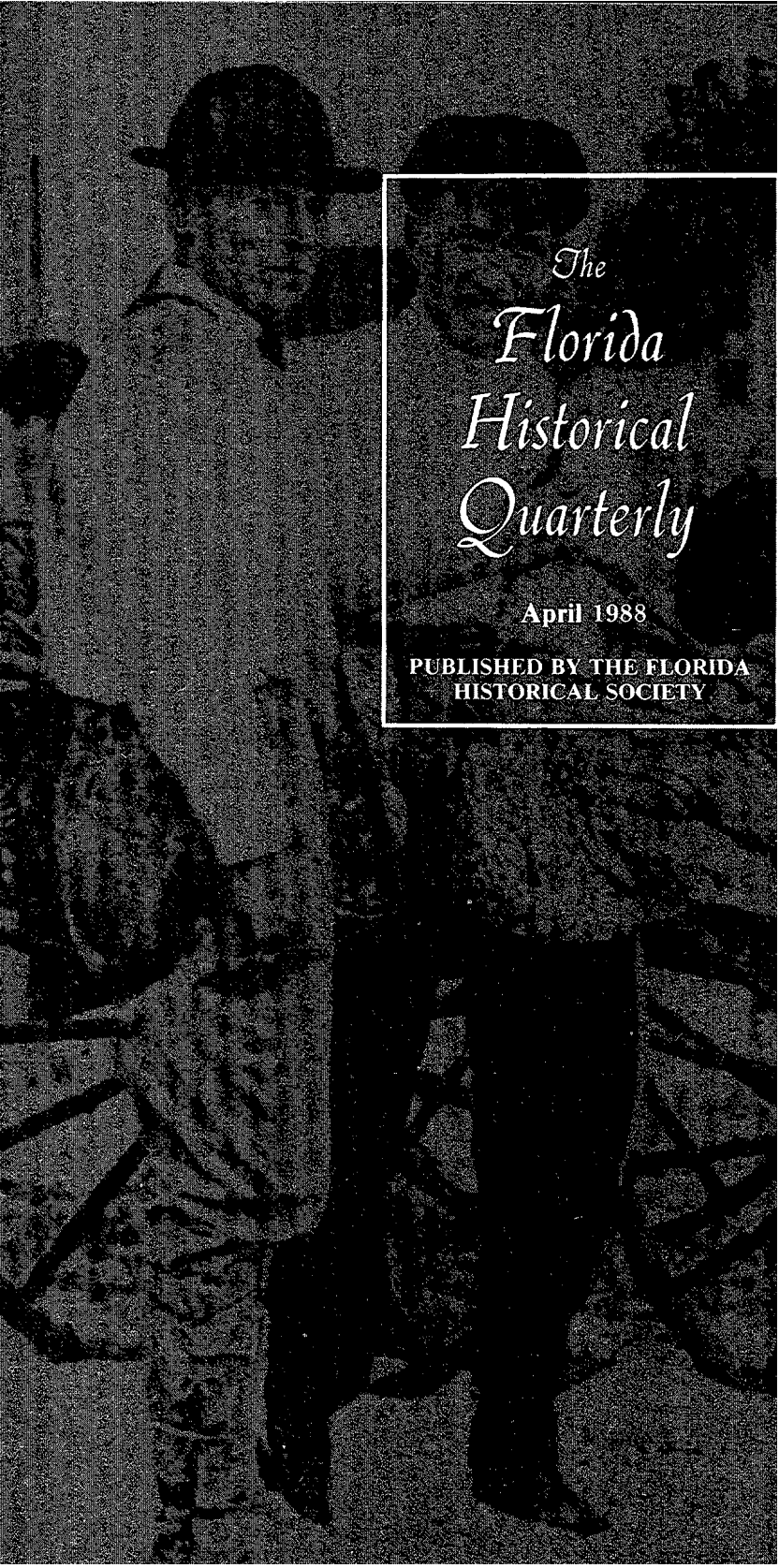

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COVER

“Taking home a Family Pet, Live Alligator, St. Petersburg, Fla.” Photograph from the Heritage Park Collection, Pinellas County Historical Museum, Largo, Florida.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE 1944 FLORIDA DEMOCRATIC SENATE PRIMARY

by JAMES C. CLARK

SENATOR Claude Pepper's defeat in the 1950 Democratic primary by Representative George Smathers has become one of the most controversial elections in Florida politics. The race between Pepper, a New Deal liberal, and Smathers, a traditional southern conservative, attracted national attention. But Pepper's popularity actually began to decline in 1944, when he narrowly avoided a runoff election against a field of little-known candidates. The 1944 election indicated some of Pepper's political weaknesses that Smathers would exploit six years later.

Claude Pepper followed an unusual route to the United States Senate. He was born in Alabama in 1900, was graduated from the University of Alabama in 1921, and Harvard University Law School in 1924. After teaching one year at the University of Arkansas Law School, he moved to Perry, Florida, during the 1925 land boom to be an attorney for a land development company. In 1928 Pepper was elected to the Florida House of Representatives from Taylor County, one of the state's smallest and most politically conservative counties, but was defeated two years later when he sought re-election. In November 1930 Pepper moved to Tallahassee to resume his practice of law.[1]

In 1934 Pepper and three others challenged incumbent United States Senator Park Trammell who had been serving since 1916. Pepper portrayed himself as a supporter of President Roosevelt's economic program, and in the first primary received 79,396 votes to Trammell's 81,321. The three other candidates received a total of 53,000 votes, forcing a runoff election. In the runoff primary Trammell tallied 103,028 votes to 98,978 for Pepper. Pepper ran well in north Florida and in

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James C. Clark is a doctoral student at the University of Florida.

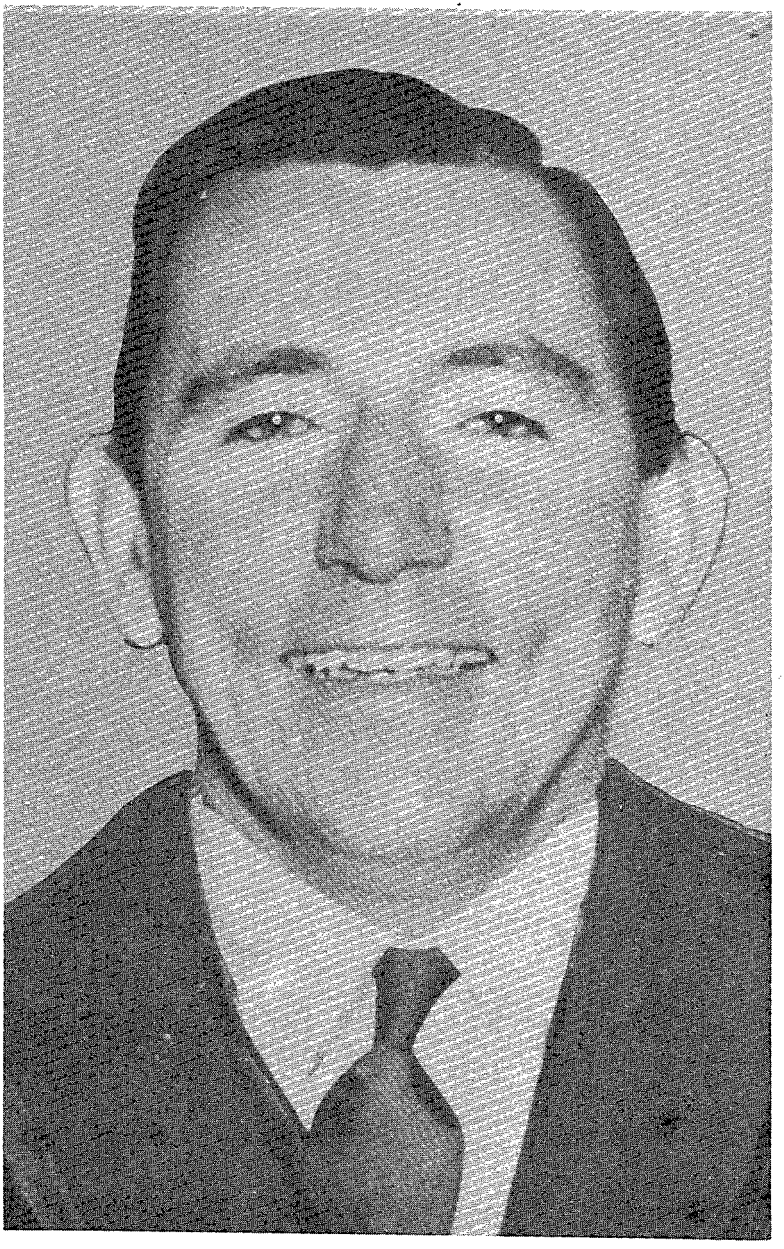
1. Alexander R. Stoesen, "The Senatorial Career of Claude D. Pepper" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1965), 1-39. Stoesen's dissertation is the most complete examination of Pepper's early life and Senate career.

populous Dade County, but he could not offset the huge Trammell majority in Hillsborough County.[2] There were indications of major vote fraud in West Tampa and Ybor City in favor of Trammell, and there were calls throughout the state for an investigation of the results. Pepper did not press for an inquiry, however, and his acceptance of the defeat without bitterness enhanced his popularity with the voters. Typical of the reaction was an editorial in the Fort Myers newspaper: "His personal fortunes may be improved by the sportsmanship with which he is accepting defeat on the face of the returns."[3] Pepper may have been reluctant to call for a recount since there was evidence that some of his votes had been cast by individuals who had not paid their poll taxes. An investigation might have revealed the extent of such voting and helped Trammell.

Trammell died suddenly in Washington on May 8, 1936, giving Pepper another opportunity to run for the Senate. Scott M. Loftin of Jacksonville, whom the governor had appointed to an interim term, chose not to be a candidate for the remaining four years of Trammell's term, but former Governor Doyle Carlton of Tampa and Orlando Judge Charles O. Andrews announced their candidacies. There was speculation that others might be entering the race also. Then on June 17, 1936, Florida's other senator, Duncan Fletcher, died of a heart attack in Washington just one month and nine days after his colleague.[4] Pepper immediately changed his plans and withdrew as a candidate for Trammell's seat, and he became the only candidate to succeed Fletcher. Once elected, Pepper became one of the strongest supporters of Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Pepper's two-year interim term ended in 1938, and he announced that he was running for re-election. One opponent, Congressman James Mark Wilcox of West Palm Beach, portrayed Pepper as a rubber stamp for Roosevelt's policies which, he claimed, were bad for Florida and the nation. Another opponent, former Governor David Sholtz, had lost most of his popu-

2. R. H. Gray, comp., *Tabulation of Official Vote, Florida Primary Elections, June 5, 1934 and June 26, 1934* (Tallahassee, 1934), 8. For a discussion of the 1934 election see Stephen Kerber, "Park Trammell of Florida: A Political Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1979), 325-55.
3. Fort Myers *Tropical News and Press*, June 30, 1934.
4. Wayne Flynt, *Duncan Upshaw Fletcher: Dixie's Reluctant Progressive* (Tallahassee, 1971), 188.



Claude Pepper c.1940s. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Alexander R. Stoesen, Guilford College, Greensboro, NC.

larity after his term ended in 1937, and was not considered a significant factor. Neither were three other minor candidates. With support from the Roosevelt administration, Pepper won the first primary with 58.4 percent of the vote, thus avoiding a runoff.[5]

Pepper had already achieved a national reputation as a liberal Democrat. He was a member of a small group of southern New Deal supporters that included Alabama Senators Lister Hill and William Bankhead, Texas Senator Maury Maverick, and Texas Congressman Lyndon Johnson. In 1940 and 1941 Pepper, an avid Anglophile, became one of the first in the Senate to argue for strong defense measures and active support for Britain. However, his other positions angered some conservative Southerners. They criticized his effort to outlaw the poll tax in the handful of southern states where it was still in effect. The tax was not a controversial matter in Florida, and its repeal by the legislature in 1938 had had widespread support including state senator and later Governor Spessard L. Holland. In some other southern states, however, the poll tax was a way to keep blacks and poor whites from voting. Mississippi Senator Theodore G. Bilbo accused Pepper of the "attempted rape of the Constitution."[6] Pepper's proposed legislation was also seen as a threat to state rights, a matter of continuing concern for southern politicians.

Pepper's opposition also came from some business interests who were opposed to regulations and controls instituted by the New Deal. For many conservatives Pepper symbolized the New Deal, and they attacked his progressive stand on labor, farm supports, higher taxes on business, relief programs for the needy, and the creation of additional government agencies. The anti-Pepper faction in Florida was led by Associated Industries, a branch of the National Association of Manufacturers, but the opposition was not united. Many Florida businesses were receiving lucrative government contracts, often through the intervention of Pepper. Even before Pearl Harbor military bases were located throughout Florida, and ship construction and repair

5. James McGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York, 1956), 343. According to Burns, Roosevelt's aides furnished Pepper with $10,000 they had raised from a businessman who had no connection with Pepper and did not know Pepper had received the money.
6. *Congressional Record*, 77th Cong., 1st sess., 8833.

became a major industry in the state-particularly Tampa and Jacksonville– with thousands of employees. The attention of Floridians, as everyone else in the country, was on the war, and the voters showed little interest in partisan politics. After 1940, Pepper had the support of most military personnel (many voted by absentee ballot), the state's labor unions, farmers, war workers, the few blacks who voted, and all those who endorsed him as a means of showing support for Roosevelt.

In 1944 President Roosevelt was a candidate for an unprecedented fourth term and faced opposition not only from the Republican party but also from conservative southern Democrats like Harry Byrd of Virginia and John Nance Garner of Texas. The president viewed any attempt to defeat staunch supporters such as Pepper as a personal attack on his own reelection bid. A United Press story in a number of Florida newspapers predicted: "The showing Pepper makes in this election will serve in many quarters as a gauge for estimating Pres. Roosevelt's fourth-term support in the 'solid South'. . . . If Pepper gets a majority vote and is returned to the Senate without being forced into a second primary, it will be considered an overwhelming victory for the New Deal."[7] Not surprisingly, as in 1938, Roosevelt and his aides gave Pepper their full support in 1944.

The Florida Democratic senatorial primary attracted three relatively minor candidates: Millard Conklin, a Daytona Beach businessman whose announced goal was "pressing the race issue fiercely"; Finley Moore of Lake City, who had been badly defeated in his race for the Senate in 1938; and Alston Cockrell of Daytona Beach, who seemed to have no political platform at all, but who emphasized his well-known name even though he was not a member of the distinguished and respected Cockrell family from Jacksonville and Gainesville.

Although his avid support of the New Deal had made Pepper a controversial figure in Florida, as late as two months before the primary no major opponent had entered the race. Wilcox and former Governor Carlton, both defeated in earlier races for the United States Senate, declined to run again, as did Arthur Milam of Jacksonville, a former speaker of the Florida House of Representatives. Then, just fifty-seven days before the May primary, the candidate who would give Pepper the most

7. *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* May 2, 1944.

J. Ollie Edmunds as president of Stetson University. Reproduced from *Stetson University: The First 100 Years,* by Gilbert L. Lycan (p. 324).

trouble, Judge J. Ollie Edmunds of Jacksonville, announced his candidacy. From the first, he seemed an unlikely choice to challenge an incumbent senator. Born in Higgston, Georgia, on March 1, 1903, Edmunds was the son of an itinerant lumber worker. While living in Jacksonville, Edmunds was forced to leave school to help support his family. He worked days and enrolled in a YMCA night school and received his high school diploma. His family moved to DeLand, and in 1921 he entered Stetson University, working as a janitor, waiter, and newspaper reporter while earning his bachelor's, master's, and law degrees.[8] Later, while working as a field representative for the university and as a director of the Stetson alumni organization, he met and became good friends with Doyle Carlton, who was also a Stetson graduate. In 1928 Edmunds worked in Carlton's successful campaign for governor. Afterwards, Edmunds moved to Jacksonville to practice law, and in 1931, Carlton appointed him to fill the remainder of the term of County Judge John W. DuBose who had resigned. The following year Edmunds was re-elected by a two-to-one margin against two opponents. He was re-elected in 1936 and again in 1940 without opposition. While on the bench Edmunds also began purchasing land, and eventually became a millionaire from his lumber and land investments.[9]

Even though he had been a successful candidate in three elections, Judge Edmunds showed little enthusiasm for politics. In 1934 he supported Pepper in his race against Trammell, noting that he had a "high regard for Claude's ability." "I should like to see him in Washington," he wrote in a letter to a friend.[10] There is no record of his involvement in any campaign except his own and Doyle Carlton's in 1928. One Pepper supporter in 1944, who realized that the three minor candidates who had already entered the race would not be serious contenders, wrote, "Until . . . Edmunds announced against you, your opponents were of little consequence. Now in my opinion you have a real contest."[11]

There was speculation that Edmunds's candidacy was initiated at the urging of a few wealthy individuals who were de-

8. Gilbert L. Lycan, *Stetson University: The First* 100 *Years* (DeLand, 1983), 328.
9. Interview with S. E. Fogelberg by James C. Clark, November 12, 1985.
10. Ollie Edmunds to Fred M. Ivey, January 20, 1934, in Stoesen, "The Senatorial Career of Claude Pepper," 180.
11. Alto Adams to Claude Pepper, March 6, 1944, ibid.

termined to defeat Pepper who they regarded as being too liberal, but there is no evidence to support this contention. Edmunds was an ambitious man who had been encouraged to enter the race by his friends and neighbors. Perhaps he believed that no other viable candidate would challenge Pepper and that he could defeat him. In addition to his personal friends, Edmunds received some support from his fellow county judges who had sent him to Tallahassee as their lobbyist in 1941 to push legislation involving the court system. Otherwise, Edmunds was a stranger to voters outside of Jacksonville.[12]

Edmunds had little money other than his own, and almost no organization or campaign staff. He asked Ronald Slye to be his campaign manager. This was an unusual choice since Slye had no political experience at all. As a representative for a furniture manufacturer, he traveled for some fourteen years throughout the state meeting with furniture dealers, but he had never been involved in any political activity. According to his widow, Mrs. Ronald Slye, the two men had never even met before the campaign, but they had mutual friends. Her husband did know the state and had contacts in nearly every county.[13] Slye's role was campaign coordinator, handling the luggage and making sure the candidate was in the right place at the right time.

Slye was not the only political novice in the campaign. Most of Edmunds's advisors were his friends and neighbors who liked him and disliked Pepper, but who had little political experience or expertise. No one was in charge of planning an overall political strategy. Mrs. Slye said Frank Bisbee, a prominent Jacksonville businessman, was the campaign treasurer, and that whenever her husband needed money, "he called Mr. Bisbee and Mr. Bisbee always had it there for him."[14]

Edmunds's campaign plan called for him to visit each of the state's sixty-seven counties. His staff consisted of a secretary, a publicity man, a driver, and an advance man. Edmunds depended heavily on favors from his friends. For example, Quinn Barton, a Jacksonville truck dealer, loaned a pickup truck to be used by the advance man. Brady Johnston, a neighbor of Ed-

12. Interview with David Ward by James C. Clark, June 3, 1985.
13. Interview with Mrs. Ronald Slye by Evans Johnson, June 13, 1985.
14. Ibid.

munds and an executive in the Dinsmore Dairy firm in Jacksonville, volunteered the services of Cosby S. Haddock, Sr., a route manager for the company.[15]

Haddock worked with the campaign for ten days as a advance man throughout north Florida. Each morning he would be apprised by Edmunds or an aide of the stops planned for that day. He would then go to each community where Edmunds was to appear, drive through the streets playing music, and announce by loudspeaker that the candidate would be arriving later in the day. Edmunds spoke from the steps of the courthouses or other public buildings, street corners, or wherever he could draw a crowd. Sometimes only a handful of people would turn out, and, perhaps as many as 1,000 people in larger towns. Edmunds tried to make appearances in three to five places daily.[16]

Edmunds was a good speaker, but he was not as effective on the platform as Pepper, who was considered one of the South's best political orators. In his book, V. O. Key analyzed the difference: "Edmunds lacked Pepper's histrionic skills and his managers handled his campaign ineptly."[17] The criticism of his campaign managers is not entirely accurate. They were not so inept as inexperienced in politics. Edmunds and his staff made no major blunders during the campaign, but they did face the very difficult task of trying to unseat a strong incumbent. With the help of the Roosevelt administration, Pepper was able to make and keep political agreements, which was impossible for Edmunds. There is no record that Edmunds made any promises during the campaign. His platform called for less bureaucracy and fewer government programs, and he argued for a more conservative stand on social issues. However, Edmunds indicated his endorsement for programs that were already firmly in place such as Social Security. Pepper emphasized his continued support for Roosevelt's New Deal, and the expanison of pro-

15. Interview with Cosby S. Haddock, Sr., by James C. Clark, December 15, 1985.
16. Ibid.
17. V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), 98. One of the few people who thought Edmunds's campaign was well run was Pepper. In his autobiography, Pepper wrote, "The well-organized and lavishly financed effort to remove me from the Senate had fallen short." Claude Pepper with Hays Gorey, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century* (New York, 1987), 121.

Senator Pepper and President Roosevelt in Florida.

grams which he claimed would help farmers, wage earners, and the general economy. The *Miami Herald* complained that Pepper was making too many promises.[18]

Unlike Pepper, who was a seasoned politician, Edmunds had difficulty remembering people's names. He also overscheduled himself, and he was usually running late for his speaking commitments. Mrs. Slye remembers that her husband "was just prodding him all the time [saying] 'come on, it's time to go, it's time to go'."[19]

Florida was a difficult state for a politician who was not already well-known to the voters. The size alone favored the incumbent. Its population centers were far apart, and the areas in between were sparsely settled. Air travel was not yet that popular, and it took many hours to drive from one place to another. The Democratic party in Florida was not strongly centralized, and candidates generally had to depend upon their

18. *Miami Herald,* April 25, 1944.
19. Slye interview.

own resources, ingenuity, and personality to woo the voters. In the 1940s, V. O. Key wrote, "The search for coherent, organized political leadership in Florida seems futile in whatever direction one looks."[20] There were few if any political groups that could deliver sizeable blocs of votes. Incumbents with high name recognition benefited from this situation, but it hurt a candidate such as Judge Edmunds who needed to win over more than 100,000 votes in less than two months.

Newspaper coverage of the election did not convey a clear picture of what Edmunds stood for, only that he opposed Pepper and most of his programs. For example, on March 25 in Jacksonville, he charged Pepper with indiscretions, but provided no specific information to back up his charges. Edmunds called Pepper, "the most notoriously absentee senator in Congress."[21] There is nothing in the congressional records to document this allegation.

Edmunds later claimed that he did not try to inject the race issue into the 1944 campaign, but when it became an issue his staff sought to exploit it. Millard Conklin, the most strident white supremacist in the race, contended that, "The issue that will defeat Pepper is the issue of white supremacy in the South."[22] In 1942 Pepper spoke at a black church in Los Angeles. Two years later, when pictures of the event appeared on fliers and in newspapers throughout Florida, Pepper tried to show that he did not favor integration. He attacked the 1944 Supreme Court decision *(Smith* v. *Allwright)* which held that it was unconstitutional for the Texas Democratic party to bar blacks from participating in primaries. In Florida, like other states throughout the South, the white primary system had, since the turn of the twentieth century, effectively disfranchised blacks. A few blacks did vote, mainly for the Republican party ticket, in larger cities like Miami, Tampa, and Jacksonville, but they were so few in numbers that they had little effect on election results. In most Florida counties in the 1940s there were no blacks at all registered to vote. Pepper in 1944 insisted, "The South will allow nothing to impair white supremacy."[23]

20. Key, *Southern Politics,* 99.
21. *Pensacola Journal,* March 25, 1944.
22. *Jacksonville Journal,* March 21, 1944.
23. *Miami Daily News,* April 5, 1944.

Through newspaper advertisements and in public statements, Pepper tried to explain his appearance at the church in Los Angeles. Under a large headline which read: "Senator Pepper's Reply to His Opposition's Cheap and Vicious Political Trick in Connection With His Appearance Before A Negro Church Congregation," one advertisement quoted Pepper: "The only speech I have ever given to any Negro audience in California is a patriotic one I made . . . in the pulpit of a Baptist Negro Church on a Sunday afternoon at the expressed request of the members of the church. I said nothing indicating that I believe in social equality because, of course, I do not."[24]

Edmunds did not comment directly on this issue, but his staff purchased newspaper advertisements criticizing Pepper as "a man who stirs up racial strife and discord in violation of Southern tradition." They stated that Edmunds believed that "the party principle of white supremacy must be maintained."[25] There are no records to indicate black participation in the 1944 primary in Florida, but it was only the smallest fraction of the total vote.

Although both Pepper and Edmunds stood together on the race issue and the need to maintain white supremacy, they each predicted victory by taking opposite positions on other issues. Pepper portrayed himself as a champion of the New Deal and as a loyal follower of Franklin Roosevelt, while Edmunds in nearly every speech criticized the president's policies. Edmunds tried to avoid criticizing Roosevelt personally, while at same time he denounced his policies. "President Roosevelt is not an issue in this campaign," Edmunds said repeatedly.[26] Edmunds described himself as an early Roosevelt supporter who was now opposed to a fourth term and to the giant growth of the bureaucracy.[27] Aside from his views on civil rights, Pepper took pride in his liberal positions: "My legislative attitude is distinctly liberal and progressive. I see the government as the means of actually giving the citizens opportunity, personal security, health, safety and well-being."[28]

24. *DeLand Sun-News,* April 29, 1944.
25. *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* March 29, 1944.
26. *Jacksonville Journal,* April 26, 1944.
27. Interview with J. Ollie Edmunds by Joseph Negron, April 27, 1982.
28. Allen Morris, comp., *The Florida Handbook 1947-1948* (Tallahassee, 1947), 282.

Speaking in Miami, Edmunds said, "The daily life of every one of us has been so affected by petty tyrants and bureaucratic dictators who are wasting billions of precious dollars. . . . Our schools are aroused over embarrassing strings the federal government threatens to tie on educational funds. . . . Our great middle classes are aroused over the bondage in which they are held by a bureau which does not permit an employer to grant them raises to which they are entitled and which they have earned."[29] Throughout the state Edmunds's message was similar. Pepper did not respond to Edmunds's charges, and the two did not debate or appear together during the campaign.

Pepper was a popular speaker, and the national Democratic party used him effectively for political gatherings throughout the country. He made speeches and frequently sought other speaking engagements. Edmunds criticized Pepper's many out-of-Florida speaking engagements. "Senator Pepper employed a booking agent to make speeches, provided he received a price, a fee, compensation. Senator Pepper made his patriotism pay dividends."[30]

Edmunds claimed frequently that war profiteers were behind Pepper's campaign. Obviously, Pepper had the support of many businesses that had war contracts, but to label any of them war profiteers appears to be an emotional charge without foundation. "Senator Pepper was running around making patriotic speeches. He is still making them in this campaign. Only this time it is the war profiteers who are paying for the speeches."[31] In Miami, Edmunds said, "A slush fund to stagger the imagination has been raised by those who have grown rich from profiteering on war contracts. This fund, reported to exceed $250,000, is being lavishly spent by the largest political organization in Florida history. The war profiteers are opposed to Ollie Edmunds. I am proud of it."[32]

There is no record that Pepper ever mentioned Edmunds by name or responded to any of his charges. Instead, he said he was running against the men who were behind Edmunds. "Since last December, this selfish and sinister combination of isolationists and Roosevelt-hating Republicans has been scour-

29. *DeLand Sun-News,* April 12, 1944.
30. *Jacksonville Journal,* April 26, 1944.
31. Ibid.
32. *Winter Haven Chief,* April 13, 1944.

ing the state to get somebody to run against me. They have offered every financial inducement, including financial security after the campaign."[33] In what may have been an accurate assessment of the situation, Pepper said, "What those gentlemen really want is to send some one to represent Florida in the Senate, who, while nominally a Democrat, is at heart a Republican."[34]

Throughout the campaign, much was made of the money allegedly spent by both sides. Washington columnist Drew Pearson, a friend of Pepper, wrote, "the GOP is pouring piles of money into the race" to defeat Pepper. "Actually they're not especially concerned about who the Democrat is, so long as it's not Claude Pepper."[35] Columnist Marquis Childs wrote that "Pepper had the formidable enmity of wealthy Northerners who have established residence in the resort state."[36] In the election Edmunds carried Palm Beach, an area in which many wealthy conservative Northerners lived.

The whole issue of campaign spending, including speculation about Ed Ball's financial role, may have been overstated. Ball was the brother-in-law of Alfred I. duPont. When duPont died, leaving the bulk of his estate in a trust headed by his wife, Jesse Ball duPont, Ball took over the operation of the duPont empire in Florida which mainly included land, timber, and banks. While he never held public office, Ball became one of the most politically powerful men in the state. It was alleged that throughout his life he played a behind-the-scene but very influential role in the passage of legislation. Many of the representatives and senators who represented rural north Florida counties and who dominated the Florida legislature were his close personal friends. Although there has been speculation about Ball's role in the 1944 campaign, there is no record that he contributed any money to Edmunds.

Cecil Bailey, a Jacksonville businessman and an active worker in Edmunds's 1944 campaign, alleged that Clifford McGee, president of the Jacksonville Paper Company, had "put more into the campaign than any one person or one entity."[37] The financial status of the Edmunds campaign is perhaps best illus-

33. *Lakeland Ledger,* April 7, 1944.
34. *Collier County News,* April 20, 1944.
35. Drew Pearson column, *Miami Herald,* April 1, 1944.
36. Marquis Childs's column, *St. Petersburg Times,* May 10, 1944.
37. Interview with Cecil Bailey by Evans Johnson, June 12, 1985.

Senator Pepper speaking in Clearwater during the 1944 campaign. Photographs from the Pepper Collection, Claude D. Pepper Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee.

trated by Cosby Haddock, Sr., the Dinsmore Dairy route manager, who remembered that on more than one occasion, he had to share a hotel room with Edmunds, hardly a sign of a healthy financial situation.[38] Brady Johnston, Haddock's employer, said Edmunds had difficulty appealing for money and depended on his friends to do the job.[39] The money provided by treasurer Frank Bisbee went primarily for transportation and hotel expenses.

In a 1982 interview, Edmunds recalled that "while I traveled in a small Ford automobile, he [Pepper] flew around the state at the United States government expense."[40] It is probable that

38. Haddock interview.
39. Interview with Brady Johnson by James C. Clark, December 15, 1985.
40. Edmunds interview; Pepper and Gorey, *Pepper,* 120. Pepper wrote that Ball and the American Medical Association financed Edmunds. However, Pepper seems to be confused. The AMA was very active in opposing Pepper in the 1950 campaign because of his support of government medical programs, but there is no evidence that the organization was involved in the 1944 campaign.

Pepper did at times use a government airplane, which was hardly unusual for a United States Senator in 1944, or today. But if hundreds of thousands of dollars had been spent, Edmunds would likely have remembered more than the small point of Pepper's use of a government plane.

Campaigning in Florida in 1944 was relatively inexpensive, and all candidates followed a traditional pattern which included a tour of the state and speeches at county courthouses. Both candidates used radio to carry their speeches, although Pepper was more effective both in arranging for broadcast time and in his presentation. The brief one-minute or thirty-second broadcast commercial had not yet come to Florida. Newspapers were the primary vehicle for advertising, but the cost was low. The biggest political value of a newspaper was not in its advertising, but its editorial support. Newspapers routinely used their news columns to voice support of a candidate, and this coverage could be vital to a candidate. Pepper had the support of almost every newspaper in the state except those owned by John H. Perry of Jacksonville.

Pepper's friendship with President Roosevelt and his influence as a United States Senator had reaped huge rewards for Florida. With the abundance of wartime facilities in the state, it seemed as though Florida had become one giant military base. In principle, many members of the business community may have disliked Pepper's liberal social philosophies and his New Deal policies, but the contracts they had been awarded by the government were making them wealthy. Martin Anderson, the editor of the *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* emphasized this point when he wrote, "Can a citizen of Florida figure out any percentage in putting an anti-Roosevelt freshmen into the Senate against a pro-Roosevelt young veteran who by 1949 easily may become one of the outstanding figures of the world?"[41]

During the campaign, the Florida Associated Newspapers conducted a straw poll of registered voters. At designated times, the organization sent postcards to selected voters and asked that they identify their favorite candidate and return the cards. The poll was conducted throughout the campaign with results from different areas reported at irregular intervals. On April 22, 1944, the survey released returns of 896 postcards showing Pep-

41. *Orlando Morning Sentinel,* April 26, 1944.

per with a two-vote lead over Edmunds. It was an impressive showing for a candidate who had been in the race only six weeks. The numbers were, however, misleading. The survey results included Duval, Edmunds's home county, where he received two-thirds of his favorable votes. In the rest of Florida, Edmunds received thirty-five percent of the vote.[42] An earlier survey released on April 19, showed Edmunds with a slight lead over Pepper, but again Edmunds drew most of his strength from Duval County which had a higher percentage of respondents.[43] After the election Edmunds talked about his lead in the polls, but there was never a statewide poll which showed him ahead.

Pepper had definite political weaknesses, but Edmunds never really sought to exploit them. Instead he attacked Pepper in what many saw as the area of his greatest strengths. Pepper had been one of the very few in national government who seemed to have realized the danger of the events that were in fact leading up to American involvement in World War II. He was one of the first members of the Congress to urge giving destroyers to Britain in exchange for the future use of military bases. He also called for universal military service as early as 1939, nearly two years before Pearl Harbor, and he was one of the first to offer legislation which later became Lend Lease. Even while the White House sought to move somewhat slowly on military preparedness, Pepper was waging a campaign in the Senate for larger appropriations for the Army and Navy. He became so identified with the military program that he was hanged in effigy in Washington by some America Firsters women's groups. Edmunds accused Pepper of being naive in his military predictions.[44] Pepper had been optimistic about America's chances for staying out of the war, and then about the allies' chances for a speedy victory. Pepper did reflect the prevailing mood in the country: the Japanese could not fight, and they would not survive long against American military power. During the campaign, Edmunds claimed: "Had the hysterical, maniacal voice of Mr. Pepper been heeded, we would today be counting probably a million white crosses on the conti-

42. *DeLand Sun-News,* April 22, 1944.
43. Ibid., April 19, 1944.
44. *Miami Herald,* April 23, 1944.

nent and our mothers and fathers and all the rest of us can thank God that Senator Pepper's paid voice did not prevail."[45]

There was one event during the campaign to which Edmunds later attached great importance, although he may have overestimated its significance. Long after the election, Edmunds and his friends still blamed the lifting of the toll on the Gandy Bridge across Tampa Bay during the 1944 campaign as a major cause for his defeat. Completed in 1924, the bridge connected Tampa and St. Petersburg, enabling residents and tourists to reach the cities more easily. However, the thirty-five cent toll was a source of complaint by automobile and truck drivers, and in the early 1940s civic leaders started a campaign to have the federal government take over the privately-owned bridge and eliminate the toll. Thus, just five days prior to primary election day, President Roosevelt lifted the toll as a wartime measure, citing the need for St. Petersburg residents who worked at the Tampa shipyard to cross the bridge. The honor of making the announcement, and thereby receiving the publicity, went to Senator Pepper.[46]

The day after the toll was removed, schools in St. Petersburg were canceled, and a parade was held to celebrate the event. Lifting the toll helped Pepper, but it is doubtful that it was as damaging as Edmunds and his cohorts believed. The campaign to have the toll removed had been going on for a long time and had drawn the support of many local and state politicians, including those who disliked Pepper and his program. When election results were tallied, Edmunds received only twenty-four percent of the Pinellas County vote, six percent below his statewide average not including Duval County. An additional six percentage points in Pinellas County would have added 1,000 votes to his total, but Judge Edmunds needed to carry the county to force a statewide runoff.[47]

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45. *DeLand Sun-News,* April 24, 1944. On May 21, 1940, Pepper introduced the first version of what became the Lend-Lease program. A Gallup Poll showed a majority of voters in the South supported American intervention in the European war, and Pepper's position was not politically risky in Florida.
46. Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of St. Petersburg: The History of Lower Pinellas Peninsula and the Sunshine City* (St. Petersburg, 1948), 142-43.
47. Secretary of State of Florida, *Official Vote, Florida Democratic and Republican Primaries, May 2, 1944* (Tallahassee, 1944), 6.

In the May 2 election, Pepper received 194,445 votes, Edmunds 127,157, Conklin 33,317, and the two other candidates a total of 26,000 votes. Although Edmunds trailed badly, with the votes for the three minor candidates, Pepper was held to 51.8 percent of the vote, but it was enough to win the election without a runoff. A shift of 4,000 votes would have forced a second primary election.[48] In his concession statement, Edmunds noted: "In democracies, the voice of the people can be heard through the process of elections. If in this election, I have made it possible for the voice of many people in Florida to be heard, I hope that this will contribute to national unity."[49]

Edmunds carried Duval County, but not by a wide margin, receiving fifty-three percent of the vote. Pepper won in Leon, his home county, with sixty-one percent of the vote. Perhaps because Edmunds had not faced the voters in a contested election in Duval County in a dozen years, his political organization was not as strong or as organized as it might have been. Edmunds also carried Broward and Palm Beach counties where many wealthy, conservative Democrats lived. But in both counties Judge Edmunds received only a plurality of the vote.[50]

Edmunds carried twelve counties, all but two in north Florida. Most of the counties he won were small like Jefferson, where he received 757 votes. Edmunds's plan of campaigning in all sixty-seven counties was time consuming, and may have contributed to his defeat. He needed votes in the large counties, and it was there that he did poorly. In the state's five largest counties– Dade, Duval, Hillsborough, Pinellas, and Escambia– Pepper received nearly half of his total vote. Edmunds had spent much of this time campaigning where there were few voters.[51] In the general election, Pepper won easily against Republican Miles Draper. Pepper received seventy-one percent of the total vote, an overwhelming percentage, but it was the third lowest percentage received by a Democratic nominee in the first half of the twentieth century.[52]

48. Ibid.
49. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, March 7, 1944.
50. Secretary of State of Florida, *Official Vote*, 1944.
51. Ibid.
52. Allen Morris, comp., *Florida Handbook 1985-1986* (Tallahassee, 1985), 605-06.

Edmunds had waited too late to enter the campaign, and he lacked the type of personality needed to defeat an incumbent as strong and as visible as Pepper. The election over, Pepper returned to the Senate for what would be his final term. After 1944 Pepper moved further to the political left, and he began losing touch with the majority of Florida voters who were basically conservative in their political philosophy. Edmunds never sought public office again, returning to his lucrative lumber business. In 1948 he became president of Stetson University, a position he held until 1967. He died in 1984.

JOHN ELLIS, KING'S AGENT, AND WEST FLORIDA

by JULIUS GRONER AND ROBERT R. REA

IN the short though not uneventful life of the British colony of West Florida, major figures came and went with disruptive frequency. Three royal governors and two lieutenant governors headed the resident administration of the colony in eighteen years, but all of them enjoyed the administrative stability provided in London by the royal agent for West Florida, John Ellis. For a dozen years this distinguished scientist and modest bureaucrat presided over the parliamentary grant upon which West Florida depended and disbursed its funds in such a judicious manner as to restrain gubernatorial fiscal exuberance, maintain necessary public functions, and satisfy probing Treasury scrutiny at the end of his service. Only recently have historians grudgingly admitted the importance of such men and their work, and only recently has the scope of John Ellis's career been thoroughly investigated.[1] A clarification of certain details of his life and a demonstration of his intimate connection with the affairs of West Florida will correct the record and add new dimensions to the colonial scene.

Victory over France and Spain in Canada and in the Caribbean enabled Britain to secure Florida and the eastern Gulf coast by the Peace of Paris. During the summer of 1763, the Board of Trade and the southern secretary agreed that "the great Tract of Sea Coast from St. Augustine, round Cape Florida, along the Gulph of Mexico, to the Mouth of the Missis-

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1. Julius Groner, "Some Aspects of the Life and Work of John Ellis, King's Agent for West Florida, 1763 to 1776" (Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1987). Other studies include Robert R. Rea, "The King's Agent for British West Florida," *Alabama Review* 16 (April 1963), 141-53; Roy A. Rauschenberg, "John Ellis, F.R.S.: Eighteenth Century Naturalist and Royal Agent to West Florida," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 32 (March 1978), 149-64; and "John Ellis, Royal Agent for West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (July 1983), 1-24.

sippi makes it . . . indispensably necessary that this Country should be divided into two distinct Governments." Hence East and West Florida were created by royal proclamation on October 7, 1763, and their capitals established at St. Augustine and Pensacola.[2]

West Florida, a colony whose governor and other officers were appointed by the crown, enjoyed the support of annual parliamentary grants which specifically provided funds for salaries, Indian presents, and the contingencies of various public services. Such aid was clearly necessary for the establishment and survival of an infant colony and was in keeping with developing imperial policy. Annual appropriations ranged between £3,900 and £7,200 through the years; monies were disbursed by the king's agent according to the practices of the Treasury and on the advice of the Board of Trade and eventually the colonial secretary. The first agent, John Ellis, was appointed on April 2, 1764.[3]

At the time he entered upon American business, John Ellis was a leading figure in the international community of scientists. His personal life, however, has remained obscure, the details frequently in error. Careful evaluation of the evidence establishes with certainty that Ellis was born not later than 1710 or 1711. His father, also a John Ellis, was a "Gentleman" who resided in Hoxton, a northern suburb of London, in 1724. The absence of parish birth or baptismal entries for the son suggests, but does not prove, that he was born elsewhere. In January 1724/25, young Ellis was apprenticed to Edward Harraden, A "Citizen and Clothworker of London," for a period of seven years and upon payment of a £20 fee. His apprenticeship ended in 1731, and within a year he was in business for himself in Lawrence Lane in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry. On February 5, 1733/34 he was made Free of the Clothworkers' Company. Under the name of John Ellis & Co., he soon expanded his activity to the point that he occupied two houses in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry, where he paid poor rates. During the next forty years

2. The standard works are Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943; reprint ed., Hamden, CT, 1971), and Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947).
3. Johnson, *British West Florida,* 97-98, 223-25.

Ellis was involved in numerous business ventures in the cloth trade.[4]

In February 1754, Ellis took as his wife Carolina Elizabeth Peers of Walthamstow, Essex. Mrs. Ellis, who was about fifteen years younger than her husband, was the granddaughter of the prominent London businessman, Sir Charles Peers, from whom she inherited £1,500 dower money. It was a good marriage. A daughter, Martha, was born within the year, but premature delivery of twins in 1758 proved fatal to the mother and infant girls.[5] The bereaved and grieving father wrote to Governor Henry Ellis in Georgia, "If I was disengaged from the World, I would certainly go over to your country."[6] Botanical and other scientific pursuits would fill the void in his life until America came to John Ellis. The agent's later years were well-occupied by his mercantile ventures, lobbying for the Irish Linen Board, for which he was agent in London, and the meticulous, wide-ranging endeavors in the fields of botany, zoology, and microscopy upon which his greatest fame rests. His health and eyesight deteriorated in his later years, and he died at his home in Hampstead on Saturday, October 5, 1776.[7]

4. Indenture, Corporation of London Record Office, CFI/549, February 1733; Tithe and Poor Rate Books, St. Lawrence Jewry, Guildhall Library, London, MSS 2518/12,22, 2519/2; Parish Registers, St. Leonard, Shoreditch; Records of the Clothworkers' Company, London. The legal requirements for Ellis's advancement in the guild and as a London businessman preclude the birth date of 1714 advanced by Rauschenberg, "John Ellis, Royal Agent for West Florida," 1. Also see Groner, "Some Aspects of the Life and Work of John Ellis," 9-17. Rauschenberg considered it probable that Ellis was born in Ireland; as no specific evidence has been discovered, that question is still open.

5. Bishop of London's Marriage Allegations, Guildhall MS 10091/94; Parish Registry, St. Mildred Poultry, Guildhall MS 4429/2; "The Register of St. Lawrence Jewry and St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street London, 1677-1812," Harleian Society *Publications* 71 (1941), 63, 238, 641.

6. John Ellis to Henry Ellis, September 20, 1758, Ellis MSS, Library of the Linnaean Society, London.

7. The oft-cited date of October 15 is proven wrong by obituary notices in *London Chronicle,* October 5-8, 1776, and *Lloyd's Evening Post,* October 4-7, 1776. Groner, "Some Aspects of the Life and Work of John Ellis," 37-39. Rauschenberg's date of October 18, in "John Ellis, Royal Agent for West Florida," 24, is clearly in error. The *Annual Register* (1776), entry cited actually gives the date of September 18; the obituary notice in *Gentlemen's Magazine* 46 (October 1776), 483, carries the correct date of October 5. The final audit of Ellis's accounts which mentions October 15 as "the day of his Decease," was compiled ten years after his death and appears intended simply to cover the month of September 15-October 15 for bookkeeping purposes. London, Public Record Office, AO 1/1262.

As with so many appointments to lower level posts in the incipient civil service of the eighteenth-century British empire, John Ellis's nomination owed much to personal connections and favor in high places. Ellis's acknowledged patron was Robert Henley, earl of Northington and Lord Chancellor of England. To a correspondent Ellis happily confided, "Fortune has smil'd and My Good Lord Northington, the present Chancellor, has got me the Agency of West Florida and has taken me under his protection."[8] Northington was a pliable lawyer and an agile politician. He was also an enthusiastic amateur gardener who employed Ellis in the selection and cultivation of new plants at his estate, The Grange. "I spend a good deal of my time with him in the Country," said Ellis, "and am often a visitor of his plantations there by his order when he himself is imployed in the publick Service in London."[9]

Whatever Northington's role, other men were closer to the center of imperial planning and better placed to advance the interests of their friends. The key figure in determining colonial policy with regard to the new American colonies was the secretary of state for the Southern Department, the earl of Egremont, and his chief advisor was Henry Ellis, a gentleman of considerable means, sufficient standing in scientific circles to be a Fellow of the Royal Society, and governor of Georgia from 1757 to 1760. John and Henry Ellis do not appear to have been related, though they have sometimes been thought to be cousins. Their correspondence suggests only a long friendship based upon mutual scientific interests but strong enough to move the governor to concern himself with the welfare of John Ellis.[10]) Governor Ellis's closest associate in Georgia was William Knox, an ambitious hanger-on who was greatly interested in the future of Florida. Both men were in London in 1763, deeply involved in drafting the proposals that culminated in the creation of the two Floridas. As early as June 1763, Knox was promised the position of royal agent for East Florida by Egremont, doubtless at Henry Ellis's suggestion, and it is likely that John Ellis received assurances of the West Florida agency about the same time and

8. Spencer Savage, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Linnaean Society of London, Part IV* (London, 1949), 61.
9. John Ellis to Thomas Fitzhugh, November 28, 1764, Ellis MSS.
10. Henry Ellis to William Knox, August 7, 1770, Knox Papers, I, 49.

through the same connection.[11] Egremont's death in August raised fears in both William Knox and John Ellis that the promises he had made would not be honored posthumously, but the ensuing changes in the ministry probably strengthened Ellis's position, In September, another of his noble horticultural friends, the earl of Hillsborough, became president of the Board of Trade and gave his support to Ellis's appointment. The formalities of creating the colony and designating its officials would take some time, but Hillsborough's word was good, and Ellis's warrant was duly sealed in the spring of 1764.[12] It was no coincidence that Governor Henry Ellis signed as surety for the £1,500 bond required of John Ellis when he took up his new employment. In 1770, when Knox became an under-secretary at the Colonial Office, Henry Ellis particularly recommended "my old rough, but honest friend, Mr. Ellis" to Knox, and it was to Knox that he wrote for advice regarding the agent's bond when he learned of the death of his "old friend" in 1776. Henry Ellis certainly sponsored John's appointment and was delighted to find that in doing so he literally trod a garden path to success.[13]

The duties that John Ellis assumed in the spring of 1764 were of importance to the province of West Florida. Money voted by Parliament was made available to the agent through the Treasury. On May 22, shortly after assuming his post, Ellis received a total of £8,200 with which to meet charges dating back to June 24, 1763, the beginning of the fiscal year. The salaries of colonial officials had top priority, from Governor George Johnstone's £1,200 down to Assistant Surveyor Clark Durnford's £30, and including the agent's own salary of £200. Indian presents worth £1,180 had already been purchased against the West Florida account, as had "church furniture" for both Pensacola and Mobile. The agent had also to pay a number of fees for the privilege of doing government business; these amounted to £153 for his first year.[14] Such perquisites were

11. Leland J. Bellot, *William Knox: The Life & Thought of an Eighteenth-century Imperialist* (Austin, 1977), 36, 39-46, 49, 51, 55-57; Jack M. Sosin, *Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760-1775* (Lincoln, 1961), 56-57.
12. Rea, "The King's Agent for British West Florida," 145.
13. Henry Ellis to Knox, November 29, 1776, Knox Papers, II, 67.
14. AO 1/1262.

required for services rendered by the Treasury, the Board of Trade, the auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer, the Sign Manual, the Tellers, the Pells, and the clerk of the Exitus. Charges against the 1763-1764 grant appeared sporadically during the next two years so that it was February 18, 1766, before Ellis could balance the books for his first short year in office.[15]

Like other royal agents in the new colonies, Ellis sought advice from the Treasury and the Board of Trade and was subject to their instructions. He disbursed funds according to the terms of the parliamentary appropriation and upon the presentation of drafts against those monies from authorized persons. He was responsible for the propriety and legality of all such expenditures, and his records were subject to auditing by the Exchequer.[16] The evidence provided by those audits casts fresh light upon the affairs of the colony.

Complications arose when vouchers were missing and when colonial officials attempted to draw funds in excess of those allowed or for purposes not covered by the terms of the appropriation. Ellis had then to consult with officials at the Treasury and the Board of Trade. Upon such occasions Ellis neither paid nor refused payment of (dishonored) colonial drafts pending the outcome of consultation. Ellis's relations with the Board of Trade, over which Hillsborough presided from 1763 to 1765, and as colonial secretary from 1768 to 1772, and where William Knox was under-secretary after 1770, appear to have been smooth. The Treasury, on the other hand, could be difficult. Burdened by tradition, an antiquated system of bookkeeping, and a small but well-entrenched staff, the Treasury moved at its own sedate pace. The agent, who should have had access to thousands of pounds at the Treasury, might unexpectedly find his account void of funds with which to meet colonial demands. The situation was explicitly set forth by Ellis in a memorial of June 12, 1770, to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury: "That the sum of four Thousand eight hundred Pounds was granted in the last Sessions of Parliament upon Account of defraying the charges of the Civil Establishment of his Majesty's Colony of West Florida and other incidental Expences attending

15. Ellis's accounts for 1763-1765 are printed in Howard, *British Development,* 119-21.

16. Dora Mae Clark, *The Rise of the British Treasury: Colonial Administration in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1960), 98.

the same from the 24 of June 1769 to the 24 of June 1770. That your Memorialist has had several bills of Exchange drawn on him for the said service, and is in daily expectation of more. And therefore prays your Lordships Direction for the issuing to him the said sum of £4800 without the deduction of six pence in the pound for the Civil List as the sum granted in the former year was issued."[17]

Ellis performed the work of king's agent from chambers at No. 5, Coney Court, Gray's Inn, where he lived "like a Monk in his Cell." At the same time he was occupied with many scientific inquiries, business interests, and lobbying on behalf of the Irish Linen Board.[18] The sheer mass of his scientific publications alone would lead to the conclusion that all else must have been fairly routine, but if the work of the agency could usually be fitted into his other activities, it could, at times, interfere significantly. To his Scottish correspondent, Dr. David Skene, he wrote in 1766, "I intend to write to you soon again . . . being at present very busy about my Agency affairs."[19] Later in the year he apologized to Skene, "I have not time to get another [drawing of a coral] finish'd as I am very busy . . . about West Florida."[20] In 1767 he complained, "I have had so much to do about Linen and West Florida that I have wrote but one letter. . . on Natural History."[21] That letter, addressed to Linnaeus and read before the Royal Society on July 9, 1767, definitively established the animal nature of the genus *Corallina* and won for Ellis the Copley medal.[22]

Irregularities in the administration of West Florida were the cause of many of Ellis's problems. Among these was the case of Attorney General Edmund Rush Wegg, who was suspended by Governor Johnstone "upon the general Charges of Negligence and Incapacity" from 1765 to 1768.[23] Wegg returned to London and pleaded his case successfully, but while he was suspended

17. London, Public Record Office, T 1/478.
18. Rea, "The King's Agent for British West Florida," 144.
19. John Ellis to David Skene, July 14, 1766, David Skene MSS 38/100-04, King's College Library, University of Aberdeen, Scotland.
20. Ibid., December 2, 1766.
21. Ibid., July 10, 1767.
22. Ibid., January 29, 1767; Royal Society of Great Britain, *Philosophical Transactions* 57 (1768), 404-20.
23. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-1766, English Dominion,* 10 vols. (Nashville, 1911), I, 532-33.

and absent from his post, his salary was paid to the governor's friend, Arthur Gordon.[24] More fortunate was James McPherson, the provincial secretary, clerk of the council, and registrar– and the most notorious of the colony's absentees. McPherson spent barely a year at Pensacola before returning to England; nevertheless, his £200 a year was regularly paid by Ellis.[25]

Ellis's early anticipation that West Florida would be a fount of botanical discoveries never materialized. He "heard from no people of science" in the colony, and one shipment of specimens was lost at sea.[26] He rather unjustly blamed George Johnstone, "a bad governor, who is recalled," and hoped for better success under Johnstone's successor, Montfort Browne, "who seems to have some taste" for natural history.[27] Chief Justice William Clifton dispatched to Ellis "many curious new Species of plants," including two specimens of *Illicium anisatum* of which Ellis noted, "From his account of its escaping the severe frosts that now & then happen there it may prove an agreeable acquisition to the lovers of Gardening."[28] At the other end of the colonial hierarchy was schoolmaster John Firby, who forwarded to Lord Hillsborough and to the royal gardens at Kew, packages containing seeds of the star anise and a swamp magnolia apple. He took care to inform the king's agent of his botanical offerings.[29] As new men went out to govern West Florida, they found it useful to consult with the agent and politic to recognize his insatiable scientific curiosity. Although the sudden death of Governor John Eliot frustrated Ellis's high expectations, the appointment of the "curious and intelligent" Elias Durnford as lieutenant governor was most fruitful, and Governor Peter Chester forwarded the botanist's interests vigorously.[30]

24. AO 1/1262.
25. Ibid.
26. John Ellis to Linnaeus, July 19, 1765, in *A Selection of the Correspondence of Linnaeus and Other Naturalists*, 2 vols., James E. Smith, ed. (London, 1821; reprint ed., New York, 1978), I, 168.
27. John Ellis to Linnaeus, August 26, 1767, September 10, 1765, in Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 211, 173.
28. Spencer Savage, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Linnaean Society of London, Part IV* (London, 1948), 74.
29. John Firby to John Ellis, September 26, 1770, Ellis MSS.
30. John Ellis to the Duchess of Norfolk, August 7, 1769; Alexander Garden to John Ellis, January 26, 1771, in Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 587; II, 75.

Save for the leading figures in the colony, few officials received salaries sufficient to provide a decent living in the face of inflation on the frontier of empire. At gubernatorial suggestion, and with the approval of the colonial secretary in London, John Ellis's accounts reflect a steady increase of pluralities and allowances for house rent. The Reverend William Gordon, minister at Mobile, annually received £100 for his spiritual services, £25 for teaching school, £25 for acting as curate at Pensacola, and £8 for housing.[31] No one surpassed Governor Peter Chester's secretary, Philip Livingston, when it came to amassing offices, fees, and perquisites, but few names appeared in the agent's books more often than that of Elias Durnford, surveyor and lieutenant governor.[32] Durnford was a hard worker, however, and, in addition to his salary of £120, he unquestionably earned the £586 he was paid "in consideration of his labour and expense in making surveys of several parts of West Florida between the years 1765 and 1774."[33] His efforts were also reflected in the £52 charged "for making sundry plans of the rivers Mississippi, Amit and Comit, and hire of a barge and canoe, for provisions given to sundry settlers, etc. in the year 1772."[34] When Durnford began the construction of Governor Chester's palatial new residence in Pensacola, his drafts reached Ellis with alarming frequency, but to far less point.

Certainly one of the happiest charges on Ellis's records was the salary of Bernard Romans, provincial botanist by recommendation of Governor Chester. "For his care and skill in the collection of rare and useful productions in Physick and Botany," Romans received £50 in 1773 and 1774.[35] Ellis's accounts also show an additional payment to Romans "for drawing a General Map of the Province and for Surveying and finishing a plan of certain lands in West Florida as by his receipts £46.12.4 1/2."[36] Romans recognized that the botanist-agent was a sympathetic paymaster. In 1774 he lamented to Ellis, "I lead a very neglected Life and am very hard put to it to maintain

31. AO 1/1262.
32. Johnson, *British West Florida,* 228.
33. AO 1/1262.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.

myself & as I have no friend in Europe to whom to apply, I once more take the freedom to address you on that head."[37] Friendship with Ellis might have survived the outbreak of the American Revolution, but as Romans opted for the patriot side, his salary did not.

Although Ellis once described him as "a particular friend," no one caused the agent more trouble than peripatetic Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne, who yearned to see and then to develop the rich lands along the Mississippi River.[38] Browne thought it only reasonable that a governor should be familiar with all parts of his province, but he was aware that his inflated travel expenses might not be reimbursable. Anticipating difficulties, Browne drew two drafts on Ellis in which he inserted the phrase, "to be paid as the Earl of Hillsborough shall direct."[39] At the same time he requested the agent to pay the drafts out of his salary, if necessary, in order to avoid their being dishonored by Ellis and subsequently protested by whomever presented them for payment. Ellis sought advice from Hillsborough on the matter, and the latter's answer was succinct: "There is no fund for such expenses"; he refused to approve payment. Accordingly, Ellis charged the drafts against Browne's salary, made payment, and reported the incident to both the American secretary and the Treasury.[40]

Protested bills could wander endlessly between the Treasury, the American secretariat, and the West Florida agent. In December 1769 Browne presented a draft for Indian presents worth £127.7.0 on behalf of himself and Elias Durnford. Ellis approved Durnford's share of the bill, but in December 1771 he was still trying to get Browne's portion sorted out between the Treasury and the American secretary who refused to take notice of it. Browne also tried to transfer £150 out of Ellis's account in favor of his friend Leonard B. Westrupp, deputy superintendent for Indian Affairs. Hillsborough rejected the claim as properly falling upon John Stuart's Indian Department, and Ellis advised that it should have been drawn upon the

37. Bernard Romans to John Ellis, May 14, 1774, Ellis MSS. See also John D. Ware, "The Bernard Romans-John Ellis Letters, 1772-1774," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (July 1973), 51-61.
38. John Ellis to Linnaeus, July 19, 1765, in Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, I, 167-68.
39. T 1/484.
40. Ibid.

Treasury rather than the West Florida account. "Having no money in his hands for that service," the agent also turned to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for advice regarding £315 Browne drew for a year's maintenance of the provincial sloop.[41] Protested bills could be expensive; Browne paid £72.13.7 for damages resulting from just one mistake. In spite of being recalled from Pensacola in considerable disgrace and with grave charges of maladministration hanging over his head, Browne succeeded in making the government pay for his misdeeds. Ellis's account shows £988.9.11 paid to the lieutenant governor as compensation for the prosecutions and damages he had sustained. In the final analysis, Browne came out of a financial quagmire with a valid claim of £287.10.2 against the agent's funds. He graciously knocked off the odd £87 "in compliment to Mr. Ellis" and settled for £200.[42]

John Ellis's audit records disclose a number of details of life in West Florida that are not to be found elsewhere. The sums involved (here rounded off) are seldom great, but the activities they reflect are important. Indian gifts were large, starting with whole shipments of presents: £328 on the Peggy, Captain Alexander, in 1773; £425 aboard the Success, Captain Cheesman, the following year.[43] Other Indian presents were drawn from the supplies of local storekeepers like Alexander McCullagh and Patrick Strachan. Between 1772 and 1776, John Stephenson received £180 for food given to visiting Indians. In three years John Southwell provided bread worth £34 to Indians and prisoners. William Block coopered powder kegs, Catherine Battison and Leonard Wisner repaired guns for the Indians– MS. Battison being one of the few identifiable businesswomen of Pensacola. John Simpson, Indian interpreter, who aired the Indians' powder and provided them with corn and pork, received five shillings a day and £10 annual house rent.[44] It is a little incongruous that he also supported several women and children whose husbands and fathers had been murdered by Indians. Presumably his charity had no connection with the forty gallons of rum, valued at £8, purchased by Charles Stuart for the Arkansas Indians.[45]

41. T 1/493.
42. Ibid.
43. AO 1/1262.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.

Colonial Pensacola had its share of indigents. Between 1774 and 1776 over £76 was spent on food for "several poor Objects of Charity." Not all survived. Between 1769 and 1775, John Amer was paid £17 for making coffins for deceased paupers. The £6.6 paid to Alexander Hardie for the passage of Mary Magee and four children from East Florida may also represent an act of public charity.[46]

Law and order came at a high price on the frontier. Alexander McCullagh, deputy provost marshal, had a salary of only £30 a year, but for his various services he averaged £140 more, not counting rent for the jail at Mobile at £48. Security in that jail required a fence which Simon McCormack built for £27. As jailkeeper at Mobile, McCullagh's salary was £18, nicely augmented by the £30 paid to him as gaoler at Pensacola. The Pensacola jail was long a cause of dispute among all involved, inmates as well as officers of the law. William Aird built a new jail for £262, but his charge was not allowed. Catherine Battison did, however, get £3.9.9 1/2 for doing the ironwork. George Urquhart and John Blommart received £68 a year for maintaining prisoners and guarding the jail.[47]

The salaries of legal officials and court personnel fell upon Ellis's account. Chief Justice Clifton received £500 and Attorney General Wegg £150 a year (the attorney general's fees averaged another £80 annually). Alexander McPherson and John Allen Martin, successively both clerks of the Crown and clerks of the Pleas, had salaries of £30 and £20 for the respective offices. The cryer of the Court of Common Pleas, John Anderson, got £10. John Allen Martin and Michael Grant, coroners, were paid by the body– on average £16 a year– although on one occasion Martin received £4 for presiding at a single inquest.[48]

Because the courts met only at Pensacola, crown prosecution was expensive. John Reilly earned £72 between 1772 and 1776, for bringing prisoners from several parts of the colony to Pensacola. The firm of Falconer & Co. was paid £28 for transporting one prisoner, a witness, and a constable aboard the sloop *Elizabeth* from Manchac to Pensacola. The expenses of John Royal and others were paid in the amount of £64 "for attending as Evidence in several causes." The requirements of the courts

46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. AO 3/119.

also included the purchase of six sets of Burn's *Justice,* an appropriate reference work for the province's part-time judicial officers, and a set of the *Statutes at Large* for the chief justice.[49]

Although Pensacola and Mobile were linked naturally by the sea, the utility of inland communication was obvious. Indian trails had to be turned into proper roads, and military considerations led to the employment of soldiers as road gangs. River crossings posed special problems, and Ellis's accounts disclose that John Murray maintained the ferry at the Perdido River crossing. For the fiscal year 1773-1774 he was paid £11.13.4, a sum suggesting that he was compensated according to the amount of traffic he carried. Bridges were built across the Fish River and Grand Bayou, and for their construction and maintenance Charles Parent received £18.3.4 for the years 1770-1774. A modest £7 went to William Marshal for clearing and draining the swamp behind Pensacola. For "making a new bridge over the run at the bottom of Charlotte Street" and other carpentry, Andrew Allsopp was allowed £27. Mr. Allsopp was a particularly useful public figure. In addition to taking responsibility for the upkeep of Pensacola's fire-engine for at least five years, he functioned as the town's fire chief and led the volunteer fire brigade into action when the occasion demanded.[50]

It is evident from John Ellis's accounts that the British government contributed most significantly to the well-being of its Gulf coast colony, and in the elderly scientist enjoyed the services of a faithful and attentive servant. During a near-fatal illness in 1772, he was forced to rely upon the assistance of a Mr. Irving, and when his sight failed he employed an amanuensis.[51] If his salary of £200 a year was generous, it was earned honestly and without those perks that oiled so much of the eighteenth-century bureaucracy– save as Ellis once suggested, "All the pay I demand from the Province is to be in rare plants and seeds."[52] More than £74,000 was approved for payment by him in twelve

49. AO 1/1262.
50. Ibid.
51. David Blissett to Rev. Talbot, August 27, 1772, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report, The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth* (London, 1895), II, 90.
52. John Ellis to Hillsborough, n.d., Ellis MSS. This letter has been incorrectly dated 1763; it should be dated 1769, for it refers to newly-appointed lieutenant governor Elias Durnford, who was then in London consulting with Ellis.

years, and his record was spotless. The accuracy and competency of his work was certified by two official audits; the first, covering the years 1763 to 1772, was approved at the Treasury on July 6, 1774. The second audit was occasioned by John Ellis's death, October 5, 1776. His accounts were submitted to the Treasury by his daughter and administratrix, Mrs. Martha Watt, the books being closed as of September 15, 1776, and turned over to his successor, Christopher Nesham, according to Treasury instructions dated November 7. The transfer of control of funds to the new agent, the onset of the American Revolution, the loss of the colony of West Florida to Spain, and post-war political changes in England delayed approval of Ellis's accounts until July 19, 1786, when the younger William Pitt, as chancellor of the Exchequer, set his name to the final audit. That same year Pitt's budget included the sum of £1,816.15.7 3/4 in payment of arrears to the representatives of the late John Ellis, agent for West Florida.[53]

53. *Annual Register* (1786), 250.

FLORIDA SLAVE NARRATIVES

by GARY R. MORMINO

IN October 1939, the Jacksonville *Journal* published a story describing a federally-funded project going on in Florida that would have a far-reaching impact on future scholarship. "On disks that time can't destroy, a sapphire needle scratches the songs of the longshoreman and waterfront workers which, because of mechanical equipment and the jook organ, are fast disappearing."[1] The paper not only detailed the technology that was being utilized, it pointed out the importance of the technicians, in this case, Stetson Kennedy of Jacksonville and Robert Harrison Cook. Representatives of the Federal Writers' Project, Kennedy and Cook had honeycombed the hinterland and bayous in search of vanishing Floridians– turpentiners, muleskinners, and jook artists.

In August 1939, Kennedy and Cook took their recording caravan to Cross City. With Zora Neale Hurston, the black writer and folklorist, serving as liaison and scout, the party rendezvoused at the Aycock and Lindsey Turpentine Camp. They came to hear Cull Stacey. A North Carolinian by birth, a migrant turpentiner by profession, Stacey was a drifter with a talent for remembering the sing songs of work and play.[2]

The August 1939 encounter has been preserved on disk. When asked to sing a song, Stacey drawled graciously, "Anything at all to help the government." He proceeded to sing such favorites as, "I'm Going to Georgia, to Work de Turpentine,"

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1. Jacksonville *Journal*, October 19, 1939, clipping in biographical file, Stetson Kennedy, Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa.
2. "Music and Songs," in the Florida Negro Manuscript collection, FHS; see also Cull Stacey, "Kerosene Charley Stays Overnight," "I'm Going to Georgia." Works Progress Administration Writers' Project, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

and "Kerosene Charley and the Chicken Roost," and adding other tunes for good measure.[3]

The recorder captured everything, including the banter between the participants. The white overseer, a woodsrider, asked, "Where is that colored girl, Zora Hurston, who was here? She was a pretty smart nigger!" Stacey followed with political commentary. "If you Government men can do us any good up there in Washington we sure will appreciate it. Tell 'em we ain't gettin' our chops down here. You tell Claude Pepper if he can't do no better for us than he's doin', to come back home and plead the law, and let me go up yonder."[4] Kennedy, uncertain whether the political salvo had been registered, interjected, "Say that again Stacey, so we can get it on the record." Stacey strode toward the microphone, paused, and backed away. "Oh no!" he laughed. "I know better than to say anything against the Government!"

In Miami in 1939, Stetson Kennedy conducted extensive interviews at the Ex-Slave Association of Greater Miami. Located in the Liberty City district, a large black neighborhood, the club included twenty-five octogenarians and nonagenarians. "I worked hard when I was a slave," lamented Annie Gail, "but not so hard as I do now."[5]

The Cull Stacey and Annie Gail stories encapsulate the Federal Writers' Project in Florida. Never again would so many folklorists, historians, and writers canvass the peninsula in search of ex-slaves, Cuban cigarmakers, Pensacola Creoles, and other plain folk. They assembled a collection of Floridiana, a mass of materials so abundantly rich that scholars have yet to reap its potential.

In 1935, Florida, with its 1,500,000 population, was still politically and philosophically in the nineteenth century. It was a large state with a relatively underdeveloped economy based on agriculture, tourism, and extractive industries. Tallahassee was a small town filled biannually with conservative small-town and rural-oriented legislators who politically dominated the

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Stetson Kennedy, "Ex-Slaves of Miami Organize," *Opportunity* 17 (1939), 271, 287; interview with Stetson Kennedy by Gary Mormino, January 23, 1986, FP48A, University of Florida Oral History Archives, Florida State Museum, Gainesville; Stetson Kennedy to author, December 1, 1986.

state. A rigid color line stood unchanged and unchallenged. Remarkably– and all the while recognizing the constraints and restraints imposed by bureaucratic censorship, racism, and nativism– Florida's role in the Federal Writers' Project accounted for a distinctly positive record. The 1930s witnessed a flowering of Florida's creative accomplishments. The Depression served as a dynamic house of change, forcing politicians and artists to adjust to a new order.

If, as Arnold Toynbee contended, great challenges yield great responses, the New Deal offers evidence of the capacity of institutions for innovation. America's capacity for experimentation is illustrated in its response to the Great Depression. Today, the legacy of the WPA and PWA stand evident in post office murals, libraries, and bridges. No less important were the welter of artistic and cultural programs spawned by the New Deal. When asked about the wisdom of the federal government's sponsorship of the arts, Harry Hopkins, the Roosevelt administration's director of relief programs, quipped, "Hell, artists have got to eat just like other people."[6] The Federal Writers' Project originated in the 1935 legislation formally designated Federal Number One. Included in the Works Project Administration (WPA) bill was a call to establish four art programs. President Roosevelt approved the bill, including the Federal Writers' Project, in September 1935, authorizing the trial expenditure of $6,288,000 and a staff of 6,500.[7]

The director of the Project, Henry G. Alsberg, brought to the program a willingness to experiment and a disposition toward innovation. Under his tutelage, the original objective of the program, the collection of material for *The American Guide* series, soon became only one part of a larger artistic-cultural

6. Quoted by Jerre Mangione, "The Federal Writers' Project: An Overview" (paper delivered at the WPA and the Federal Writers' Project conference, Fort Lauderdale, November 8, 1986). For the artistic legacy of the New Deal, see Francis V. O'Connor, ed., *Art for the Millions* (Greenwich, CT, 1973), 306; William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts* (Columbus, OH, 1969), 410, 465-67; biographical file, George Hill, FHS; Monty Noam Penkower, *The Federal Writers' Project: A Study in Government Patronage of the Arts* (Urbana, 1977); Jerrold Hirsch and Tom E. Terrill, "Some Thoughts on Reading the Federal Writers' Project Southern Life Histories," *Southern Studies* 18 (Fall 1979), 351-62.

7. Jerre Mangione, *The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers' Project, 1935-43* (Boston, 1972), 29-50; Ann Banks, *First-Person America* (New York, 1980), xi-xxv.

agenda. Alsberg displayed particular sensitivity toward developing a program capable of capturing the Afro-American legacy, a collection which would include folklore, institutional studies, life histories, and slave narratives. Alsberg had inherited a rudimentary program designed to interview ex-slaves as a part of the 1934 Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The Federal Writers' Project with its panoply of programs, offered black writers opportunities to showcase their talents. Ralph Ellison, Richard Wright, Margaret Walker, Frank Yerby, and Florida's Zora Neale Hurston plied their crafts at various projects during the 1930s. Racism, of course, had not dissipated. A February 1937 report disclosed that blacks constituted only 106 of the Federal Writers' Project's 4,500 employees. The Office of Negro Affairs lobbied vigorously for the hiring of more black writers.[8]

At the national level, Afro-American leaders, such as Sterling A. Brown of Howard University, played vital roles in the conception and direction of an Afro-American literary agenda. In June 1937, Brown complained to Alsberg, "We have noticed in much of the state copy that the Negro is either left unmentioned or inadequately treated." Lawrence D. Reddick of Kentucky State College pleaded that unemployed Negro college graduates be assisted, especially "those left out generally in the programs of recovery."[9]

Florida played an important role in the conception of the slave narratives. Carita Doggett Corse, the state director of the Federal Writers' Project, became convinced of the utility of slave interviews while earlier conducting research at New Smyrna and Fort George Island. She encouraged individuals in the Negro Writers' Unit to proceed with some preliminary interviews. In March 1937, Corse forwarded several of the Florida Slave Narratives to Washington for review by John Lomax, George Cronyn, and Sterling Brown. "I need scarcely add that I have enjoyed very much reading this batch of reminiscences from ex-

8. Mangione, *Dream and the Deal*, 123-27, 255-65; Penkower, *Federal Writers' Project*, 66-67, 147.

9. Sterling A. Brown to Henry G. Alsberg, June 8, 1937, Reports and Miscellaneous Records Pertaining to Negro Studies, 1936-1941, "Negro Books" folder, Federal Writers' Project, Record Group 69, National Archives, Washington, DC; Norman R. Yetman, "The Background of the Slave Narrative Collection," *American Quarterly* 19 (Fall 1967), 540-42; Mangione, *Dream and the Deal*, 257; Penkower, *Federal Writers' Project*, 143.

slaves," replied Lomax, national consultant of Folklore and Folkways, in an April 6, 1937 letter. "It seems to me they are of very great value and I congratulate you on being the first to open up . . . this field of investigation." Lomax proceeded to draw up a standard questionnaire, "to get the Negro thinking and talking about the days of slavery." Corse assisted the Negro Writers' Unit, such as her June 1938 letter requesting a recording machine for Zora Neale Hurston. At its peak in 1937, Florida's Negro Writers' Unit employed ten blacks, although by late 1938, that number had been reduced to three. The composition of Florida's Negro Writers' Unit bears special interest. Black women constituted one-half of the unit in 1936-1937, an unusually high number. On a national level, Jacqueline Jones notes "that less than 20 percent of all WPA workers were female, and only 3 percent of all WPA workers were black women." In addition, Zora Neale Hurston served as the head of Florida's Folklore unit for one year, 1938-1939.[10]

Originally, the slave interviews and folklore collections were intended for a projected book, *The Florida Negro.* Sterling Brown, national editor of Negro Affairs, called for an ambitious program to research the black American experience. The much lauded *The Negro in Virginia* grew out of Brown's tutelage, as well as a companion volume in Georgia, *Drums and Shadows.* In spite of three revisions and the involvement of Hurston, *The Florida Negro* was never published.[11]

10. John A. Lomax to Carita Doggett Corse, April 6, 1937, correspondence pertaining to Folklore Studies, 1936-1941, Florida, Federal Writers' Project, Record Group 69, Box 192, National Archives; George Cronyn to Corse, April 1, 1937, ibid., Box 193; Office of Negro Affairs to Corse, Memo, October 19, 1938, Reports Pertaining to Negro Studies, 1936-1941, ibid.; interview with Corse by Robert E. Hemenway, February 25, 1971, transcript on file, University of Florida Oral History Archives; "Dr. Carita Doggett Corse to Direct WPA Writers' Work," Jacksonville *Times-Union,* October 13, 1935; Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1986 ed.), 217. Grace Thompson, Rachel A. Austin, Viola B. Muse, Pearl Randolph, and L. Rebecca Bakey were the black female workers of Florida's Negro Writer's Unit.

11. Robert E. Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (Urbana, 1977), 252; the Macmillan Company to Zora Neale Hurston, May 11, 1939; the Christopher Publishing House to Hurston, May 10, 1939; Florida Negro Collection, "Zora Neale Hurston Folder"; Yetman, "The Background of the Slave Narrative," 547-48; Mangione, *Dream and the Deal,* 259-61.

Paul Diggs wrote for the Federal Writers' Project. He lived in Lakeland, where, in August 1936, he interviewed Georgia Love, an ex-slave. He sketched this portrait of Georgia, whom he noted was "reputed to have the power to remove pain with her hands." From "The Florida Negro," Special Collections, University of South Florida Library, Tampa.

"The Florida Negro" represents only a fraction of a voluminous collection of Afro-American documents. Today, the collection is in the archives of the Florida Historical Society in the University of South Florida Library in Tampa. In some ways, the most interesting and potentially valuable materials were not included in "The Florida Negro," and they are filed in neatly organized manila envelopes. Approximately 2,000 pages of materials are organized around various topics such as "Games," "Sanctified Church," and "the Turpentine," by Zora Neale Hurston. Other subjects include "Biography," "Negro Customs," "Slaves of Seminole Indians," "Literature," "Occupations," and "Reconstruction." The collection offers much promise for research and writing. For instance, contemporaries criticized Zora Neale Hurston for ignoring the underside of the black experience, such as the 1920 Ocoee massacre, which occurred just a few miles from her home in Eatonville. And yet a typewritten copy, apparently signed by Hurston but never published, graphically details the riot and its aftermath.[12]

The enslavement of Florida's blacks ranks as one of the major events in the state's history. Yet the story has not been easy to tell. No Florida slave left behind a diary, and few accounts of planters and mistresses have survived.[13] In order to understand the tragedy and triumph of the freedmen, historians need to examine sources reflecting the views of masters and slaves. The slave narratives constitute the single greatest source capturing the personal experiences of the ex-slave. Compiled in seventeen states between 1936-1938, the Slave Narrative Collection consists of 2,358 interviews. Nearly three percent of the interviews were conducted in Florida, although, only one percent of the interviewees experienced slavery in Florida. The others had moved to the state after Reconstruction. The vast source of documentation, once the three crudely-typed transcripts had been assembled in 1941, were filed in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress. For three decades, the slave narratives languished there.[14]

12. Topical folders, Florida Negro Collection; Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston,* 219.
13. "The Florida Negro" MSS, bound draft with comments, April 2, 1937, FHS.
14. John W. Blassingame, "Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves: Approaches and Problems," *Journal of Southern History* 41 (November 1975), 473-92,

Prompted by the Civil Rights Movement, the debate over Vietnam, and campus protest, an increasing number of American historians in the 1960s and 1970s began chronicling the lives of immigrants, laborers, women, and minorities. Eugene Genovese, John Blassingame, Kenneth Stampp, Joel Williamson, Charles Joyner, Winthrop Jordan, Leon Litwack, and George Rawick applied their considerable talents toward the study of slavery. Reconstructing the lives of black slaves would prove particularly challenging, simply because so few written sources are available.

Greenwood Press in 1972 published nineteen volumes of Ex-Slave Narratives, which included the seventy-two Florida interviews.[15] The publication of the slave narratives was no guarantee of their immediate acceptance; indeed, few sources have generated such emotional debate over bias, validity, and legitimacy. Traditionally, historians had borrowed heavily from conventional sources, such as plantation diaries, slave autobiographies, newspapers, and census records. Interviews posed new problems.

The slave narrative collection is not an unfiltered perspective. Over two-thirds of the Florida respondents were at least eighty years old when the interviews occurred. Nearly one-half the ex-slaves had been children (ten years and younger) prior to emancipation. The interviews were conducted during the Great Depression, a period in which aged spokesmen might look back at the more prosperous plantation South with a special fondness. Thus the interviews reveal much about the problems of the 1930s. The nature of the interview process was another issue that generated questions and criticism. Paul Escott has amply illustrated the differing responses ex-slaves gave to white, as opposed to black, interviewers.[16]

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and *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge, 1977), 601-79; Paul D. Escott, *Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 14; Yetman, "The Background of the Slave Narratives," 553. Florida historians have ignored the ex-slave narratives in general and the Florida Negro Collection in particular. See Julia Floyd Smith's *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973).

15. George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols. (Westport, CT, 1972). The Florida Narratives are in volume seventeen.

16. Escott, *Slavery Remembered*, 11, 193.

The director of Georgia's program reflected, years later, that her project's "greatest loss" was that whites conducted the interviews. Such was not the case in Florida. Throughout the South, except for Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida, whites conducted the preponderance of the slave interviews. North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama, for instance, employed a total of one black interviewer, whereas Florida employed ten. It was likely uncomfortable for many ex-slaves to be queried by southern whites about their lives before they became freedmen. Many southern whites held firm opinions as to the benevolence of the slave institution. A Jim Crow/caste system pervaded the South in the 1930s, a way of life which imposed serious inhibitions upon black-white discussion. Southern whites, for example, commonly addressed adult blacks by their first name, and described them as "boy."[17] Throughout this period, evidence of peonage, sharecropping, and lynching served notice as to the nature of power in the lower South. Between 1931 and 1935, more than seventy blacks were lynched in the South. Given such a system, the thoughtful ex-slave often preferred to opt for silence or modify what he or she wished to remember.[18] Martin Jackson, an ex-slave, reflected upon these problems when he observed, "Lot of old slaves closes the door before they tell the truth about their days of slavery."[19] Few field workers had been trained in interviewing techniques. Since the sessions were almost never sound-recorded, the working copies reflect the fresh memories of interviewers and editors, and were often not verbatim accounts. Still another problem was transcribing Afro-American dialect.

Still, the slave interviews constitute the greatest untapped source for the study of slavery in Florida. In all, seventy-two interviews were published as part of *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Florida Narratives.* Many narratives, such as "Interviews with Old Colored People in Pensacola," were never published, and are catalogued in the files of the Florida Negro

17. Ibid., 188-91; Blassingame, "Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves," 481-85; Yetman, "Background of the Slave Narrative," 547-49; Penkower, *Federal Writers' Project*, 145.
18. Pete Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969* (Urbana, 1972), 95-107, 183.
19. Quoted in Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1976 ed.), 123-24.

Collection.[20] Most significantly, Florida blacks employed in the Negro Writer's Unit conducted most of the interviews.

If one expects a reading of the slave narratives to offer an unambiguous dialogue with uncluttered answers, one is mistaken. The source reflects the sources. Ex-slaves remembered lives of uncomplicated pleasure and unmitigated hell; memories of moonlight and magnolias and the overseer's lash. The question that has provoked much debate relates to the harshness of slavery, more precisely the roles of "de good massa" and "de bad massa." Ex-slaves in Florida answered this question ambivalently. "Slavery," contends Charles Joyner, "can be made to appear either benign or barbaric from ex-slaves' testimonies, depending upon what evidence is emphasized and what evidence is suppressed."[21] Lindsey Moore, for instance, a Jacksonville resident, was never asked to perform strenuous work as long as he reigned as marbles champion.[22] Douglas Parish, born a slave at Monticello, Florida, in 1850, recalled being an outstanding runner and being rewarded for his mastery of sprints.[23] Willis Williams, an ex-slave born at Tallahassee in 1856, recounted playing baseball as a young boy on the plantation.[24] Frank Berry, who claimed Seminole blood along with his African heritage, quipped, "Even in slavery we were treated better than we are now by the white people. . . . Even the white people didn't kill Negroes then as they do now. Anybody can kill a Negro now because they ain't worth a cent to nobody."[25] A blind ex-slave told a white interviewer, "Those were the good old days."[26] Bolden Hall, born in Jefferson County in 1853, felt that his master "was very good to his slaves and never whipped them unless it was absolutely necessary."[27] Blacks remembered the Creole attitudes in Pensacola as especially enlightened. "I was brought up in the Spanish way," remembered a ninety-six year old veteran.

20. "Interviews with Old Colored People in Pensacola," folder, Federal Writers' Project, Florida Negro Collection.
21. Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana, 1984), xvi.
22. Rawick, *Florida Narratives*, 229-30.
23. Ibid., 257-58.
24. Ibid.; 348.
25. Interview with Frank Berry by Pearl Randolph, August 18, 1936, FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 5.
26. Jules Frost, "Born Blind: Stories of Florida," FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 1.
27. Rawick, *Florida Narratives*, 165.

A black family living in south-central Florida, 1895. From the Stokes Collection, University of South Florida Library.

"The Spanish were very good and kind to the colored folks. . . . Pensacola in those days was one big happy family."[28]

But if ex-slaves residing in other states opted for silence on the harsher side of slavery, Florida respondents were not so reticent. Scarcely a participant failed to conjure up some atrocity, often in graphic terms. Florida blacks recalled inquisitorial punishments: the "buck-and-gag" where the slave was doubled about a hoe and forced to sit in the sun, or the "bell-and-stocks," where the slave would be placed in an iron halter with a bell attached to it.[29] Alex Thompson described his master, Judge Henry of west Florida: "He gave us all we wanted to eat, but he cowhided us. He had a cowhide and used to take us in a little room to whip us. Did you every know of a master *not* to *cowhide* a nigger? [And] His wife wuz meaner to us than he wuz."[30]

28. "Creoles in Pensacola," FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 8; interview with Thomas Moreno by Modeste Hargis, June 1, 1937, "Interviews with Colored People Who Live in West Florida," ibid., 2; Pensacola *Gazette*, April 4, 1857: "The exodus . . . [of] thirty-five free colored persons took their departure from this city for Tampico and in a few days the balance who are remaining will also leave. . . . It was a painful sight to see them departing."
29. "Slave Days in Florida," FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 13; See also "Slavery: Atrocities," ibid.
30. "Interviews with Colored People Who Live in West Florida," Florida Negro Collection, 2.

Charlotte Martin reminisced of life in Sixteen, Florida, as the property of Judge Wilkerson. "Wilkerson was very cruel." She recalled her oldest brother whipped to death for staging an illicit church service. She also recalled the judge's frequent visits to the slave quarters for sexual favors.[31] Mental cruelty posed another form of punishment. Margrett Nickerson, born in Leon County, recollected: "I never saw a nigger sold, but dey carried dem from our house and I never seen 'em no mo'. . . . Master Carr . . . wuz always tellin' me he wuz gonna sell me . . . he sold my pa's fust wife.[32] Acie Thomas's owner in Jefferson County threatened to sell his slaves to "po white trash," which Acie remembered with terror.[33] Sarah Rhodes of New Smyrna recalled the post-war trauma: "Ku Klux Klan! Doan talk about them devils. Kill the colored people. Cut off 'yo ears. Done everything to us."[34]

Analyzing the slave narratives, Eugene Genovese notes: "It would be wrong, not merely pointless, to seek in the slave narratives a precise measurement of the character of masters– to try and balance the testimony of those slaves who said they had good masters against those who said the opposite."[35]

The Florida slave narratives suggest a series of relationships developed over time, based upon power and fear, dreams and nightmares, illusions and anxieties. Although Florida had relatively few large plantations, the typical ex-slave interviewed had resided on such plantations, where a hierarchy of skills and personalities existed. Beyond "massa" and the Great House loomed a variety of individuals who affected slaves' lives on a day-to-day basis. Victims recalled fear in encounters with the dreaded driver and overseer. "When dey got tired of whippin' de darkies," remembered Kate Golden, "dey made a place dey called hell. Dey tied up a nigger in a croka sack an' put him on a rope over an open fire an' smoke an' burned him somethin' awful."[36] According to Lucius Douglas of Madison County, "De overseer wuld git you if you didn't eat 'nuf. You was working for him

31. Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 166-67.
32. Ibid., 250-56.
33. Ibid., 327-33.
34. Interview with Sarah Rhodes by Mary Roberts and Zelia Sweet, August 3, 1937, FWP, Florida Negro Collection.
35. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 676.
36. Interview with Kate Golden by Pearl Randolph, May 18, 1937, FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 3.

and he meant for you to be healthy. . . . Dey [overseer] all had a little hell in 'em."[37]

Poor whites occupied a nefarious niche in the slave memory. William Sherman of Chaseville recalled that lower class whites generally rode patrol, and woe to any slave caught without a pass. He especially remembered the "nigger dogs, that were used specifically for catching runaway slaves." Samuel "Parson" Andrews remembered how his Uncle Umphrey outwitted the patrollers by throwing hot ashes in their faces, thus allowing slaves to escape. In Jefferson County, poor whites helped slaves escape, and then recaptured them for sale to itinerant slave traders.[38] Sarah Brown, born outside Tampa, told how her mother was hitched to a plow and whipped until she died.[39] Acie Thomas, born on the Folsom plantation in Jefferson County, blamed " 'po' white trash" for excessive violence.[40]

Yet the interviews put forth a variety of situations and contexts. Christine Mitchell, who was born in St. Augustine in 1853, discussed plantations run by Minorcans, where the slaves were known as "Turnbull's darkies."[41] Mary Biddis, born in 1833, recalled life in Columbia County, where her master, Lancaster Jamison, ran a small farm and boarding house. Mary worked in the boarding house assisting Mrs. Jamison.[42]

One of the cherished memories retained by ex-slaves related to their faith in the black church. The Afro-American church was a syncretic evolution of southern traditions, Christian theology, and African customs, constituting a social world for the slave. "All lies!" insisted Douglas Dorsey, who remembered the white preacher telling slaves to honor their master and mistress.[43] "We had church once or twice a month," recollected

37. Interview with Lucius Douglas by Lott Allen, May 18, 1936, ibid., 2.
38. Interview with William Sherman by Pearl Randolph, August 28, 1936, ibid., 32; "Slave Days in Florida," 12.
39. "Reminiscences of Old Aunt Sarah," Tampa Bay Area interviews, n.d., Florida Negro Collection, 1.
40. Interview with Acie Thomas by Pearl Randolph, November 25, 1936, FWP, ibid., 56.
41. Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 226-27; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 184-85, 247-48.
42. Interview with Mary Biddis by Zora Neale Hurston, n.d., "Notes on Conditions among Negroes," Florida Negro Collection, 1.
43. Interview with Douglas Dorsey by James Johnson, January 11, 1937, ibid., 5-6.

Mary Biddis. "De white preacher, he wasn't no good. All he preach about was to serve de white boss, not God. De white boss paid him. . . . If dey had let de colored preachers do all de' preachin' we'd of had good services all de time."[44] Margrett Nickerson observed, "We had church wid de white preacher and dey told us to mind our masters and missus and we would be saved; if not, he say we wouldn't. Dey never tole us nothing 'bout Jesus."[45]

The ex-slave narratives offer much information concerning the social fabric of plantation life. Interviewers were instructed to ask questions about the slave diet and customs. Respondents painted a portrait of self-sufficient plantations which produced ample foodstuffs. Few ex-slaves recalled hunger. Willis Williams of Leon County was fortunate in that his mother cooked at the big house and "saw to it that her children were well fed. We were fed right from the master's table." Williams recalled the master providing his slaves with chickens and green vegetables.[46] Claude Wilson described a diet familiar to antebellum Floridians, black and white; corn bread, beans, sweet potatoes, and collard greens constituted the principal food sources.[47] Acie Thomas of Jefferson County recalled: "There was always plenty of everything to eat. We had white bread that had been made on the place, [also] corn meal, rice, potatoes, syrup, vegetables, and home-cured meat."[48] Stetson Kennedy remembered former slaves telling how they used wood chips from the smokehouse floor to season greens.[49]

Several slaves recounted the distinctive way of baking cornbread and making coffee. "The corn meal, after being mixed," remembered Claude Wilson, "was wrapped in tannion leaves and placed on hot coals. The leaves would parch to a crisp and when the bread was removed it was a beautiful brown and unburned. Sweet potatoes were also roasted on the hot coals."[50] Coffee was a luxury, and slaves adopted substitutes.

44. Biddis interview, ibid., 1.
45. Rawick, *Florida Narratives*, 252.
46. Ibid., 348.
47. Interview with Claude Augusta Wilson by James Johnson, November 6, 1936, Florida Negro Collection, 2.
48. Thomas interview, ibid., 4.
49. Stetson Kennedy to Mormino, February 19, 1987.
50. Wilson interview, Florida Negro Collection, 2.

Hot water was poured over parched kernels of corn, making a potable hot beverage.[51]

Physicians were rare in Florida, and few slaves ever recalled seeing a doctor. Instead, blacks generally drew upon their own resources. "I didn't fool with all those doctors," said Thomas Moreno. "Tain't good for nothing all those medicines. If I can get my roots, I'll get 'em. I gather Queen's Delight, wild sage, sassafras, catnip, peppermint, and prickly pear. Prickly pear, it's good to make the hair grow."[52] Rebecca Hooks recalled folk medicines brewed by the plantation midwife. For whooping coughs, a tea made from sheep shandy (manure) and catnip was concocted.[53]

The making of soap constituted a laborious but critical task on the plantation. Shack Thomas remembered the women "burning cockle-burrs, blackjack wood, and other materials, then adding the accumulated fat for the past few weeks."[54] Margrett Nickerson recalled: "My pa made soap from ashes when cleaning new ground– he took a hopper to put the ashes in, made a little stool, put the ashes in and poured water on it to drip: at night after getting off from work, he'd put in the grease and make soap."[55]

Clothes-making reflected the self-sufficiency of antebellum Florida life. Shack Thomas hardly remembered anyone wearing white, because slave women would take white cotton duck dresses and "dye 'em almost as soon as they'd get 'em . . . they'd boil wild indigo, poke berries, walnuts [for dye]."[56] At age ten, Patience Campbell learned to spin and weave at the plantation loom. She remembered indigo plants rotting in the water in preparation of dyeing clothes.[57]

The plantation was a community. Slaves would probe the system and learn the subtleties of servitude and gratitude. Al-

51. Interviews with Willis Williams by Viola B. Muse, March 20, 1937, ibid., 2-3; Wilson interview, ibid., 2.
52. "Interviews with Colored People Who Live in West Florida," ibid., 1.
53. Interview with Rebecca Hooks by Pearl Randolph, January 14, 1937, FWP, ibid., 4-5.
54. Rawick, *Florida Narratives*, 336. See also "All Dye Together," in "Slave Days in Florida," FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 7-8.
55. Rawick, *Florida Narratives*, 253.
56. Ibid., 338.
57. Interview with Patience Campbell by James Johnson, December 15, 1936, FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 2.

though educating a slave was a crime throughout the South, a number of ex-slaves recalled learning to read and write. In Suwannee County, Colonel Martin's children secretly taught Douglas Dorsey the rudiments of reading. When Mrs. Martin discovered the secret, she struck Douglas across the face, vowing to cut off his right ear.[58]

Margrett Nickerson of Leon County explained how her Uncle, George Bull, was beaten "til de blood run out of him," because he had learned to read and write.[59] Alex Thompson knew a slave named Lizzie who had learned to write, and often forged passes for friends.[60] Squires Jackson taught himself to read and write. One day his master caught him, but Jackson cleverly turned the paper upside down, announcing, "It says, 'Confederates done won the war'." The master laughed and walked away.[61] In a twist to the poor white syndrome, Lucius Douglas recalled, "some ob de poor whites taught der colored folk to read and write when de only had two or three slaves."[62]

However far the stream flows, a Yoruba proverb promised, it never forgets its source.[63] Some African customs were retained by the slaves long after ancestors had been snatched from the continent. Many respondents remembered "jumpin' de broom," an African marriage rite. Josephine Jones, born a slave in Baker County, explained the significance of the broom in African folklore: "Brooms keep haunts away. When mean folks dies, de old debbil sometimes don't want 'em down dere in de bad place, an' he make witches out of 'em and sends 'em back. One thing 'bout witches, dey gotta count everything 'fore dey can git 'crost it. You put a broom 'crost yer door at night, and ol' witch gotta count evr'y straw in dat broom 'fore she kin come in."[64] Douglas Dorsey detailed that in the evenings, "when the slaves left the field, they returned to their cabins [gathering] around a cabin to sing and moan songs seasoned with African melody."[65] Shack

58. Dorsey interview, ibid., 3-4.
59. Ibid.
60. Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 253.
61. "Interviews with Colored People Who Live in West Florida," Florida Negro Collection, 2.
62. Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 178.
63. Douglas interview, Florida Negro Collection, 4-5.
64. Joyner, *Down by the Riverside,* xiii.
65. Jules Frost, "Haunts," October 20, 1937, FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 1-2.

Thomas, born near Tallahassee in 1834, recalled his father, after the lights had been extinguished, telling him about life in Africa before captivity, how sailors captured the family by waving bright red handkerchiefs and attracting them to the boat.[66]

Festivals punctuated the agrarian lifestyles of Southerners, both the black and white. Slaves retained cherished memories of these festive traditions. Christmas, by all accounts, allowed for an extended period of rest and merriment. "Christmas time?" pondered Lucius Douglas, born in Madison County, "Yes, yes, de Old Man sure give somethin' extra den. He give de woman folk all new dresses made out of calico or somethin'. . . . You see, de Old Man had a factory and made clothes for all his colored people up in Monticello."[67]

Africa lived also in southern dance, language, and cuisine, passed from generation to generation, But if few ex-slaves in the 1930s had actually experienced the life of an Ibo or Yoruba hunter, virtually all of them vividly remembered their emancipation. Few events in American history so lend themselves to the mythology of folkstory as does the emancipation: hysterical blacks exulting in their new freedom in the Jubilo; the liberated, following the classical sequel of bondage, embark on an exodus putting distance between themselves and their oppressors; faithful ol' retainers refuse to leave beloved "massa." If the Florida slave narratives are to be believed– and they reinforce the most recent findings– the legends of the Jubilo, exodus, and faithful servants are more myth than reality. Leon Litwack summarized his findings of the impact of emancipation upon the slave community: "Uncertainty, skepticism, and fear marked the initial reaction of many slaves to the Yankee invaders."[68] The experiences in Florida, as amplified in the slave narratives, support Litwack's thesis.

Ex-slaves carried with them memories of that precise moment that freedom was conveyed. Sarah Ross recalled that her master at first refused to acknowledge the emancipation orders, and for several months she and her fellow slaves were confined and forbidden to mention freedom.[69] Mary Biddis remembered

66. Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 97.
67. Ibid., 336.
68. Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York, 1979), 119.
69. Ibid., 117-18; Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 168-69.

a Negro on a mule telling her owner about the new order: "Mr. Jamison, master, broke down and cried."[70] Douglas Dorsey was fourteen when the driver called the plantation's eighty-five slaves together and told them of their freedom.[71] Other slaves recalled that throughout the war, they had been told to await the sounding of a loud gun to signify freedom. A slave on one Alabama plantation mirrored the emotions of many freedmen. "We didn't hardly know what he means. . . . Folks dat ain't never been free don' rightly know de feel of bein free."[72]

For many, freedom meant mobility. Ex-slaves, eager to express their new-found freedom, thronged Florida roads and trails following the war. Many sought to reconstitute broken families; others searched for a new home, a job, economic security; still others were just curious to see a world that had been so long forbidden to them. Ambrose Douglas of Harnett County, North Carolina, recalled: "I was twenty-one when freedom finally came, and that time I didn't take no chances on 'em taking it back again. I lit out for Florida and wound up in Madison County."[73]Jacksonville, which was a base for Federal troops, became a magnet for hundreds of freedmen. "The town was full of colored soldiers all armed with muskets," reflected Claude Wilson, who had arrived from Dexter's plantation in Lake City. "Horns and drums could be heard beating and blowing every morning and evening. The colored soldiers appeared to rule the town."[74] Sarah Ross recalled all the ex-slaves on her plantation leaving.[75]

Earlier accounts of post-war Florida noted the fluid character of the freedmen. Professor William A. Dunning of Columbia University and his students wrote accounts of this period, generally regarded as unsympathetic to Afro-Americans. William Watson Davis, a Dunning student, wrote: "When they learned that they were free many thousands of the approximately 70,000 Florida negroes deserted their homes to flock into the

70. Ibid., 36.
71. Ibid.; 98.
72. Quoted in "Not So Freed Men," *New York Review of Books,* August 16, 1979, 9.
73. Rawick, *Florida Narratives,* 103.
74. Wilson interview, Florida Negro Collection, 2.
75. Interview with Sarah Ross by Alfred Farrell, FWP, Florida Negro Collection, 5.

Federal military camps and into the towns. . . . Summer-time had come, 'baptizing time,' water-melon time, berry time. . . . Responsibility lay lightly on their shoulders. They shed husbands, children, wives, and other dependents with an ease and rapidity which makes even a modern divorce court in comparison seem a conservative institution."[76] Davis also maintained, "The drunken negro in the little towns became insistently insolent and invited killing."[77]

Yet black reminiscences paint a different portrait of freedom in Florida. Richard Edwards, a black minister, preached to a gathering near the Lester plantation in Leon County, "You ain't, none o'you, gwinter feel rale free till you shakes de dus' ob de Ole Plantashun offen yore feet an' goes ter a new place whey, you kin live out o'sight o'de gret house. . . . Take your freedom, my brudders an' my sisters. . . . Go whey you please."[78]

The uncertainties of emancipation soon gave way to the certainties of the new, post-war order. Restrictions and reprisals followed. For some ex-slaves, the Union Army proved to be no savior. Reverend Squires Jackson escaped from his Madison, Florida, plantation during the war, eventually reaching Federal lines. Repulsed, however, by the treatment which he received he ran away again.[79] Alex Thompson of Pensacola recalled learning to read and write, "until they made a big fuss about it."[80] The Ku Klux Klan was singled out for special acerbity. Frank Berry accused the Klan of using force to scare Negroes away from the polls.[81]

The slave interviews offer insights into chapters of Florida history, such as the early cattle industry and farming. Stephen Harville, born 1840 in Alachua County on the northside of Payne's Prairie, remembered, "There was no Gainesville when I lived there. It was a farm." He maintained that on the central Florida frontier, farmers "lived a different way. There was not

76. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile ed., Gainesviile, 1964), 341-42.
77. Ibid., 601-02.
78. Quoted in Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 296.
79. Interview with Reverend Squires Jackson by Samuel Johnson, September 11, 1937, Florida Negro Collection, 2-3.
80. "Interviews with Colored People Who Live in West Florida," ibid., 2.
81. Interview with Frank Berry by Pearl Randolph, August 18, 1936, FWP, ibid., 3.

so many colored folk. . . . They raised some cotton and corn, peas and potatoes, but not so much as in the other places. They planted for home use, not to ship off. . . . There were not many orange trees then . . . yard trees, but not groves." Harville rode the open range, assisting his master in cow herding. "I used to be in the woods horseback two or three weeks at a time. . . . I kept his stock mostly. All over the country there was cattle. [We] had 500 or 600 in the woods. They called the cattle pineywoods cattle . . . shipped from Tampa."[82]

Historians interested in the slave experience in general, or antebellum Florida in particular, should read the *Florida Narratives.* The interviews suggest a number of compelling themes. First, a principal tenet emerging from the interviews is that the source of Afro-American culture sprang principally from within the slave community. The narratives offer a rich testimony to the emotional texture of slave life, reinforcing the importance of a slave community.[83] The *Florida Narratives,* with its pitfalls and biases, adds to the continuing dialogue as to the nature of slavery. Ex-slaves, in general, described plantation life as both benign and barbaric. The presence of black interviewers helped create an atmosphere conducive to frankness; witness the number of candid narratives detailing beatings and punishment. The *Florida Narratives* invite inquiry by historians who want to compare Florida to the rest of the South. In general, the ex-slaves paint a way of agrarian life familiar to the Deep South— large plantations, ample diet, the ominous presence of the driver and overseer, the reliance upon King Cotton. Yet there exists fascinating differences. Ex-slaves from Pensacola, St. Augustine, and New Smyrna provide glimpses of a deeply ingrained Creole society. The slave narratives will enrich and amend previously-held notions of Florida's peculiarities and particularities.

The decade of the 1930s profoundly altered individual and institutional relationships with the federal government. The American artist keenly felt these changes. The popular phrases

82. Interview with Stephen Harville by Jules Frost, July 8, 1937, Tampa Bay Area interviews, folder, FWP, ibid., 2-3.

83. See also John Blassingame, *The Slave Community* (New York, 1972); Al-Tony Gilmore, ed., *Revisiting Blassingame's the Slave Community: The Scholars Respond* (Westport, CT, 1978).

"Art for the Millions" and "People's Art" reflected these newfound relationships.[84] The Federal Writers' Project represented one wing of a phenomenon Lewis Mumford called the "cultural rediscovery of America."[85] Warren Susman has argued that "the most persistent theme to emerge from the bulk of the literature of the period . . . was 'the people'."[86] The slave narratives thus emerge from a milieu which also introduced the documentary, the photo essay, and *Life* magazine. Ex-slaves in Florida, previously regarded as marginal men and women, were seen as part of the fabric of American history, part of the spirit of James Agee and Walker Evans' *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.*[87]

84. Jane De Hart Mathews, "Arts and the People: The New Deal Quest for a Cultural Democracy," *Journal of American History* 62 (September 1975), 335.
85. Lewis Mumford, "Writers' Project," *New Republic* 92, October 20, 1937, 306-07.
86. Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History* (New York, 1984), 178.
87. James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (New York, 1941).

DEMOGRAPHY AND THE POLITICAL DESTINY OF FLORIDA DURING THE SECOND SPANISH PERIOD

by ABEL POITRINEAU

THE twenty-year period of British sovereignty of the Floridas came to an end September 3, 1783, when the treaty concluding the American Revolution was signed at Versailles, France. The Treaty of Paris, as it was known, gave the Spanish crown control of a large portion of North America. Spain retained sovereignty over the Louisiana Territory, and the Spanish flag once more flew over the Floridas as it had from 1565 to 1763. However, the restoration of Spanish rule in the Floridas, so important for the control of the Bahama Channel, was at best precarious. Spain's military weakness and the financial difficulties of the Viceroyalty of Mexico loosened the mother country's heretofore iron control. Castillian interests had begun their decline, and throughout the Western Hemisphere the seeds of the independence movement in Latin American history were beginning to ripen.

The second Spanish period in Florida history (1783-1819) can be examined in demographic terms. No longer does one have to be dependent only on the letters of kings and government officials. With the availability of historical statistics, the people can speak for themselves about where and how they lived and by what means they were able to sustain themselves. Population shifts can also be catalogued and explained. For example, although East Florida had only a few thousand people at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population was neither ethnically nor culturally homogeneous. Pressure was being exerted along the Florida frontier by American planters, breeders, and merchants coming from Alabama, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia in search of good land. They were disturbing the countryside and contributing to a Negro slave prob-

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lem.[1] It is the data of this confrontation between the Anglo-American and the Spanish colonial systems that this study will examine.

Under the terms of the 1783 treaty, Patrick Tonyn, the English governor, handed over East Florida to Don Vincente de Zéspedes on July 12, 1784.[2] The following year a census was compiled which listed 654 heads of households. Of this number, 378 revealed their intentions to use the option provided by the 1783 treaty; they would re-settle on English territory elsewhere. Some forty-nine heads of households were undecided as to whether they would remain or emigrate. The 654 families, if one takes into account the imbalance of the sexes which characterized most of the colonial societies at that time, probably totaled about 2,000 white people.[3] There were only a few black slaves to be added to the population count. The Minorcans, who lived in and around St. Augustine, formed the only relatively large and homogeneous bloc within this varied and widely-scattered population. Survivors of the odyssey of the Andrew Turnbull settlement at New Smyrna in 1768, they were a mixed lot. Many were from the Mediterranean island of Minorca, but there were also Corsicans, some Italians from Libourne and Naples, and a few Greeks.[4] The Minorcans worked as stone masons, bakers, rope makers, carpenters, roofers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and a few were shopkeepers. Some worked a few acres of land which they rented or owned outright in the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine. Others were fishermen, sailors, or owners of small vessels employed mainly in the coastal trade. Seventy Negro slaves were owned by Minorcans; four of these were rented to a third party. The Minorcans were thus engaged in various forms of manual labor common to the lower

1. Thomas P. Abernathy, "Florida and the Spanish Frontier, 1811-1819," *The Americanization of the Gulf Coast, 1803-1850,* Lucius F. Ellsworth, ed. (Pensacola, 1972), 88-120.
2. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Miami, 1963), 33.
3. Census returns, 1784-1814, reel 148, bundle 323A, East Florida Papers (hereafter cited as EFP), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, microfilm copies in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
4. Jane Quinn, *Minorcans in Florida: Their History and Heritage* (St. Augustine, 1963), 88-89; Kenneth H. Beeson, Jr., "Fromajadas and Indigo: The Minorcan Colony in Florida" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1960), 32.

middle classes and did not play an active social or economic role in the government of the colony. Their land holdings were modest; they worked only 1,058 acres, most of it rented. Only three members of this group appeared even moderately wealthy. One, a native of Corsica, was a skin trader and owned three slaves, two horses, and six acres of land. He also held a half-interest in a sloop. Another, a Frenchman who described himself as a carpenter and a farmer, worked 130 acres with seven slaves and owned some forty horses, which he used as breeding stock. A third, a Minorcan absentee landowner, had bequeathed his 500 acres, all with registered titles, to his widow. After his death, she managed the plantation with the help of six slaves and three horses.[5]

Besides this clearly defined and, it seems, culturally welded group, there were a handful of English Catholics (seventeen heads of families) and a few of mixed origin who were not yet Catholics but who had declared their intention to convert. There were also seventy-one heads of families who pledged their obedience to the king of Spain but would not convert to Roman Catholicism. None of the latter were driven from the colony or punished before an ecclesiastical court. Four Frenchmen remained in East Florida. One was Don Santiago del Aroque (in French, Jacques Delaroque), a doctor living in St. Augustine with a family of seven but without any horses or slaves.[6]

The census for 1783 and for 1784 shows that while the East Florida population was small, there was a wide diversity among the community. There were also some strange groupings into "unconventional" families. The Minorcan families tended to conform closely to the classic European model. East Florida at the beginning of Governor Zéspedes's administration was a veritable racial melting pot. Among the notables– those who had the privilege of using the title of Don or Doña because of their economic status– were natives of Scotland, England, Ireland, Switzerland, France, Turkey, and the United States (the Carolinas, Georgia, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia). The Minorcan population represented persons from Minorca and the Balearic Islands, Italy, Corsica, Greece, France, Ireland, and Spain. There

5. EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A.
6. Ibid.

were also Minorcans born in Florida. Listed on the census were also natives of Germany, Prussia, Saxony, Portugal, and Malta.[7]

Of the 632 "heads of fires" (heads of households) who are listed in the 1784 census, only 220, or fewer than thirty-five percent, lived outside St. Augustine. These included several important colonial personalities. One was Francisco Xavier Sánchez, a Roman Catholic, who declared that he "has always been and remains content under the law of his rightful king, the Spanish monarch, and intends to remain in the province in the future."[8] Sánchez was a bachelor although he had seven illegitimate children, probably mulattoes. He lived about two and one-half miles from St. Augustine along the road to San Juan. Sanchez owned a 1,000-acre farm which he had obtained during the English period, some forty horses, 800-900 head of cattle, and thirty-four slaves. He employed an English overseer.[9] French-born Joseph Terris, a former steward of Governor Tonyn, also declared his intention to remain under the protection of the Spanish flag. A widower, he had lived in Florida for seventeen years. With the assistance of his son and seven slaves, he worked a farm of 100 acres divided into two plots, one in the vicinity of St. Augustine and the other on the St. Johns River. He was also known as a horse breeder and as a skilled carpenter.[10]

There was also a Polish Jew, David Moses, whose main enterprise was a leather and skin store on Charlotte Street in St. Augustine. He was assisted by a white clerk and two slaves whom he rented from their owner. Moses, obviously fearing his treatment by the Spanish authorities, intended to migrate to British territory. Brian Langley, a native of North Carolina, apparently felt at home in Florida, and was in the employ of the Spanish. Langley spoke Creek and Seminole, which he had learned from his association with Alexander Young in trading ventures among the Indians. He had also worked as a translator for the English. By 1783, he owned eight horses, fifteen slaves, a house with an attached shop, and 350 acres of land along the St. Johns River, about twelve miles upstream from Picolata. Langley is referred to in Spanish documents as Don Brian Langley, and was therefore a "notable."[11]

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.

The average St. Augustine household for "decent persons" consisted of 2.6 people, including white domestics and white hired help. There was also a large number of women– widows, single women, or those deserted by a husband or whose spouses had been absent for a long period of time– who acted as heads of households. Among these women in St. Augustine, there were: one notable, six Minorcans, and twenty-one of various origins who made up the lower classes. There were also two women living in the interior some distance from St. Augustine. These constituted thirty households out of a total of 632. Sarah Delgell, a widow originally from Georgia, lived with her four sons on a seventy-acre farm along the banks of the St. Johns River. She owned one horse, twenty-two slaves, and a boat equipped with sails and six oars. She also declared that she planned to emigrate to British territory.[12]

The Spanish census also indicates a large number of Negro slaves, although an exact count is difficult. They were listed as property along with livestock, land, boats, and buildings. The notables, who were the most affluent class, were also the largest slave-owning group, possessing more than one-half the slaves in East Florida. Of the totals of 2,330 Negro slaves, 1,322 were owned by notables.[13]

Some of the notables who were living in St. Augustine also had plantations in the interior, which were worked by slaves under the supervision of an overseer. One notable employed 260 slaves and another, 216. Other notables were stewards of absentee proprietors, some of whom were British officials who had left Florida but still retained title to their property. The number of slaves– 2,330– listed in the census was larger than the approximately 2,000 white inhabitants in East Florida. The count of white inhabitants did not include soldiers or Spanish government agents. There were a few "free persons of color," but the number was insignificant.[14]

The census provided the Spanish authorities with a rough overview of the economic-demographic situation, enabling them to take over the reins of government from the British. However, there was another power in Florida at the time, Panton, Leslie

12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.

& Company, which owned 12,820 acres of land, consisting of nineteen plots located within sixteen miles of St. Augustine. The company also managed some 6,000 acres, the property of several British planters who had appointed the company as their representative before they departed from Florida. Panton, Leslie also held as owner or agent many houses and building lots in St. Augustine, 260 slaves, seventy-two horses, and 330 head of cattle. The company employed approximately thirty-six white men as Indian traders, some with wives and children.[15] The transfer of the company's operations to Pensacola during the second half of 1783 and the early months of 1784 weakened the East Florida colony, but it also removed a substantial foreign influence which could have caused some problems for the Spanish authorities in St. Augustine.[16]

The Spanish authorized several censuses beginning in 1784. None was entirely accurate, and the data for the inhabitants of the interior– particularly those along the northern frontier who were reluctant to have much contact with the Spanish officials– were not complete.[17] Nevertheless, these censuses provide a variety of information on the people of East Florida and their land, slaves, and other property holdings. The 1786 census provided the kind of data that would be very useful to the government tax collectors.

Households seemed to have been grouped around a head of household. An example was John Hudson, a twenty-eight year old Irishman, who described himself as both a Catholic and a planter. In his household were: Doña Maria Evans, a fifty-six year old Catholic born in America; Juan Treats [Tate], a sixteen-year old English apprentice and Catholic Sunday school pupil; Joseph Stefanopoly, a forty-year old Corsican plantation manager who was a Catholic with an absentee wife; and Duncan Noble, a twenty-nine year old Scotsman who was a stonemason by trade and a Catholic by religion. This group managed forty-four unbaptized Negro slaves, twenty-nine of whom were male.[18]

The 1793 census, although inadequate in several respects, reveals the stagnation of the population. It indicates that the quality

15. Ibid.
16. Arthur Preston Whitaker, ed., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas* (DeLand, 1931), xxx-xxxix.
17. Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida*, 134-35.
18. EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A.

of those moving into Florida was lower than those who were leaving under the individual option allowed in the 1783 treaty.

TABLE I
Population of East Florida in 1793

Whites: single (males, 454; females, 376); married (males, 188; females, 192); widowed (males, thirty-one; females, sixty-one). Free mulattoes: single (males, fifteen; females, two); married (males, three; females, three); widowed (males, two; females, one). Free Negroes: single (males, forty-two; females, twenty-one); married (males, twenty; females, thirteen); widowed (females, six). Mulatto slaves: single (males, thirty-three; females, twenty-two); married (males, one; females, two). Negro slaves: single (males, 909; females, 694). Soldiers: (whites and Negroes, 468). Priests: two. Total inhabitants: 3,561.[19]

The Spanish authorities did try to increase the homogeneity of the white population. By 1790, 366 heads of families of foreign extraction had been naturalized as subjects of the Catholic king, including fifty-one who were of French origin. This trend continued throughout the decade, and a second list of naturalized foreigners dated 1799 lists the names of 356 heads of households, twenty of whom had been born in France. The French sample shows that out of seventy-one persons who together with their families accepted Spanish nationality, fifty-six were residents in St. Augustine and all but one were Roman Catholics. The exception, Antonio Suarez, a Protestant, was married and had five children. He operated as a planter on Amelia Island where he owned fifteen slaves, three horses, and twenty head of cattle. The other ex-Frenchmen were mostly artisans or traders: five carpenters, four bakers, three painters, and tailors, rope makers, masons, coppersmiths, and coopers. There were also nine sailors, one of whom called himself a "sea-captain," a wigmaker, a doctor, and a surgeon. This group added to the ranks of the lower middle classes, along with the resident Minorcans. The majority of these seventy-one men were bachelors, although thirty-three were married, and they had a total of sixty-nine children. Apart from Jorge Arons, who

19. Ibid.

had settled on a plantation on the banks of the St. Marys River and employed fifty-three slaves and bred eighty-two horses and fourteen head of cattle, the members of this group owned only a few slaves. They reported a total of 210 blacks, fifty-three the property of Arons and sixty-six of a Mr. Bonnemain.[20]

A royal decree of April 5, 1786, pointed to the need to increase the population of East Florida. It provided for the free concession of land– four fanegas (6.36 acres) and three septimes (1.0714 miles) per each white man and one-half this area for each black man, whether slave or free. This decree did not tend to increase the size of the Spanish population, but it did encourage Anglo-Saxon immigration from the United States to East Florida.[21] In fact, as the second Spanish period was nearing its end the demographic statistics provided by the census of 1813 showed only a modest population increase since 1783 for the area in and around St. Augustine.[22]

Any series of demographic charts of the population of East Florida would not be enough to provide even a modestly detailed idea of its evolution. It is necessary to combine this series of successive static views with other extant sources.

The only Catholic parish formed in East Florida, that at St. Augustine, was first a dependency of Cuba and then, after 1795, of the new diocese of Louisiana. Even then a church building in the Spanish sense– one constructed of stone– was not ready until the end of 1797.[23] The church maintained parish registers listing baptisms, marriages, and burials, which provide additional information on the East Florida population. From the first notation in 1785, to September 1788, these parish registers were kept in Latin. Then, a decree of the episcopal visitor, Don Juan Mandéz de la Vega, led to the abandonment of the Latin system and the adoption of the Castillian, and entries thereafter were made in that language. The parish priest was the recorder since he also officiated at baptisms, marriages, and burials. The first was Father Thomas Hasset, a Salamanca-educated Irish priest. Father O'Reilly's signature appears on the rolls as Hassett's auxiliary. The curate, Miguel Crosby, succeeded in 1803,

20. Ibid.
21. Tanner, *Zéspedes in East Florida*, 59.
22. EFP, reel 148, bundle 323A.
23. Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, 1967), 104-09.

and he remained in office until February of 1821. He was replaced by Father Gomez, whose signature first appeared on the registers in 1816. On May 1, 1826, the initials of Father McCarthy appeared for the first time. He declared himself to be "cura parroco, vicario y juez ecc.o de este iglesia;" he remained in St. Augustine for only a short time. After McCarthy, the register becomes sporadic. Missionaries or passing priests administered the sacraments at irregular intervals. By 1823, a few entries had been signed by Don Jean McEnroe as "curate coadjutor." In 1827, several baptisms were celebrated by Don Miguel Portier who called himself "obispo de Oleno y vicario apostolico del estado de Alabama." The Frenchman, Edouard Magne (Eduardo Mayno) appeared for the first time after 1823, claiming the same titles as McCarthy. From 1830 to 1832, the entries were made either by Don Eduardo Mayno, Don Miguel Portier (now known as Bishop of Mobile, Alabama, and the two Floridas), Don José Bourdet (vicar general of East and West Florida), or Juan Federico as apostolic missionary.[24]

An incumbent curate, Don Francisco Boland, preceded Timoteo McCarthy as head of the parish, but it also appears that this clergyman never participated in writing the parish registers. At least that was what was stated in a note written by the Curate McCarthy which remarked that Boland had not registered any of the baptisms he had administered during 1824. McCarthy also wrote that he had left seven pages of the register blank so that Boland could make his entries upon his return to St. Augustine.[25]

After 1822, a growing lack of organization within the parish administration became evident as a result of political events in Florida. On July 10, 1821, Colonel Robert Butler, acting on the authority of the American government, officially took possession of the town of St. Augustine and the fort of San Marcos in the name of the United States of America. The church, built by the Spanish state, became the property of the American government.[26] Thus, if demographic research covers only the period 1784-1821 (the equivalent of one and one-half generations), there are obvious limitations to the conclusions that can be

24. Parish records of the diocese of St. Augustine, microfilm copies in the P. K. Yonge Library, reels 284I, 284J, 284K, and 284L.
25. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 119-36.
26. Ibid., 119-20.

drawn. Nevertheless, parish registers at St. Augustine do provide vital information.

In theory, in a Catholic community under Spanish law at the turn of the nineteenth century, one should be able to identify baptisms solely with births. In addition, baptisms of illegitimate children and foundlings seem to have been recorded throughout the period 1783-1821. However, in the second Spanish period in Florida, the records indicate numerous adult baptisms, particularly in the years up to 1800, which demonstrate that many Protestant residents of Anglo-Saxon origin were converting to Roman Catholicism. This was a decisive step since it suggests integration into the dominant society, with all of the advantages they conferred. For the demographic historian, however, these conversions introduced a new dimension into the use of basic data to interpret a demographic phenomenon. Baptismal records could no longer be related only to children.

With regard to the black population, the baptism registers are even less complete. The free colored people– whether Negroes or mulattoes resulting from the different types of possible miscegenation– were baptized because they lived in a Spanish Catholic environment. Slaves, whether pure Negro or not, were rarely given religious instruction because when a Negro became a Christian in the Spanish system, he or she acquired the same basic political rights in the eyes of the law and the Roman Catholic Church as those enjoyed by any other peon. As a consequence, a Roman Catholic slave would be worth less on the market than one still a "heathen." Only the most devout slaveowners were willing to assume this serious economic loss. Those slaves properly admitted to the Roman Catholic Church would have the rights to religious marriage and burial. They were members of the group of Roman Catholic colored people who, although slaves, could be defended by the Church in the case of cruel or unusual treatment by their masters.

In the matter of the white population, an examination of data taken from the parish registers, not including adult baptisms, reveals a two-stage, vertical movement. The first phase consisted of a certain modest growth from about 1895 to 1809. During this short period the mean number of infant baptisms per year increased from about fifty-five to more than sixty. In the previous period, 1800-1804, the average annual number was sixty-five. In the years 1812-1822, the number of births per

year declined to 48.8. This reduction was indicative of the decline in East Florida of the Spanish or Hispanicized portion of the population.[27]

The birth rate underwent seasonal changes. It was at a minimum in spring and a maximum in winter. Conceptions were at a peak in May, April, and July, becoming relatively rare in September, October, and November. This roughly reflects biological regularities linked to the alternation of seasons. There were few illegitimate white children born in the period 1783 to 1800; only seven in seventeen years are listed on the baptism registers. Then, from 1801 to 1821, there was a sharp increase to a total of seventy-seven, or 6.5 percent, of the total births in the colony.[28] This increase does not seem to be connected to reinforcements to the military garrison, whose number remained at almost a constant level, but rather to the replacement of the first two priests– Fathers Hasset and O'Reilly– by clergy with less moral authority. Perhaps there was also a crisis of moral values when the future of the colony became even more uncertain.

Baptisms of adult colored people or Negro slaves constituted a high percentage of the sample. Out of a total of 1,585 baptisms listed in the two registers devoted to the colorados between 1785 and 1822, 141, or about 8.8 percent, related to individuals nine years old and above.[29]

The continual miscegenation, the result of whites and blacks living in close proximity in St. Augustine and a certain lack of racial prejudice among the Hispanics, can be traced in the pages of the registers. This was the case with the group of free Negros and mulattoes. In the period 1786-1788, there were sixty-four colorados and sixteen Negro slaves baptized. In the period 1796-1798, the numbers were ninety-eight colorados and forty-four slaves. There were 111 baptized colorados in the period 1806-1808 and thirty-nine slave infants. The increase in the number of colored persons baptized in the course of three periods (1786-1788, 1796-1798, 1806-1808) resulted from the number of children of slaves baptized and from the number of children of free mulattoes and Negroes who were presented for the sacrament. The complex range of colorados examined from the point of view of parental status, ethnic origins of the parents,

27. Parish records, white baptisms, reel 284I.
28. Ibid.
29. Parish records, colored baptisms, reel 284J.

and the combination of these two parameters does not reveal any large increase in the number of people of mixed blood.[30]

TABLE II
Baptized Colorado Infants, 1786-1818

Number of baptized Colorado infants: 1786-1788 (sixty-four); 1796-1798 (ninety-eight); 1806-1808 (111); 1816-1818 (ninety-nine). Negroes: father and mother slaves, 1786-1788 (sixteen), 1796-1798 (forty-four), 1806-1808 (thirty-nine), 1816-1818 (forty-seven); father and mother free, 1786-1788 (nine), 1796-1798 (five), 1806-1808 (four), 1816-1818 (ten); father slave and mother free, 1796-1798 (two); father free and mother slave, 1806-1808 (two); father ? and mother slave, 1786-1788 (twenty), 1796-1798 (three), 1806-1808 (nine), 1816-1818 (three). Mulattos: father white and mother Negro slave, 1786-1788 (two), 1796-1798 (nine), 1806-1808 (seven), 1816-1818 (six); father white and mother Negro free, 1786-1788 (two), 1796-1798 (four), 1806-1808 (three), 1816-1818 (six); father white and mother mulatto slave, 1786-1788 (one), 1796-1798 (two), 1806-1808 (two); father white and mother mulatto free, 1786-1788 (two), 1796-1798 (six), 1806-1808 (three), 1816-1818 (five); father Negro slave and mother mulatto slave, 1786-1788 (one), 1796-1798 (one); father Negro slave and mother mulatto free, 1796-1798 (one), 1806-1808 (one); father Negro free and mother mulatto slave, 1786-1788 (one), 1796-1798 (one), 1806-1808 (one); father Negro free and mother mulatto free, 1796-1798 (one), 1806-1808 (one); father mulatto and mother mulatto slave, 1796-1798 (one); father mulatto free and mother mulatto free, 1806-1808 (one), 1816-1818 (four); father mulatto free and mother Negro, 1786-1788 (one), 1796-1798 (one), 1806-1808 (two), 1816-1818 (one); father Negro and mother mulatto, 1786-1788 (one), 1796-1798 (two); mulatto totals 1786-1788 (eleven), 1796-1798 (twenty-nine), 1806-1808 (twenty-one), 1816-1818 (twenty-two).[31]

An evaluation of the number of reported baptisms of Negros or coloreds and whites does not reveal an unusual increase in

30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.

the number of half-breeds. While baptisms of adult or adolescent colored people were relatively numerous between 1786 and 1808 (a total of 119 or 12.2 percent of the baptized colorados), they became fairly rare in later years. From 1809 through 1822, there were only twenty-two baptisms reported for the adult and adolescent coloreds. This was 4.5 percent of all colored baptisms.[32]

There were separate parish registers for white and colored burials. There was also a register noting the burials of young white children. This recorded those who died before taking their first communion. The register for white children included 405 names for the period from 1785 to 1821. Some of the deaths came at a time of severe epidemics, such as those in May 1793 and October 1809, but there were many other causes for the deaths of children at that time. The greatest number of casualties occurred in the months of August and September when the heat and humidity were highest. There were fewer deaths among young children in the period from January through April. Some 542 adult (those having received first communion) deaths were recorded from 1785 to 1822. Therefore, and with reference to the 2,146 baptisms administered during this same interval, some 947 deaths can be determined.[33]

If East Florida constituted a "closed" demographic area, this balance would have pointed to a rapid natural population growth. However, one must be wary, there are many "X" factors also present: the persistent poverty of the colony, its uncertain political future, the continuing emigration of adult males, and the fact that most of the economic development that did take place occurred away from St. Augustine. These and other factors, mainly the lack of demographic statistics, leave uncertain how many burials of young children went unregistered.

An examination of the number of white burials in St. Augustine indicates the largest number also in the summer months of September and October, with the fewest in March. There was no severe "mortality crisis" in the course of the thirty-seven years surveyed in this study. A major epidemic would have affected the adult Catholic population in and around St. Augustine and would have been revealed in the registers. This fact requires no explanations for those familiar with the climate of Florida and

32. Ibid.
33. Parish records, white deaths, reels 284K, 284L.

the conditions of life in the area during the colonial era. The burial records also confirm the variety of national and geographical antecedents of the colony's white Catholic community. They show that the majority of the inhabitants lacked strong roots. The records also demonstrate the relatively heavy death toll among the garrison soldiers. Of the seventy deaths registered for the three-year period, 1786-1789, twenty-eight were soldiers.[34]

The range of geographic origins of the deceased remained wide throughout the second Spanish period and indicate that the majority of the inhabitants lacked real roots. The fourteen burials in 1787 involved persons from Andalusia, Castille, Canada, France, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, and Navarre. Natives of Andalusia, the United States, France, Ireland, and Minorca were buried in 1797. In 1807, the twenty deceased were from the Canaries, Scotland, Spain, Italy, Ireland, the United States, Mexico, and Minorca. In 1817, the eighteen burials represented Spain, Cuba, Mexico, Malta, Minorca, and New Granada.[35]

Using burial records as an indication, the Hispanic population of East Florida after 1810 was smaller than it had been in previous years. Also, there seems to have been fewer immigrants from France, Germany, Ireland, and Italy.[36] Perhaps the fact that the political situation in Western Europe was more stable after the Napoleonic period is the reason for this decline in foreign settlers.

There is little information available on the black and half-breed populations of Florida. There is no accurate count in the registers of arrivals and departures; they reflect only that part of the Colorado population absorbed into the religious community as reported by slave-owners.

Between 1785 and 1821, there were 1,293 black infant baptisms and 222 black infant deaths. Detachments of Negro and mulatto soldiers from Havana or Saint Domingue were frequently stationed for long periods in St. Augustine, and the records of their marriages and deaths are listed in the parish registers. There were transfers of slaves from colony to colony at the whim of their masters, but there are no records of those

34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid. Based on a comparison of the national origin of persons buried in the years 1787, 1797, 1807, and 1817.

individuals. There are also no separate listings for the deaths of colorado children. Burials of Negro and mulatto children are reported in the general register of colored people, if at all. For instance, in the period 1790-1791, there are ten entries (four Negroes and six mulattoes) of children younger than one year out of a total of nineteen entries of burials for all ages.[37] This suggests that deaths of Catholic colorados are under-recorded. The overall impression, however, is one of a large increase in the size and vitality of the Negro and half-breed Catholic community as newly converted adults were added to the parish rolls.

The records of white marriages were entered with some care until 1823. Beginning in 1785, the number of marriages increased each year until about 1810; afterwards there was a continuing annual decline until the transfer of the Floridas to the United States and for two years thereafter.[38]

There are not many marriages between Negroes and "pardos." From 1786 to 1801, most of the few Negro slave marriages reported were slaves belonging to Don Francisco Xavier Sánchez, a Catholic and one of the largest slaveowners in St. Augustine. Of thirty-six slave marriages from 1786 to 1801, fifteen were Sánchez slaves, two were owned by the governor, one by the curate, and one by the commander of the artillery at the fort of San Marcos. From 1785 to 1819, a total of forty-eight colored couples appeared before the curate or his vicar to receive the sacrament of marriage. Not all were slaves or "pure" Negroes. There were twenty-nine slave couples, five free blacks, four free / slave couples, three pardo / Negro couples, six free pardo couples and one diver. Of twenty-nine slave couples, ten were between men and women belonging to different masters.[39]

Determining the fecundity levels for Negro and half-breed families is nearly impossible because of the sparsity of marriage records. It is not much easier to examine this matter for the white population. It is impossible to reconstitute a very large number of families because of the brief period, 1785-1822, for which precise and continuous observations are available.

It is difficult to secure data on the births and deaths of both black and white families because records are not complete.

37. Parish records, colored deaths, reel 284L.
38. Parish records, white marriages, reel 284K.
39. Parish records, colored marriages, reel 284K.

Most spouses were not born in Florida, and birth and baptism records are not accurate. Only thirteen families whose marriages occurred between 1785 and 1790 are listed with the names of the couples involved; relatively full information is available on only these families. Table III shows the names and dates of each marriage, number of children, the number (in parentheses) who died in infancy or who did not live beyond sixteen years, and the dissolution by death of the unions. Of the total of eighty-eight children born to the thirteen couples, the names of twenty-one disappear from the records before reaching adulthood.[40]

This is a very limited sample of only thirteen of the 460 white families united in marriage in St. Augustine between 1785 and 1822. The data reveals a high reproduction rate. Some of the marriages involved soldiers and servants of the crown who did not remain in St. Augustine permanently. Thus, the number of eligible marriageable women, always limited, continued to decline. Between 1785 and 1822, eighty-eight soldiers or government employees, all temporary residents, married. A comparison between the eighty-seven couples married between 1784 and 1788 and the census lists of 1811-1814 shows that only one household in five was still operating after twenty to twenty-five years. Since only about ten of the eighty-seven husbands in the period 1784-1788 were civilian functionaries or soldiers, the others must have departed from East Florida. The evidence suggests that some of those who had married in St. Augustine were refugees (displaced persons) who had no special attachment to Florida and who would emigrate if and when another place offered hope of a better economic status. This was the case for many French people uprooted by revolutionary troubles in Europe and St. Domingue. They either came from France directly or from the islands of the French West Indies. About a dozen of these French refugees married in St. Augustine, but by 1811 they had disappeared from the records.[41]

The key to changes occurring in Florida's population between 1819 and 1821 is the relatively peaceful, but nevertheless continuing invasion of American settlers crossing the frontier from the neighboring United States. Spanish citizens found themselves outnumbered by these new arrivals. After 1800 the

40. Parish records, white marriages, reel 284K.
41. Ibid.

TABLE III

Marriages	Dates	*Children*	*Broken Unions*
Lorenzo Capello and Catarina Duran	May 15, 1785	Ten, between 1786 and 1809	Death of Catarina Duran, September 28, 180_.
Juan Triay and Johanna Ximenes	August 21, 1786	Five, between 1786 and 1791	Death of Johanna Ximenes, October 30, 1814.
Geronimo Alvarez and Antonia Venz	April 2, 1788	Six, between 1789 and 1798	Death of Antonia Venz, March 8, 1798.
Andrés Lopez and Antonia Sanz	April 12, 1788	Ten, between 1789 and 1815	- - - -
Francisco Triay and Margarita Stosso	December 12, 1788	Nine, between 1791 and 1813	- - - -
Lorenzo Capo and Margarita Castello	January 12, 1789	Seven, between 1790 and 1813	- - - -
Antonio Loubias and Anna Heinmann	June 2, 1789	Eight, between 1789 and 1805	Death of Antonio Loubias, August 6, 1812.
José Peso de Burgo and Maria Mabridy	April 14, 1789	Five, between 1793 and 1800	Death of José Peso de Burgo, August 5, 1819.
Juan Pomeda and Martina Hernandez	June 22, 1789	Nine, between 1790 and 1815	Death of Juan Pomeda, June 20, 1819.

Manuel Romero and Maria Rodriguez	September 12, 1789	Three, between 17- - and 1809	Death of Manuel Romero, January 1, 1816.
D. Tadeo de Arriba and Maria Garcia Perpela	June 28, 1790	Seven, between 1791 and 1810	- - - -
Martin Martinez and Antonia Coruna	September 29, 1790	Nine, between 1789 and 1810	Death of Martin Martinez, December 12, 1817.
Bartholomeo Obrador and Antonia Murillo	November 18, 1790	None	- - - -

area around the St. Marys River and along the St. Johns River, particularly near the site of Cowford (present-day Jacksonville), began to be settled by Americans.[42] It became increasingly difficult for the Spanish to administer this region. In theory, these foreigners were supposed to swear allegiance to the king of Spain, promising "to submit themselves completely to the laws of the kingdom and to take up arms to defend the province against whatever enemy might choose to attack." The names of many of those taking the oath in the period 1798-1811 are recorded.[43] However, one wonders how many squatters failed to go through the formality of swearing any kind of allegiance.

In the period 1794-1811, 521 swore an oath of loyalty to Charles IV and Ferdinand VII. Not all, of course, were single men. In 1803, out of 162 male oath-takers, sixty-two were married and four were widowers. Don Juan Fraser, born in Inverness, Scotland, took the oath on September 1, 1809. He was married and had five children. In most instances, it is difficult to determine exact family situations. The number of children is rarely mentioned, and the ages of dependents are never listed. There are no references as to whether or not wives were brought along to Florida. One learns only by chance that Don Ulrich Mills, a native of Philadelphia, was married and had three sons and three daughters. His wife was living, but there is nothing to indicate whether she came with him to Florida or if she remained in Philadelphia. On the other hand, Juan Bonnemaison arrived from France. His oath, taken on December 10, 1803, lists a wife left behind in Martinique who was probably running his plantation since he also listed seventy-six slaves there. His oath suggests that he had come alone to Florida to prepare a place for his wife and other members of his household.[44]

These newcomers, by their religious and national origins, changed the character of the small, Spanish, Catholic East Florida colony considerably. The majority of the American settlers were Protestants. From 1794 to 1811, 402 new arrivals identified themselves as Protestants and 105 as Catholics. From 1797 to 1805, seventy-nine Frenchmen took the oath. Some were refugees from the French Antilles where the slave revolts were in progress; others migrated from the United States. Don

42. Abernathy, "Florida and the Spanish Frontier," 88-120.
43. Oaths of Allegiance, 1790-1821, reels 163, 164, Bundle 350U4, EFP.
44. Ibid.

Augustin Demilliere, a planter and an artist from Dijon, was married. His declaration of March 5, 1798, stated that he owned fifty Negro slaves of undetermined value. When Pierre Bichon from St. Domingue took the oath on June 21, 1798, he had in his possession 100 piastres and *una lancha chica.* Several Frenchmen, including René Coste from Marseilles, stated that they had money in the United States, in Charleston or Savannah. Nicolas Nazaret, a doctor from Versailles, arrived with six Negroes and indicated that he intended to import twenty more. His declaration of September 20, 1798, listed his holdings on St. Domingue. A few settlers, escaping from St. Dominique after the failure of General Leclerq's expedition, came to Florida seeking Spanish protection. One, Doña Maria Sinet, a widow born in Angers, placed the value of her property in La Guarcia, St. Domingue, at 4,800 piastres.[45]

These French arrivals were not of poor peasant origin; only eight appeared to be incapable of signing their declarations. Among them were farmers, merchants, tailors, sailors, caulkers, and carpenters. They were from all parts of France, although the majority were from the coastal regions. The colonial government accorded recognition to fifteen of these French immigrants by conferring on them the title of Don, a title usually given to an individual with sizable amounts of property. Don Juan Vermonet from Caen was married and a Catholic, and he brought goods valued at 70,000 piastres including a schooner, money in coin, furniture, and eight Negro slaves.[46]

While most of the immigrants were Americans, taking the oath also between 1797 and 1809 were sixty-five Irish, twenty-eight Scots, and thirty-four English. The majority of the English were Protestants, as were twenty-four of twenty-eight Scots, but 61.2 percent of the Irish newcomers were Catholics. Most of the English and Scotch were literate, but one in seven of the Irish immigrants was illiterate. Immigrants from the British Isles generally possessed some capital, although often only a small amount. Don George Hart, from Limerick, Ireland, who swore "respect and allegiance" on February 21, 1804, possessed only a few pesos. Guillermo Jox, who made his declaration on July 3, 1807, brought ten pigs with him to Florida. Others had larger

45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., reel 164.

amounts of capital. The Scotsman Don Alexandre Drysdale had holdings in the Bahamas which he claimed he wanted to sell so as to purchase slaves to bring to Florida. His holdings included 110 Negroes, land valued at 2,000 pesos, livestock worth 4,500 pesos, agricultural materials worth 750 pesos, furniture worth 2,500 pesos, cotton valued at 3,500 pesos, and buildings. Drysdale's assets totaled more than 50,000 pesos. Among the penniless immigrants were four Englishmen, one Scotsman, and nineteen Irishmen, including Alexander O'Hara who took the oath on March 18, 1811. The impecunious Irish included hatters, shoemakers, accountants, masons, and a schoolmaster.[47]

Other nationalities represented among the new arrivals were from Italy, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Portugal, Holland, Honduras, and the Mautian Islands. On June 1, 1799, Don Guillermo Delany, a widowed Danish trader, who declared himself to be a Catholic, stated in his oath of allegiance that he planned to bring into Florida various goods worth 70,000 piastres from Mexico, the United States, and the island of Santa Cruz. Don Miguel Pinto was born in Smyrna, Greece, of Portugese parents. His list of possessions included a brigantine worth 5,000 piastres, five Negroes, and other assets worth 9,000 piastres. Furthermore, he declared that he owned 130 Negro slaves yet in Africa whom he planned to import into Florida. Don Pinto was probably a slave trader.[48] Less well off were Heinrich Keeble, a roofer from Osnabruck, and Georg Charkell, a Saxon who was a mason by trade. They jointly declared on December 3, 1802, that they possessed three horses and six head of cattle.[49]

Four Minorcans, all reasonably well off, also settled in St. Augustine, joining the remnants of Andrew Turnbull's settlement who were living there. One, Don José Rota, had land, a shop stocked with merchandise in Charleston, and a schooner anchored in the port of Santa Amelia.[50] Among the few immigrants from the West Indies were a tailor from Barbados, three survivors from New Providence– two were mulattoes working as a mason and a carpenter, one Englishman from Honduras (probably from the Mosquito Coast where the woodcutters of

47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., reels 163, 164.
49. Ibid., reel 164.
50. Ibid., reel 163.

Campeche had been operating for a time), and two individuals from the Bahamas and New Scotland.[51]

The largest number of arrivals were Americans. Between February 3, 1794, and February 3, 1809, some 318 articles relating to oaths taken by Americans, often in groups, are noted in the Spanish registers. It is not known from the records whether any or all of the members of their families were present with them in Florida at the time. Of those Americans taking the oath, 47.9 percent (156 persons) declared themselves to be married and 4.3 percent to be widowers.[52]

The Americans migrated from North Carolina, South Carolina, Connecticut, Virginia, Georgia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Mississippi. The majority came from the southern states and identified themselves as craftsmen such as carpenters and tailors and as agricultural laborers. One though, James Hall, was a doctor from New Hampshire who made his declaration on April 14, 1798. Approximately one-third of the Americans stated that they owned a house and land in the United States. One, John Briggs of Boston, affirmed on October 17, 1799, that he had a house and 200 acres of arable land in Massachusetts. John Reid of Connecticut owned 500 acres of land, a house worth 1,000 pesos, six Negro slaves, three horses, forty head of cattle, and 100 pigs. Don Juan Houston of Georgia was the wealthiest newcomer. He owned a 15,000-acre plantation which he estimated to be worth 70,000 pesos. All the Americans could sign their names. The majority of those who were illiterate came from Virginia and the Carolinas.[53]

Many brought with them, or said they would later bring, their Negro slaves. Some apparently wished to import Negroes as a speculative capitalistic venture; others planned to use slaves as their own laborers. On the other hand, fifty-six of the Americans arrived with no tangible assets. A third group, who had some capital in the form of liquid assets, material goods, or cattle, needed slaves to develop their plantations. Don Juan Kelsail, a married Protestant from Georgia, declared assets worth 74,000 pesos in the form of land, cattle, agricultural materials,

51. Ibid., reels 163, 164.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.

money in coin, commercial items, and 225 slaves. His intention was to sell this property and purchase more slaves in Florida to help clear land and develop his agricultural interests.[54]

It is not surprising that these Americans soon controlled the commercial traffic between East Florida and the United States. These settlers became a power to be reckoned with in a colony as poverty-stricken as Spanish East Florida.[55] It is impossible to determine whether all these new Floridians actually brought all the goods they had claimed into the colony or whether all of these declared Americans even settled there. Undoubtedly, some remained only for a brief period and then moved on. After 1808, many Americans crossed into Florida, tempted by the area's virgin lands, without bothering to contact the Spanish colonial administrators in St. Augustine. While there is no record of who or how many squatters there were, they had an important effect on the events between 1808 and 1818 which finally led to the treaty in which Spain surrendered Florida to the United States.[56]

An English traveler in 1819 stated that St. Augustine was nothing but a garrison and that the only activity was in the king's service.[57] The chronic lack of money and the problem of supply helped to make the situation in East Florida nearly untenable. Pressure from the English immigrants and traders north of the St. Marys River and from the Indians affected Spanish Florida as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, and even stronger pressures were exerted by Americans after 1783.[58] The population in East Florida at the beginning of the second Spanish period was too small and too heterogeneous to provide the Spanish colonial administrators– despite realistic and prudent management– with the means to consolidate their position. Because of problems in Spain, Venezuela, and Mexico after 1793, there were so few non-American immigrants that

54. Ibid.
55. Pablo Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia entre Florida y Estados Unidos, 1783-1820* (Madrid, 1979), 123-25.
56. Wanjohi Waciuma, *Intervention in the Spanish Florida, 1801-1818: A Study of Jeffersonian Foreign Policy* (Boston, 1976), 124.
57. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* 112.
58. John J. TePaske, "French, Spanish, and English Indian Policy on the Gulf Coast, 1513-1763, A Comparison," *Spain and Her Rivals on the Gulf Coast,* Ernest F. Dibble and Earle W. Newton, eds. (Pensacola, 1971), 9-39; Abernathy, "Florida and the Spanish Frontier," 88-120.

the Hispano-Minorcan population could not be reinforced. Natural increase among this element was also low.

Economic blockage and stagnation doomed the colony, since Florida had been reoccupied in 1784 only as one part of a Spanish effort to drive the English from the Caribbean. Neither trade with the Indians, nor plantation development, nor maritime commerce were major economic forces in this all but forgotten possession. In addition, the continuing conflict after 1800 between the United States and Spain over the contested zone between the St. Marys River and Fernandina further weakened East Florida, which could neither defend herself nor expect any real support from the mother country. Such was the paradox of the demographic-economic situation of the Spanish colony.

Demographic stagnation was the main reason for the failure of the Spanish in East Florida after 1783. Unless an abundant transfusion of new blood arrived from the Hispanic countries, Florida was condemned to vegetate for four decades. American pressure unbalanced the fragile establishment and forced it into a downward spiral toward oblivion. It was only after Florida became a part of the United States that the slow but steady immigration of a new blood stock of Americans gave the promise of a new future.

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

THE following are recent manuscript acquisitions and accessions as reported by Florida universities, colleges, public libraries and archives, and other institutions. Anyone interested in using particular collections should correspond with the library or archives in question.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has acquired the following manuscript collections: Manning J. Dauer papers (University professor, State Constitution Revision Committee consultant); papers of Governor Bob Graham (1974-1984); papers of United States Senator George Smathers (1942-1968); papers of Ralph Turlington (Florida legislator, State Commissioner of Education, 1968-1986); Growers and Shippers League of Florida (charter, bylaws, bulletins, minutes, 1924-1981); and assorted papers, documents, and memorabilia from the Stephen Foster Memorial, White Springs (1936-1960). The library has acquired several rare books, including William Castell, *A Short Discovery of the Coast and Continent of America* (1745?); George Washington Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene* (1846); and Antonio de Ulloa, *Noticias Americanas* (1772). Newspaper microfilm accessions include the Mobile (Alabama) *Register* (1821-1870); Stuart (Florida) *News* (1938-1949); and the Venice (Florida) *Gondolier* (1946-1949). Other acquisitions include a *Map of the seat of war in Florida, 1836.*

Microfilm (662 reels) of the archives of the Counts of Revillagigedo, direct descendants of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, and their accumulated families, have been added to the Library's Spanish Borderlands Collection. Indices to the collection are included. The archives cover the period from the early thirteenth century into the twentieth century. A large segment includes the public and private papers of two viceroys of New Spain and their families. Military, politics, economics, Indian affairs, religious matters, shipping, agriculture, and genealogy are some of the topics covered in the correspondence, and account books. There are many official documents, proclamations,

vouchers, genealogical tables, church records, land transfers, estate inventories, wills, and other assorted items. Geographically the papers cover Europe, the Mediterranean, North America (California east to colonial Florida), Mexico, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Gulf of Mexico.

The Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, has acquired the papers of Professor J. Leitch Wright, Jr., including the transcripts and research notes for his books and articles on southern Indians; the Richard Alan Nelson collection; ledgers of the West Yellow Pine Company (1855-1891); the papers of United States Senator Duncan Fletcher (1921-1936); the Sampson Pope estate inventory (1838); letters from T. J. Eppes (1866) and Roberts & Bent of Jacksonville (1878); and a Union Bank receipt from Henry L. Rutgers (1852). Book accessions include William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* (1792), and the *Indexed Map of Florida* (1876). Map acquisitions include a *Map of the southern states showing strategic points and the RR connection, the principal rivers* (1862). The library has accessioned the microfilm reels of the papers of Panton, Leslie & Company, together with the printed guide. Its newspaper additions include the Perry (Florida) *Herald* (1925-1926), *Taylor County News* (1936), and *Weekly Tallahasseean* (1900-1905).

The State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, has added to its Florida collection the records of the Washington Primitive Baptist Church of Chipley (1847-1955), and typescripts and/or photocopies of material from the WPA Federal Writers' Project. Also added were the papers of Richard Joseph Adams (1855-1872); papers of William J. Bailey (1866-1873); Blake-Parish family papers (1820-1900); the Booker family papers (1867, 1893); Finlayson family papers (1841-1863); and the Francis P. Fleming papers (1823, 1891). Typescripts of the memoirs of Calvin L. Robinson (Civil War), Wiley Brooks family (Seminole War), and Thomas Benton Ellis (1842-1926) have been added.

The Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, added the following to its manuscript collection: papers of Council A. Bryan (1830-1907); Hanna family papers (1857-1875); Lewis family papers (1827-1972); the records of the Lewis State Bank of Tallahassee

(1856-1972); letters of Patrick Augustus McGriff (1826-1877); Palmer family papers (1856-1915); and the papers of George Washington Scott (1829-1903). From the State Department of Military Affairs, the State Archives has received Civil War vouchers (1862-1863); assorted correspondence (1870-1878); Military Bureau circulars (1923-1930); annual militia returns (1875-1912); muster rolls and supporting documents (1826-1918); order book (1895-1901); photographs (1900-1940); World War I induction records (1917-1918); Florida National Guard administrative files (1940s-1960s); Florida National Guard pay rolls (1921-1933); and Florida State Troops/Florida National Guard unit rosters (1870s-1917). Added to the photograph collection are pictures of the 1986 legislative session taken by Don Dughi; color transparencies and slides from the Florida Department of Commerce; a collection of photographs of the 1930s and 1940s of DeLand and Volusia County from the DeLand Chamber of Commerce; photographs from the Citrus, Pasco, Lake, Osceola, Desoto, and Lee counties historical societies, and copies of photographs from the Stetson University Library and the Orange City Library.

The St. Augustine Historical Society added to its holdings the St. Johns County court records (1821-1965); the papers of Rosalie James (1846-1905); papers of the King's Daughters, Rosalie James Circle records (1982-1985); records from the St. George Pharmacy (1927-1929); the Women's Exchange minutes (1965-1979); photocopies of the Segui-Dallam papers (1825-1914); correspondence to Howard E. C. Hawkins of the Florida East Coast Railway freight traffic department (1902-1959); a letter written from St. Augustine (1902); and photocopies of letters of J. Henry Blakeman (1863-1865). The library added to its rare book collection *Historia de Familias Cubanas* by Francisco Xavier de Santa Cruz y Mallen. Twenty-eight scrapbooks from the Arthur L. Marsh collection were received. Additions to the film library include film of the Ponce de Leon celebration (1928 or 1929), and St. Augustine personalities (c. 1930).

Pensacola Historical Society, Pensacola, has accessioned documents concerning naval education and training commands (Pensacola Naval Air Station); Pearl Harbor survivors in Pensacola; Pensacola and Escambia County boundary changes from

the 1820s to the 1930s; transcriptions of court cases; a typescript of investigations at the Muscogee Cemetery by Janet R. Lloyd; typescript of "Pensacola Beach, Florida, Chapter VII," by Dr. Klaus J. Meyer-Arendt; copies of William Chase's appointment as major in the Army Corps of Engineers; letters from Admiral Farragut concerning Civil War confinement; copies of letters concerning FAN-TAZ beverage (1909-1910); a copy of a letter concerning *Spann* v. *West* (a property settlement, 1910); letters to H. E. Franklin (c. 1924); and a copy of a letter concerning the court case, *Menze* v. *Menze* (1913). Also added were the minutes from the West Florida Free Will Baptist Association (1962, 1964, 1969, 1971, 1975). Map acquisitions include Escribano Park; Fort Barrancas Military Reservation (1914, 1942, 1930); Pensacola Bay (c. 1829); Naval Air station (1939); and a United States Geologic Survey map of Milton (1943). The Society also acquired several scrapbooks, including materials from Tri-State Abstract Company concerning real estate titles in Santa Rosa County; a Pensacola *News-Journal* project; and a scrapbook of the Swain family. The society added microfilm of the *Pensacola Journal* (1910 and 1926) to its newspaper holdings. A 1913 photo of the 300 block of West Government Street was added to the photograph collection.

The Historical Association of Southern Florida accessioned the papers of Edward J. Gerrits, Inc., General Contractors, containing memorabilia pertaining to the 1987 Papal visit to Miami; papers of Marion Manley (Dade County architect); papers and photographs of Sylva Martin (1910s-1970s); papers of R. Hardy Matheson; an abstract of title to the Union Chapel property (1926); and scrapbooks of the United Teachers of Dade County (1954-1974), and of the Zonta Club of Greater Miami. The library added publications relating to Christopher Columbus; documents pertaining to Florida and south Florida (1826-1903); publications dealing with Florida and Caribbean archaeology; and *Florida State Exhibit: New York World's Fair* (1940). Photographic acquisitions include eighteenth-century prints of Zachary Taylor, Fort Taylor (Key West), and a shipwreck; an 1890s lithograph of Columbus's landing; prints of advertisements for Hollywood and Coral Gables (1926); and 198 sets of 35mm negatives of Pope John Paul's visit to Miami, September 1987.

Eaton Florida History Room, Manatee County General Library, Bradenton, received newspaper clippings, photographs, and two documents relating to the local Constitution Bicentennial celebration. In addition, the library received permission to copy a typescript of a Civil War diary of James Henry Armstrong.

The Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, added the papers of Carrie Dunlap which contain letters from Florida Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen (1907-1929); the Bernhardt E. Muller collection (development of Opa-Locka); the Kauffman collection of legal documents, letters, receipts, and manifests pertaining to three generations of the family (1893); and a note by Glenn H. Curtiss from Hialeah, June 5, 1924. Rare book acquisitions include *The Treaty of Peace, Union, Friendship, and Mutual Defense, between the Crowns of Great Britain, France and Spain, concluded in Seville of the 9th of November, 1729* (1729); *A Message from the President of the United States* by Zachary Taylor (1850); *Revised descriptive circular of Deland, Florida* by A. H. Wright (1884); *Joshua Giddings: A Sketch,* by Walter Buell (1882); and *On the capure of fugitive slaves,* by James Russell Lowell (1845). A broadside, *The preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and France and Great Britain and Spain. January 20, 1783* was added. Map acquisitions include N. R. Child, *Jacksonville, Florida in 1847* (1847); T. Jefferys, *Plan of the town of Cayenne and Fort St. Michael drawn by the Chevalier de Mariechais* (1760); Thomas Kitchin, *Map of the U. S. in North America: with the British, French and Spanish dominions adjoining, according to the Treaty of 1783* (1783); and Edward Stanford, *Stanford's map of the U. S. (eastern part) and Cuba* (1898). Photograph additions include a collection of 182 scenes of railroad depots in Florida (1900-1970); a steamboat landing (c. 1870); and St. Augustine in 1886 by George Barker. The library also added postcards and promotional brochures to its collection.

Orlando Public Library, Orange County Library System, added several important items to its genealogy collection, including microfilm of federal census records (1840-1900); the 1890 Special Census Schedule of Union Army veterans and the widows of Union Army veterans; records of Florida volunteers during the Florida Indian Wars (1835-1858); Confederate

States Army casualties (1861-1865); records of Union Army volunteers from the state of Florida; records of military units in volunteer organizations; records of Confederate soldiers who served in organizations from the state of Florida; records of Confederate soldiers who served in organizations raised directly by the Confederate government; records of service of military units in Confederate organizations; records of volunteer soldiers who served in the Florida Infantry during the Spanish-American War; and an organization index to pension files of veterans who served between 1861-1900.

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board, Pensacola, acquired a collection of contracts for the purchase of fire fighting equipment (1915-1937) for the city of Pensacola; a map of metropolitan Pensacola (c. 1945-1953); and a ledger of the Sons of Temperance, Black River Division (1850-1858).

Haydon Burns Library, Jacksonville Public Libraries, has added several documents to its collection, including a plat of Maxville by S. P. Wiley (1910-1915), and miscellaneous Jacksonville and Duval County school records from Baldwin High School, Robert E. Lee Senior High School, John Gorrie Junior High School, and West Riverside Elementary School.

Black Archives, Florida A & M University, Tallahassee, received a collection of documents dealing with plantation slavery in Florida (inventory and appraisal lists of slaves who worked on plantations in North Florida).

BOOK REVIEWS

Marjory Stoneman Douglas: Voice of the River: An Autobiography with John Rothchild. By Marjory Stoneman Douglas. (Englewood, FL: Pineapple Press, Inc., 1987. 268 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, index. $17.95.)

I have counted Marjory Stoneman Douglas a friend since our first meeting, and I believe that was on the occasion when the newly-established Everglades National Park was dedicated in 1947, in a ceremony near the small community of Everglades City, west of Miami. It was a notable occasion with President Harry Truman doing the honors, in company with state and local officials, garden club leaders, and Audubon Society members and other ardent conservationists.

For years I had greatly admired her writings and her leadership in the struggle for the protection of Florida's natural heritage against the multiple forces of growth, development, and the hungering for profits. We shared many close friends– who knew both of us better than we knew each other– notably John Pennekamp of the *Miami Herald,* who served as a devoted leader of our State Park Service as this agency shed its domination by forestry interests and expanded its usefulness with greater popular support. With their common ties with the *Herald,* John helpfully counseled Mrs. Douglas in the development of her best writing, that culminated in her magnificent work, *The Everglades: River of Grass.*

But now that I have read Marjory's newest book, an autobiography which she sub-titles, *Voice of the River,* I feel for the first time that I have come to know this unique and remarkable woman well enough to call her by her first name as she approaches her ninety-eighth birthday.

When I first heard of the new book, I mistakenly assumed that its primary focus would be a reprise of Marjory's work on *Everglades: River of Grass.* I thought it would be the story of how that book was conceived and researched and its remarkable success. Other readers should not indulge any such assumption.

While *Everglades* is regarded by Marjory as her best writing, and she is deservedly proud of it, this new book has larger di-

mensions. It is the story of Marjory herself, her beginning years in the Mid-west, her father's early business failures and his desertion of his family, her New England upbringing with her mother and grandparents, her education at Wellesley, her brief failed marriage, her aloneness, her mother's recurring mental illnesses and death from cancer, her struggles toward success in a man's indifferent world, her travels, her reunion in Miami with her father who, after sixteen years of separation from his daughter, had become the successful founder and editor of the *Miami Herald,* her life and work as a reporter and feature writer for the *Herald* in the fledgling days of Miami, her goals for environmental reform, her isolation in her unpretentious home at Coconut Grove, her friends, her cats and her wild things, her notions about people, places, and manners of life, and her love affair with nature's bounty. And above all else her uncompromising courage and determination to use her many talents to help build a Florida of beauty and integrity. All these and much more come shining through her book.

To me the most poignant experience of her life was the confrontation with her father upon her first visit to Miami at his urgings. She was a young woman, twenty-seven years old, and he was a settled middle-aged businessman. They had not seen each other for many years, and neither had any idea what the other even looked like or how each might react. Marjory describes the meeting in a railroad car in the Miami depot: "He came down the aisle of the Pullman car and I stood up. He came towards me and suddenly he stopped. Unconsciously he took a little step back as if he were surprised. I knew exactly what was going through his mind. . . . As a small child, I'd worn glasses but now I didn't. The way I'd developed, the way my face had developed, was a great shock to my father. He expected a pretty girl, but now I wasn't. My face was always a bit crooked, and if anything, it had become crookeder. That's why he took a good look at me and then started to back up— a slight and almost imperceptible jerk backward. He couldn't help it. My mother was beautiful."

John Rothchild, Marjory's close friend and a distinguished author in his own right, has written the "Introduction: Notes from a fan." Do not pass this by. It is well-crafted and it sets the stage for what follows.

Since Marjory in recent years has lost much of her sight, she cannot write, and her story comes straight from hundreds of hours of tape recordings, transcribed in her home by dedicated secretaries. As Mr. Rothchild characterizes it, hers is a "voice of sanity, . . . a voice of independence, . . . a voice of reason, a hopeful voice for those who fear growing old."

I think some readers may feel that this book is flawed by some unacceptable rationalizations such as Marjory's unconventional views of marriage, love, family life, and religion. Some of this may be rooted in her early experiences. What I do find to be inexplicable is her failure to learn to drive an automobile if for no other reason than the greater independence this would have given her.

Floridians may have a tinge of regret from the author's first line in her book. On the first page, there is a four-word dedication: "To Massachusetts, with love." While Florida was, and still is, Marjory's action base, she has remained at her life's core center a Yankee, with a southern exposure.

She loves Florida's resources and institutions, and she has shown this in countless ways. She will fight for them with all the zeal that Scarlett O'Hara displayed in saving Tara. But Massachusetts, where her mother is buried and where Marjory spent most of her childhood and growing-up years, she regards as her first love. It was Wellesley that helped her cultivate a love of words and ideas and poetry. It was there that she came to realize the vision, and sense of justice, and of right and wrong, that have done the most to fine tune her talents and to provide the Wagnerian symphony of a turbulent and productive life.

Tallahassee, Florida LEROY COLLINS

Bombast and Broadsides: The Lives of George Johnstone. By Robin F. A. Fabel. (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1987. x, 249 pp. Preface, illustrations, genealogy, notes, bibliography, index. $20.50.)

Seldom has an author been able to write a biography of an active and "enigmatical character" such as Governor George Johnstone which has the virtues of sound scholarship and brevity. Robin F. A. Fabel has accomplished such a feat with *Bombast and Broadsides.* While best known to readers of the *Florida Histor-*

ical Quarterly as governor of British West Florida, Johnstone had four other careers, serving at one or more times as a naval officer, diplomat, member of Parliament, and a proprietor of the East India Company. Fabel has set out "to assess the significance of his [Johnstone's] splintered career . . . [and] in part to decipher the enigma" of his personality (p. 181).

Fabel has brought together an impressive array of materials from depositories in both the United States and England, although the omission of pertinent materials from the William L. Clements Library is curious. The work is, however, not only meticulously researched, it is superbly written. The writing is fluid and, at times, enthralling. Fabel's chapter on Johnstone's role in the well-known "victory" on the Praya Bay at Santiago Island is an engrossing account of skill and mismanagement, courage and pettiness.

Johnstone began his career as a young sailor and performed competently enough to become an officer in the Royal Navy. Thanks to his success in this career, and to the influence of his friends on his fellow Scotsmen, the Earl of Bute, Johnstone was appointed governor of the British colony of West Florida. While Fabel's account does not add a great deal of new information to the Florida story, it does bring together scattered material with a clear focus on the governor. Fabel presents an interesting, although not altogether convincing, interpretation of the reasons for Johnstone's recall as governor of the colony a little over two years after his arrival in Pensacola. The Florida interlude, however, Fabel argues, significantly influenced the remainder of Johnstone's life in that it helped to develop "a set of political attitudes. . . . The essence of his posture was distrust of unfettered military power" (p. 36). Johnstone would continue to fight the same anti-military battles the remainder of his life. And yet, as Fabel convincingly demonstrates, at the end of his life Johnstone's "most positive achievements, though far short of his hopes, were as governor of West Florida" (p. 183). Readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will be grateful for the insights which Fabel provides into this period of Johnstone's life and its impact on the remainder of his career.

While Johnstone would continue to be styled "Governor" for the rest of his life, his career beyond West Florida is of great interest. For the first time Fabel has described Johnstone's work on the famous Carlisle Peace Commission (where he was charged with attempting to bribe Americans) which ended in

failure, and which resulted in Johnstone's conversion on the American issue "from a dove to a hawk" (p. 119). He has also delved deeply into the major roles that Johnstone and his "Johnstone Group" played in the inner workings of the East India Company, a story at times fascinating, at times tedious.

A man who at one time or another was alternately a friend or foe of nearly everyone politically important in Great Britian in the second half of the eighteenth century, Johnstone's "fame rested . . . above all upon his forcefulness in debate" (preface). But it was an oratorical skill "better at destruction than creation" (p. 80); "obstructionism was Johnstone's forte" (p. 74). Perhaps as sad a commentary as can be made of any politician whose reputation rests on oratory is Fabel's conclusion that during his last years as a member of Parliament, although he spoke frequently, Johnstone was severely damaged by "his lack of anything to say" (p. 170).

Bombast and Broadsides is good narrative history. It is, however, much more. Fabel has not been hesitant to make judgments concerning Johnstone and his contemporaries. The analysis is thorough, incisive, and almost invariably convincing. While one may not always agree with Fabel's conclusions, they are judiciously made and provide a complete work of history.

The only quibbles with the book are with the publisher and not the author. In a book with 185 pages of text, there are thirty-three pages of notes which contain significant additional information. In an era of computerized typesetting there is little reason for the footnotes to become endnotes. In a work as thoroughly researched and annotated as *Bombast and Broadsides*, it is frustrating to have continually to flip back to the notes.

History of the quality which Fabel has produced is only infrequently published. As far as one is able to define the word "definitive" in history, *Bombast and Broadsides* will undoubtedly remain the definitive work on Johnstone for years to come. It is puzzling that such a book should take so long to find a publisher, and the University of Alabama Press is to be congratulated for putting this work into print for a wider audience. An interesting (and at times gripping) story about a fascinating character in an eventful era, this carefully crafted work is a significant contribution to the historiography of Florida and the British Empire.

Hong Kong Baptist College J. BARTON STARR

Yo Solo: Bernardo de Gálvez y la toma de Panzacola en 1781; una contribución española a la independencia de los Estados Unidos. By Carmen de Reparaz. (Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal S. A., 1986. 272 pp. Acknowledgments, biographical sketch, maps and illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index of names. $25.00.)

During our War of Independence, Gálvez, as governor of Spanish Louisiana, provided support for American activities in the Mississippi basin, mounted successful expeditions against British outposts up-river, and captured the port of Mobile from the British. Subsequently, Gálvez led a major expedition against heavily-fortified Pensacola, considered the key to the Gulf of Mexico. The commander of the Spanish squadron refused to take his ships through the narrow inlet to the bay of Pensacola fearing that his ships-of-the-line would go aground and be targets for the British artillery. Gálvez put his naval colleagues to shame by sailing alone through the inlet, under British fire, in his light draft brig the Galveztown– hence the motto *Yo Solo.* His subsequent military operations defeated the British, an event hailed by George Washington as a significant contribution to the War. Shortly thereafter came the final British surrender at Yorktown.

Now we have a new contribution in Spanish by Carmen Reparaz: *Yo solo - Bernardo de Gálvez y la Toma de Panzacola en 1781,* recently published in Barcelona with sponsorship of the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericano and the United States-Spanish Joint Committee on Culture. Well organized and illustrated, the book is based on source material, some of it unpublished, from Spanish and United States archives. It gives a revealing picture of the organizational strength of Carlos III's Spain and the resurgence of its military and naval strength due to the "Bourbon Reforms." Glimpses of Britain's Indian allies are also interesting, in light of Gálvez' previous Indian experiences in northern Mexico. The naval officers who hesitated to risk their deeper draft ships come off as the heavies, but one feels some sympathy for their concerns, recalling that inter-service rivalries and the difficulties of conducting a unified operation have always existed.

Still Gálvez, for bravery, leadership, and not least for success has earned his place in history. The exchanges between Gálvez and General John Campbell, the British commander, elevated

in tone, led to agreement that fighting would be restricted to the forts outside of Pensacola to protect civilian lives and property. (The age of chivalry was still alive in 1781!). When the British surrendered the Spanish found Pensacola unscathed, and they were impressed with its cleanliness, its ten-fold growth, and the improvements made during the British occupation. (I seem to recall that Francisco de Miranda, who served with Gálvez, was able to buy current works by British and French philosophers, which were banned in Spain at that time).

While Reparaz does not succeed in analyzing or interpreting, one gains insights through the abundant source material that she quotes. Gálvez comes through as a crisp personality with intelligence and "leadership" qualities. The various portraits show him even when young to be rather portly, almost roly-poly, and not with the lean movie-hero look given him by the 1976 Juan de Avalos equestrian statue. The many illustrations show what wonderful sketchers were produced in the pre-photography age. Once again, British officers prove to be tops at this.

Among the less familiar quotes are letters from Captain Francisco de Saavedra, sent by Carlos III as a liaison with the French Navy from the Pensacola campaign. Saavedra later raised funds from Havana merchants for the French fleet under de Grasse to proceed to the Chesapeake where it played an important part in bringing about the final British surrender at Yorktown. The Saavedra papers, mostly unpublished, are from the Granada Theology Faculty. What great material for someone's doctoral dissertation!

Yo Solo will be welcomed by anyone interested in Gálvez and Pensacola, in eighteenth-century military and diplomatic history, and in Hispanic contributions to American independence. It should be translated into English.

Meridian House International JOSEPH JOHN JOVA
Washington, DC

Florida's Vanishing Architecture. By Beth Dunlop. (Englewood, FL: Pineapple Press, 1987. 96 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, update, index. $10.95.)

The path of progress in Florida has been overwhelming and often ruthless. Our encounter with too much, too soon, has re-

sulted in conflicts and tensions in our cities, identity crises in our social fabric, and the accelerated demise of many of the great resources of our natural and built environments.

Has success spoiled our greatest assets in the state of Florida? This is one of the questions explored by Beth Dunlop in her book *Florida's Vanishing Architecture.* Her answer: a resounding YES. The book is a lament for the architectural treasures we have lost and for those that remain– threatened, neglected, forgotten– awaiting the next onslaught of development. Her style is powerful and direct, her titles alliterative and flashy, as if right out of a newspaper. And that is exactly what the publication is. Ms. Dunlop is the architectural critic for the *Miami Herald,* and this is a series of newspaper articles published during July and August 1986.

Beth Dunlop is a brilliant and sometimes controversial critic of Miami's contemporary architecture. In addition, she is an avid supporter of historic preservation in Florida, and recipient of an Outstanding Achievement Award from the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation in 1987. Her well-researched articles and biting commentary have been influential in shaping public opinion and perception on numerous historic preservation issues in south Florida. Even when the ultimate resolution of these issues has not been favorable (the recent installation of a glass roof over the courtyard of Vizcaya), at least she has brought them from esoteric obscurity to the public spotlight.

The articles have wide appeal, both in terms of the topics they cover and the statewide geographic distribution of the examples cited. Her subject matter is poignant and diverse. She writes about fishing villages like Tarpon Springs and Cedar Key, where the simple charm of their sleepy character has attracted thousands. The tragic result has been the downfall of their authentic character and ultimate replacement by nostalgic re-creations. She praises our early roadside architecture and tourist traps. These were the fantasies and gimmicks that pulled the visitors off the highway with their loud messages and sense of humor. "In its place we are getting buildings that are too tall, too fat, too boring and much too uptight." She laments the fall from grace of "The Grand Old Hotels" and "Homes of the Famous," as structural and financial problems and changing lifestyles force these landmarks to often tragic ends: "We can't afford to lose them . . . and we can't afford to keep them."

The book is beautifully illustrated by Brian Smith, *Miami Herald* photographer. There is a photojournalistic quality that captures the mood of the places and the people, not just the architecture. The design is handsome in a coffee table way, with large photographs and lots of white space. The layout is hard to follow, however, as it jumps from one to two columns, full pages, half pages, and blank pages without any pattern or reason.

To those familiar with Beth Dunlop's work, *Florida's Vanishing Architecture* is a reaffirmation of the excellence of her writing skills. To all others this book should be a discovery of one of the greatest advocates for the preservation of our significant historical resources. But most importantly, it is a serious reminder to everyone of "The Price of Progress."

Miami, Florida IVAN A. RODRIGUEZ

Reconstructing Historic Subsistence with an Example from Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida. By Elizabeth J. Reitz and C. Margaret Scarry. (Pleasant Hill, CA: Society for Historical Archaeology, 1985. xvi, 150 pp. List of figures, tables, foreword, preface, acknowledgments, appendices, glossary, references, index. $10.00.)

This slim volume offers food for thought to a wide range of scholars. It is packed with valuable information, but, as the authors freely admit, it only begins to scratch the surface of the subsistence adaptations of sixteenth-century colonial Floridians. In this sense, *Reconstructing Historic Subsistence* should be viewed as a first result in what is hoped will continue to be a cooperative venture between archaeologists, zooarchaeologists, paleoethnobotanists, and historians conducting research on La Florida.

In this monograph, Reitz, a zooarchaeologist, and Scarry, a paleoethnobotanist, have charted a purposeful course: to demonstrate the value of subsistence studies in historical archaeology. Combining biological, archaeological, and documentary evidence from sixteenth-century Florida and South Carolina, the authors attempt to provide a better understanding of the adjustments Spanish colonists made to the New World.

Archaeological data from two hoary sites– St. Augustine, Florida (the oldest continuously occupied European settlement in North America) and the failed settlement of Santa Elena on the South Carolina coast– provide the meat for the analysis. Broken animal bones and bits of carbonized (and occasionally, uncarbonized) plant materials carefully retrieved from nearly ten years of excavations were studied to flesh out colonial records preserved in archives in Spain, Cuba, and Mexico.

The monograph is well organized and clearly written. In the first chapter, the authors establish a theoretical baseline from which the remaining chapters logically follow. Information from dozens of dry articles has been distilled in the next chapter to provide a concise and understandable review of the methods employed in the study of biological remains.

The third chapter notes that the Spanish colonists of La Florida were part of three distinct cultural milieus. Most of the settlers came to the New World directly from Spain; smaller numbers were recruited in the Caribbean colonies of Cuba and Hispaniola. Traditional crops and domesticated livestock from both areas contributed to their foodways. But the colonists also found themselves in a world already occupied by vital Native American Indian cultures with their own distinctive crop complexes and subsistence strategies. The subsistence patterns of all three traditions played a role in the blend that ultimately emerged in La Florida.

The next two chapters include straightforward discussions of the sites and their environmental contexts, and lengthy descriptions of the floral and faunal remains from St. Augustine and Santa Elena. Summary tables and illustrations are appropriately used to present significant trends. The casual reader is spared table after table of raw data (which are, however, included as appendices).

In the final chapter, Reitz and Scarry attempt to synthesize these disparate classes of historical, archaeological, and biological information into a unified picture of colonial adaptation to La Florida. In doing so they paint a canvas that is probably similar to many colonial ventures in other parts of the world. Originally envisioned by Spanish bureaucrats as being self-sufficient strongholds in a strange new land, the St. Augustine and Santa Elena colonies never achieved the desired goal of those bankrolling the projects. Residents soon discovered that

many of their familiar crops and livestock were unsuited to the sandy soils and estuaries of the southern Atlantic coast. Adaptation and acculturation resulted, in which indigenous foods (in this case, corn, beans, and squash) provided the mainstay of the colonists' existence, and imported foods became luxuries.

In sum, Reitz and Scarry clearly achieved their goal in this modest volume. *Reconstructing Historic Subsistence* is must reading for anyone interested in the earlier colonial period of Florida and the New World.

Cincinnati Museum of Natural History C. WESLEY COWAN

Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800. Volume I: Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads. By Kathleen Deagan. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987. xx, 222 pp. Acknowledgments, author's notes, list of figures, list of tables and color plates, epilogue, glossary of terms, references cited, index. $35.00; $19.95 paper.)

It will be the year 2109 before Florida will have belonged to the United States of America as long as it was a part of the Spanish Empire. Although this remarkable fact is recognized by historians and anthropologists, our state (and country's) hispanic heritage is only poorly known to most of the public and is little emphasized by educators and textbook writers.

The tide is turning, however. With the Columbian Quincentenary approaching there is growing public interest in Spain's New World colonies, interest that is helping to fuel support for a variety of research projects in Florida and elsewhere. Increasingly archaeologists and historians are combining efforts to examine and explain our Spanish colonial past. One of the leaders in these endeavors is Kathleen Deagan, a scholar who has been involved with the archaeology of Spanish sites in La Florida and the Caribbean since her research in St. Augustine in the early 1970s. Her new volume, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* is based on detailed knowledge gleaned from more than a decade and a half of pioneering interdisciplinary studies.

Artifacts is much more than a guide to the identification of archaeologically-derived materials. It does provide the necessary information for identifying artifacts, but it goes a great deal

further, presenting the historical and cultural background information so necessary for adequate interdisciplinary interpretation. Just as historians must carefully place documentary data in proper context, so must archaeologists interpret artifacts within contexts. For the historian, the between-the-lines nuance, the purpose of the writer, and the world geopolitical structure at the time the document was written, all need to be taken into account properly to use a historical source. Similarly, artifacts must be interpreted within their cultural contexts. Pieces of pottery, broken bottles, and glass beads all are clues whose importance increases a hundred-fold when their economic, social, and ideological meanings are studied along with the specific context within which the objects were excavated.

The results are most informative when archaeologists and historians combine efforts and focus their methods on the same problem. For instance, rosary beads found in the hands of an Apalachee Indian interred in the floor of a church at a documented seventeenth-century Spanish mission cemetery in northwest Florida tell a very different story than the same beads found in a sacristy in a Seville cathedral. Similarly, sherds of Ch'ing dynasty porcelain found at a sixteenth-century site in China take on added significance when recovered from a contemporary Spanish village on the north coast of Haiti documented as a port served by smugglers. Historical and cultural contexts are everything.

In the first three chapters of *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* Deagen provides some of this background information for the artifacts– ceramic dishware and tiles, glassware, and beads– described in later chapters. And more contextural data is provided with the specific artifact descriptions in chapters four through seven. In organizing her book in this fashion, Deagan has created a key reference manual for all future archaeologists and historians engaged in interdisciplinary Spanish colonial studies.

For the specialist, *Artifacts* is invaluable as a basic reference book. But anyone interested in our past will enjoy reading the volume. The artifacts that Deagan describes and studies are a manifestation of the cultures and people of the Spanish colonies. What better way to bring those people's story to an interested public than through interdisciplinary research which focuses on the material items they left behind?

Florida State Museum JERALD T. MILANICH

The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: 1. Search and Discovery. By David Hurst Thomas. (New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1987. 111 pp. Abstract, introduction, acknowledgments, tables and illustrations, appendices, literature cited. $10.00.)

David Hurst Thomas has compiled an excellent background to Spanish mission archaeology and presents a detailed look at modern archaeological research techniques in this first volume in the new series on the archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale.

In his introductory chapter, Thomas explains that the mission project was actually the second choice for research on Saint Catherines Island. The first objective was to research the archaic period (ca. 2000 B.C.) on the island as a direct parallel to ongoing work by Thomas in Monitor Valley, Nevada. However, when it became apparent that the archaeological potential of the archaic sites was far less than that of the mission period remains, Thomas yielded to his ingrained California mission romanticism and decided to search for the Santa Catalina mission.

This volume begins with an extended discussion of the Guale and the known documentation on the Santa Catalina mission, focusing particularly on the archaeological background to the area. Chapter two presents historical data on the appearance of missions of La Florida, while chapter three develops archaeological data on the structural remains of missions that have been excavated in Georgia and Florida. This latter chapter thoroughly details current knowledge of the architectual remains of all excavated southeastern Spanish missions, and is an invaluable compilation of data which will be useful to anyone interested in mission research.

Chapters four and five detail the methodology of locating the Santa Catalina mission on the ground. First, historical clues are detailed, then the various archaeological methods are discussed. Random transect, test pit, power auger, proton magnetometer, soil resistivity, and ground penetrating radar techniques were applied and their results compared. Each technique yielded significant data which enabled the eventual excavation to be carried out in a more efficient manner. Together, these chapters provide an excellent overview of current archaeological prospecting methods. The final chapter discusses the excavation

strategy employed at the site, and provides a tantalizing glimpse of the results of this impressive assault on the archaeological remains. After establishing the site grid, buildings located by remote sensing techniques were exposed for later excavation. The church, friary, kitchen, and a well were exposed, and later excavated. The reports of these excavations will be detailed in later volumes in the series.

Within the church, over 400 Guale Indian burials were excavated. With appropriate regard to the treatment of human remains, these burials will be studied and reburied within the confines of the original cemetery.

Thomas has served up a tasty appetizer in this first volume in the series. We eagerly await the remaining courses.

Atlanta, Georgia MARVIN T. SMITH

Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology. By Cyrus Thomas, introduction by Bruce C. Smith. (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1894; revised ed., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985. 742 pp. Introduction to the 1985 edition, references, illustrations, tables, index. $25.00.)

The great earthen mounds that dotted much of the landscape of eastern North America at the time of European contact were mysterious not only to the sixteenth-century explorers, but also to scholars and scientists through the subsequent three centuries. Sporadic digging and exploration had taken place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, among them the notable and relatively modern excavations of Thomas Jefferson in 1784 (see Koch and Redens, eds., *The life and selected writings of Thomas Jefferson,* New York: Modern Library, 1944, and Ephriam Squier and E. H. Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley,* Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. 1, Washington 1848). Most of the speculation about the mounds, however, was decidedly romantic and based on the notion that these magnificent structures were the remnants of "lost" civilizations, long since disappeared from the North American continent. It was difficult for many Europeans to reconcile the engineering accomplishments represented by the mounds with the severely decimated and culturally disrupted American Indian groups

they observed during the centuries after contact. Numerous theories were offered throughout the nineteenth century to explain the origins of the mounds, including their construction by survivors of Atlantis, Zapotec and Mayan Indians, escaped Mexican slaves from Hernando de Soto's entourage, and the Lost Tribes of Israel (for more detail and additional comment see Willey and Sabloff, *A History of American Archaeology*, Freemand and Co., San Francisco, 1974).

It was the publication of Cyrus Thomas's *Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology* in 1894 that laid such speculation to rest. The publication and the research upon which it was based were the result of the formation of the Division of Mound Exploration within the Bureau of Ethnology in 1882, an agency of the federal government that had, until that time, been devoted almost exclusively to the ethnography of extant Indian groups. Thomas, as the head of the Division of Mound Exploration, developed an explicitly problem-oriented research design that attempted primarily to learn the origin of the mounds and the identity of their builders. The work also intended to identify and describe the range of mound types and their construction details, develop a classification system for the mounds, and define archaeological districts in eastern North America that reflected the geographical distribution of the various mound types.

That Thomas succeeded in these endeavors is made evident in the 742-page report which he produced in 1894, and which was reprinted by the Smithsonian Institution Press in 1985. Using classic techniques of archaeological analysis and typology, ethnohistoric accounts from the early contact period, comparative enthography with living and archaeological Amerindian cultures in North and Central America, he demonstrated that the mounds were, in fact, constructed by the ancestors of the Indian groups of the eastern United States.

Not only is the book an important source for the history of North American Indians, but it is also widely regarded as the first example of systematic, modern archaeology in North America. The 1985 reprinting is prefaced with a delightful introduction by Bruce Smith, who makes good use of the Smithsonian archives both to place the work in historical context and to provide fascinating glimpses of the people and events involved in the research itself.

The book is organized by a short preface and introduction by Thomas, in which he explicitly defines the research objectives and methods. A descriptive section of some 500 pages follows, containing the field observations and information. This covers twenty-one states in the Northeast, Southeast, Gulf region, and Midwest. It incorporates detailed drawings, plans, and descriptions of the mounds themselves, as well as of the burials and artifacts found within them. Thomas then organizes this material into eight archaeological districts and uses the concluding 130 pages of the volume to argue cogently that the mounds were in fact constructed by Native Americans.

The book is a classic for the history of archaeology and the history of American Indians, and it is an important reference source for ethnohistorians and archaeologists interested in eastern North America. The narrative style, particularly of the discussion sections, is very readable and refreshingly straightforward, an attribute surely to be appreciated by historians who have groaned through archaeological reports written both in nineteenth-century scientific prose and in twentieth-century scientific jargon. The illustrations are detailed, abundant, and charming. The reprinting of *Mound Explorations* by the Smithsonian Institution Press was timely and appropriate, and its reasonable price should permit the book to rest on shelves of scholars, students, and the interested lay public.

Florida State Museum KATHLEEN DEAGAN

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789: Volume 13, June 1-September 30, 1779. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1986. xxvii, 647 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. $27.00.)

Do people actually read modern editions of the letters of the leaders of the American Revolution, and do these volumes contribute to public understanding of historical interpretation? Reviews of earlier volumes of *Letters of Delegates to Congress* in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, have argued that these sources validate and elaborate Jack N. Rakove's work on the political educa-

tion of the delegates and on the institutional resiliency of the Congress, and richly illustrate Gordon S. Wood's depiction of the evolution of revolutionary ideology from abstract idealism in 1776 to behavioral realism in 1787. The availability of modern editions of congressional correspondence, memoranda, and notes enhances the instructiveness of major secondary accounts.

Volume 13 serves as an essential companion to Richard B. Morris's *The Peacemakers* and other recent studies of revolutionary diplomacy. The major task of Congress in the summer of 1779 was the preparation of negotiating instructions for American representatives to Madrid, Paris, and Amsterdam, respectively, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams. Readers of the *Quarterly* will note an increase in references to the Floridas in Volume 13, notably Henry Laurens's "Notes on a Treaty with Spain" which recommended that the Floridas become spoils of war with Spain should she enter the conflict on the French and American side and wrest the territory away from Britain. Morris showed that Congress walked on eggshells in this matter– trying to lure Spain into the war while resisting French pressure to make the recapture of Gibraltar an American war aim and maintaining American concern over shipping rights on the Mississippi. Recognizing the importance of this document, the editors provide detailed notes, drawn from related American and Spanish archives, and commentary on the first American diplomatic offensive aimed at Spain.

John Dickinson's speech to Congress on July 22, 1779, published here for the first time, was an unusually candid analysis of the uncertainties and high stakes of these diplomatic preparations: "Two rules I have laid down for myself throughout this contest. . . . First– on all occasions where I am called upon as a trustee for my countrymen . . . openly to avow . . . my real sentiments . . . defying all dangers to be risqued by a declaration of them. . . and secondly . . . to regard them [that are] opposite to my opinion as sacred because they lead to public measures in which the commonweal must be interested and to join in supporting them as earnestly as if my own voice had been given for them. . . . Sufficient will it be for my vindication, if it be decided . . . years hence . . . that my conduct is influenced by what I think right– for then it must be influenced by honesty and affection."

Dickinson's apologia sounds like quaint special pleading today, but in the midst of the earliest foreign policy debates of American history is revealed the awesome responsibilities the delegates felt.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson. By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. xvi, 414 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliographical note, index. $24.95.)

Painstaking research and basic honesty separated Dumas Malone and Merrill Peterson from the pack barking in the 1970s over alleged liaisons between Thomas Jefferson and a teenaged black servant in his household. In that same tradition of thoroughness and honesty, Cunningham has done his best to nail the coffin on that aged canard by saying in his brilliant new biography: "Not only is there no valid historical evidence to support this [Sally Hemings story], but the weight of evidence against it is also preponderant." Let us hope we can now go on to better things.

The Jefferson we read of in Cunningham's fifth book on a Jeffersonian topic is no stranger to us. Jefferson the reformer is thwarted in the early years of the Revolution when his radical legislation for education and religious freedom is pigeon-holed, but he is the right man at the right time in fermenting Paris in 1785-1789, and as a cabinet officer he has perhaps only one peer in our history– his adversary, Alexander Hamilton. In matter-of-fact fashion, we read of the famous deal arranged with Hamilton over state-debt assumption and the federal district location, with Jefferson later deciding he had been duped. What was the alternative? Perhaps destruction of the Union. Thus the "deal" had a worthy goal, and was hardly an unsavory compromise.

Nowhere is it written that biographies must be full of startling revelations. Solid information, compactly digested and set forward in clear language, was undoubtedly Cunningham's goal. He not only reached his port safely, but he also knows how to

turn a neat phrase while reminding readers of the frailties that Jefferson knew as a human being. "The forty-three-year-old widower was swept off his well-planted feet by the beautiful and charming young Maria" Cosway, wife of an aged Englishman who was often absent from Paris on painting assignments. Diplomat Jefferson found time to escort the English beauty on tours of Paris and environs with gusto. Jefferson was "so much in love, his letters to suggest, that he no longer felt middle-aged."

Trying to impress the young lady with his agility, Jefferson made a fool of himself by trying to jump over a fence, fell, and dislocated his right wrist. The wrist healed, but his heart was troubled. After an absence, Maria Cosway returned to Paris but that second summer was a disappointment. "Something went wrong," Cunningham notes, and thus Jefferson's last romantic interlude came to an end. Sadness had a way of dogging Jefferson's trail.

But, and the people of the new republic could be glad, there were more moments of triumph left for Jefferson. He talked endlessly of retirement, but could not say no to Washington when appointed secretary of state, and could not stay on the sidelines when the "Monocrats" seemed intent on derailing the republic created in 1787. Cunningham deftly spins the story without surprises but with an admiration bound to affect a historian who has spent a lifetime studying all the forces that made Jefferson tick. His final chapter, telling the story of Jefferson's battle to create the University of Virginia, is one of the best short summaries of an involved situation ever written.

This superb biography deserves wide recognition and will undoubtedly be the jewel in the crown of the LSU Press's Southern Biography Series.

University of Tulsa ROBERT A. RUTLAND

Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slaveholding Family. By Malcolm Bell, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. xxiv, 673 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, family chart, introduction, epilogue, biographical sketches, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

This book is a traditional family history of a very important American family. It is particularly suitable that a book on one

of the most enigmatic of the signers of the United States Constitution be published during the bicentennial of the constitutional convention. Major Pierce Butler of South Carolina was the author of the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, a pioneer in the production of Sea Island cotton, and, by 1800, one of the richest men in America. He was also haughty, arrogant, and unloved by family and acquaintances alike. This book traces the rise and fall of an early American family fortune through five generations, a fortune that was based on rice and cotton plantations on the Georgia coast.

From the dust cover painting by the South Carolina low-country's most evocative artist, Alice R. Huger Smith, to the concluding "Personae" in imitation of Robert Manson Myer's classic work, *Children of Pride,* this is a very classy book of which the author and publisher can be proud. Mr. Bell is an outstanding amateur historian of the old school, having for many years been chairman and president of the Savannah Bank and Trust Company and for several years president of the Georgia Historical Society. Mr. Bell's writing style is clear, enjoyable, and mercifully free of the statistical and sociological jargon which has characterized much academic writing in recent years. The book is, therefore, pleasant reading for both professionals and the general public.

Though the book adds little to previous studies of Major Pierce Butler's public life, it adds considerably to our understanding of his complicated private life. The unravelling of the source of Butler's great wealth and the explanation of the estrangement from his South Carolina in-laws are important to historians who have tried to explain his public behavior. Also revealing is the insistence, by several generations of Butlers, on residing in high style in Philadelphia while being supported by the produce of their Georgia plantations. Major Pierce Butler exemplifies the absentee ownership which became common for the great planters of the Georgia and South Carolina coast by the middle of the nineteenth century. The Butlers' well-being depended on a series of honest and reliable plantation managers, some of whom became very successful in their own right. Most important of these was Roswell King, Sr., who, in his later career, founded Roswell, Georgia, as an upcountry resort for absentee coastal planters much like C. G. Memminger's mountain retreat at Flat Rock, North Carolina.

The absenteeism and profligacy of the later generations of Butlers led to the dissipation of Pierce Butler's legacy and the ironic sale for debt of the bulk of the Butlers' Georgia slaves at Savannah on the very eve of the Civil War. Thus the talented and bickering descendants of Major Butler escaped the financial loss suffered by other southern planters through emancipation. With the residue of the Butler fortune, they were able to cavort about Europe and America with prime ministers, presidents, and literary luminaries. The plantation lands were finally sold off in 1908 for a fraction of their value a century earlier.

This book contains a wealth of well-documented and colorful detail of great value to students of early American history. If there is a weakness in this fine book it is perhaps that Mr. Bell, like many other historians, is too captivated by the journals of Fanny Kemble Butler. She left an extremely harsh portrait of southern planters which was derived as much from her marital difficulties as from moral conviction. Mr. Bell reveals a great deal about how contemporaries viewed Fanny Kemble, not all of which was favorable. And historians should be cautious in assuming that the irresponsiblity and self-indulgence of Fanny Kemble Butler's relatives was typical of southern planters. Perhaps more attention should be paid to the South's successful planter/businessmen such as the enterprising and civic-minded mayor of Savannah, Dr. James Proctor Screven, who used the profits from his Savannah river rice plantation to found the Savannah Hotel Company, the Merchant's and Planter's Bank, and the Savannah, Albany and Gulf Railroad.

Nevertheless, Fanny Kemble Butler was certainly right about the injustice and unpleasantness of slavery. And many of the great planters, despite protestations to the contrary, must have subconsciously agreed. If not, why did they, like Major Butler, spend so much time and money avoiding what James Hamilton, Jr., on Callawassie Island, South Carolina, in 1817, called the "gloom of the plantation." *Major Butler's Legacy* is a fascinating portrait and an important contribution to the history of the antebellum South.

University of South Carolina LAWRENCE ROWLAND

Morality and Utility in American Antislavery Reform. By Louis S. Gerteis. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. xvi, 263 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography of primary sources, index. $27.50.)

The Republican party's commitment to the abolition of slavery and post-war Reconstruction has been understood by modern historians as founded upon a troubled and tenuous blending of morality, economic interest, and party politics. Louis Gerteis has examined some of the North's most vocal reformers and has added a new equation to the complex algebra of Reconstruction's failure. According to Gerteis, Republicans and northern reformers possessed a greater commitment to free labor ideology, bourgeois values, and conservative Whig thought than to liberal reform and social justice. The author locates the origins of post-war northern attitudes toward Reconstruction in the antebellum rhetoric of abolitionists, conservative reformers, and prominent antislavery politicians such as Salmon P. Chase, Charles Sumner, and Joshua Giddings. Gerteis links their presumed utilitarian concern for an orderly republic with the Whig obsession for free labor ideology and a strong centralizing government. This liberal northern mentality opposed slave labor, not as a sinful offense to God, but, rather, as an impediment to northern material and industrial progress. Although no one will be surprised by the conclusion that the North lacked a thorough-going commitment to the policies of Reconstruction and to social justice, the author has sketched out the intellectual background for understanding the North's failures.

Gerteis ingeniously examines the pillars of northern liberal political thought. In law, political economy, and Whig ideology he finds a consistent pattern of conservative opinion (including Wendell Phillips) that sought to preserve legal traditions and promote entreprenueurial and manufacturing interests. Gerteis explores the *Somerset* case– and its American applications– to illustrate the dichotomized pattern he sees in northern thought that relegated natural law arguments against slavery to the category of high-blown rhetoric and concentrated upon slavery's grounding in positive law (morality v. utility). In their drive to define the municipal limits of slavery, opponents of slavery simultaneously defended economic nationalism and promoted the Whig drive for an activist state. Gerteis considers the Whig

political economy of Henry C. Cary to be the "intellectual core of the antislavery movement." Cary and his disciples argued that slavery sapped northern economic strength and threatened its utilitarian-based ideas of progress. Northerners believed that slavery absorbed surplus capital and that Southerners possessed little interest in work, economic development, or in their own indebtedness. Hence, southern culture was perceived as inimical to national economic progress. As Joshua Leavitt and Alvan Stewart asserted, only a free and moral people were dedicated to industry and economy. Thus, slavery had to go.

Gerteis attempts to shift our understanding of the origins of northern antislavery thought from the second Great Awakening to ideas of Whig political economy. He also rejects Eric Foner's argument for the radical Democratic foundation of Republican abolitionism. By examining prominent antislavery Republicans and selected abolitionists, favoring those who were lawyers, the author builds a strong case for depicting Republicans as the party of economic progress, government activism, and utilitarian (as defined by Jeremy Bentham) reform. Since Republican abolitionism was grounded in utilitarianism and political economy, it understandably follows that once slavery ended, men like William Schouler of Massachusetts would want to return the party to its Whig roots and concentrate on "Trade, Money, Commerce, [and] Manufacturing."

Although Gerteis has written a searching book, questions arise concerning the emphasis upon doctrinaire "utilitarianism" in reform thought. Historians of the antislavery movement will be surprised by the author's earnest attempt to bring the abolitionists back into the mainstream of northern middle class thought and will be stunned by the assertion that Henry C. Carey represents the "core" of northern abolitionism. "Antislavery Reform" is a confusing and undefined term that dumps Garrison, Phillips, Chase, David Dudley Field, and Abbot Lawrence into the same abolitionist pot. But more important, Gerteis's provocative work is limited by his failure to grant the issue of race a larger role in his analysis.

Florida State University DONALD YACOVONE

Politics and Society in the South. By Earl Black and Merle Black. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987. ix, 316 pp. Maps and illustrations, preface, notes, index. $25.00.)

Political scientists writing on twentieth century southern politics are immediately confronted by the overwhelming presence of V. O. Key's monumental *Southern Politics.* The high standards of scholarship and insight established by this book have cast long shadows over subsequent authors. They also have very substantially influenced both academicians and journalists to follow its primary research focus on the one-party system of the South. Indeed, while the contributions of such scholars and political journalists as Havard, Bass and DeVries, Peirce, and Lamis are very significant, and their works extremely valuable, in a real sense they are updates of Key, and break no new substantive or methodological ground.

Writing nearly forty years after Key, Earl and Merle Black, brothers who are political scientists at the Universities of South Carolina and North Carolina, respectively, have sought to move the study of southern politics in new directions. In this, their new book, *Politics and Society in the South,* is a triumph. They have abandoned the state-by-state study of party politics characteristic of Key's followers, and created a sophisticated synthesis of trends and themes in recent southern politics whose insights are worthy of Key's own.

The Blacks, as the title of their book suggests, combine both political and sociological approaches to southern politics. They divide their discussion into four major parts: the Changing South (modernization and development of the region); the Transformation of Southern Race Relations (the entry of blacks into southern politics); the Southern Electorate (dominated by middle-class conservatives); and the Revival of Party Competition (the movement towards two-party politics). In a sense, each part of the book could stand alone. Taken together, they provide a searching exploration of a region still in transition, and whose final political alignment remains uncertain. Each part relies heavily on the presentation of quantitative data, as well as traditional historical and contemporary materials. Indeed, the comprehensiveness of sources used in the book is one of its greatest strengths.

While there is a rich array of findings in the book, three provocative themes deserve special mention. The first is the political impact of the "new" white southern middle class. Prior to 1950, it was virtually non-existent, but according to the Blacks, it now is the primary determinant of the style and content of southern politics. Particularly is this true in view of their second major theme, the conservative (although not monolithic) ideology characteristic of the region's new, white, middle class. Thirdly, and most surprisingly, in the authors' view the entrance of blacks into southern politics has had only a marginal effect on its essential conservatism, although they do observe that the actual impact of blacks on regional politics is neither consistent nor readily predictable.

There are several problems with the Blacks' study. The lack of explicit framework, coupled with the massive presentation of data, frequently makes the text diffused and unfocused. Also, their reliance on aggregate data masks important political developments, particularly the increasingly independent role of blacks. They did, after all, help elect George Wallace in 1982. More seriously, while the authors present and explain data, they seem unwilling to interpret what they have found. Specifically, they do not spell out the consequences for the South of its mammoth political and social changes. For example, what difference, in terms of possible movement in the South towards a more "democratic" politics, does all of this really make? Finally, the heavy dose of social science methodologies in the text (including mathematics) will render parts of it rough going, even inaccessible, to the non-specialist. These are not trivial weaknesses, but neither should they obscure the major contributions of this marvelous book. It is exceedingly rich in insight, and will more than reward the efforts of the reader. Perhaps more importantly, while it recognizes its debt to Key, it creates a new mode of research on southern politics. For this alone students of southern affairs should cheer.

University of Florida RICHARD K. SCHER

Southern Folk, Plain and Fancy: Native White Social Types. By John Shelton Reed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. xii, 119 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, works cited, index. $13.95.)

The twenty-ninth annual Lamar Memorial Lectures were delivered at Mercer University in Macon, Georgia, in October 1985, by John Shelton Reed, distinguished professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Professor Reed has published extensively on the South and Southerners, and he has fully earned his participation in this prestigious series.

However, as he acknowledges in the preface, reworking oral lectures for publication can be very difficult. The published result does not hold together well; what was probably effective as an oral presentation seems, in print, to lack clear focus and steady direction, especially in the early sections.

Still, some clear points do emerge. White Southerners are different from other Americans. Stock types or stereotypes like gentlemen, belles, ladies, rednecks, and good old boys are basically valid or "approximations to real people" (p. 2). An "eightfold scheme of hero-villian-fool-victim, genteel and common" (p. 48) encompasses most of them, although not neatly. Black Southerners have a separate and more complex "social typology" (p. 3), and are simply omitted. Daniel R. Hundley's *Social Relations in Our Southern States* (1860) inaccurately describes southern antebellum folk, and recent writers like Tennessee Williams, William Faulkner, Flannery O'Connor, and Florence King do no better. Tom (not Thomas) Wolfe and Roy Blount, Jr., are nearer the mark in their contemporary writings. The lady is the most unique of all southern types. All of the old types are still around, and now the lady (Wendy) and the good old boy (Butch) are often a married couple. Northern gullibility is, and always has been, limitless.

This and much more pours out unevenly from the pages of this little book which has flashes of real humor and some very effective photographs with captions. A closer look at Hundley's antebellum middle class would have brought forth the "model clerk," the "honest storekeeper," and some other bourgeois images which are as valid today as they were in the 1850s. More reference to Frank L. Owsley's *Plain Folk of the Old South* (1949)

would have further beefed up the image of the antebellum middle class, and the use of Caroline Miller's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Lamb In His Bosom* (1933) would have taken some of the meanness out of the image of the redneck. More on blacks, or at least on their influence on whites, would also have been helpful.

No scholar is going to write a volume on the image and reality of southern folk and escape criticism from other scholars and laymen. It is a hot topic, and every Southerner, and a good number of other people in the North and elsewhere, consider themselves experts. Certainly Professor Reed has done excellent work over his career; he is just the sort of first-rate scholar who should deliver the Lamar Lectures. This slim volume is not a poor piece of work by any means; it is simply not up to his previous high standards.

University of Georgia F. N. BONEY

No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities. By Ellen W. Schrecker. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. viii, 437 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, bibliographical essay, notes, index. $20.95.)

Bruce Dayton was completing his Ph.D. at Cornell when he became friends with Alfred Sarant, an unemployed electrical engineer. Sarant was also a friend of Julius Rosenberg, and when Rosenberg was arrested in 1950 on charges of conspiracy to commit espionage, Sarant disappeared, along with Dayton's wife. Dayton became the target of Federal Bureau of Investigation surveillance, and his academic career was a shambles. Wherever Dayton applied for work, the FBI stepped in to give university officials its version of Dayton's past. Florida State University expressed interest in hiring Dayton in 1953, but an FBI agent visited university president Doak S. Campbell and reported that Campbell "gave the agent the impression that subject would not be employed by Florida State University at any time in the future."

The number of communists, former communists, friends of communists, and those who were simply out of the political mainstream in American colleges and universities was never very large, but their treatment created confusion, tragedy, and

injustice. Ellen W. Schrecker has made a major contribution to the histories of higher education and the cold war with her story of academic purges which began during the Depression and continued through the 1950s. It is history with few heroes and plenty of irony. Politicians and investigators, who would have had difficulty being admitted as students, were telling college presidents who could be hired to teach and who should be fired. Almost everyone in the academic community went along. The American Association of University Professors took the position that communists should not be allowed to teach, and failed to offer even the most meager support to those who were communists or the innocent victims caught in the hunt.

Schrecker writes convincingly and exposes the AAUP as a traumatized, ineffective organization run by a man who may have been suffering mental problems. The AAUP not only failed to help faculty members who sought their rights, but did everything to slow the appeal process until it became pointless. The colleges and universities were willing to cooperate, establishing a system which trapped both the innocent and the guilty, those who did cooperate with the government agencies and those who did not. Colleges were quick to set up committees to deal with those who would not talk, and some schools, such as the University of Miami, established a committee even though there were no witnesses among its faculty.

Faculty members were of little help. Some provided financial assistance to those who lost their jobs and a few offered protection, but the majority voted time after time to do nothing to help. Some of those who lost their jobs found refuge in private industry, but even there the FBI was frequently close behind, and many such as Dayton found themselves unemployed once again. Many were forced to give up teaching and take whatever jobs they could find.

There are minor problems with the book, but they are not serious enough to harm the overall impact. Schrecker tends to view all of those who were targets as "a group of serious men and women who sincerely hoped to create a better world." Surely not all were dedicted to creating "a better world." She also moves quickly from case to case. John H. Reynolds, a University of Florida political science and history professor, who was forced out when the administration and faculty refused to support him, gets only a sentence and his name does not appear in the text.

Schrecker would have better served the reader by using fewer cases but probing them in greater detail. She does not take enough time to examine the human side of the suffering caused by these investigations. She writes that some wives had to support husbands who lost their jobs, but failed to explore the impact on the marriages and children.

The significant book gives new dimension to what is generally called "McCarthyism," but which Schrecker shows started long before McCarthy and was aided by people who were eager to yield to the slightest pressure.

Orlando Sentinel JAMES C. CLARK

The Southern Vision of Andrew Lytle. By Mark Lucas. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986. xiv, 158 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, selected bibliography, index. $22.50.)

This book should be a blessing to hundreds of Lytle's former students, some of whom he taught when he was at the University of Florida, who were so caught up in the demands of his fiction writing course that they never had the time, or the stamina, to read much of what he himself had written.

Familiar ground gets coverage here and familiar vocabulary frequently comes into play: terms like point of view, enveloping action, archetypal patterns, controlling image, central intelligence, and rendition. But the core of the book is a compact scholarly teatment of what is likely not to be familiar: the growth of Andrew Lytle's mind, the artistic development of his southern vision, and, of special interest, the manner of his craft in shaping history (in the broad sense of "the community past") to the needs of fiction.

The first four chapters examine in detail a nine-year period, 1927-1936, in which Lytle prepared himself to write. During this time, says Lucas, Lytle eased away from "a narrow defense of the South per se" (e.g., *Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company* and the whole Agrarian movement) to "a fidelity to his imagination." Thus the importance of a fine story of "felt life" such as "Jericho, Jericho, Jericho" (1936).

Then follow four chapters that carefully analyze Lytle's major themes—including those Lucas calls "Lytle's southern *pietas.*" Novels discussed include *The Long Night* (1936), with its theme of vengeance; *At the Moon's Inn* (1941), the story of Hernando de Soto's quest for gold in Florida, with its theme of spiritual destruction and "Promethean pride"; and *A Name for Evil* (1947), a ghost story that dramatizes more dark themes of blind will and solipsism. This latter novel is crucial, says Lucas, in revealing Lytle's judgment that the old life of the South cannot be restored.

The Velvet Horn (1957) gets twice the space. This is the novel, incidentally, with Lytle's signature theme: "Deny your family, and you stand alone." It is Lytle's best work and Lucas's best chapter. He gives ample attention to the novel's structural complexity, especially its intricate use of memory, and to its principal point that history shapes the present. By the end of the chapter, Lucas has clarified the title of his study: the center of Andrew Lytle's southern vision is not on the southern experience by itself but also on certain abiding ancient truths and recurring archetypes.

This is an admiring book, with only a brief criticism of Lytle's biased view of Forrest, and the style often has the "rich particularity" of Lytle's fiction. The scholarship is sound. Obviously Lucas has benefited not only from an interview with Lytle but from access to previously unpublished correspondence Lytle had with Allen Tate, Caroline Gordon, John Crowe Ransom, and Donald Davidson.

The last chapter examines the anecdotal *A Wake for the Living* (1975), which Lytle has said he composed to "tell his daughters who they are and where they come from." Something similar might be claimed for Mark Lucas's critical study: it tells us where Andrew Lytle comes from and who *he* is.

Jacksonville University GEORGE HALLAM

A *World Unsuspected: Portraits of Southern Childhood.* Edited and introduced by Alex Harris. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. 237 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, contributors. $16.95.)

It would seem a slender thread by which to hang a book. Alex Harris asked eleven fine southern writers to dig through their old snapshots, choose a few favorites, and then write what came to mind. What came to mind is a photographic/literary documentary composed of a broad range of autobiographical memoirs that leave the reader with a sure sense of what it meant to grow up in the South in the thirties and forties. *A World Unsuspected* also gives the reader– through both the determinedly unprofessional photographs and the highly literate level of the writing– a glimpse into the shared secrets that go into the making of a writer.

Harris writes in his introduction that *A World Unsuspected* is "a further exploration of the experience of learning from snapshots, of looking at the past and finding a photograph the key to something missing . . . [it] provides these fiction writers another kind of opportunity . . . to translate, record, distill, even embroider– to help create our collective memory."

So, collectively the snapshots and the memoirs they triggered add up to the experience of a generation of writers– white and black– growing up in a South being forced to face desegregation and other changes and, as such, is valuable history. Individually, the memoirs/autobiographical sketches cum photos stand on their own though they have much in common: a shared interest in growing up and, in some cases, in getting out, in combating fear and mistaken ideas about themselves and family.

Bobbie Ann Mason's deadpan, hilarious account of her coming into her own as national president of the Hilltoppers fan club just as the Hilltoppers easy listening music is giving way to Elvis Presley's white version of black funk reads both affecting and true. As do the photographs, mostly of the Hilltoppers with fixed "public" smiles, that accompany it. Padgett Powell's flashy memoir-cum-photographs (there he is as a youngster, tenuously holding a snake; and again, surrounded by his "harem"– nursery school girls– circa 1957) is of growing up in northern Florida under a strong father's disciplinary eye. He, the father, is captured both in words (threatening to lick little Padgett if

little Padgett doesn't lick the bully who's been picking on him; so little Padgett, more frightened by his father than the bully, goes after the bully with a hammer) and in pictures, flying through mid-air as a fighting football hero. It is a graphic, non-judgmental portrait of post-war southern machismo.

Al Young's photograph of his beautiful grandmother and his blunt grandfather taken at their farmhouse in 1909 is as affecting as his account of a dressing down he received from that grandfather at the age of four when the watermelon he was carrying fell, and he was told he "will never amount to the salt in his bread." Barry Hannah is ironic about school and Southern Baptists. Ellease Southerland writes about a twenty-three-year-old black woman setting foot for the first time in North Carolina where her mother was raised, poor and black. There is the Wrigley's Spearmint chewing gum T. R. Pearson's grandfather feeds to his cows in Maryland, and a bare, evocative photograph of "The Pink Perfection," the seaside house a relative's rich employer lends the family for two weeks each summer. There is a misleading snapshot of James Alan McPherson's father taken in the 1930s but the wrongness of it is explained by the end of McPherson's chapter– "Going Up to Atlanta"– when, almost by chance, we learn of his father's life-long mistreatment, a master electrician unable to get a license because he is black.

There's a great deal more, all rewarding, from Sheila Bosworth, Robb Forman Dew, Josephine Humprheys, and Dave Smith. *A World Unsuspected* is a documentary from a new perspective, a bridge between history and literature and photography. It is the first of five books focusing on contemporary southern life and, at the same time, exploring new approaches to documentary books through a balance of writing and photography. All books in the series will be edited by Mr. Harris, published by the University of North Carolina Press, and funded by the Lyndhurst Foundation of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Sugarloaf Shores, Florida DAVID A. KAUFELT

BOOK NOTES

The Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes, A Critical Bibliography, was compiled by Harry A. Kersey, Jr., for the History of the American Indian Bibliographical series sponsored by the Newberry Library's D'Arcy McNickle Center. Professor Kersey provides a detailed bibliographical essay in which he examines the origins of both the people and their languages. The Spanish encouraged the Lower Creeks from Georgia to settle in Florida to provide a buffer against a possible British invasion. The first of these Lower Creeks, who spoke some variation of the Hitchiti language, arrived in the Alachua area sometime after 1715. A few years later, the inhabitants of several Upper Creek towns also moved into Florida, bringing with them the Muskogee or Creek language. Many more Creek speakers settled in Florida after 1814. The Florida Indians had become known as Seminoles, a name given to them by the British in the eighteenth century. Professor Kersey includes bibliographical sources on southeastern Indians, as well as detailed information on the Seminoles. He has divided his study into the following periods: Creek origins and migration, 1716-1763; becoming Seminole, 1763-1817; wars and removal, 1818-1858; withdrawal, stabilization, and re-emergence, 1858-1925; reservations: the New Deal through World War II, 1926-1956; and from near-termination to self-determination, 1957-1982. An alphabetical list of publications, with a notation indicating items suitable for secondary students, adds to the usefulness of this monograph. Published government reports and unpublished theses and doctoral dissertations are also included. *The Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes* was published by Indiana University Press, Bloomington; the price is $7.95.

Troubled Paradise, Melbourne Village, Florida, by Georgiana Greene Kjerulff, was published by the Kellersberger Fund, South Brevard Historical Society, Inc., of Melbourne. The Kellersberger Fund has made possible the publication of an important local history series, the first of which appeared in 1971. Mrs. Kjerulff, who lives in Melbourne Village, is also the author of *Tales of Old Brevard,* published by the Fund. Melbourne Vil-

lage was founded as an "intentional education-centered community dedicated to the possibilities of modern homesteading." The community was designed to accomodate "productive homestead-family units with the capability of being self-sustaining in the event that economic conditions made necessary a homestead that could combine both home and industry." Melbourne Village, eventually a town of some 1,100 people, traces its roots back to Dayton, Ohio, where, during the 1930s, a "Plan" developed that would enable individuals or families to exchange with each other needed commodities-overcoats and other clothing, firewood, and food products. Elizabeth Nutting, who became an early Melbourne Village leader, was a major force in developing the Dayton Plan. Associated with her "work-and-barter plan" was Ralph Borsodi, an economic writer who developed the concept of the self-sustaining exurban community made up of subsistent homesteaders. He was also involved in the Florida project. His plan, adapted from Henry George's theory of land ownership, would settle the family on a plot of land where it could grow its own food to supplement a full or part-time job. Norman Lennington, a Borsodi follower, encouraged Dr. Nutting to settle in Florida. Land was selected in Brevard County, and on July 25, 1946, the American Homesteading Foundation was organized to supervise the Florida project. The first buildings were cabins purchased from navy surplus when the military station at Banana River was phased out after World War II. Mrs. Kjerulff credits Dr. Nutting, Virigina P. Wood, and Margaret Hutchinson, all of whom had worked together in Ohio, as the leaders of the American Homesteading Foundation. Melbourne Village was planned to look like a woodland college campus with many park areas. Each family had its own kitchen garden and could trade or sell whatever fruit and vegetables it did not consume. Barter was one way to stretch limited incomes. Only organic gardening was allowed, and only authorized sprays and fertilizers could be used. At first paved roads were opposed, but they were eventually put in so that the Brevard County school bus could operate. There was a cooperative store and a buying club. The Village grew, and by 1950 there were seventy-five homes; thirteen years later membership had increased to 260. When the New Village Hall was dedicated in 1963, homesteading was no longer being practiced, and Melbourne Village began a new phase in its history. The town of Melbourne Village

has now been incorporated. Many old photographs and maps are included in Kjerulff's monograph. The art work is by Jon Schultz. *Troubled Paradise* sells for $8.95, plus $1.00 postage. Order from the Kellersberger Fund, P. O. Box 5817 FIT, Melbourne, FL 32901.

John K. Small (1869-1938), the noted American botanist and staff member at the New York Botanical Garden, has been described as "one of Florida's first and most outspoken biologists, photographers, authors, and conservationists." He traveled extensively throughout the state, particularly in the Miami and Florida Keys area. In this volume, *The Florida of John Kunkel Small: His Species and Types, Collecting Localities, Bibliography and Selected Reprinted Works,* by Daniel F. Austin, Anita F. Cholewa, Rita B. Lassiter, and Bruce F. Hansen, six of his major writings are included. This publication is one of the volumes in the Contributions from the New York Botanical Garden series. The foreword and introduction were written by Daniel Austin. Small was a witness to the substantial and destructive changes to the Florida environment caused by Hamilton Disston's dredging activities along the Caloosahatchee River in the 1880s and 1890s and by the construction of Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway. Small's best known work, *From Eden to Sahara, Florida's Tragedy,* published in 1929, describes the irreversible damage that had occured in the state. *The Florida of John Kunkel Small* may be ordered from the Scientific Publications Office, New York Botanical Garden, Bronx, NY 10458; the price is $33.05.

On March 3, 1845, President Polk signed the bill which brought the territory of Florida into the Union as the twenty-seventh state. May 26, 1845, was the date set to select a governor, a member of Congress, seventeen state senators, and forty-one members of the House of Representatives. There were twenty counties in Florida at the time. Only free, white, male citizens, twenty-one years or older could vote, and if a citizen was able-bodied and under the age of forty-five, he was obliged to be enrolled in the state militia. Each voter had to be a United States citizen and prove that the county in which he was voting was "his permanent place of abode" (six months residency immediately preceeding the election), and that he had lived in Florida for two years prior to May 1845. *Florida Voters in Their*

First Statewide Election, compiled by Brian Michaels of Palatka, author of *The River Flows North, A History of Putnam County,* lists each voter by precinct and notes where each voting precinct was located. The publication of this volume, useful both for historians and genealogists, was sponsored by the Florida State Genealogical Society, Inc. It may be ordered from Mrs. Dorothy Garate, FSGS Treasurer, 2502 North Glen Avenue, Tampa, FL 33607; the price is $20.00.

Charles East, editor of *The New Writers of the South, A Fiction Anthology,* defines "new southern" writers as those who have lived all or much of their lives in the South and whose first books (novels or short story collections) were published in the period 1975-1985. Several of the writers included in this anthology are either Floridians or have Florida connections. Padgett Powell, whose selection is from his widely acclaimed first novel, *Edisto,* was born in Gainesville. He lived in Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and Orlando, and now holds a teaching position in the English Department at the University of Florida. His second novel, *A Woman Named Drown,* published in 1987, has also been well received. Donald Hays, author of *The Dixie Association,* published by Simon & Schuster in 1984, was born in Jacksonville and grew up on a hill farm in Arkansas. James Wilcox, author of *North Gladiola,* grew up in Louisiana and in Tallahassee, Florida. Other southern writers represented in the anthology are Raymond Andrews, Madison Smartt Bell, Pam Durban, Clyde Edgerton, Richard Ford, Ellen Gilchrist, Mary Hood, Josephine Humphreys, Beverly Lowry, Jill McCorkle, Bobbie Ann Mason, Lewis Nordan, T. R. Pearson, Jayne Anne Phillips, Louise Shivers, Charlie Smith, and Leigh Allison Wilson. This paperback was published by the University of Georgia Press, and it sells for $12.95.

Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists, by John Lee Eighmy, was published by the University of Tennessee Press in 1972. Dr. Samuel S. Hill of the University of Florida, editor of the reprint paperback edition, wrote a new introduction to the book, updated the bibliography, and provided a concluding chapter. Hill's bibliography includes the many books, articles, and doctoral dissertations which have appeared since *Churches in Cultural Captivity* was first published.

In his lengthy introduction, Professor Hill lauds the scholarly research of Professor Wayne Flynt and others, which provide knowledge and insight on the concerns that many Baptist laymen in the South have had, particularly in recent years, on matters relating to social injustice and southern economic problems. Published by the University of Tennessee Press, *Churches in Cultural Captivity* sells for $12.95.

Interpreting Southern History is a collection of historical essays honoring Sanford W. Higginbotham, managing editor for several years of the *Journal of Southern History*. To commemorate his tenure, Rice University sponsored a symposium, and several of the historians who had served on the *Journal*'s editorial board under Higginbotham were invited to prepare papers on the significant recent scholarship on southern history. The papers were edited by John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen and were published in 1987. Louisiana State University Press has issued a paperback edition which sells for $19.95.

Oral History for the Local Historical Society, by Willa K. Baum, is one of the most useful "how-to" manuals on oral history available. A new revised edition has been published by the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee. Among the subjects covered are how to start an oral history program, equipment and tapes, the interview process, who should interview, tips for interviewers, indexing, transcribing, copyright release, ethics of oral history, depositing and preserving tapes, encouraging the use of oral history materials, and developing oral history expertise. A short bibliography is also included. The paperback edition sells for $9.75 ($8.75 for AASLH members).

Critical Choices in Interviews: Conduct, Use, and Research Role, by Harriet Nathan, provides important information for researchers on the characteristics and quirks of interviewing style. Interviews have become increasingly important for scholarly research, particularly with topics that deal with the twentieth-century. Nathan emphasizes the need "to stimulate the thinking of students and reseachers, as well as professors, journalists, policy makers, and citizens concerned with questions of public policy. Learning how to think about, classify, analyze, and select interviews can help practitioners make critical choices about their

own work and better evaluate the work of others." Published by the Institute of Governmental Services, University of Berkeley, the paperback sells for $5.95.

The photographs and text of *Antebellum Homes of Georgia* is by David King Gleason. This handsome volume contains 135 color photographs of some of Georgia's finest pre-Civil War residences. There are both exterior photographs showing significant architectural details and often exquisite gardens, and interior shots, revealing the fine furniture, paintings, wall hangings, and art objects. Brief histories of the houses and their owners, together with notes on the construction and descriptions of important architectural details, are included. The foreword is by Joseph B. Mahan. Four Thomasville, Georgia, homes and two in Quitman, Georgia, all near the Florida border, are included in the volume. Mr. Gleason, an award-winning photographer, lives and works in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. *Antebellum Homes of Georgia* was published by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, and it sells for $29.95.

Mississippi: An Illustrated History is by Edward N. Akin, a graduate of the University of Florida and a history professor at Mississippi College. He has also recently completed a biography of Henry Morrison Flagler, published by Kent State University Press. Patti Carr Black, director of the Mississippi State Historical Museum, was the photo researcher, and Roger Walker was the business historian for *Mississippi.* The histories of west Florida and Mississippi have been closely entwined since the sixteenth century, when Spanish explorers like Hernando DeSoto moved through the area. Archaeologists have found remains of pre-historic Indian cultures in Mississippi dating back more than 10,000 years. These Paleo-Indians were hunters and gatherers, and undoubtedly they were attracted to the area by its abundant game and rich environment. These same factors encouraged the Spanish, French, British, and Americans to explore the Mississippi and to exploit its resources. Mississippi became a territory in 1798 and a state in 1817. Many settlers moved into the rich delta area, and Mississippi, before the Civil War, was one of our most affluent states. Tobacco, and especially cotton, provided the bases for its rich economy. Many famous personalities have been associated with the political, economic, and social history of Mississippi. William Dunbar,

often referred to as the Thomas Jefferson of the West, was a politician, inventor, and a man of wealth. He was a planter, explorer, and a judge, but his greatest fame was as a scientist and inventor. He invented the cotton press, the cotton seed, and a method for processing cotton seed oil. One of the sensational events in early Mississippi history was the arrest of Aaron Burr in 1807. Jefferson Davis lived for many years in Mississippi, and his political career began there in 1845. His wife, Varina Howell, was the daughter of Mississippi planters and slaveholders. Earl Van Dorn, Braxton Bragg, and Nathan Bedford Forrest were Confederate military heroes. More recent celebrated Mississippians have included Medgar Evers and Fannie Lou Hamer, both black political activists, Leontyne Price, Tammy Wynette, B. B. King, Elvis Presley, William Faulkner, Stark Young, William Alexander Percy, and Eudora Welty. *Mississippi* was published by Windsor Publications, and it sells for $24.95.

Wings of Gold: An Account of Naval Aviation Training in World War II, The Correspondence of Aviation Cadet/Ensign Robert R. Rea was edited by Wesley Phillips Newton and Robert R. Rea. Professor Rea is a distinguished historian and professor at Auburn University, whose books, articles, and monographs deal with English history and the history of Florida and the Gulf of Mexico during the British and second Spanish periods. For some three months in 1945, Ensign Rea was stationed at Leigh Field, the United States Navy Auxiliary Air Station at Green Cove Springs, Florida. His letters to his parents and to his wife, detail not only his flight training experiences, but also describe the baptism of a group of blacks in the St. Johns River, visits to St. Augustine and Jacksonville, and flights to Palatka and Gainesville. Published by the University of Alabama Press, *Wings of Gold* sells for $34.95.

Colonel Grover C. Criswell, has reprinted the 1876 edition of *The Monitor Guide to Post Offices and Railroad Stations in the United States and Canada.* It lists every then known post office, railroad station, and shipping and freight line. It indicates which offices provided money order services. The pertinent county seat is noted, together with information on the express line serving that community. Order from Criswell Publications, Fort McCoy, FL 32637. The price is $75.00; $60.00 for public institutions.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its eighty-sixth convention in Miami at the DuPont Plaza Hotel, on May 12-14, 1988. Registration will begin on Thursday, at 4:00 P.M., May 12, in the hotel lobby and again at 8:00 A.M., May 13. On Thursday evening the Historical Museum of Southern Florida will be open from 7:00-9:00 P.M. for members of the Society and their guests. Two Florida films will be shown also in the main auditorium of the Miami-Dade Public Library. Samuel Boldrick has made arrangements for members to visit the Library's Florida Room and its extensive collection of geneaology material (books, documents, and microfilm). The opening ceremonies on Friday morning will be held in the DuPont Plaza ballroom. Paul S. George, president of the Society, and Miami-Dade County Mayor Steve Clark will welcome the convention delegates. This will be followed by two program sessions. Patricia Wickman, former chair of the Florida Historical Confederation, will lead a panel discussion on the Spanish Influence in New World Florida. Carlos Fernandez Shaw, Consulate General of Spain, and Miguel Bretos, Florida International University, will participate in the discussion. Dr. Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation, will serve as chair of the second session, and Dr. Robert L. Gold, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, and Dr. Kenneth Kiple, Bowling Green University, will read papers. Light T. Cummins of Austin College, and Robert Paquette, Hamilton College, will serve as commentators. The Friday afternoon session will begin with a panel on South Florida's History and Its Writers, with Daniel Hobby, Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, serving as chair. Panel members include Helen Muir, Miami; Stuart McIver, Lighthouse Point; David A. Kaufelt, Sugarloaf Key; and Arva Moore Parks, Coral Gables. The following session, the Cuban impact on Miami and Dade County, will have Dr. Paul George as its chair, and papers will be presented by Professor Francis J. Sicius of St. Thomas University and Gene and Asterie Provenzo of the University of Miami. Dr. Raymond A. Mohl, Florida Atlantic University, will be the commentator for this session.

The banquet on Friday evening will be held in the DuPont Plaza ballroom. Dr. Michael J. Gannon, professor of history and director of the Institute of Early Contact Period Studies, University of Florida, will be the banquet speaker. His topic is "Hello, Columbus!" Several award presentations will be made: Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize by Dr. Thelma Peters; Arthur W. Thompson Prize in Florida History by Marcia J. Kanner; the Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize by Dr. Tebeau; and State and Local History by Linda Williams. The President's Prizes for the outstanding essays on Florida history will be presented by former Governor LeRoy Collins of Tallahassee. Dr. George will preside at the banquet.

There will be a wine and cheese reception on Friday evening at 6:00 P.M., preceeding the banquet, hosted by the Historical Museum of Southern Florida and its director, Randy Nimnicht. It will be held at the Museum. Following the banquet on Friday evening, there will be a gala president's reception in Dr. George's presidential suite at the DuPont Plaza. On Saturday morning, May 14, the program will be a Multi-Media Presentation on the Discovery of the Atocha, presented by Patrick Cline, Key West, in the DuPont Plaza Ballroom East. Activities include tours (by reservation) of the Miami downtown area and the Coconut Grove area on Friday afternoon. The annual J. Leitch Wright Memorial Run, Walk, and Crawl will be held on Saturday morning at 7:30 A.M. Dan Markus is the run master. The Society's annual picnic will be held at Mary Brickell Park at 12:00 noon, Saturday, following the Society's annual business meeting. There will be a walking tour of downtown Miami, conducted by Dr. George, during the afternoon and a moonlight dinner cruise on Biscayne Bay that evening at 6:00 P.M. The board of directors will hold its business meeting, Thursday evening. Gerald W. McSwiggan is in charge of local arrangements. His committee includes Ava Barnes, Rebecca Smith, and Patricia Wickman.

Florida Historical Confederation

Registration for the Florida Historical Confederation meeting at the DuPont Plaza Hotel, Friday, May 13, 1988, begins at 8:00 A.M. in the hotel lobby. The first session, "Collections: Managing What You Have," will be moderated by Pamela Gibson, Manatee County Public Library. The panel includes Tom

Baker, Florida Agricultural Museum; Mary Montgomery, Museum of Florida History; and Ellen Babb, St. Petersburg Historical Society. Betty Camp, Florida State Museum, will serve as moderator for the second session, "Education Programs at Historical Institutions." Panel participants include Connie Favert, Historical Museum of Southern Florida; Shirley Ritchey, Spanish Point at the Oaks; and Kathy Brown, Museum of Florida History. Patricia Wickman, Director of Art Collections, J. I. Kislak Mortgage Corporation, Miami, is panel moderator for the third session, "Conservation: Addressing Your Needs." Participants include Becky Smith, Historical Museum of Southern Florida, and Scott Loher, St. Lucie County, Museum Division. The final session is titled, "Publishing/Printing at Historical Institutions." Dr. Miguel Bretos, Florida International University, is the moderator, and the panel includes Tim Schmand, Historical Museum of Southern Florida; Patricia Bartlett, Fort Myers Historical Museum; and Dr. Thomas D. Greenhaw, University of Central Florida, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter.*

The Confederation executive committee meeting is scheduled for 2:00 P.M. on Thursday, May 12, at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida. The annual business meeting will convene at the DuPont Plaza the following day at 11:45 A.M. The recipients of the annual Confederation prizes will be announced at the meeting.

History Fair

The annual History Fair exhibits will be on display in the ballroom foyer of the DuPont Plaza during the annual convention of the Florida Historical Society. The winners will be announced after the judging on Friday, May 13. The History Fair is sponsored by the Society. David Champs is the 1987-1988 coordinator of the History Fair.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, reports the following Florida properties added to the National Register for Historic Places during the year 1987: Brevard County– Windover Archaeological Site and St. Joseph's Catholic Church; Charlotte County– Freedman House; Collier County– I & E Greenwalt Steam Engine, Silver Palm School,

South River Drive Historic District, Opa-Locka Railroad Depot, and Opa-Locka Thematic Group; Duval County– Springfield Historic District and Jacksonville Public Library; Hillsborough County– Curtis House; Indian River County– Old Vero Railroad Depot; Lake County– Lakeside Inn and Withers-McGuire House; Leon County– Johnson-Carter House and Tallahassee Women's Club; Manatee County– Bradenton Carnegie Library; Marion County– Tuscawilla-Wyomina Historic District; Nassau County– Fernandina Beach Historic District; Pinellas County– Louis Johnson Building/Pinellas Hotel; Santa Rosa County– Arcadia Mills Sites, Bagdad Historic District, and Milton Historic District; Sarasota County– Burns Realty/Bickles House and El Verona/Ringling Hotel; Seminole County– Fernald-Langhton Hospital; St. Johns County– Old St. Johns County Jail; and Volusia County– The Abby, El Real Retiro, and Downtown DeLand Historic District.

Announcements and Activities

A Florida Labor History Network (FLHN) has been launched through the Department of History, University of Florida. Historians, teachers, students, retired workers, and other Floridians interested in developing a state-wide network to promote interest in the history of working people are invited to contact Professor Robert H. Zieger, Department of History, 4131 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611 (904-392-0271). All persons should indicate their areas of interest, research, and experience. Network members are seeking information on all available sources for research into and the writing of Florida labor history.

The Florida Historical Society, Saint Leo College, and Central Florida Community College sponsored a conference on "Southern Culture and Language," at the Ocala Hilton and the Central Florida Community College, March 11-12, 1988. Participants were Dr. Michael Thomason, University of South Alabama and editor of the *Gulf Coast Journal;* Dr. Lee Cooper, Appalachian State University; Ormond Loomis, director of the Bureau of Florida Folklife Programs; and Dr. Paul S. George, University of Miami. The purpose of the conference was to promote cooperation and coordination among scholars and laypersons involved in studying and preserving Florida's heritage.

The Florida Anthropological Society will hold its annual meeting May 6-8, 1988, at the Ramada Inn, Altamonte Springs (I-4 at S.R. 436). The Central Florida Anthropological Society, Orlando, will serve as host chapter. For information on registration and programs contact Michelle Alexander, Central Florida Anthropological Society, 810 East Rollins Street, Orlando, FL 32803.

The Historic Broward County Preservation Board is producing a series of comprehensive histories of Hollywood, Dania, Davie, Plantation, Deerfield Beach, Pompano, and Hallandale. Dr. Paul S. George, president of the Florida Historical Society, is compiling the two-volume history of Fort Lauderdale. The first volume will be completed in 1988; the second in 1989. M. Diana McTigue is chair of the Preservation Board; the trustees are Lois Weissing, Stewart Kester, Constance Dickey, Cato Roach, Jr., and Tillie Rothstein.

The Journal of Negro History has resumed quarterly publication with volume 69, 1984. Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, is sponsor of the journal, and Professor Alton Hornsby, Jr., has been reappointed editor of the Journal.

The Florida State Genealogical Society will hold its 1988 annual conference in Pensacola, Florida, November 11-12. Dorothy "Ann" Avirett Cooper of Maccleny, Florida, is president of the Society. For information on the program and plans for the November conference, contact Given P. Reichert, 112 Crooked Tree Trail, Moultrie Trails, Route 4, St. Augustine, FL 32086.

A special exhibit, "Rails, Tycoons, and Gales: The History of the Florida East Coast Railway," opened February 7 at the Prime W. Osborn Convention Center in Jacksonville. The exhibit includes artifacts, tools, rare photographs, and memorabilia of the Henry Morrison Flagler and Florida East Coast Railway era. The Prime W. Osborn Center is located at 1000 Water Street in downtown Jacksonville. The exhibit, which will continue through May 15, will be open daily from 10:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. There is an admission charge.

The Southern Conference on British Studies solicits proposals for papers to be presented at its 1989 meeting, to be held November 8-11, 1989, in Lexington, Kentucky. Although its annual meeting takes place in conjunction with that of the Southern Historical Association, the SCBS construes British studies widely and invites participation by scholars in all areas of British history and culture, including the Empire and the home islands. Interdisciplinary approaches are encouraged. Proposals may consist of individual papers or entire sessions for the program. Sessions should include two to three papers relating to a common theme and should have suggestions for chairpersons and commentators. For each proposed paper submit an abstract of 300-400 words indicating the thesis of the paper, resources and research methodology, and how it enhances or expands knowledge of its subject. Proposals should be sent by October 15, 1988, to Dr. John A. Hutcheson, Jr., Division of Social Science, Dalton College, Dalton, GA 30720.

Preservation Day will be held Tuesday, April 26, 1988, on the steps of the Old Capitol, Tallahassee. Activities will begin with a legislative briefing session and will conclude with a reception that evening in Knott Park (across from the Knott House, 301 East Park Avenue). The reception will honor F. Blair Reeves of the University of Florida for his many years of service to the cause of historic preservation. He is a founding trustee of the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation, and served for many years on the Florida Review Committee for the National Register for Historic Places. He was also a member of the Florida Bicentennial for the American Revolution Commission. Professor Reeves has been selected by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, as the recipient of the DuPont Crowninshield Award, the Trust's highest honor, for his work in starting the Preservation School of Nantucket and directing its activities for many years.

Awards

The annual Howard R. Marraro Prize was awarded by the American Catholic Association to Dr. Gary R. Mormino, University of South Florida, for his book, *Immigrants on the Hill. Italian-Americans in St. Louis, 1882-1982,* published by the University of

Illinois Press. He and Dr. George E. Pozzetta, University of Florida, are the authors of *The Immigrant World of Ybor City, Italians and Their Latin Neighbors, 1885-1985* which is the inaugural volume in the Ellis Island Series being published by the University of Illinois Press. The Immigration History Society presented the 1987 Theodore Salutos Memorial Book Prize for this volume to Dr. Mormino and Dr. Pozzetta at a dinner, March 26, during the annual convention of the Organization of American Historians in Reno, Nevada.

The Virginia Historical Society has awarded its 1987 William M. E. Rachel Prize to Anita H. Rutman, University of Florida, for her essay, "Still Planting the Seeds of Hope: The Recent Literature of the Chesapeake Region," which appeared in the January 1987 issue of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

The Southern Association for Women Historians announces that the Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize for the best published work, book, or article in Southern Women's History was awarded to Jacqueline Jones for her book, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present,* published by Basic Books, Inc. (reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* April 1986). The Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize for the best book in southern history written by a woman was awarded to Anne C. Loveland for her work, *Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South, A Biography,* published by Louisiana State University Press (reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* October 1987).

The National Trust for Historic Preservation recognized Lawrence Lewis, Jr., of St. Augustine and Richmond, Virginia, with its 1987 Honor Award for his support of archaeological and historical research in St. Augustine. Mr. Lewis spearheaded the efforts to save the Ponce de Leon Hotel when it closed in the 1960s and was responsible for it being utilized as Flagler College. Through his efforts and those of his family, eight buildings on the original seventeen acre complex have been restored. Mr. Lewis was recognized for his outstanding contribution to Florida history and archaeology with an honorary degree in 1986.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

President Paul George called the mid-winter meeting to order at 9: 12 A.M., December 5, 1987, in the Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, Tampa. Present were: Paul S. George, Michael Slicker, Gary R. Mormino, Samuel Proctor, Thomas D. Greenhaw, William R. Adams, Kathy H. Arsenault, Gregory Bush, David R. Colburn, Rodney E. Dillon, Robert C. Harris, Wright Langley, Marinus H. Latour, Gerald W. McSwiggan, Raymond A. Mohl, Gwendolyn Waldorf, J. Andrew Brian, and Randy F. Nimnicht. The resignation of J. Earle Bowden was read and accepted.

Douglas Drown, representing Continental Heritage Press, presented the Board with a report as to the current status of *Florida Portrait*. Stating that the publishing company had experienced financial difficulties, Drown requested that the board consider the allocation of additional funds for the completion of the project.

Without rejecting his offer, the directors requested that the book's manuscript and all photographs related to the project be returned to either Paul George or Gary Mormino within two weeks. Subsequent to the transfer of those materials, the board would decide as to whether to proceed with the project as outlined by Mr. Drown.

Represented by James L. Ghiotto (vice-president of Academic Affairs), Dr. James Horgan (History Department), Dr. Lewis Wynne (History Department), and Kay Kasuda (Librarian), Saint Leo College extended an invitation to the Society to make its headquarters on its campus. Included in the proposal were provisions for space and utilities within the Cannon Memorial Library, funds for maintenance of the Society's collection, funding in some fashion for an executive director, funding for support personnel, and a pleasant atmosphere.

Represented by Dr. Raymond Arsenault (History Department), the University of South Florida at St. Petersburg extended a similar invitation to the Society to make its headquarters on that campus. The proposal mentioned the advantages to be had on a small, intimate campus in association with a larger institution.

Included in the proposal were provisions for space and utilities in a new library being built on the campus, the full cooperation of the local and central administrations, support personnel, and funding in some fashion for an executive director.

Speaking on behalf of the Future of the Society Committee, Randy Nimnicht reported that his meeting with John Lott Brown, president of the University of South Florida, had proceeded well, that Dr. Brown had stated that he considers the Society as a valued guest on the University of South Florida campus, and that he is aware of and supports Dr. Mormino's accomplishments and successes as executive director of the Society. Dr. Brown confirmed that, despite the fact that the Society was not presently able to assume full financial responsibility for its personnel and operations as previously agreed, the University would continue to provide support for a half-time director and a full-time accounts clerk for some time to come.

To date, the search for an executive director to replace Dr. Mormino has not been fruitful. In discussion, the following points were made: (1) Ideally, the Society needs to be allowed to appoint and fire its executive director. It is difficult for a director to serve two masters. (2) The Society currently has some funds, but no revenue strength. (3) Therefore, of necessity, one of the functions of an executive director will be fund raising. (4) In order to establish financial independence, if that is to be a goal, the Society must become more of a "full service" organization. (5) The Society must move in the direction of fully meeting its financial obligations before independence is possible.

The Future of the Society Committee will continue with the following membership: Milton Jones, chairman, Randy Nimnicht, David Colburn, Hampton Dunn, Jerrell Shofner, and Paul George, ex-officio. The committee is charged with: (1) formalizing a new, three-year agreement with the University of South Florida that provides for a half-time executive director and a full-time accounts clerk, that can be terminated by either party; (2) immediately advertising for the position of executive director, and taking the responsibility for finding a suitable replacement for Dr. Mormino, as quickly as possible; and (3) corresponding with various institutions– particularly Saint Leo College and the University of South Florida, Baybor– expressing our appreciation for their interest, and suggesting that we may be in a better position to consider the possibility of a new home three years hence.

In a brief review, Dr. Mormino expressed his overall satisfaction with the Society's progress in the past few years. The Society has strengthened its financial position and has revitalized its image. The office staff are using recently purchased new equipment, and have consolidated accounts. Membership has increased, and fund-raising efforts have been significantly improved.

With continued effort, the financial picture for 1988 looks bright. The board agreed to establish an interest-bearing General Endowment Account, to be funded by surplus assets and other monies accruing at the close of each fiscal year. Use of the interest from the account must be approved by the board. The principal in the account may be used only in extraordinary circumstances, and only with the approval of seventy-five percent of the board of directors. The board agreed that the Society should reimburse Dr. Mormino for incidental expenses incurred in the course of Society activities. The board recognized that with impending financial obligations over the course of the next few years the Society will be faced with major fund-raising problems.

The future strength of the Society depends upon increased membership. To that end, a membership committee was established to address the issue of taking the message that Florida history is important to the corporate public. Wright Langley will chair the committee that includes Robert Harris, Patsy West, Patrick Rogers, and Patricia Bartlett. The membership is approximately 2,000, the largest in the history of the Society. Strong efforts are being made to increase membership and to persuade members to renew their membership.

In his mid-winter report Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* noted the new computer technology in his office which will enable the publication of the journal to proceed more efficiently. He reported on the number of articles submitted for consideration for publication and on the number of articles and book reviews printed. He also reiterated the *Quarterly's* need for cover photographs.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter,* requested that local and regional organizations add the *Newsletter* to their mailing lists. He will then be able to publicize their events and activities. The manuscript, *Essays in Florida History,* compiled and edited by Dr. Jerrell Shofner, has been completed, the author has been paid, and various local publishers are currently considering the manuscript for publication.

The manuscript and photographs of *Florida Portrait* are currently in the hands of Douglas Drown of Continental Heritage Press. The Society has verbally (through its executive director and president), personally (at the unanimous request of the board), and in writing (through its legal advisors) requested the return of the manuscript and photographs.

Karen Singh is completing the indexing of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, volumes fifty-four through sixty-four. After approval of Dr. Singh's work, the board has authorized Dr. Proctor to obtain a bid for printing costs from E. O. Painter Printing Company, to report his findings to Dr. George, and if that the bid seems reasonable, to proceed with the printing of the *Index*.

Gregory Bush presented a proposal to the directors to create a series of films or videotapes with a Florida history theme. The proposal was tabled pending the resolution of some of the other business before the board. The board did recognize, however, that familiarity with video techniques and processes are important and should be considered by the next director.

Andrew Brian reported that the Florida Historical Confederation's new by-laws will be published in the *Newsletter* prior to the May meeting. At the annual meeting, the Confederation will present an expanded schedule and concurrent programs. The programs in May will focus on "Education Programs as Revenue Sources," archival techniques, and reference libraries.

David Chapman, coordinator of this year's History Fair, reported that letters had been sent to all county school districts in the state, and that response for this year's History Fair has been typical– good in the northern part of the state, poor in the southern part. In order to expand the Fair's financial base, Mr. Chapman has solicited several Black History and Women's History groups for contributions, and has also made contact with some of Florida's theme parks for contributions.

Discussion of a proposed reapportionment to make representation on the board of directors a more accurate reflection of membership was tabled.

Gerald McSwiggan, chairman of local arrangements for the annual meeting, reported that the convention hotel will be the DuPont Plaza in downtown Miami. The progams are nearing completion, with some emphasis on Florida's Hispanic roots. Members of the board requested that the program committee consider requests to "beef up" programs for the meeting, and

make use of some "non-traditional" sessions. Jacksonville and Gainesville have both indicated interest in hosting the 1989 annual meeting.

Reviewing the by-laws, the board recognized that Paul George is filling the vacancy as president left by the resignation of Dr. Lucius Ellsworth. He may be nominated for a two-year term as president in May 1988. Hampton Dunn has been serving as vice-president. The nominating committee will need to offer the names for a president-elect and five directors at the May meeting.

At Gwendolyn Waldorf's suggestion, the board agreed that the Florida Historical Society should place an historical marker, in the name of J. Leitch Wright, Jr., commemorating the life and accomplishments of William Augustus Bowles. The subject of the marker would coincide with the interest and work of Dr. Wright. Sponsoring a marker will cost $1,270. A slip soliciting pledges for the marker will be included in the registration packets for the annual meeting. The Leitch Wright Memorial Run will continue to be a part of the ongoing activities of each annual meeting.

The board expressed appreciation and gratitude to Dr. Mormino for his continued involvement with the Society, and for all of his various contributions.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:30 P.M.

The Florida Historical Quarterly

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GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1988

May 6-8	Florida Anthropological Society	Orlando, FL
May 12-14	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 86th MEETING	Miami, FL
May 13	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Miami, FL
June 3-7	American Association of Museums	Pittsburgh, PA
Sept. 14-18	American Association for State and Local History	Rochester, NY
Sept. 22-24	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Tampa, FL
Sept. 29-Oct. 2	Society of American Archivists	Atlanta, GA
Oct. 13-16	Oral History Association	Baltimore, MD
Oct. 19-23	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Cincinnati, OH
Nov. 4-6	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Birmingham, AL
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Norfolk, VA
Nov. 11-12	Florida State Genealogical Society	Pensacola, FL
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	Cincinnati, OH

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

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.

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.