembered as the one which gave rise to such a protracted and heated contest for speaker - to which position Mr. N. P. Banks of Massachusetts was finally elected. This was the first triumph of importance of that fanatical party (now called Republican) which led to the disruption of the Union four years later. Before this struggle for speaker had been decided, and during the Christmas holidays my wife and I repaired to Casa Bianca, Florida, by invitation of our aunt, Mrs. E. A. Beatty. While there I entered into an agreement with her for the conduct of her plantation under my supervision &c. My wife remained at Casa Bianca and I returned to my duties at Washington City, only coming out to Florida during the vacation.

My term of service in Congress expired the 4th of March 1857. The same day Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated President for four years. He appointed me Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Washington Territory but I did not accept, wishing to take my wife's advice on the subject. On consultation with her I determined not to return to Washington Territory,

believing firmly that the days of the Union were numbered and not wishing to be absent from the land of my birth when her hour of trial came. I resigned the position tendered me by Mr. Buchanan and devoted myself exclusively to planting at Casa Bianca.

In 1860 when it became certain that Mr. Lincoln was elected President of the United States, the people of Florida feeling alarmed for the safety of their rights and institutions, began to hold primary meetings to a general Convention of the State. In December 1860 I was elected a delegate from Jefferson County to a general convention of that State which assembled at Tallahassee the 1st of January 1861, and passed the ordinance of secession on the 10th day of the same month- which received my hearty approval. While the convention was yet in session the Governor deemed it prudent to seize such forts and ordnance stores as he could belonging to the United States within the limits of the State. 18 For this purpose a force was sent to Pensacola, to seize the Navy Yard, Forts Barrancas, McRee, and Pickens. A Volunteer Company of young men of Jefferson County, of which I was captain, came through Tallahassee en route to Pensacola to assist in taking Fort Pickens, to which all the U.S. troops then at Pensacola had now retired. At the request of the Company, signified to me in Tallahassee while they were awaiting transportation to St. Marks, I agreed to command them in this expedition.

Another company under Captain Amaker from Tallahassee was also going on the same errand. We failed at St. Mark's to get steamboat transportation. Returned to Tallahassee, and started overland by Quincy, Chattahoochie, &c. Captain Amaker's commission as Captain was older than mine (by one day) but at his urgent request and that of Governor Perry, I consented to assume command of the two companies. Having marched to Chattahoochie Arsenal, we were stopped by a dispatch from Governor Perry directing us to remain there till further orders. In about a week it was decided by the officer in command of the Florida troops at Pensacola not to attack Fort

<sup>18.</sup> Governor Madison Starke Perry.

Captain A. P. Amaker, First Regiment Rifles; U. S. War Department, War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 53 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Ser. I, XIV, 512.

Pickens, and he accordingly dispatched Gov. Perry to disband my detachment.

In the meantime the Convention of Florida had determined to send delegates to a convention of such southern states as had seceded from the Union, which was to meet in February in Montgomery, Alabama. These delegates from Florida were to be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Convention. Governor Perry dispatched me at Chattahoochie Arsenal that he had appointed me one of the three delegates to this general convention and directed me to return to Tallahassee with my two companies where they could be disbanded, which was done.

In February I repaired to Montgomery and took part in the proceedings of the convention, which formed a provisional government for the seceded States. All the principal measures of that body, passed or proposed during its session and while I was a member, met my support. I was on the committee of Military Affairs, and favored the raising of troops &c. I also proposed to have the cooks, nurses, teamsters, and <u>pioneers</u> of our army to consist of slaves. After having adopted a provisional constitution and inaugurated a provisional president, the convention or Congress adjourned about the first of March.

On the 26th of March, while at my home near Monticello, the Governor wrote me that he wished to send a regiment of Infantry to Pensacola for Confederate service. My old company was immediately reorganized and on the 28th of March started for Chattahoochie Arsenal, the place appointed for all the companies to rendezvous and elect officers.

On the 5th of April I was elected Colonel of the 1st Florida Regiment (Infantry) without opposition, and that night started with the regiment to report to General Braxton Bragg at Pensacola. We reached Pensacola on the 11th or 12th of April, went into camp and commenced drilling and exercising the troops. On the nights of the 7th - 8th of October, I commanded one of the detachments which made a descent upon the camp of Billy Wilson's Zouaves under the guns of Fort Pickens and Santa Rosa Island. The expedition consisted of about a thousand men, divided into three detachments, respectively under Col. J. R. Jackson, 5th Georgia Regiment; Col. Jas. R. Chalmers, 9th Mississippi Regiment, and myself. Chalmers had the right, Jackson the centre, and I the left; the whole under command of

Brigadier-General R. H. Anderson of South Carolina. My command consisted of 100 men from the 1st Alabama and other commands. My loss in this fight was eleven killed, twenty-four wounded and twelve captured. (I speak from memory.)

On the 10th of February 1862, I was appointed a brigadier general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States and in March was ordered to report to General Bragg then at Jackson in West Tennessee. Soon after reporting I was assigned to the command of Brigadier General Ruggles then at Corinth, Miss. This brigade consisted principally of Louisiana troops to which the 1st Florida and 9th Texas Regiments were soon after added. I was immediately ordered to the front of Corinth in the direction of Monterey and Pittsburg Landing. At the battle of Shiloh my brigade consisted of the 17th, 19th, and 20th Louisiana Regiments, the 9th Texas, 1st Florida and Clack's Louisiana Battalion, with the 5th Company of Washington Artillery from New Orleans.

Soon after the battle of Shiloh, Hindman was assigned to the command of Ruggles' Division but only exercised it a few days when he was ordered to Arkansas and the command devolved upon me as senior brigadier. I commanded the Division in the retreat from Corinth till we reached Clear Creek near Baldwin. where I was taken ill with fever and Major-General Sam Jones was assigned to the division. I rejoined the division at Tupelo, Miss. where the army was reorganized, and commanded a brigade in Sam Jones's division till we reached Chattanooga, Tenn., in August of that year, preparatory to the Kentucky campaign. In August 1862, while encamped near Chattanooga, the division was reorganized and was composed of Walker's. Adams', Anderson's, and Richards' Brigades. About the middle of August Major-General Sam Jones was assigned to the command of the Department of East Tenn., and the command of the division devolved on me. On the 1st of September I crossed Walden's Ridge with my division following Buckner's division the two comprising Hardee's Corps, Army of Tennessee. Throughout this campaign, I continued in command of the division, having Brigadier-General Preston Smith's brigade of Cheatham's division added to it in the afternoon of the day of the battle of Perryville.

We returned from Kentucky through Cumberland Gap, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Bridgeport, to Allisonia in Franklin County, Tenn., where my division was halted for a fortnight. During this time I visited for the first time in many years the grave of my father at Craggy Hope - the old farm. From Allisonia the army proceeded to Shelbyville, where we halted ten days and thence to Eagleville, where in December my division was broken up and I was assigned to the command of a brigade in Withers' division of Polk's Corps. This brigade was the one formerly commanded by Brigadier-General Frank Gardner. I was only in command of it a few days when Rosecrans advanced upon Murfreesboro where General Bragg determined to give him battle, and for this purpose took his line of battle on the 27th of December about a mile and a half from Murfreesboro on the Nashville and Wilkinson Pikes.

The morning of the day on which the line was taken up, I was transferred to the command temporarily of Walthall's Brigade of Mississippians. This was in consequence of Walthall's sickness, and because the brigade was composed entirely of troops (Mississippians) who had been under my command, either as brigade or division commander since March, 1862. This brigade won many laurels in the battle of the 31st of December, and on the 2d of January, 1863, was sent to reinforce Breckenridge on the right, who had been roughly handled that afternoon by superior numbers. We reached the scene of conflict about sundown and after the heaviest fighting was over in time, however, to have several officers and men of our skirmish line severely wounded; and by interposing a fresh line between the victorious enemy and Breckenridge's shattered columns, gave time for the latter to rally and resume a line they had held in the morning.

This affair gave rise to much bitter feeling between General Bragg and Major-General Breckenridge, Bragg in his official report having animadverted very seriously upon Breckenridge's conduct and having attributed (I think) more to my brigade than it was entitled to. On the other hand, Breckenridge hardly did us justice, or rather his friends who discussed the matter in the public prints did not give me due credit for our conduct or operations on that occasion. They rather contended that I reached the ground after the fight was over, and although we came with good intentions, and doubtless would have rendered efficient service if it had been necessary, yet there was nothing to be done after our arrival, &c. The facts are, however, as I

have stated them here, and as I stated them in my official report on that occasion, a copy of which I sent to General Breckenridge, whereupon he wrote me a very complimentary note characterizing the report as one "that was truthful and manly." I think General Bragg founded his report upon exaggerated statements of some partial friends of mine, and hence attributed to me more than I deserved. I allude to it here because both Bragg's and Breckenridge's statements may become matters of controversy and dispute hereafter.<sup>20</sup>

After the battle of Murfreesboro, during the illness and absence of Major-General Withers, I was in command of the division for over a month. In the meantime Brigadier-General Chalmers, who commanded a brigade of Mississippians in the division, was transferred to the cavalry service in Mississippi, and upon Wither's resuming command of the division I was assigned permanently to the command of Chalmers' brigade, which I exercised without interruption while the army was at Shelbyville, Tenn., and during our retreat from that place to Chattanooga in June-July, 1863.

In July, 1863, I was sent with my brigade to hold the Tennessee River at Bridgeport and vicinity while the balance of the army was at Chattanooga and above there on the river. This duty was performed to the entire satisfaction of General Bragg. In August Withers was transferred to duty in Alabama and Hindman was assigned to the command of the division. Shortly before evacuating Chattanooga, my brigade was withdrawn from Bridgeport by order of General Bragg and rejoined the division in the neighborhood of Chattanooga.

I commanded the division in the McLemore's Cove expedition in September– for which Hindman, who commanded the

20. Mrs. Anderson added a note in her handwritten copy of the autobiography: "I was up at the army when this discussion was going on. . . . The note Genl. A refers to—I was in the room when Genl. Breckenridge returned to my husband's report, with this <u>note</u>. Genl. A. threw it into my lap saying 'You will value that'—and I did. But it was burned two years after the war— with most of his official correspondence in his private desk—at St. Marks, Fla. in a warehouse.... Genl. Breckenridge would not send in his report until he had seen Genl. A's. They were intimate friends and distant relations. There is no use talking—Genl. Breckenridge was drunk at that <u>battle</u> & Genl. Bragg would not stand drinking in any of his officers."

whole expedition, has received much censure. He certainly missed capturing eight or ten thousand of the enemy, which would have left the balance of Rosecrans' army at Bragg's mercy. Soon after this, or rather while in McLemore's Cove, Hindman was taken sick and the command of the division again devolved upon me.

On the night of the 19th of September, after the division had crossed the Chickamauga Creek and while it was getting in position for the next day's fight, Hindman resumed command and continued in command of the division until the close of the battle after dark on the night of the 20th; so I commanded my brigade in the battle of Chickamauga.

In the advance to Missionary Ridge, begun on the 2lst, I was in command of the division. Soon after reaching Missionary Ridge, Hindman was placed in arrest by General Bragg, and the command of the division devolved upon me. I commanded it at the battle of Missionary Ridge, but on that morning protested against the disposition which had been made of the troops (see my official report), which was the worst I have ever seen. The line was in two ranks - the front rank at the foot of the hill and the rear rank on the top!! And the men were over three feet apart in line! Thus the front rank was not strong enough to hold its position, nor could it retire to the top of the ridge so as to be of any service there. The consequence was that the troops made no fight at all, but broke and ran as soon as the enemy's overwhelming columns advanced. About the 1st of December Hindman was released from arrest and assumed command of the Corps as senior Major-General, and I remained in command of the Division

In February, 1864, Major-General Breckenridge having been transferred to a command in Southwestern Virginia, I was on the 9th day of February appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, a Major-General in the Provisional Army and assigned to the command of Breckenridge's Division in the Army of Tennessee. Before receiving these orders, however, I received a dispatch from the President ordering me to Florida to assume command of that district. The Army of Tennessee was at this time at Dalton, Georgia under command of General Joseph E. Johnston.

I reached Florida the 1st of March 1864, ten days after the battle of Olustee, and assumed command of the district with

headquarters in the field in front of Jacksonville. Remained there operating against the enemy at Jacksonville and on the St. Johns River all summer, or until I was ordered back to the Army of Tennessee. We were able to confine the enemy closely to their entrenchments around Jacksonville, and by blowing up two of their armed transports <u>above</u> Jacksonville and one <u>below</u>, put a complete stop to his navigation of the river above the city, and caused them to evacuate Palatka, and to use the river below Jacksonville with the greatest caution.

On the night of the 25th of July, 1864, I received a telegram from General Bragg at Columbus, Georgia, directing me to report to General Hood at Atlanta, without delay, for duty in the field. I started to Atlanta on the morning of the 26th of July and reached there on the night of the 28th. On the 29th I was assigned to, and on the 30th assumed command of, my old division composed of Deas', Brantley's, Sharp's and Manigault's brigades. I remained in command of these brigades until the evening of the 31st of August, when I was seriously wounded in the battle of Jonesboro, Georgia, which compelled me to leave the field, and has resulted in my absence from the army up to the present time.

There are many incidents connected with my experience which would be interesting to my children, if I had time to record them, but I have not. I have hurriedly written some of the prominent facts for their edification hereafter.

This is a dark day in the history of the present war, but I believe a brighter will soon dawn upon us. If dissention and faction does not distract us, we will certainly achieve our independence. The course of some prominent men in Georgia just at this time, is much calculated to grieve the spirit of all true Southerners.... It is to be hoped that they will desist from their

21. Mrs. Anderson added another comment in her copy of the autobiography: "Toombs and Governor Brown.... I would have been glad to have known they were hung." Governor Joseph Brown and Robert Toombs of Georgia were leaders of opposition to Confederate policies of President Jefferson Davis. Frequently referred to as "anarchists," Brown, Toombs, and other prominent Georgians opposed such policies as military conscription and exemptions, the appointment of general officers, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and food impressment. See also, James C. Banner, The Georgia Story (Oklahoma City, 1959), 302.

factious teachings and practices and soon unite with the patriots of the land to prosecute with unanimity and vigor the war which our enemies are determined to wage against us.

Patton Anderson Monticello, Fla. February 28, 1865

#### FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and master's theses completed in 1986 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

### Boca Raton Historical Society

H. G. Lynfiel— "Yamato and Morikami— the Story of the Lost Japanese Colony Near Boca Raton and its Settlers" (continuing study).

# Flagler College

Thomas S. Graham (faculty)— "The Civil War in St. Augustine" (continuing study).

### Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

James Eaton (faculty)— "The Influence of Black Colleges on the State of Florida: 1890 to 1960" (continuing study).

John T. Foster, Jr. (faculty) and Sarah W. Foster (faculty)—
"'From A Springtime of Hope': Efforts to Encourage
Freedom in Reconstruction Florida" (continuing study).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)— "The Plight of Haitian Refugees in Florida: 1971-1984"; "Slavery in Gadsden County, Florida: 1821-1860"; "Medical Practice in Jefferson County, Florida: 1825-1865"; "James Hudson: Political Activist in Tallahassee, Florida: 1950-1980"; "Reconstruction in Leon County, Florida: 1860-1880"; "James Hudson: Religious and Political Activist, 1952-1975"; "Female Slaves in Florida, 1823-1860"; "Early Medical Practices in Florida, 1823-1860" (continuing studies).

# Florida Atlantic University

Donald W. Curl (faculty)— Palm Beach County: An Illustrated History (published 1986).

- Donald W. Curl and Fred Eckel (faculty)— "Lost Palm Beach" (continuing study).
- Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)— "Seminole Indians of Florida" (continuing study).
- Sandra Layman— "Women Pioneers in Southeast Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)— "Metropolitan Growth and Political Change in Miami, 1940-1982" (continuing study).

#### Florida International University

John F. Stack (faculty)— Jews, Blacks, and Cubans in Miami: Internationalization and Impact on Foreign Policy Issues" (publication forthcoming).

### Florida Southern College

J. Larry Durrence (faculty)— "Role of the Southern Association of Women for the Prevention of Lynching in Florida" (continuing study).

#### Florida State Museum

- Edward Chaney— "The Archeology of Sixteenth Century St. Augustine: Excavations at Nombre de Dios Mission and the Fountain of Youth Park" (continuing study).
- Kathleen Deagan (faculty)— "The Historical Archeology of Fort Mose, Florida— North America's First Free-Black Community" (continuing study).
- William H. Marquardt (faculty)— "Archeology of the Calusa Indians and their Prehistoric Ancestors" (continuing study).

# Florida State University

- Frank W. Alduino— "Prohibition in Tampa, 1880-1932" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Neil B. Betten and Edward F. Keuchel (faculty— "Homicide and Capital Punishment: Jacksonville, 1870-1920" (continuing study).
- Kathryn Holland Braund— "Political, Economic, and Social Impact of Trade with the British on the Creeks, 1763-1783" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

- David Coles— "A Fight, a Licking, and a Footrace: The 1864 Florida Campaign and the Battle of Olustee" (master's thesis completed); "Florida Troops in the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865"; "Tallahassee and Leon County in the Civil War" (continuing studies).
- James M. Denham— "Crime and Criminal Justice in Antebellum Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Glen Doran and David Dickel (faculty)— "Windover (8,000 year-old Burial Pond) Archeological Research Project, Titusville" (continuing study).
- Charlotte Downey-Anderson— "Desegregation and Southern Mores in Madison County, 1956-1980" (master's thesis in progress).
- Mary Louise Ellis— "Benjamin Chaires— Entrepreneur of Territorial Florida" (continuing study).
- Anna Estes— "Radiographic Studies of Prehistoric Skeletal Material" (master's thesis in progress).
- Miriam Freeman— "The Early Decades of Florida State College for Women" (master's thesis in progress).
- Peter P. Garretson (faculty)— "General William Wing Loring: A Floridian Pasha in the Egyptian Army, 1869-1879"; "Pasha Loring's Dispatch to Khedive Ismail Following his Defeat at the Hands of the Ethiopian Emperor at the Battle of Gura, 1876" (continuing studies).
- Peter P. Garretson and David Coles— "Life of General William Wing Loring" (continuing study).
- Robert Bruce Graetz— "Triumph Amid Defeat: The Confederate Victory at Natural Bridge, Florida" (senior honors thesis).
- Bruce Grindal— "Different Strokes for Different Folk: Religious Life and Experience in North Florida" (continuing study).
- Diane Harney— "Rhetoric of the Pepper-Smathers Election" (master's thesis in progress).
- James P. Jones (faculty)— "History of Florida State College for Women" (continuing study).
- Ric Kabat— "The Administration of Albert Waller Gilchrist" (master's thesis in progress).
- Felix R. Masud— "The Cuban Refugees as Political Weapons, 1959-1980" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Janet Snyder Matthews- "History of Sarasota and Manatee

- River, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries" (master's thesis completed).
- Lee Nabergall— "Paleoenvironmental Reconstruction in Central Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- James Papp— "Influence of Negroes on the U.S. Acquisition of Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Joe M. Richardson (faculty) and Maxine D. Jones (faculty)— "Bibliography of Florida Blacks" (publication forthcoming).
- William Warren Rogers (faculty)— "A History of Saint George Island"; "A History of Foshalee Plantation"; "A History of the Tallahassee Capital City Bank" (continuing studies).
- William Warren Rogers and Mary Louise Ellis— "A Pictorial and Narrative History of Tallahassee, Florida" (continuing study).
- William Warren Rogers and Jerrell H. Shofner— "Trouble in Paradise: A Pictorial History of Florida During the Depression" (publication forthcoming).
- Lynn Ware— "History of the Apalachicola River, 1800- 1865" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (faculty)— *Creeks and Seminoles: Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulgee People* (book in press).

# George Mason University

William S. Willis (faculty)— "Francis Philip Fatio: Swiss Settler in British East Florida" (continuing study).

# Hillsborough Community College

L. Glenn Westfall (faculty– "Eduardo Hidalgo Gato, Key West Cigar Manufacturer" (research in progress).

# Historic Key West Preservation Board

Sharon Wells— "Key West and the WPA: A Tropical Depression"; "Stanley Papio: A Catalog of the Keys' Folk Sculptor's Works" (continuing studies).

#### Historical Association of Southern Florida

Seth Bramson, J. Andrew Brian, Daniel O. Markus, and

Rebecca A. Smith— "Rails, Gales and Tycoons: The Florida East Coast Railway" (exhibition forthcoming).

Dorothy J. Fields— "Black Archives, History and Research Foundation of South Florida" (continuing study).

Donald Gaby, J. Andrew Brian, Daniel O. Markus, and Rebecca A. Smith— "Miami River" (exhibition forthcoming).

Stuart McIver— "Biscayne Bay Yacht Club" (continuing study).

Witold Ostrenko, Donna Morris, and Lynda Smith— "Canoe Trails of South Florida" (continuing study).

Arva Moore Parks- "Dade County" (continuing study).

Thelma Peters- "Buena Vista" (continuing study).

Rebecca A. Smith and J. Andrew Brian— "John James Audubon and *The Birds of America*" (exhibition forthcoming).

W. S. Steele— "Forts, Camps and Military Reservations of Florida, 1821- 1865" (continuing study).

W. S. Steele and Robert Carr— "Okeechobee Battlefield" (continuing study).

Patsy West— "Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees"; "Seminoles in Tourist Attractions" (continuing studies).

## Historical St. Augustine Preservation Board

Robert H. Steinbach, Amy T. Bushnell, Jimmy Smith, and Stanley Bond– "St. Johns County Archeological and Architectural Site Survey" (continuing study).

# Hong Kong Baptist College

J. Barton Starr (faculty)— "The Loyalists of British East Florida, 1763-1783"; "The Provincial Militia of British West Florida, 1763- 1783" (continuing studies).

# Jacksonville University

George E. Buker (faculty)– "Florida's Environmental Problems" (continuing study).

# Louisiana Collection Series, Birmingham, Alabama

Jack D. L. Holmes- "Vicente Pintado: Spanish Surveyor

General for Florida and Louisiana"; "Medical History of Pensacola and Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, 178l- 1821" (continuing studies).

#### Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)— "Spanish and French Exploration of the Southeastern Coast, 1521-1587"; "Cuban Papers Project, Spanish Louisiana" (continuing studies).

#### Loyola University, Chicago

Julius Groner— "Some Aspects of the Life and Work of John Ellis, Crown Agent for West Florida, 1763 to 1776" (master's thesis in progress).

Metro-Dade County Historic Preservation Society

Robert Carr- "Cutler Fossil Site" (continuing study).

Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi

Edward N. Akin (faculty)— "Henry M. Flagler, A Biography" (publication forthcoming).

### Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee

Robert McNeil (historian)— "The Facets of a Teacher: Florida Educators, 1886-1986"; "The Revising of the Great Seal of the State of Florida"; "Florida Silver: Souvenir Spoons of the Sunshine State" (continuing studies).

Eric Robinson (historian)— "Floridians Remember: The Korean War"; "The Florida Legislature in 1903"; "Cartoons: Editorial Images in Florida" (continuing studies).

Lee Warner (director)— "George Proctor: A Biography" (book manuscript).

Patricia R. Wickman (senior historian)— "James Hutchinson: A Florida Artist Views the Seminoles"; "Osceola's Legacy: The Man and the Legend"; "Justice B. K. Roberts: A Film Biography" (continuing studies).

#### National Park Service

Rochelle Marrinan— "1986 Fort Matanzas Excavation— Testing of North Midden" (continuing study). Russell K. Skowronek— "Report on the Wreck of the HMS *Fowey.* (British ship which sank in 1748 off southeast Florida)" (published 1986).

#### Stetson University

- Evans C. Johnson (faculty)— "An Oral Biography of J. Ollie Edmunds, President of Stetson University" (continuing study).
- Gilbert L. Lycan (faculty)— "William Hugh McEniry: Dean of Stetson University" (continuing study).

### Texas Tech University

Ana Caroline Castillo— "Two Gilded Age Hotels: The History, Restoration and Adaptive Use of the Tampa Bay and Ponce de Leon Hotels in Florida" (master's thesis completed).

### University of Central Florida

- Thomas D. Greenhaw (faculty)— "Training of the RAF in Florida, 1941-1945"; "Governor Patrick Tonyn"; "German Prisoners of War in Florida During World War Two" (continuing studies).
- Edmund F. Kallina (faculty)— "Claude Kirk Administration" (continuing study).
- Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)— "Naval Stores Industry in Southeastern United States" (continuing study).
- Jerrell H. Shofner and José B. Fernandez (faculty)— "A History of Florida" (continuing study).

# University of Florida

- Elizabeth Alexander and Bruce S. Chappell— "Calendars of the Colonial Spanish Florida Documents of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History" (continuing study).
- George R. Bentley (faculty, emeritus)— "From Tiny Acorns: A History of the Episcopal Diocese of Florida" (continuing study).
- John Wallace Bird— "Mayan Refugees at Indiantown: The Sanctuary" (continuing study).
- Ligia Castillo-Bermudez— "Land Grants and Trade in East Florida, 1783- 1804" (master's thesis in progress).

- Bruce Chappell— "A History of the Diego Plains in the Second Spanish Period" (continuing study).
- Jeffry Charbonnet— "Reform Politics in Alachua County, Florida, 1927-1973" (master's thesis in progress).
- William C. Childers (faculty)— "Garth Wilkinson James and Robertson James: Abolitionists In Gainesville During Reconstruction" (continuing study).
- James Clark— "1950 Pepper-Smathers Senatorial Primary" (master's thesis in progress).
- David Colburn (faculty)— "Florida's Governors Confront the *Brown* Decision"; "The Process of School Desegregation, 1954—1970" (continuing studies).
- David Dodrill– "Land and Water Use Policy in Southwest Florida, 1900-1960" (master's thesis in progress).
- Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (faculty)— "Historiographical Essay on Territorial Florida"; "History of the Florida Historical Society"; "Railroads in North Central Florida" (continuing studies).
- Glen Emery— "Urban Boosterism in Late-Nineteenth Century Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Michael Gannon (faculty)— "A Short History of Florida"; "The Administration of Juan Marquez Cabrera" (continuing studies).
- Patricia C. Griffin— "Tourism and Festivals: St. Augustine, Florida and Bala, Wales" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- E. H. Hammond (faculty, emeritus)— "History of the Medical Profession in Florida, 1821-1875" (continuing study).
- Helen Hill- "Immigrant Women in Ybor City" (master's thesis in progress).
- Kenneth P. Johnson— "Archeological Study of Western Timucuan Settlement Patterns in the Historic Period" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Sidney P. Johnston- "100 Years of Fine Printing: A History of the E. O. Painter Printing Company" (master's thesis in progress).
- John Paul Jones (faculty)— "History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).
- Richard J. Junkins— "'Beacons of Hope': The Lighthouses of Ponce Inlet, Florida, 1830- 1986" (continuing study).
- Stephen Kerber- "Park Trammell of Florida, A Political

- Biography"; "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman" (continuing studies).
- Robert Kosten— "Black Agricultural Colleges in the South" (master's thesis in progress).
- Jane Landers— "Race Relations in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784- 1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Eugene Lyon (faculty)— "Pedro de Valdes and the Florida Indian Trade"; "Data from the Third Voyage of Columbus— the *Libro de Registros"*; "The Enterprise of Florida II" (continuing studies); "The Hernando de Soto Papers" (translation in progress).
- William E. McGoun (faculty)— "Archeology of South Florida, An Overview" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)— "Archeology of the Hernando de Soto Entrada in Florida" (continuing study).
- Jerald T. Milanich and Donna L. Ruhl— "Fort Center and the Belle Glade Culture, Florida"; "Weeden Island Culture and the McKeithen Site" (slides and texts published 1986).
- Jeffrey Mitchem— "Archeology of the Safety Harbor Culture in the Cove of the Withlacoochee" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- William Nulty— "The 1864 Florida Federal Expedition: Blundering into Modern Warfare" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- George E. Pozzetta (faculty)— "Ethnicity in the Sun Belt in the Post-World War II Era" (continuing study).
- George E. Pozzetta and Gary R. Mormino— *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (published 1986).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)— *Gator History: A Pictorial History of the University of Florida, 1853-Present* (published 1986); "Essays in Southern Jewish History" (continuing study).
- Donna Ruhl— "Plant Use by Florida's Aboriginal Populations" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Rebecca Saunders and Jerald T. Milanich— "Archeology of the Santa Catalina Spanish Mission, Amelia Island" (continuing study).
- Michael R. Scanlon— "The At-Large Election as a Progressive Era Reform in Florida" (continuing studies).
- Paul Weaver— "The History of Preservation in St. Augustine" (master's thesis completed).

Brent Weisman— "Archaeology of the Seminole Peoples in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Arthur O. White (faculty)— "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study).

Patricia R. Wickman— "Osceola's Legacy" (master's thesis completed).

#### University of Georgia

Charles Hudson (faculty) and Jerald T. Milanich— "Hernando de Soto and the Florida Indians" (continuing study).

#### University of Miami

Gregory Bush (faculty)— "'Speed and Spectacle': Carl Fisher and the Organization of Leisure in Early Twentieth Century Florida"; "Beyond Colored Town: Miami's 1939 Voting Rights Incident" (continuing studies).

Paul S. George (faculty)— Florida: Yesterday and Today (published 1986); "A History of the Liberty Square (Miami) Housing Project"; "Florida Legislative Leaders in the 1930s and 1940s"; "Miami and the Ku Klux Klan: The Depression Decade"; "A Guide to Florida Historiography" (continuing studies).

### University of North Florida

James B. Crooks (faculty)— "Jacksonville: Government Response to Urban Growth" (continuing study).

Philip Miller— "Development of San Marco, Jacksonville, During the 1920s" (master's thesis in progress).

Daniel Schafer (faculty)— "History of British East Florida" (continuing study).

# University of South Carolina

Michael C. Scardaville (faculty) and Karen Harvey— "St. Augustine Revisited: A New Look at Old Places" (continuing study).

# University of South Florida

Susan Greenbaum (faculty)— "Afro-Cubans in Tampa" (continuing study).

- Nancy A. Hewitt (faculty)— "Tampa's Working Women, 1885-1945" (continuing study).
- Robert P. Ingalls (faculty)— "Vigilantism in Tampa, 1858-1940" (manuscript completed).
- Gary R. Mormino (faculty)— "History of Florida"; "Biography of Claude Pepper" (continuing studies).
- Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta— *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (published 1986).

### University of Tampa

James W. Covington (faculty)— "The Campaign for the Negro Fort, 1816" (continuing study).

#### University of West Florida

- William S. Coker (faculty)— *Colonial West Florida; Peter Bryan Bruin: Soldier Frontiersman and Judge* (publication forthcoming).
- William S. Coker and Jerome F. Coling— *An Atlas of Colonial West Florida* (publication forthcoming).
- Dennis Golladay (faculty)— "Factional Politics in Jacksonian Pensacola" (continuing study).
- Thomas Muir— "Biography of William Alexander Blount" (master's thesis in progress).
- Clay McCuthan— "A History of the 33rd Fighter Tactical Wing— Eglin Air Force Base" (master's thesis in progress).
- James McGovern (faculty)— "Pensacola: A Contemporary Southern City" (continuing study).
- Virginia Parks- "History of Pensacola" (continuing study).
- George F. Pearce (faculty)— "Pensacola in the Bourbon Era" (continuing study).

# Consulting and/or Research Historians

- Amy Bushnell– "The Republic of Indians: A Spanish Model of Cultural Interaction in Colonial North America" (continuing study).
- Mildred Fryman— "Florida Surveyor General's Office: Papers" (continuing study).
- John W. Griffin- "The Archeology of Everglades National

Park: A Synthesis" (continuing study); *The Place* of *the Granada Site in South Florida Prehistory* (publication forthcoming).

Patricia C. Griffin— "The Story of Sitiki: Buckingham Smith's African Slave and Heir" (continuing study).

# **BOOK REVIEWS**

May Mann Jennings: Florida's Genteel Activist. By Linda D. Vance. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1986. vii, 200 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Linda Vance provides convincing evidence for her conclusion that May Mann Jennings "stands alone as Florida's most impressive and successful female citizen." A civic and political leader for over sixty years, May Jennings worked on behalf of conservation and social issues, helping to shape Florida's development and the role of women in the state. This pioneering study not only fills a gap in the material available about May Jennings and the early activities of women's organizations, but it also provides rich insights into Florida life and politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The need for the book is suggested by the omission of May Jennings's name from the Florida Women's Hall of Fame and by the paucity of works on women in Florida.

May Jennings was an extraordinary woman, combining energy, intelligence, and self-assurance with a commitment to public service and a love for and skill at politics. In the first third of the study, covering her youth and early years of marriage, Dr. Vance describes the forces which shaped Mrs. Jennings's character and goals: a childhood in tropical Florida, seven years in convent school, and a father who treated her as an equal. At age eighteen she married William Jennings, and for the next fifteen years gained a breadth of political experience, serving as his trusted counselor as he ascended from legislator to governor of Florida. In subsequent years her husband would aid her political endeavors.

The last two-thirds of the book, which concentrates on the Jacksonville years, particularly the period 1905 to the mid-1920s chronicles May Jennings's movement into a leadership role among the women in the state. By 1914, when she assumed the presidency of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, she was the most influential woman in Florida with an extensive network of contacts among women and political leaders. Her

range of responsibilities in these years was amazing. She served in leadership roles in many state and local organizations and committees, founded a variety of organizations, and lobbied members of the legislature and state and local government officials extensively. In subsequent years her activities would expand to include serving as a Democratic party official and as president of the Florida Legislative Council.

Particularly enlightening are the chapters describing the efforts of Mrs. Jennings and her "old girl" network of prominent women to win legislative support for a variety of issues, ranging from the establishment and funding of the Royal Palm State Park and the Everglades National Park, the protection of Florida forests, and the right to vote and hold public office for women. Conservation was always her primary concern, but there were not many public welfare issues that did not receive her attention. While it often took years to gain her objectives, May Jennings persisted, and only rarely expressed discouragement or frustration.

There are, unfortunately, few details in this study about Mrs. Jennings's later years. There is little, for example, on her role as campaign manager for Florida's first congresswoman or her work within the Democratic party. Nor do we gain many insights into May Jennings's personality or her personal relationships. These limitations stem from the nature and scope of the Jennings papers at the University of Florida, which include only scattered materials for the years after the early 1920s and primarily show the public side of Mrs. Jennings.

This is the first major study of women in Florida politics. Dr. Vance has drawn extensively on the Jennings papers and on a wide range of original and secondary sources, including interviews with members of the Jennings family. There are useful appendices and footnotes and a comprehensive bibliography. This well-written book about one of Florida's most important women has much to offer both the historian and the general reader.

Jacksonville University

JOAN S. CARVER

A History of the Practice of Medicine in Manatee County, Florida. By Robert E. King, M.D. (Bradenton, FL: Manatee Memorial Hospital, 1985. xiii, 376 pp. Dedication, acknowledgments, preface, introduction, conclusion, footnotes, bibliography. \$20.00.)

More information on the practice of medicine in the state of Florida is needed. Aside from Dr. William Straight's historical issues in the *Journal of the Florida Medical Association*, a paucity of information about the practice of medicine in Florida exists. Historical information, provided either through articles or books such as Dr. King's, on the practice of medicine in the counties of Florida is a welcome addition and much needed.

The arrangement of King's book is by chapters describing the activities of physicians and dentists and others involved in medical care in Manatee County. It covers the period from the early settlement of Manatee to the present. Most of the vignettes were written by Dr. King, although several autobiographical and biographical items by family members are included. Obviously, considerable effort and time has been spent in collecting this information.

In addition, Dr. King provides information on a variety of early medical practices. There is historical data on Manatee County, Bradenton General Hospital, Manatee County Hospital, Manatee Memorial Hospital, L. W. Blake Memorial Hospital, and the Manatee County Medical Society.

Dr. King has compiled his book in a somewhat unorthodox manner. Within the chapters on practitioners is information on the medical development of various hospitals, the health department, and the medical society. I would have preferred a more traditional chronological method of presenting the information.

The first practicing physician in Manatee County was Dr. Franklin Branch, who moved there from Tampa in October 1846. Most of the cases treated by nineteenth-century Florida physicians involved trauma and infections. Yellow-fever epidemics in the Manatee area occurred in 1867, 1887, and 1889. Treatment involved quarantining the area, and using various purges, plasters, and potions. The first hospital in Manatee County, the Leonard Sanitarium, was built by Dr. Duncan Leonard in 1910. It later became the Bradenton General Hospital. Dr. King has included many anecdotes in his book about

people and happenings in the area. A sense of humor was part of the physician's armamentarium in practicing medicine in the late nineteenth century, as it is today.

It is gratifying to see both professional and non-professional historians doing research into the history of medicine in Florida, and publishing the results of their findings. Dr. King has done a yeoman's job and has produced a valuable addition to the history of the practice of medicine in Florida.

Gainesville, Florida

MARK V. BARROW

La República de las Floridas: Texts and Documents. Compiled by David Bushnell. (Mexico: Pan American Institute of Geography and History, 1986. 64 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations. \$9.00.)

This compilation of historical essays and edited documents is a welcome addition to Spanish Florida historiography. The scope of Florida history has always been broad, and it has never been a matter of just state and local interest. From the time of first European contact, Florida has played an important role on the stage of world history. This volume attests to that fact.

Dr. Bushnell has brought together a group of diverse materials to demonstrate Florida's role in the hemispheric movement for Latin American independence. His introductory essay provides background information on the aborted efforts to establish the República de las Floridas at Fernandina in 1817. He examines these events as they relate to the following issues: Spain's attempts to defuse insurgent movements in its overseas possessions, the equivocal foreign policy position of the United States during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and the República's relation to the larger independence movement in Spain's other American colonies. Bushnell used documents from repositories in Spain, the United States, and Colombia. His even-handed approach is to be applauded.

David Norris documents the day-to-day events of the crisis, the result of which was Spain's loss of Fernandina and Amelia Island. He also notes the implications for Spain's sovereignty in the rest of Florida. Gerald Poyo describes the Mexican and Texas connections with what was going on in Fernandina. It was part of a larger plan, and more than just simple filibustering activities. Poyo's contention is supported by Charles Bowman's study which shows that the Amelia Island affair was intimately linked, through its leaders and ideology, to subsequent events in South America.

The nine documents that are included provide evidence supporting the points developed by the essayists. Several of the documents are from the East Florida Papers, the archive of the Spanish East Florida government (1784-1821), a source which has not been adequately researched by scholars.

This compilation is a contribution to Spanish Florida and Latin American independence studies. It will be of great value to students of Florida history.

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

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 11: October 1, 1778-January 31, 1779. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, Ronald M. Gephart, and Eugene R. Sheridan. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1983. xxxi, 587 pp. Editorial method, acknowledgments, illustrations, index. \$18.00.)

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 12: February 1, 1779—March 31, 1779. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1985. xxix, 595 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. \$20.00.)

The autumn, winter, and spring of 1778-1779 was a bleak period in the American Revolution, and for that very reason the correspondence and other writings of delegates to the Continental Congress are especially revealing. Rarely do legislative documents present adversity with such candor and explicitness. "I really think that I am chargeable with indecency to the public to continue in a station such as the present," confessed James

Lovell of Massachusetts, "when I see for a demonstrable certainty that the delegates' children must go barefoot, whereas the lemmon [ sic | sellers may ride in a chariot." Republican formulations about virtue which had held the political culture together since 1776 were now unravelling, and the pain and dismay of many delegates was palpable. Herein lay the significance of the famous feud in Congress between the supporters of Arthur Lee and those of Silas Deane, the subject of a large portion of these documents. "America should beware how she suffers the character of one of her most able and vigilant supporters of her rights to be injured by questions designed to impute slander," Samuel Adams fumed in Lee's defense. "It is the old game of mischievous men to strike at the characters of the good and great in order to lessen the weight of their example and influence," he went on, citing Algernon Sydney as an example of such a maligned patriot. Very few of Deane's supporters committed their views to paper, but Henry Laurens's vivid accounts of his clashes with Thomas Burke on the subject reveal how suspicious Burke was of the aggressiveness and ferocity of Lee's defenders.

Another important feature of these two volumes is the inclusion of many excellent letters from the Pennsylvania Packet which emerges as a major depository of source material on this period of the Revolution. These include Gouverneur Morris's four anonymous essays signed, "An American," which brilliantly defended the policies of Congress and covered a wide range of economic, social, diplomatic, military, and financial issues. "To say there are divisions in Congress is only saying . . . that it is a popular assembly," Morris declared. "Different views of the same subject naturally lead men to differ in sentiments. Personal connections excite personal emotions, and the conflict of such emotions sometimes produces personal altercation. The heats inevitable on such occasions seldom evaporate within the walls of one house, but stimulate bitter observations, easily credited, because they flatter a self importance which is uneasy at any kind of superiority. . . . How did it happen that such things did not exist formerly? They did; but the public dangers and distresses taught men to keep more secret those things which they readily divulge in an hour of greater security. The appearance of such divisions therefore in personal matters are striking signs of national prosperity."

Comparing Adams's complaint about mischievous criticism

with Morris's understanding of the dynamics of conflict in a popular legislature illustrates the painful maturing of Revolutionary leadership during the darkest hour of the struggle for independence.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

ROBERT M. CALHOON

The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898. By Edward M. Coffman. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. ix, 514 pp. Notes, maps, illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. \$35.00.)

For most of the 1784- 1898 period covered by this study the United States was at peace (the seemingly interminable frontier fighting with the Indians excepted, of course), and its military forces were very small. Few Americans lived where they were likely to need the army's help, and fewer still wanted to dwell upon the army, its purpose, and its needs. Those who did think about the army usually objected to its cost and often regarded it with the traditional fear in which English-speaking peoples have usually held a regular military force that was believed to be an imminent threat to the existence of its own civil government. "Little," a veteran noted in 1889, "has been written illustrating phases of the life of the regular soldier . . . in times of peace." A century later, Edward Coffman has ably filled that void.

"The Old Army," Coffman writes, "is the army that existed before the last war." By his own criterion, Coffman defines and describes three "old armies" that existed in the United States between the end of the War for Independence and the beginning of the Spanish-American War. One of these "old armies" existed prior to the War of 1812, one between that conflict and the Civil War, and one prior to the war with Spain. (For some unexplained reason, Coffman does not regard the Mexican War of 1846-1848 as marking a significant dividing point in the army's history.)

In effect, Coffman has written individual sketches of each of the three "old armies." In each survey he deals separately with the officers, the enlisted men, and the women and children who were associated with the army of the time covered. He writes of such matters as the ethnic and geographical origins of enlisted men and officers, pay and allowances, housing, crime and punishment, medicine, education (of both soldiers and their dependents), training, religion, diet, and personal habits (sex, drinking, gambling) of the men, women, and children who made up the army's extended family.

Coffman's method of treating separately each of the "old armies" sometimes makes for repetition as he must cover each topic for each of the "old armies" even though there was often but little change from one period to another. The important changes that did take place—the growth of professionalism, for example— are often treated in isolation for each period. By careful reading one can trace these developments, but it would have been helpful if Coffman had provided a complete summary comparing the army of 1898 with its predecessor of 1784. Nor is the treatment balanced. The pre-War of 1812 army is covered in thirty-nine pages; the pre-Civil War army in 169; and the pre-1898 force in 185. No doubt the size of the army in each period and the availability of source material account for these differences.

This well-researched volume is full of valuable insights about not only the army but also all of nineteenth-century America. Historians who work with immigration, family history, Afro-American history, social and intellectual history, and so on will profit from Coffman's work. Non-professional historians will find much of interest in his pages. *The Old Army* is a fine example of the "new" military history. (The "old" or "classical" military history deals with battles and campaigns; the "new" with other facets of the military past.)

North Carolina State University

RICHARD M. MCMURRY

Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners. By Bertram Wyatt-Brown. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xi, 227 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, index. \$20.00.) With these mainly previously published, but heavily revised, essays on the culture of the antebellum North and South, Professor Wyatt-Brown, of the University of Florida, displays not only a keen sensitivity to the differences between the two sections but also offers a unique thesis on the coming of the Civil War. After study of the latest bibliography, the author rejects the prevailing view of slavery as the major contention between the sections. He also maintains that both sections' religious beliefs and practices were important, but, like slavery, by no means do they explain the Civil War. Rather, sectional tensions and animosities arose because of the opposing leaders' differing interpretations of freedom and dignity. Thus, an exaggerated sense of honor led the South to war, and a well-developed sense of social obligations led the North to reject both secession and the southern way of life.

To establish his thesis the author discusses both regions' political, reform, and cultural activists. His section on the North. mainly derived from years of studying reformer family life and social activities, begins with an essay on Stanley Elkins's neglected thesis on the northern reformer as anti-institutionalist. Wyatt-Brown maintains that Elkins's essay buttresses his own analysis of the northern reformer whose major disagreements with the South centered on the meaning of freedom. The author also compares the northern missionary to the domestic reformer to demonstrate that types of reformers differed between those who were motivated by religious values and those who acted out of civic responsibility for secular reasons. Wyatt-Brown's excellent essay on the childraising and reform activities of the Tappan family reveals that, although Lewis Tappan used the language of spiritual reform, he also behaved as an enlightened businessman who felt a keen social obligation to protect the values of a free society. The section on the North concludes with an essay on the demented John Brown which asks why northern leaders supported Brown's violent actions. To provide a transition to the second section, Wyatt-Brown also asks why Southerners responded chaotically to Brown's Virginia invasion. Brown touched the northern value of religious purifrcation through violence, but he also appealed to northern pride in protecting society's freedom. As to the South, its response was not just based on the defense of slavery, but featured community outrage, or an insult to southern honor.

Wyatt-Brown's essays on the South seek to highlight and to sharpen sectional differences on the meaning of freedom and dignity. Again he uses the work of a most important yet seemingly forgotten writer, the North Carolinian Wilbur J. Cash, to capture the language of personal honor. Wyatt-Brown's theory of honor in part derives from Cash's themes of frontier violence. lack of class distinctions, and racial bonding, which molded a unique and changeless region. In a brilliant essay on the proslavery argument's evolution, the author claims that, like the anti-slavery argument, it too began with religious language, but evolved into a secularized defense of a way of life. Henry Hughes, the central figure in this essay, perhaps more than any other antebellum southern social theorist, understood the link between slavery's defense and southern values. In a previously unpublished concluding essay on the rhetoric of honor and southern secession, the author rejects slavery, economic differences, and class loyalties to offer the code of honor as the central reason for southern secession.

Along with his two major books on northern reform and southern honor, these essays make Wyatt-Brown our most knowledgeable authority on both regions in the antebellum period. His ability to ask most difficult questions of his material, his most careful reading of sectional rhetoric, and his sense of how ideas influence action, reveal a brilliance of analytical powers rare in our profession. Yet one must necessarily quarrel with such an exclusive thesis on the coming of the Civil War. The author, who is sensitive to the essential differences between the sections, does not consider the many permutations among the South's own sub-regions. To maintain that the upper class' opposition to secession precluded class alignment rejects legitimate social distinctions. To envision monolithic agricultural southern economic interests ignores the real conflict that existed over the state's role in the economy during the late antebellum period. To claim that slavery was not central to southern values demeans the author's own theory of the South's exaggerated sense of honor. To neglect the biblical rhetoric in the secession crisis, North and South, diminishes the centrality of religion in the social values of both regions. Other factors, then, buttressed the meaning of honor as freedom, and point to a southern search for order. To do justice to that pompous and proud, but tragic

section, demands that Wyatt-Brown give due attention to its complexity, as he does to the North's.

Catholic University of America

JON L. WAKELYN

The Choctaw Before Removal. Edited by Carolyn Keller Reeves. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985. xvi, 243 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, appendices, bibliography, contributors, index. \$25.00.)

In this highly-recommended volume, Dr. Reeves has collected eight topical essays on the Mississippi Choctaws from 1540 to 1830. The eight authors are all recognized authorities in American Indian studies. Four have worked with the Mississippi Choctaws in professional capacities. The individual essays are well-written, based on the best recent research, and well documented. To an unusual degree in an edited volume, Dr. Reeves has succeeded in having separate specialist essays provide a comprehensive view of the Choctaws prior to 1830 which is both scholarly and readable.

This book, more than any other single text in print on this subject, is recommended for scholars interested in the southeastern Indians and for university libraries. For the Choctaws, there is no comprehensive book such as Arrell Gibson's *The Chickasaws*. The best overview of traditional Choctaw society, John Swanton's Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians has long been out-of-print and fails to give the historical dimension provided so well by the Reeves book. Angie Debo's classic *The Rise* and Fall of the Choctaw Republic has only two brief chapters on the Choctaws in Mississippi prior to 1830, focusing instead on the Choctaws in Oklahoma after 1830. Arthur DeRosier's The Removal of the Choctaw Indians centers primarily on removal, while Kendall Blanchard's The Mississippi Choctaws at Play details the history of Choctaw sports. The closest competing volume is Jesse McKee and Jon Schlenker's The Choctaws, which covers the history of the Choctaws in Mississippi prior to removal as well as the separate histories of the Mississippi and Oklahoma Choctaws after 1830. The Reeves book is a better source on Choctaw society and history before 1830, although it lacks the information on post-removal Mississippi Choctaw history provided by McKee and Schlenker.

Only brief mention can be made of the eight individual chapters in Reeves's book. William Brescia reviews Choctaw origin legends, providing additional material not noted by Swanton, especially the existence of a separate Nanih Waiya mound and cave. Carolyn Reeves reviews observations about the Choctaw language in the early nineteenth century. Margaret Searcy reviews Choctaw subsistence prior to 1830, utilizing both early sources and recent scholarship. Grayson Noley's account of the first contact is a mixture of well-known ethnographic descriptions and an imaginative (fictional) account of first contact. This chapter is less useful than the same author's more detailed descriptive chapter on the Choctaws in the early 1700s. Patricia Galloway provides an outstanding account of the Choctaw civil war in 1746- 1750, utilizing new documentary evidence from the Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion. John Guice provides an excellent description of the complicated relations between Indians and settlers in Mississippi Territory, 1798-1817. Samuel Wells reviews federal Indian policy leading to the removal policy and broadens the scope of discussion presented earlier by DeRosier. An appendix by Robert Ferguson reviews Choctaw treaties, including an excellent description of circumstances surrounding the signing of the removal treaty in 1830.

Mississippi State University

JOHN H. PETERSON

Slavery and Rice Culture in Low County Georgia, 1750-1860. By Julia Floyd Smith. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985. xiv, 266 pp. Preface, introduction, tables and illustrations, conclusion, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

Cultivated chiefly in marshy lowlands along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, rice occupied more limited acreage than the antebellum South's other commercial staples. In the relatively compact rice-growing region emerged the South's most dense concentration of large slave communities. An impre-

ssive body of historical scholarship has explored economic, social, and cultural facets of slave society from the vantage of the rice kingdom. Professor Smith's study incorporates findings of earlier studies but attempts no new interpretive synthesis. Her investigation accepts the prevailing judgment that distinctive features of slavery in the rice plantation belt can be attributed to the large labor force required to irrigate rice lands, planters' local absenteeism, widespread reliance on slave drivers, and the general adoption of task labor in field cultivation. In order to "examine the extent of these differences in culture and society of owners and slaves in low country Georgia," she analyzes the process of rice production and the character of slave community life, focusing on plantations where in 1850 slaves raised at least 100,000 pounds of rice.

Professor Smith's analysis of county records, particularly estate inventories, deeds, wills, and probate records, confirms older judgments that Georgia's largest rice planters had been born, not made, "More often than not," she observes, "the rice planter was a son, son-in-law, or relative of an established planter" (p. 41). Moreover, she suggests that migrating South Carolina rice planters presided over the expansion of rice production in Georgia during the early decades of the nineteenth century and, by the late antebellum era, had become the largest rice planters in the state. Impatient with the view that slavery was unprofitable, Professor Smith applies methods that she earlier employed in her study of slavery in Florida and calculates the annual incomes and average returns on investment from selected rice plantations to support her judgment that "by contemporary standards this class was rich" (p. 5). Extracts from estate accounts do not make compelling reading, and this approach restricts the issue of the economic significance of slavery to the narrow terrain of individual plantation accounts. Nevertheless, the author's insistence that the plantation be viewed as a unit of production provides general readers with a perspective not always evident in popular literature about the region.

Vivid descriptions of plantation work routines, the arduous construction of irrigation systems, and techniques of preparing rice for market render the author's account of plantation labor the most memorable dimension of her exploration of slave life. At the same time, however, the author perhaps too readily identifies differences in forms of labor organization as the source of

qualitative differences in the character of slavery in the rice region. Portraying the task system as a "superior" form of organizing field labor because it "encouraged initiative among slaves to complete the work within a reasonable length of time" ignores the overexertion that the completion of daily work quotas in less than average time demanded (p. 62). Similarly, "overtime work on Sundays," "'moonlighting' on another job," and "extra labor performed beyond the work assigned" - means by which hired slaves attempted to produce a surplus above subsistence— are uncritically pronounced an "opportunity to express initiative and freedom of choice in deciding the amount of work to be performed above what was expected" (pp. 58, 61). Although the author's analysis of slaves' health, folk culture, and religious practices seldom advances discussion beyond issues raised by prior monographs on these subjects, all readers will benefit from the clear explanation of rice culture and appreciate the splendid photographs and drawings.

University of California, San Diego

JULIE SAVILLE

The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns. By Joseph T. Glatthaar. (New York: New York University Press, 1985. xiv, 318 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95.)

Scores of books have recounted how General William T. Sherman fathered the urban renewal program in Georgia and the Carolinas. All previous accounts have either praised or damned the fears and the devastation that "Uncle Billy" spread in 1864-1865 as he introduced "total war" to the beleaguered Confederacy. However, the approach utilized here is below command level, highly personal, and hence refreshingly different.

What Joseph Glatthaar (a member of the Command and General Staff College faculty) has done is to tell the story of Sherman's march through the eyes and words of the Union soldiers who made that incredible advance. Relatively little attention has been given to those patriotic Billy Yanks. The men who marched behind Sherman were not simply Federal volunteers. They were in the main midwestern soldiers who had known hard duty in Mississippi and Tennessee. By the spring of 1864 they had become seasoned veterans, wise to the ways of war and hardened to the costs that military victory exacts. In short, they were ideally suited for what Sherman had in mind when he cut his traces at Atlanta and headed eastward toward the sea.

Glatthaar uses a topical approach more than the expected chronological framework. Chapters treat of motivations in Sherman's army, relationships between soldiers and blacks, how Federal soldiers felt about southern whites, plus descriptions of camp life, marches, foraging, and such engagements as the burring of Columbia and the Battle of Bentonville.

Most of those men in blue slogged through dust and mud with vengeance in their hearts. An Iowan wrote as the Union army advanced northward from Savannah: "South Carolina cried out the first for war, and she shall have it to her hearts content. She sowed the Wind. She will soon reap the Whirlwind." With Confederate defeat, however, most of Sherman's soldiers Promptly became American civilians in spirit. "At the prospect of restoration," an Illinois private stated, "all feelings of animosity are dispelled . . . & a warm feeling of fraternal brotherhood springs up."

Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston, Sherman's principal adversary during the war, paid that Union force the greatest compliment only three days after his surrender: "There had been no such army since the days of Julius Caesar."

Certainly this volume belongs with campaign studies of the Civil War. Yet it should more rightfully be placed alongside Bell I. Wiley's *The Life of Billy Yank*, and Francis A. Lord's *They Fought for the Union*, because *The March to the Sea and Beyond* is social history in a military setting. As Glatthaar points out, "War as seen from a headquarters tent, although important in understanding the campaign or battle, is very different from war from a soldier's perspective." Louis Morton, another respected military historian, once asserted: "Military forces in every age reflect the societies they are created to defend."

Making maximum use of Civil War letters, diaries, reminiscences, and unit histories, Glatthaar has produced a study that

could be a model for similar histories of other armies blue and gray.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

JAMES I. ROBERTSON

The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education. Edited by Walter J. Fraser, Jr., R. Frank Saunders, Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985. xvii, 257 pp. Introduction, notes, contributors, index. \$25.00.)

The essays collected in *The Web of Southern Social Relations* were first presented at the "Symposium on the South: Education, Family, and Women," held at Georgia Southern College in spring 1984. The articles embrace both the Old and New South, though with a heavy emphasis on the former if Reconstruction is included therein. As with most collections drawn from a single conference, the volume does not provide systematic coverage of its subject but rather presents a series of case studies which are topically congruent. Several articles here converge to provide rich portraits of the antebellum education of both daughters and sons; the effects of Reconstruction on blacks, elite whites, and poor whites; and the impact of charitable and reform efforts on impoverished mothers, wealthy gentlemen, elite women, and black ladies.

The editors hope that this collection will "provoke questions for all students of southern society, especially for those who want to know more about ordinary lives." In this the volume of thirteen essays succeeds. Indeed, because "cautious conclusions are typical of," and often appropriate to, these essays, the reader is left with profuse questions and plenty of incentive to pursue further research (xv). The volume as a whole, however, would have benefitted from a more incautious introduction. Overlapping, often reinforcing, but sometimes contradictory themes and interpretations emerge as one moves from essay to essay, but the effort to weave these into a meaningful web is left almost wholly to the reader.

The editors have aided in the process of interpretive integra-

tion only by arranging the articles thematically. This is of significance given the great variety of subjects, regions, and time periods covered. The pairing of articles, for example, on daughters' and sons' antebellum education and on white and black women's post-bellum reform activities helps illuminate the effects of gender and race, respectively, on widely-studied social institutions. In similar fashion, both the limiting effects of southern ideals of femininity on women's behavior the limits of that ideology in accounting for women's behavior are revealed in the first five, very fine essays. They analyze female experience in colonial settlements, plantation houses, slave quarters, Indian villages, and wealthy and poor urban families.

In several articles, particularly those by Bleser, Kett, Stowe, Wakelyn, and Walsh, historical interpretations based on northern evidence are tested against southern cases, sometimes reinforcing, but often challenging existing generalizations regarding the lives of colonial women, gender roles in middle-class marriages, the effects of education on adolescents, and the impact of progressive reform on its purveyors. The contributors to this volume also employ a broad range of methodologies, demonstrating the utility of lifecycle analyses and of the integration of quantitative and literary evidence. In addition, these articles show a sophistication in, and a sensitivity to, the analysis of class, race, and gender that is rare in any volume. The contributions of Bellows, Berkeley, Flynt, and Wyatt-Brown are especially successful in revealing the ways that poor whites and blacks perceived themselves and their place in southern society. Thus, this collection is important reading not only for southern historians but for all historians.

The editors claim that one "criterion in evaluating the worth of any book is the degree to which it influences future scholarship." By combining a number of intriguing case studies with a cursory thematic and theoretical introduction, they have assured that the issues raised in this volume will be pursued elsewhere.

University of South Florida

NANCY A. HEWITT

Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890. By Joe M. Richardson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986. ix, 348 pp. Preface, afterword, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth.)

Now and again one discovers a book that informs the reader beyond his expectations even on its central material while doing a great deal more besides. Joe M. Richardson's study of the American Missionary Association in the post-Civil War South achieves the first in depth. It accomplishes the second with stunning effect.

The study of this single organization turns out to be a piece of social history that acquaints us with many of the implicates that arose from a campaign by northern Christians to educate and generally improve life for the recently-freed slaves of the South. Those implicates include: the evolution of freedmen's life during and after the war; southern attitudes toward northern people; the need of a devastated economy for funding assistance from the winning side; the conscience or compassion of concerned church people toward the near-hopeless, and, in some ways, worsened condition of a newly-emancipated people.

Richardson's primary sources lead him to conclude that the AMA teacher-missionaries were, for the greater part, admirable, effective, and courageous people. But they were thrust into circumstances that filled their daily living and work with stresses, limitations, and vexations that would have sent less dedicated and hardy souls back home to Ohio, Massachusetts, and New York in a hurry. The trying lot of their lives in the devastated South was due in part to their entry into the Negroes' culture, but they would have been nearly as foreign to normalcy had their time and participation been spent in southern white circles. A minority of AMA agents were northern and southern blacks. For them, too, the pay was poor and social acceptance hampered.

The AMA's history acquaints us with several of today's black educational institutions which the Association founded in the 1860s and 1870s. These included colleges, normal schools, and theological and industrial institutes such as Fisk, Atlanta University, Talladega, and Tougaloo. It introduces us to some stellar figures (or enlarges our knowledge of them): Lewis Tappan, Francis L. Cardozo, Mary F. Wells, Floyd Snelson, and others.

The story of the AMA is gripping and depressing, as well as stunning and informative. By the time Richardson finishes, we are convinced that every human cross-purpose that was possible had been actualized. Every caste, class, race, and profession that could be alienated from each other seemingly was. To alienation must be added hostility, suspicion, and ostracism. As a result, southern whites were alienated from southern blacks, southern whites from northern blacks, southern white teachers, wealthy blacks from poor blacks, AMA officers from southern blacks, AMA white teachers from southern blacks, and AMA women teachers from AMA policies.

Scarcely any doubt attends the attribution of success to the American Missionary Association. Yet, even this well-intentioned body blundered in its aim to reconstruct the freedmen in the Christian religion and by means of its noblest values. It too patronized blacks and compromised with regional racial mores. But it succeeded amazingly well, in both its spirit and actual accomplishments. By examing it, we do indeed see afresh how desparate was the situation it came into and why healing the ravages of slavery and segregation has taken so long.

Before this book, the story of the American Missionary Association was available through a number of state, local, institutional, and biographical studies. Now, with commendable professionalism, Professor Richardson of Florida State University has produced a comprehensive study of the crucial first quarter century of its history. This equips us to know much more about a great many aspects of regional and national life.

University of Florida

SAMUEL S. HILL

Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes. By Michael C. Coleman. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985. x, 222 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, abbreviations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

The Board of Foreign Missions was founded in 1838 by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, generally known as the Old School Presbyterians. After the Old School and New School Presbyterians reun-

ited in 1869, the BFM continued to oversee the church's Indian missions until 1893, when the stations were transferred to the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. During these years the BFM sponsored the work of about 450 missionaries to nineteen different tribes. They were, in Coleman's words, one of the "self-consciously elite regiments" in the nineteenth-century army of Protestant missionaries (p. 5).

The missionaries left behind voluminous correspondence and reports. Coleman's research concentrated mostly on missions to two tribes, the Choctaws of Oklahoma and the Nez Perces of Idaho. Those two tribes were chosen because they represented different stages of Indian acculturation, the Choctaw having adapted more to American customs than the Nez Perces. While historians will continue to generalize about the attitudes of Protestant missionaries toward Indians, Coleman's study will serve as a reminder that both the theological assumptions and denominational loyalties of the missionaries and the variety in American Indian cultures make each mission a discrete and unique study.

This book is not a traditional history of Indian missions; in fact, one learns little about the development and operation of the mission stations and the personalities of the missionaries. It is, rather, an intellectual history of the missionary mind. Coleman is interested in what the missionaries thought, in their encounters with a different but rich and highly developed culture. His story is both informative and interesting.

The questions Coleman asks are informed by the most recent scholarship on Indian missions, and his case study provides a solid basis for theorizing. He concludes that the motivation of the Presbyterian missionaries, while "an inextricable mixture of many factors," was primarily "conscious and spiritual (p. 26)." In fact, the missionaries were captives of a "near-total ethnocentrism" which made them insensitive to any positive values in tribal culture and demanded that they change not only the religion of the Indians, but also their society and economy-even their names. The missionaries sometimes betrayed "clashing double images" of Indian society-arguing, for instance, that it was both authoritarian and excessively individualistic-but such contradictions seemed never to undermine their convictions. Furthermore, throughout one-half century, the reports and correspondence showed no signs of change or variation.

This is a valuable book; it provides a model for countless other studies that must be done before the nineteenth-century encounter between Protestantism and Indian culture is thoroughly understood. Few areas of American history provide better treasures of unmined source materials.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

DAVID E. HARRELL, IR.

Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: Historian of the Old South. By Merton L. Dillon. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985. xii, 190 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, bibliography, index \$20.00.)

U. B. Phillips (1877-1934) was born and reared in post-Reconstruction Georgia. After undergraduate and graduate work at the University of Georgia, he studied under Frederick Jackson Turner at Chicago and then went on to work under W. A. Dunning at Columbia University. He received his Ph.D. degree in history from Columbia in 1902. Phillips began his professional career at the University of Wisconsin (attracted there by Turner), and he went on to teach at Tulane University, the University of Michigan, and Yale University.

During the course of his long professional career, Phillips published a number of works, the most important being *American* Negro *Slavery* and *Life and Labor in the Old South*. His best known essay was entitled, "The Central Theme of Southern History."

Phillips's professional career spanned the first one-third of the twentieth century, a period when the American historical profession was hardly beyond its infancy and when southern history as a teaching and research field had not yet been defined with any particular clarity. In many ways Phillips was one of the first-if not the first-professional historian who took the entire Old South as his teaching and writing province. He was a prodigious researcher, which turned him into a major manuscript collector, and his commitment to research, writing, and publication was total.

In this volume, Merton Dillon has clothed the outline of

Phillips's professional life with the kinds of detail for which Dillon's own research is well known. Dillon recounts the initial reception of Phillips's works, their nadir, and the recent revival of the positive aspects of his writings. Dillon has carefully evaluated the influence of Phillips's southern background and predispositions upon his interpretations of the South's history. He acknowledges Phillips's aristocratic tendencies and his racism, and he reminds his readers that Phillips's writings must be assessed in the light of those characteristics rather than in the light of today's **more** enlightened era. Despite the shortcomings of Phillips's works, Dillon correctly states that Phillips deserves to be praised for his understanding of the master-slave relationship and of the pre-Civil War southern class structure.

This is not to say that Dillon is uncritical of Phillips or that his book is wholly laudatory. Those of us in the profession who know Merton Dillon know that he would write nothing but a judicious assessment of Phillips-or any other historian or historical subject.

New Mexico State University

MONROE BILLINGTON

A Righteous Cause: The Life of William Jennings Bryan. By Robert W. Cherny. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985. xi, 225 pp. Editor's preface, acknowledgments, note on the sources, index. \$15.95.)

A Righteous Cause, by Robert W. Cherny, chronicles the life of William Jennings Bryan as he forged crusades for political causes that won him the Democratic presidential nomination three times.

Bryan believed that a crusader was "clad in the armor of **a** righteous cause." He began to develop that armor in the small town of Salem, Illinois, where he was born, March 19, 1860. The boy, called "Willy," enjoyed the agricultural environment of a relatively prosperous community. Together with his brothers and sisters, he **was taught** the Protestant work ethic, the Protestant Christian faith, and the virtures of the Democratic party.

While pursuing his education at Whipple Academy in Il-

linois, and later at Illinois College and Union Law School in Chicago, Bryan, through debates and orations, honed his voice which would become his greatest political asset. He married Mary Elizabeth Baird who, throughout his life, was a full partner in his political crusades. He began the practice of law after serving as a clerk in the office of former United States Senator, Lyman Trumbell. Bryan moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1887, where he began his crusades.

The Populist movement was directed toward currency reform, a graduated income tax, an eight-hour day for laborers, abolition of child labor, regulation of freight rates, women's suffrage, government ownership of railroads, and prohibition. With great skill Bryan melded the programs of the Democratic party with the programs of the Populist, Greenback, and Silver parties in the 1890s. Many unhappy farmers, Democrats and Republicans, were attracted to, Bryan and what he was saying. These political groups made many changes in the political philosophy of several western states, including Nebraska. Bryan was heavily indebted to these farmers for his two successful campaigns for Congress, in 1890 and 1892, and for his nominations for the presidency in 1896, 1900, and 1908.

Bryan's chief assets were his powerful and persuasive voice and his newspaper, *The Commoner*, which attracted thousands of loyal supporters. They were also swayed by his Chautauqua talks and his Christian fervor. Bryan was also financially independent as a result of his large lecture fees and his book royalties. He did not have to rely entirely on his law practice.

Bryan waged a crusade against imperialism. As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired the Phillipines. Bryan called for immediate independence for that country. He did not want America to become an imperialistic country.

Other crusades waged through political campaigns, Chautauqua addresses, and newspaper editorials called for the direct primary, bank deposit insurance, and prohibition. As Wilson's secretary of state, Bryan crusaded for peace, and resigned after only twenty-seven months in office because his views on war and peace were unacceptable to the president.

His last crusade was waged against the teaching of evolution, and he aided in the prosecution of John Scopes, the teacher who had defied a Tennessee anti-evolution law. Bryan was living in Miami at the time and had become a legal resident of Florida. Bryan's opponent was the famous trial lawyer, Clarence Darrow. During the course of the Scopes trial, Bryan was ridiculed and humilated. He became physically exhausted, and died a few days after the trial ended.

In the last chapter of *A Righteous Cause*, the author gives an evaluation of Bryan which I especially commend to the reader. Most of the people in the pine woods area of North Central Florida, where I was born and reared, wore the same cultural mantle as Bryan during the period between 1900 and 1925. His name had a magical hold on rural listeners as late as 1952, when I waged a successful political campaign for a seat in Congress.

On the campus of the University of Florida there is a building (Arts and Sciences Building), once called the Florida Union. In 1923, Bryan accepted an invitation from President A. A. Murphree of the University of Florida to serve as chairman of a committee to raise money for this building. Serving without pay, and pledging \$1,000 of his own money, Bryan's committee raised some of the money that financed the construction of the student activities center. I was the first director of the Florida Union and we named our main lounge the William Jennings Bryan Memorial Lounge. Inscribed on the wall of the lounge were these words of Bryan, "I fear the plutocracy of wealth. I revere the aristocracy of learning, but I thank God for the democracy of the human heart." I found the flavor and spirit of these words in *A Righteous Cause*.

Gainesville, Florida

D.R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS

Spirit of Vengeance: Nativism and Louisiana Justice, 1921-1924. By John V. Baiamonte, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986. xv, 257 pp. Illustrations, preface, author's note, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

In May 1921, Joseph Rini and five other men of Italian extraction proceeded from New Orleans to Independence, Louisiana, a small town in the Florida Parishes north of Lake Pontchartrain, planning to rob the local bank. Their hastily-developed plans for the robbery, however, went awry, and an Inde-

pendence restaurant owner died in a confusing gun fight. The six men were tried and convicted of the murder on circumstantial evidence in a rural court that operated under the shadow of the Ku Klux Klan. A second trial confirmed the original verdict and death sentences. After several futile appeals to Governor John M. Parker, the Louisiana Board of Pardons, and higher tribunals, and despite the last-moment confession of Rosario "Roy" Leona, one of the convicted Italians, that he alone was responsible for the shooting, all six were executed on May 9, 1924.

Relying heavily on court transcripts, newspaper accounts, and personal interviews, as well as secondary sources, Baiamonte carefully details the unfolding of the Rini case and properly places the episode within the context of Tangipahoa Parish's violent heritage and the anti-Italian sentiment in Louisiana during the early part of the twentieth century. At the core of this examination is the unsupported fear that Mafia activity was rampant in southeast Louisiana and in New Orleans. Fear prompted law enforcement officials to use physical intimidation against Rini, Leona, and their associates, and to call witnesses of dubious credibility to help secure a conviction. Baiamonte additionally contends that Governor Parker, an unapologetic participant in the Crescent City lynching of eleven Italians in 1891, harbored prejudice toward members of that ethnic group. His prejudice neutralized his usual antipathy for the Ku Klux Klan and most likely destroyed hopes for gubernatorial clemency in the Rini case.

Baiamonte's sprightly narrative, drawn largely from court records and newspaper reports, contains lengthy dialogues that are absorbing and often quite dramatic. This strength, however, is also the work's main weakness. The book at times vacillates between dispassionate historical analysis and sensationalism that tugs on the emotions. The author's sympathy for the six Italians is frequently too obvious.

The issues of the case, furthermore, were not always clearcut. Although Rini, Leona, and the others were undoubtedly victims of ethnic prejudice, unfair trials, and inordinately harsh sentences, the men were not exactly guiltless. Testimony and later confessions indicated that the defendants had conspired to commit robbery, and that five of the men were to some degree accomplices to the murder which Leona eventually admitted committing. Citizens of Tangipahoa Parish, moreover, did not indiscriminately condemn all Italians. Mayor Charles Anzalone of Independence and Dr. Anthony J. Strange, another Italian, were respected community leaders who aided the prosecution during the murder trial.

These questions aside, Baiamonte has produced a highly-readable, extensively-researched case study of ethnic prejudice in Louisiana. His work constitutes a worthy addition to the growing historical literature on the Italian-American experience in this country. It further indicates an unfortunate link between the nativist attitudes of Louisianians and the prejudicial views of other Americans that prevailed in the United States after World War I.

Tulane University

EDWARD F. HAAS

Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States. By Alejandro Portes and Robert L. Bach. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985. xxi, 387 pp. List of tables, list of figures, acknowledgments, appendix, bibliography, index. \$11.95.)

Mexicans and Cubans have figured prominently in some of the nation's most hotly contested debates concerning immigration policy. Floridians are well aware of this fact, having confronted first hand the impact of these population movements. The groups seem to offer evidence of two very distinct models of adaptation to American society. Cubans emerge as a highly successful, rapidly Americanizing group that serves in many ways as a model for adjustment to middle-class America. Mexicans, on the other hand, appear to possess individual abilities and motivations that do not fit well in modern America, causing limited upward mobility and allowing for only a partial incorporation into American society. But precisely how true are these generalizations and, to the extent that they do reflect reality, why have these outcomes taken place? Portes and Bach have explored these research questions in this densely-researched volume.

The authors go substantially beyond a narrative exposition

of Cuban and Mexican immigration. They attempt to tie the migrations into a wider theoretical framework which can provide for a broader understanding of how immigrants achieve economic progress in America. Employing a sophisticated statistical methodology, they lead the reader through a variety of bivariate, multivariate, and discriminant analyses of the data. The volume's empirical findings are tested against a host of social science theories of migration, labor market behavior, immigrant social and cultural adaptation, and assimilation. All this makes for rather heavy going at times, but the rewards more than justify the effort.

The Cuban presence in Miami merits special treatment. The authors find that the ethnic enclave played an important role in providing for the economic adjustment of Cubans, but in different ways for different immigrants. In the enclave, the proliferation of small businesses was not due to the "inherent entrepreneurial spirit carried by the more adventurous men," but rather "assistance from established social networks within the Cuban community" and contact with other Cuban entrepreneurs (p. 238). Here is where the Cuban experience diverged most sharply from that of Mexicans. Yet, other modes of incorporation served the community. Indeed, a slight majority of Cubans sampled entered the outside economy. Here, Cubans employed in the primary and secondary labor markets experienced ethnicity differently from those who remained rooted in the enclave. What emerges, therefore, is a viewpoint that negates a homogeneous, openly competitive labor market (p. 239), and sees instead a multi-structured system in which class and ethnicity play different roles according to where individuals find themselves situated.

Though concerned primarily with economic processes, this book offers insight into many other aspects of immigrant life. Most intriguing to this reviewer is its assessment of how ethnicity and assimilation interrelate. The book suggests a complex pattern of social adaptation which includes "gradual entry into American institutions" accompanied by an increased awareness of how they function and "a growing attachment to ethnic ties for personal support." This conception argues against the usual assumption which pictures assimilation as a unilinear process moving immigrants from foreigness to Americaness.

This is an important book that challenges many conventional

assumptions about contemporary immigration— more than this short review can list. The recent debate in Congress, which resulted in new immigration legislation, is only one manifestation of a public concern about what role newcomers should play in our nation's future. The frustration encountered by legislators is a further reflection of the importance and complexity of these problems. The thorough scholarship and reasoning contained in *Latin Journey*, therefore, are particularly welcome. One would hope that they had an impact on the action taken by Congress.

University of Florida

GEORGE E. POZZETTA

A Culture at Risk: Who Cares for America's Heritage? By Charles Phillips and Patricia Hogan. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1984. xii, 95 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, introduction, conclusion, appendices, tables. \$10.00.)

A Culture at Risk is the product of a survey of historical agencies and museums undertaken by the American Association for State and Local History with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The findings are based on 562 institutional responses to a rather lengthy and detailed questionnaire. Out of this one would hope to find useful information on the state of historical organizations in the United States; not only statistical data, but also its interpretation. Unfortunately, the statistical information in this book is of limited value, and the authors offer almost no interpretation of the results.

One of the major problems with the statistics is the method of presentation. Particularly vexing is that findings are expressed in percentages only. One does not know (although sometimes it is possible to guess) how many institutions responded to a specific question. For instance, one statistical table relates the size of an institution's staff to the number of its volunteers. According to the table, 100 per cent of the organizations that employ more than 500 individuals fall into the fifty to ninety-nine volunteers category, even though there are nine different categories altogether. Probably this means that only one or two

institutions with over 500 employees responded, but one must surmise this as it is never specifically stated.

Too often the results are displayed in a confusing manner. One table, "Number of Visitors in Quarters at Various Organizations," requires tremendous effort on the reader's part to make any sense of it at all. Another, "When Institutions are Open to the Public," just does not add up.

An additional problem is that all respondents can not have attached the same meaning to the questions they answered. What, for example, does "budget allocation" mean to a small volunteer organization? Just because 78.8 per cent of the organizations claimed that they allocated no funds for archives (Figure 40, p. 73), does not mean that no money has been spent. More likely this response is a function of primitive budgeting and accounting systems in smaller agencies.

More damaging than the confusing statistics is the dearth of analysis. The authors devote only twenty per cent of this work to comments on the survey results, and even then it usually is just a statement of the obvious. Virtually no attempt has been made to go beyond the statistics to explain what all this means.

Clearly, the best part of this book is the introductory essay, "American Historical Societies: Notes for a Survey," by John Alexander Williams. In less than twenty pages, Williams provides an insightful overview of the development of historical agencies in the United States, focusing on how these organizations have been shaped by their adoption of practices from outside the historical field. Anyone even remotely involved with an historical organization of any type or size will understand it much better after reading this essay.

This is a book worth reading, but it could have been a better book. Fortunately, the data are still available; perhaps someone will examine the survey results and give them the treatment they deserve.

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society

DANIEL T. HOBBY

Time Machines: The World of Living History. By Jay Anderson. (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1984. 217 pp. Preface, appendix, acknowledgments, index. \$19.95; \$17.95 to AASLH members.)

Have you wondered what it was like to travel through the Florida swamps with William Bartram as he studied plants? Or to live with the hardy colonists at Plimoth Plantation? Or face the "enemy" across the battlefield at Natural Bridge or Olustee? While many try to imagine what happened, others become "time travelers" and attempt to simulate these events and activities. They want to experience that fourth dimension of history which Edward Alexander, formerly of Colonial Williamsburg, described as the ability to sense what it was like to live in a bygone time.

In the past century living history programs have evolved and matured. Jay Anderson in *Time Machines: The World of Liv*ing *History*, defines three major thrusts of living history: reenactment, museum interpretive programs, and experimental archeology. While introducing readers to what he terms "an American way of history," he also provides an understanding of the major European antecedents in this field. Anderson's approach in his book is similar to his classroom technique—folksy and personal.

Time Machines has three major sections. The first deals with museum interpretation programs that use a living history orientation. Citing programs like Colonial Williamsburg and Plimoth Plantation, Anderson explains how this approach has been refined and what its attraction is to the visitor. In part two, hedeals with living history as research or experimental archeology. Here he includes sea voyages like the one undertaken by the Kon-Tiki, as well as farming experiments on the order of Butser Hill in England. Their purpose, is to imitate processes "to formulate new theories about historic economic and cultural systems." The final section deals with living history as play. Here he describes re-enactment groups from the serious-minded American Mountain Men to the more frivolous Society for Creative Anachronism.

Anderson's book is a brief introduction to the complicated world of living history for the uninitiated individual desiring a few suggestions about books, magazines, or places to visit. For the serious "living history" enthusiast, whether re-enacter, interpreter, or researcher, there will be little that is new or challenging. Anderson has supplemented this volume with another, *The Living History Sourcebook*, a Baedeker of living history programs in North America. Floridians will be disappointed that no mention is made in *Time Machines* of the "experimental archeology" program undertaken by students at Flagler College or the living history interpretation currently underway at San Agustín Antiguo. *Time Machines* is an interesting starting point for chronicling the development of the living history movement by a pioneer in the field. However, Anderson should be encouraged to take the next step and expand this effort, producing a parallel volume that would be useful to museum staff members and serious practioners of living history.

Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board LINDA ELLSWORTH

### **BOOK NOTES**

Key West Writers and Their Houses is by Lynn Mitsuko Kaufelt, with photographs by Jeffrey Cardenas. The foreword is by Beth Dunlop, architecture critic of the Miami Herald. Key West for many years was a poor community. The residents lived in older houses, many dating from the nineteenth century, and could not afford to replace, renovate, or even paint them. Today, the community is more affluent, but nobody now wants to change the appearance of these old buildings. Many artists and writers, including several Pultizer Prize winners, live in the Conch houses. Key West is their home. Ernest Hemingway arrived in 1931, and wrote some of his best known works in his house which is now open to the public. Wallace Stevens, the renowned poet who won the National Book Award in 1950, and the Pultizer Prize in 1955, wintered in Key West, staying in the Casa Marina Hotel. A photograph of Wallace Stevens and Robert Frost taken in Key West in 1940 is included in this book. Other literary luminaries associated with Key West are Elizabeth Bishop, Tennessee Williams, James Leo Herlihy, Thomas McGuane, Philip Caputo, James Merrill, John Ciardi, Philip Burton, John Malcolm Brinnin, John Dos Passos, James Kirkwood, Joseph Lash, Alison Lurie, Jane O'Reilly, Evan H. Rhodes, Richard Wilbur, and William Wright. John James Audubon was an early visitor to Key West, arriving there in the spring of 1832. Key West Writers and Their Homes is a very handsome book. Published by Pineapple Press, Englewood, Florida, the paperback edition sells for \$13.95; add \$1.25 for postage.

Sidney Lanier, Poet of the Marshes, Visits Cedar Keys, 1875 is by Charles C. Fishburne, Jr., a well-known local historian, who has published several earlier studies of the area. Sidney Lanier toured Florida in 1875, gathering information for a travel book of the state. In Cedar Key, he noted that the main commerce was "cedar and pine wood, turtles, sponges, and fish." The people he encountered there were all pleasant and hospitable, but the hotel accommodations were "somewhat primitive." He believed, however, that "hunting and fishing enthusiasts or in-

valids seeking healing environments" would encounter "no serious discomfort." But he warned, "the daintier classes of pleasure seekers and delicate invalids" coming to the area "for a prolonged stay," might have some problems. Published by Sea Hawk Publications, P.O. Box 345, Cedar Key, Florida 32625, this illustrated pamphlet sells for \$6.50.

The Last Cracker by Joyce Hart is a fictionalized account of the life of J. T. Earl who lived most of his life in the Suwannee River swamp and forest area of northwest Florida. Mrs. Hart was also born in this Gulf Coast-Suwannee River region, which provides the setting for her book. Most of the people who lived in the area were poor and had to struggle for a living. They hunted, fished, and farmed. Mrs. Hart describes the hardships that the Harts encountered during the depression years of the 1930s. J. T. joined the army in 1945, and after basic training was sent to Hiroshima, Japan, to help clear the area devasted by the atomic bomb. Mainly, however, this is a story of life on the Florida frontier during the first half of the twentieth century. The love and attachment of the people to their land is emphasized by Mrs. Hart in her novel. The Last Cracker was published by the Brunswick Publishing Company, Box 555, Lawrenceville, Virginia 53868. It sells for \$16.95, plus \$2.00 for postage.

As a youth, Fred Hall, author of *Around the Palma Sola Loop*, moved with his family from Arizona to Florida, and lived in Palma Sola for five years (1915- 1920). Palma Sola is in Manatee County, and was first settled in the early 1880s. It included lands west of Warner's Bayou west fork, between the Manatee River and Palma Sola Bay. The "old loop road," when Hall lived in Palma Sola, was only a sandy two-rut country road. It was a Florida frontier area. The illustrations are by the author's son, Robert Miller Hall of St. Augustine. Published by The Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 4747-28th Street North, St. Petersburg, Florida 33714, *Around the Palma Sola Loop* sells for \$6.95, plus \$1.00 for shipping.

Yesterday's Fort Myers, written by Marian Bailey Godown and Alberta Colcord Rawchuck, was published as a hardback book in 1975, as one of a series of pictorial histories of Florida communities. Mrs. Godown and Mrs. Rawchuck are recognized local historians. *Yesterday's Fort Myers* has been reprinted as a paperback volume by Press Printing of Fort Myers. The price is \$9.95.

Richard Samuel Roberts was a black commercial photographer who was born in Fernandina, Florida, in 1880. The family had settled there after the Civil War. Roberts worked first as a stevedore and then as a custodian at the Fernandina post office. Around 1910 he opened a photographic studio in Fernandina called Gem Studio. Presumably he was a self-taught artist. In 1920, the family moved to Columbia, South Carolina, and Roberts again was employed as a custodian in the post office. He worked each day from 4:00 A.M. until 12:00 noon, and then operated his studio. The subjects of most of his photographs are members of the black middle class- professional people, teachers, merchants, and government employees. When he died in 1936, more than 3,000 of his glass photographic plates were stored in the crawl space under his house, unknown except to members of his family. Recently, the collection came to the attention of researchers at the University of South Carolina. Philip G. Dunn of the University of South Carolina restored the plates, which are now on display at the Columbia Museum, and which are reproduced in the book, A True Likeness. The Black South of Richard Samuel Roberts: 1920-1936. Thomas L. Johnson of the South Caroliniana Library has written an introduction which includes biographical information on Mr. Roberts. The book was published by Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, P. O. Box 2225, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27515; the paper edition sells for \$19.95.

In 1834, John H. B. Latrobe, lawyer, architect, artist, and indefatigable traveler, went by merchant ship from New York to New Orleans, then up river to Natchez and down again by steamboat, out to Lake Pontchartrain by rail, across the lake by steamer, and across the southeastern states in a stage coach, finally arriving in Baltimore. His journal, the original of which is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, has been published under the title *Southern Travels* by the Historic New Orleans Collection. It was edited by Samuel Wilson, Jr., who also wrote an introduction on the life of Latrobe. John Latrobe

was the son of the noted American architect, Benjamin Latrobe. The sketches in the book, the end papers, and the watercolor reproduced on the jacket are all by John Latrobe. Order *Southern Travels* from the Historic New Orleans Collection, 533 Royal Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70130; the price is \$14.95, plus \$1.00 for shipping.

Guide to the Small and Historic Lodgings of Florida, by Herbert L. Hiller, describes ninety-two hotels, lodges, and inns where visitors can secure "bed and board." All but one of the properties were personally inspected by the author as he checked for ambience, comfort, and the general concern of owners and managers for the needs of travelers. There is a description of each facility and information on rates, acceptance of credit cards, and the presence of amenities. There is also information on the history of each facility and the quality of the dining room. The state is divided into six geographic areas: Panhandle to Jasper; Northeast Coast to North-Central Regions; Gulf Coast south of Cedar Key; Peninsular Heartland; Southeast Coast; and Key West. Only one chain hotel, the Casa Marina in Key West, and one motel in Hollywood are included. Illustrations are by Charles Greaten. Published by Pineapple Press, Inc., Box 314, Englewood, Florida 33533, Guide to the Small and Historic Lodgings of Florida sells for \$12.95, plus \$1.25 for shipping.

Fort Lauderdale Recipes, first published by the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society in 1964, was reprinted in 1986. It includes a short history of Fort Lauderdale by Lucille Lively. The fort constructed there during the Second Seminole War was named for Major William Lauderdale. An 1838 memorandum shows that provisions were generally of poor quality, and that the soldiers ate fish-pompano, red fish, snapper, and green turtles— which they caught themselves. Occasionally there was "barreled mess pork," deer, and wild turkey. A food inventory in 1841 included pork, beef, ham, flour, "2,707 hard bread, 12 bushels beans, 140 gallons wiskey, 179 pounds candles, 300 pounds soap, 5 bushels salt, 98 gallons vinegar, 750 pounds coffee, 1,073 pounds sugar, 6 barrels sour kraut, 13 kegs pickled onions, 60 bushels potatoes, [and] 10 bushels onion." Fort Lauderdale Recipes also includes many recipes for beverages,

breads, confections, desserts, meats, pies, pastries, poultry, game, seafood, fish, soups, chowders, stews, and vegetables. Order from the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, 219 S.W. 2nd Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301; the price is \$11.70.

Graybacks and Gold: Confederate Monetary Policy, by James F. Morgan, surveys the critical role that money played in the Confederate States of America. It describes the paper issued by the Confederate government, the various states, and the Indian nations. Paper money was intended to circulate as an internal currency: the Confederate government wanted to use precious metals only for the purchase of foreign equipment and supplies. Private citizens were virtually forbidden from obtaining species from banks, although this policy could not always be enforced. Dr. Morgan, a nationally-known numismatist, wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on Confederate monetary policy. His book is based upon his research in both the antebellum and Civil War periods. Incuded are illustrations and descriptions of Confederate stocks and bonds, coins, treasury notes, paper money, and Indian warrants. There is a brief description of the monetary situation in each Confederate state, including Florida. Photographs of notes and script issued in Pensacola are included. A bibliography and index add to the value of this volume which was published by The Perdido Bay Press, Pensacola, in its Southern History and Geneaology series. The price of Graybacks and Gold: Confederate Monetary Policy is \$19.95.

Many scholarly publications are being published for the bicentennial of the American Constitution. One of these is *The Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary History,* edited by Michael Kammen. It provides selections from Constitution plans, private correspondence of the Founding Fathers, and the Federalist and anti-Federalist papers. This paperback is published by Viking Penguin, Inc., New York; it sells for \$6.95.

Unfinished Cathedral, by T. S. Stribling, published in 1934, has been republished by the University of Alabama Press for its Library of Alabama Classics series. The new edition includes an introduction by Randy K. Cross, with a biographical sketch of Stribling and an interpretation of the novel. Unfinished Cathedral

is the final volume in Stribling's account of the Vaiden family, covering the period from the Civil War to the 1930s. The paper-back edition of *Unfinished Cathedral* is \$12.95.

The South As It Is, 1865-1866 is a collection of John Richard Dennett's articles which were written as a special assignment for The Nation, which began publication in July 1865. Dennett, a law student at Harvard, travelled in the South in the summer of 1865. He reported objectively on conditions as he found them. He wrote first from Richmond, Virginia. His first ten articles are a detailed study of that state. Travelling southward, he was in North Carolina nearly two months, and then moved on to Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina. He spent the Christmas season and the beginning of 1866 in Georgia. In January he was in Alabama, and ended his journey in Louisiana and Mississippi. He wrote thirty-six articles, the last in Boston in April 1866. This paperback volume reprints all of the articles. It also includes an introduction by Henry M. Christman. The publisher is the University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia 30602, and the price is \$12.50.

Talking Your Roots: A Family Guide to Tape-Recording and Videotaping Oral History, by William Fletcher, provides information on the use of oral history as a way to do family history research. Suggestions on how to interview parents, grandparents, siblings, and other relatives are included, together with suggested questions for children, teenagers, elderly people, and Jewish and black narrators. There is also information on recording equipment and interview techniques. Order from Talking Your Roots, P. O. Box 3452, Washington, D.C. 20010; the price is \$21.95.

James Longstreet: Lee's War Horse, by H. J. Eckenrode and Bryan Conrad, was published in 1934. It covers each of Longstreet's campaigns in detail. Debate over the generals reputation has continued in the years since publication of this biography, and the book has inspired both supporters and detractors. Republished by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, the new volume includes a foreword by Gary W. Gallagher of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. The reprint edition sells for \$19.95.

The review of *Coacoochee: Made of the Sands of Florida,* by Arthur W. Francke, Jr., (Book Notes, October 1986) was incorrect when it noted that the material was presented in "verse." The author asks that it be corrected to "free verse." The book is illustrated and contains a chronology of Coacoochee and a bibliography.

# HISTORY NEWS

### Charlton Tebeau Chair

The Charlton Tebeau Chair in American History has been established at the University of Miami with a gift of \$1,000,000 by one of Dr. Tebeau's former students. Dr. Tebeau, former president of the Florida Historical Society, began teaching at the University of Miami in 1938 and served as chairman of the history department from 1946 to 1969. He is the author of many books on Florida, including *A History of Florida*, the recognized standard text. He is one of the founders of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, the longtime editor of *Tequesta*, and Florida's most renowned historian. The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize, an annual literary award of the Florida Historical Society, is named in his honor.

## D. B. McKay Award

The Tampa Historical Society presented its D. B. McKay Award in Florida History to Dr. Samuel Proctor at a dinner meeting at the Tampa Yacht Club, November 19, 1986. Dr. Proctor was introduced by Hampton Dunn, vice president of the Florida Historical Society. In his talk, Dr. Proctor traced the history of the Florida Historical Society from its organization in St. Augustine in 1856 to the present, and the growth of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* from its beginnings in 1908.

#### Announcements and Activities

A conference on literature and film will be held at Florida State University, Tallahassee, January 29-31. The theme is "Crosscurrents/Art, History, Politics: Literature and Cinematic Representation." Write to Winnie Adolph, Department of Modern Languages, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306.

Ownership of the William V. Knott house in Tallahassee was transferred to the trustees of the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board on July 15, 1986. The house, its contents, and an

endowment fund were gifts from the late J. Charles Knott. The Knott house will be operated as a historic house museum according to Mr. Knott's wishes. The two-story wood frame residence was built before the Civil War; the classical-style front portico was added in 1928. It is located in the Park Avenue Historic District which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Knott family played an important role in Florida political and social history. Charles Knott's father, William V. Knott, served as state treasurer and state comptroller. His brother, Circuit Court Judge James R. Knott of West Palm Beach, was president of the Florida Historical Society.

Hotel Cuba, a forty-five minute video tape, is available for sale or rental. It was produced by Robert Levine, Department of History, University of Miami, and Mark D. Szuchman, Florida International University. The music is by the University of Miami's School of Music. Dr. Szuchman is the narrator. It details the history of the Jewish community of Cuba from the beginning of the twentieth century to 1959. The photographs were collected in south Florida, California, and the Library of Congress. The Pacific Coast Association in Latin American Studies recognized Hotel Cuba in 1985 as the best film on a Latin American subject produced the previous year. For information on purchase or rental of Hotel Cuba, which is in three-quarter inch format, contact the University of Illinois Film Center, Champaign, Illinois 60801.

The Southern Literary Festival will hold its fiftieth annual meeting at the University of Mississippi in Oxford, April 9-11, 1987. William Styron will be the main speaker. Others will include Barry Hannah, Willie Morris, and Ellen Douglas. Write to Evans Harrington, Department of English, University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi 38677.

State Senator Patrick Neal of Bradenton was recognized at the 1986 meeting of the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation in Fort Lauderdale for his outstanding service in the field of preservation. Florida Secretary of State George Firestone made the presentation to Mr. Neal. Gainesville will be the site of the next annual meeting of the Trust, September 17-19, 1987.

## Obituary

## J. Leitch Wright, Jr.

J. Leitch Wright, Jr., professor of history, Florida State University, and a prominent Florida and southern historian, was killed by an automobile on September 28, 1986, as he was jogging on a road in Tallahassee. Dr. Wright received his bachelor's degree from Virginia Military Institute and his master's and doctorate degrees from the University of Virginia. After teaching at the University of Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, and Randolph-Macon College, he joined the faculty of Florida State University in 1968.

He was the author of five books and many essays and scholarly articles, several of which were published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Wright was an authority on Spanish and British Florida, Spanish-English colonial America, and the American Indians living in the South. He wrote *Florida in the American Revolution* by invitation of the Florida Bicentennial Commission. His latest book, *Creeks and Seminoles: Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulgee People* will be published by the University of Nebraska Press in the spring of 1987.

Dr. Wright twice received the Rembert W. Patrick Book Award from the Florida Historical Society: in 1976 for his *Florida in the American Revolution*, and in 1981 for his *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South.* The latter study was named an "Outstanding Academic Book for 1981" by *Choice.* It was a History Book Club selection in 1981, and was a finalist for the Charles Sydnor Award by the Southern Historical Association. Dr. Wright was also recognized by the American Association of State and Local History with a Certificate of Commendation for his writings, and the Florida College Teachers of History for his historical scholarship. Dr. Wright was an active member of the Florida Historical Society, serving as a director of the Society and as a member of the board of editors of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

$G_{ ext{REAT}}$ expectations		
1987		
Feb. 26-28	Southern Humanities Conference	Nashville, TN
Mar. 6-7	Florida College Teachers of History	Miami, FL
Apr. 2-5	Organization of American Historians	Philadelphia, PA
Apr. 9-11	Fifth Citadel Conference on the South	Charleston, SC
May 6-8	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
May 8-10	Florida Anthropological Society	Clearwater, FL
Sept. 17-19	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Gainesville, FL
Oct. 4-7	American Association for State and Local History	Raleigh, NC
Nov. 6-8	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Durham, NC
Nov. 11-14	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, LA

# 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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The Florida Historical Society supplies the Quarterly to its members. Annual membership is \$20.00; family membership is \$25.00; library membership is \$25.00; a contributing membership is \$50.00 and above. In addition, a student membership is \$15.00, but proof of current status must be furnished.

PATRICIA WICKMAN Tallahassee

Miami

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.

