

*The
Florida
Historical
Quarterly*

April 1989

**PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



COVER

Florida strawberry field, possibly near Starke, ca. 1910. From a postcard published by the H. & W. B. Drew Company, Jacksonville, Florida.

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Volume LXVII, Number 4

April 1989

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Tampa and DeLeon Springs, Florida Printed by E. O. Painter
Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, Florida.

(ISSN 0015-4113)

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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JOHN WALLACE AND THE WRITING OF RECONSTRUCTION HISTORY

by JAMES C. CLARK

John Wallace, who rose from slavery to become a leading black politician in Florida during Reconstruction, has been nearly forgotten, while other black leaders have received overdue recognition for their accomplishments. Unlike those who are remembered for advancing the cause of blacks, Wallace left behind a different legacy— a book that was critical of his fellow blacks and Radical Republicans, and frequently complimentary of white conservation Democrats. The book, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of Civil Government in Florida After the Close of the Civil War*, published in Jacksonville in 1888, became a major source for a generation of historians who were critical of Reconstruction and who quoted Wallace liberally without examining his motivation or background.¹ A century after the appearance of the book, it remains unclear whether Wallace was the true author of the work that influenced the writing of Reconstruction history or whether someone else was responsible.

Although Wallace was critical of Reconstruction, his life is an example of what happened to many blacks in the South who obtained position and power during Reconstruction only to lose it when Federal troops were withdrawn after 1876 and Democrats regained political control. Wallace was born a slave in Gates County, North Carolina, in 1842. When a detachment of Federal troops moved through northeastern North Carolina in late February 1862, Wallace either escaped or was taken off by Union soldiers. He made his way to Washington, DC, and on August 15, 1863, enlisted in Company D of the Second Colored Infantry as a substitute.² His unit first trained at Camp Casey in

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1. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of Civil Government in Florida After the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, 1888; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1964).
2. Enlistment papers of John Wallace, August 15, 1863, Index to the United States Colored Troops, M589, reel 90, National Archives, Washington, DC.



John Wallace. Reprinted from his book, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*.

northern Virginia and in December 1863 was ordered to Ship Island, Mississippi, a Union-held fortress off the coast of Biloxi that was being used as a staging area for the attack on New Orleans.

On February 13, 1864, Wallace's unit was transferred to Key West, Florida, and one week later he was involved in a brief skirmish at Fort Myers. During the fighting a cannonball exploded near him throwing dirt into his eyes. Although Wallace did not seek medical help at the time, he complained about the injury for the remainder of his life.

Wallace was part of the expedition that left Key West aboard the steamer *Honduras* on February 23, 1865, under orders to

sail up the coast to Cedar Key and than to rendezvous with the Federal naval units blockading the Florida Gulf coast off Apalachee Bay. On March 4, 1865, the Union troops landed near St. Marks. Two days later, as they were advancing north of Newport, they were met at Natural Bridge by approximately 1,500 Confederates who forced them to retreat to their vessels. Federal losses were heavy, although Wallace escaped unharmed. The Battle of Natural Bridge saved Tallahassee from capture; it was the only Confederate capital east of the Mississippi that was not conquered before Lee's surrender at Appomattox.³

On August 9, 1865, Wallace's regiment arrived in Tallahassee, and he remained there after he was mustered out on January 5, 1866.⁴ Although Wallace had signed his enlistment papers with an "X" in 1863, by 1865 he had taught himself, or someone had taught him, to read and write. In Tallahassee he met William D. Bloxham, a former Confederate officer and Leon County planter. Bloxham hired Wallace to teach freedmen at a school he organized on his Tallahassee plantation. A letter to the editor of the conservative *Semi-Weekly Floridian* from an author using the pen name "Senex" on December 30, 1867, praised Wallace and the school. "This school was inaugurated as a experiment only last winter and now numbers under the excellent leadership of Mr. John Wallace over seventy pupils. . . . Mr. Wallace is one of the best qualified, most thorough and untiring of our colored teachers. His success must place him in the front rank of his race."⁵

In 1868, Wallace was a page at the Florida Constitutional Convention which opened in Tallahassee on January 20. He reported that most of the delegates—black and white—were either ignorant or foolish. Later the same year, Wallace was elected constable of Leon County. Wallace joined the Republican party and was outspoken in his defense of fellow blacks. He was often criticized by the conservative newspapers for having what they described as a violent temper. The *Weekly Floridian* said that when Wallace addressed a group of freedmen in 1868, he was "violent in language or was at least violently excited. . . .

3. Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, 3 vols. (New York, 1959), III, 1723.

4. Morning Reports, Company's A to K, vol. 5, National Archives.

5. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, December 30, 1867.

In the course of his harangue he exclaimed, I understand that the Ku-klux are here. If so, let them come on, we are armed and ready for them. Thank God, some of us know how to lead you if you are not able to lead yourselves.”⁶

Tallahassee and Leon County stood as strongholds for blacks during Reconstruction. They outnumbered whites by a six-to-one margin, and the presence of the Union Army assured them of protection. In 1870, Wallace was elected to the Florida House of Representatives, finishing among the top four candidates with 1,322 votes.⁷ He was re-elected in 1872 with 1,358 votes despite having been arrested for assaulting a man on a Tallahassee street. The man was badly injured, and Wallace was fined \$30. The Tallahassee *Sentinel* wrote, “The spectacle of a Legislator going about the streets armed with a slung-shot for the purpose of committing an assault, is such an outrage upon all propriety.”⁸

In 1874, Wallace was elected to the Florida Senate, defeating John Stokes with 1,510 votes to 1,285.⁹ In 1878, Wallace lost his re-election to Everett C. Jones by a nine-vote margin—1,135 to 1,124. Wallace charged fraud, and after Jones had held the seat for only three weeks, the legislature voted eighteen to four to award it to Wallace.¹⁰

In the legislature, Wallace followed an unpredictable course, usually voting with his fellow Republicans, but frequently siding also with the Democrats. Wallace was not out of step with many other Florida Republicans who had little party loyalty. The party was a mixture of Northerners, including a number of Union veterans who had moved to Florida after the war, former Whigs who were willing to collaborate with the Federals, and blacks. Most of the blacks were former slaves with little or no education, but there were others—like Jonathan Gibbs who became the first member of his race to hold a cabinet position in Florida—who had come from the North and had never known slavery. There were bound to be conflicts in a party in which member-

6. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 15, 1868. The *Semi-Weekly Floridian* and the *Weekly Floridian* are the same newspaper. The paper changed the frequency of publication and its name.

7. Record Group 156, series 21, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.

8. Tallahassee *Sentinel*, May 18, 1872.

9. Record Group 156, series 21, Florida State Archives.

10. Florida *Senate Journal*, January 20, 1879, 72.

ship ranged from former slaves to men who had accepted slavery and opposed giving political rights to blacks.

Throughout Reconstruction, the Republican party in Florida was beset by squabbles that prevented it from holding complete power. The party's problems began almost as soon as its first governor, Harrison Reed, took office. Reed, a native of Massachusetts who had lived in Wisconsin and Washington, DC, arrived in Florida in 1863 to serve as one of Florida's three Federal tax commissioners. He was forced to resign that position, but with the help of political friends was appointed by President Andrew Johnson as a special postal agent. He also became editor of the *Jacksonville Florida Times*, the leading Republican newspaper in Florida. Reed was in a position to advance his own ambitions. He controlled the moderate forces in the 1868 Constitutional Convention which drafted a document that provided for appointed judges and state officers and established an apportionment system that effectively prevented blacks and Radical Republicans from controlling the legislature. In May 1868, Reed was elected as Florida's first Republican governor, and almost at once the Republicans began to fight among themselves. There were four attempts to impeach Reed between 1868 and 1872, the most serious involving embezzlement and alleged bribes given to him in exchange for support of a railroad bond issue that he supposedly knew was fraudulent. Wallace was named to the legislative committee to investigate the charges against Reed. The Reed impeachment was only one of a series of issues in which Wallace was on both sides, confounding his fellow Republicans. As a member of the impeachment panel, Wallace claimed that the evidence against Reed had been forged and that he had never seen the impeachment report. Nevertheless, he voted in favor of approving the impeachment report, then switched his position and voted against impeachment.¹¹ Reed survived the impeachment attempts, but the Republican party was left weakened and badly divided.

Wallace's actions— such as his initial support of the impeachment of Reed— could be seen as benefiting Wallace's patron, William D. Bloxham. After the Civil War, Bloxham emerged as

11. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 160-65.

a leading Democrat, and he dominated the party for nearly thirty years. In 1870, Bloxham ran for lieutenant governor but lost to Samuel T. Day, an old Civil War Unionist from Columbia County. Bloxham challenged the results, claiming that Day did not meet the constitutional requirements for the office. The Florida Supreme Court on April 29, 1870, ruled in favor of Bloxham. If the effort to impeach Reed had been successful, Bloxham could have become governor.

In the 1872 gubernatorial election, the Democrats nominated Bloxham. The Republicans were divided between a faction led by Marcellus L. Stearns of Maine who had lost his arm fighting for the Union at the Battle of Winchester, and another led by United States Senator Simon Conover, a native of New Jersey who had served as a surgeon in the Union Army during the Civil War. Wallace supported Conover whom he called "the only Republican who ever recognized the prominent colored men as officeholders."¹² The party compromised and nominated Ossian B. Hart, whose father was the founder of Jacksonville, and gave Stearns the nomination for lieutenant governor. The Republicans won, but Hart died in 1874, and Wallace's enemy, Stearns, became governor. Wallace led a revolt against Stearns over control of delegates to the party nominating convention and claimed Stearns had offered a bribe in exchange for Wallace's support.¹³ The Wallace challenge further damaged the Republican party.

In 1875, another Wallace vote confused and hurt the Republican cause. Neither party was able to organize the Florida Senate, and control depended on whether Republican state Senator E. T. Sturtevant of Brevard County was seated. Initially, Wallace supported the move to oust Sturtevant which would have given the Democrats control.¹⁴ He then reversed himself, apparently out of fear that his fellow blacks might harm him.¹⁵

By 1876, the combination of Republican infighting and Democratic resurgence had imperiled the cause of black rights. The Democrats nominated George F. Drew of Ellaville for gov-

12. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 15, 1873.

13. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet; Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 298.

14. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 315-16.

15. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 298.



Members of the Florida legislature assemble on the capitol steps, ca. 1875. John Wallace is at the far left. Photographs courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.

error. Drew, a Northerner by birth and reputedly the wealthiest man in the state, was put forward by the Democrats who thought he would have a better chance of winning than a former Confederate like William Bloxham. The Republicans nominated Stearns. To show his displeasure with Stearns's nomination, Wallace declared his candidacy for Congress on a splinter ticket that included former Governor Harrison Reed who was running for another term as governor. As late as October 6, 1876, Reed noted that Wallace was still working for the ticket.¹⁶ Wallace was unable to gain much support, however, and he withdrew before the election. Wallace's failure to support the ticket damaged Stearns who lost the election by less than 500 votes— 24,613 to 24,116.¹⁷ The fighting among the Florida Republicans in 1876 cost the party the state election. Republicans would not regain the governorship in Florida until 1967.

In the election, Drew attracted some black votes by promising them protection from white dominance. Even before the soldiers were withdrawn from Florida in 1877, following the

16. Harrison Reed to Edward L'Engle, L'Engle Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

17. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U. S. Elections* (Washington, DC, 1975), 403.

election of Rutherford B. Hayes as president, blacks were quickly losing what power they had accumulated. In a letter to the *Weekly Floridian* in 1878, Wallace complained that blacks had lost rights under Drew, including the right to serve on juries.¹⁸

Wallace believed that most Republicans were interested in blacks only for their votes and that the Democrats had no interest at all. Some blacks briefly considered switching over to the Democratic party and held a rally in 1878 to discuss the issue, but when they found that the Democrats had little interest in unification they decided to remain in the Republican party.¹⁹ Bloxham had also proposed a merger of black voters and conservative Democrats as a reform ticket, but when his fellow Democrats showed no enthusiasm for such an alliance, he abandoned the plan.²⁰

With the removal of the Union troops in 1877, the Democrats no longer had to compromise in their choice of a candidate for governor. In 1880, they nominated William Bloxham, who defeated Simon Conover by nearly 5,000 votes—28,372 to 23,307.²¹

In 1882, Wallace became a leader of the Florida Independent movement with a goal of uniting liberal whites and blacks. The Independents nominated several candidates, and Wallace withdrew from the Republican nomination to run as an Independent for a state senate seat. He finished a weak third in a field of three, gathering just 432 votes to 1,540 for the winner, John Proctor a Democrat.²² In 1884, the Independent movement that Wallace had helped organize nominated Frank Pope for governor. The Republicans considered nominating a candidate, but with Pope gaining support from blacks and a significant number of white Republicans, the party gave him its endorsement. At the party convention in Tallahassee in July, Wallace predicted, "We are going to win this time."²³ But Pope lost

18. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 5, 1878.

19. *New York Times*, May 17, 1878.

20. William Bloxham to Robert M. Davidson, July 30, 1872, misc. manuscript, box 15, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

21. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U. S. Elections*, 403.

22. Record Group 156, series 21, Florida State Archives.

23. *Land of Flowers*, July 29, 1884.

the election. Four years later Wallace again ran for his former seat in the state senate, but finished last in a field of thirteen candidates with just 166 votes. Most Florida blacks were no longer voting in state elections.²⁴

Wallace's personal life also suffered. On December 23, 1880, just four months after the birth of his second son, his wife Patsy died of pneumonia at the age of thirty.²⁵ His health also deteriorated, and beginning in 1877, Wallace frequently complained of pain in his eyes. Although government officials maintained that there was "no evidence that he was injured while in service," Wallace insisted that the pain was a result of the dirt thrown into his eyes during the skirmish in 1864 at Fort Myers, and he tried to have his pension benefits increased.²⁶ A medical examination on October 18, 1878, in Tallahassee found "no objective signs of injury or diseases."²⁷ On December 3, 1881, another doctor examined Wallace and ruled that he was "one-half incapacitated" and entitled to a pension.²⁸ In an undated statement filed with the United States Pension Commission, it was reported that Wallace had "three children to support, and that he has mortgaged all of the property he has to support his children, and to buy medicine and to pay doctors bills . . . which he cannot pay unless he was able to see, or use his eyes or do manual labor."²⁹ In 1885, he hired the Washington firm of Jas. H. Vermilya & Co. to press his claim for a larger pension, but the effort failed.³⁰ After his senate term ended, Wallace used his Republican party connections to secure a post as night inspector at the Custom's House at the port of Key West. He was nominated to the post December 29, 1883, and took the oath of office on January 14, 1884.³¹ It was one of the low-paying gov-

24. Record Group 156, series 21, Florida State Archives.

25. Isaac Jenkins to the United States Pension Office, March 1894, file XC2682365, Veterans Administration, Washington, DC (hereafter cited as V. A. file).

26. Report of Thomas Vincent, assistant adjutant general, July 17, 1877, V. A. file.

27. Certificate of Periodical Examination by Citizen Surgeons, October 18, 1878, V. A. file.

28. Examining Surgeon's Certificate, December 3, 1881, V. A. file.

29. John Wallace, undated statement, V. A. file.

30. Declaration for the Increase of an Invalid Pension, September 16, 1885, V. A. file.

31. Record Group 56, General Records of the Treasury Department, National Archives.

ernment jobs—\$2 per day. In Key West his health problems became worse, and at one point he was confined to bed for three months.³² When Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, became president in 1885, Wallace lost his job.³³

As Wallace's eyesight worsened, and he was again refused a pension increase, he became increasingly bitter. He remarried in 1886, and two years later his wife bore him another son, increasing the pressure for more money. On June 10, 1891, Wallace once more asked for a pension increase. In a letter to the commissioner of pensions he claimed that a member of the Jacksonville medical board had showed "favoritism to his particular friends and in one case where he allowed one applicant twenty dollars per month when the applicant was not half as disabled as your petitioner." Wallace said the board member "is prejudiced against Negro ex-soldiers and will not give them justice as he would give white ex-soldiers."³⁴ Wallace was allowed to take an examination in DeLand, but his pension was not increased.

By 1902, Wallace's pension was \$14. He sought more money, arguing that his pension "is unjustly and unreasonably low and disproportionate to the rate drawn by other pensioners for similar or equivalent disabilities."³⁵ His final pension increase request came in December 1906, and by then he also claimed that he was suffering bowel problems brought on by "eating unfit or putrefied hard tack while stationed in Ship Island, Mississippi."³⁶

After leaving Key West he returned to Tallahassee, and then moved to Jacksonville where he opened a law office at 8½ East Bay Street.³⁷ Wallace became an attorney in 1874 while serving in the legislature. At the time, there were no specific state requirements to be an attorney. His vision problems made it difficult for him to practice law, and Marcus C. Jordan, a white Jacksonville attorney, received one-half of Wallace's legal fees to help him with reading. Jordan's office was at 18½ West Bay

32. Statement of William M. Artrell, October 20, 1892, V. A. file.

33. Record Group 56, General Records of the Treasury Department, National Archives.

34. John Wallace to Commissioner of Pensions, June 10, 1891, V. A. file.

35. Declaration for the Increase of an Invalid Pension, July 28, 1902, V. A. file.

36. Surgeon's Certificate, December 19, 1906, V. A. file.

37. *Webb's Jacksonville Directory*, W. S. Webb, compiler (Jacksonville, 1889), 242.

Street, only a short distance away from Wallace's.³⁸ As a lawyer, Wallace argued a number of cases before the Florida Supreme Court. A study of those cases shows that most involved domestic disputes and such crimes as arson, receiving stolen goods, and robbery. Wallace had all but disappeared as a public figure when *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* was published in 1888. The book is largely a compilation of documents, lists, and letters that reflected Wallace's views of the events and people of the Reconstruction era. His book appeared in the midst of a statewide political campaign and was a useful campaign tool for the Democrats. Wallace was critical of most Republicans, complimentary toward many Democrats, and assured blacks that the Democrats were their true friends. Even though Reconstruction had ended in 1877, there was still a viable Republican party in Florida in 1888 when the Republicans nominated V. J. Shipman, a strawberry farmer from Lawtey, for governor. Shipman, a carpetbagger and ex-Union Army officer, received nearly 40 percent of the vote, a figure that would stand as the highest percentage for a Republican gubernatorial candidate until 1960.³⁹ Shipman was defeated by Francis P. Fleming, a former Confederate soldier and a member of a distinguished Jacksonville family. The 1888 gubernatorial race was the first post-Civil War campaign in which Florida Democrats could be overtly racist in their appeals to white voters.⁴⁰ Democratic party campaigners were able to use Wallace's criticism of Republican leaders to good advantage.

Wallace's book might have been dismissed as just one more campaign tract had it not been for the historians who used it as a major source in writing their versions of Reconstruction history. Not only were his words highly quotable, but as a black he was useful to the critics of Radical Reconstruction. What better critic of Republican party rule than a former slave? The first serious studies of the Reconstruction era were conducted by historian William A. Dunning of Columbia University and his students. Their works portrayed a South at the mercy of scalawags and carpetbaggers who sought to plunder and exploit the region for their personal gain. In a typical excerpt, one

38. Statement of M. C. Jordan, October 20, 1892, V. A. file; *Webb's Jacksonville Directory*, 242.

39. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U. S. Elections*, 403.

40. Peter D. Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1900* (Gainesville, 1984), 109.

historian wrote that “the South was now plunged into debauchery, corruption, and private plundering unbelievable—suggesting that government had been transformed into an engine of destruction.”⁴¹ The first nationally recognized historian to quote Wallace was Walter Fleming in his two-volume *Documentary History of Reconstruction* published in 1906-1907. Fleming selected eighteen lengthy excerpts from Wallace’s book that cast Reconstruction in the worst possible light. Quoting Wallace, Fleming wrote, “The Republicans witnessed the spectacle of their candidate for Governor (Marcellus L. Stearns) being charged with stealing the meat and flour given by the government as a charitable contribution to helpless men, women and children . . . ; the second man of their ticket, Daniel Montgomery, publicly charged with arson; the third man on the ticket, W. J. Purman, burdened with the crime of causing the slaughter of innocent victims.”⁴² In a second book, *Sequel to Appomattox*, published in 1921, Fleming wrote that “Governor Stearns of Florida was charged with stealing government supplies from the Negroes.”⁴³ In his 1937 book *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, J. G. Randall turned the Wallace statement into, “another carpetbag governor was charged with stealing and selling food of the Freedmen’s Bureau.” Randall cites Fleming as his source, not Wallace.⁴⁴ The Wallace claim that Stearns was corrupt was simply a political charge, but by the time Randall used it in 1937, it appeared as though there were criminal charges against Stearns rather than an attack by a political enemy.

For the historian seeking to prove that Reconstruction was evil, Wallace’s remarks provided excellent material. In the 1927 best seller *The Tragic Era*, which combined elements of the Dunning School and a novel, Claude Bowers quoted Wallace as describing Tallahassee as a town where “the hotels and boarding-houses are filled with shabby strangers, the meanest of the carpetbaggers drinking champagne and the poorest in possession

41. E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 148.

42. Walter Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction: Political, Military, Social, Religious, Educational & Industrial, 1865 to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1906-1907), II, 40-41.

43. Walter Fleming, *Sequel to Appomattox* (New Haven, 1921), 192, 224.

44. J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1937), 849.

of the finest of beaver hats."⁴⁵ In *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, William Watson Davis, a Pensacola native and one of Professor Dunning's students, also used a Wallace quotation to describe the city. "Tallahassee was filled with a motley job of blacks and whites more or less under the influence of cheap liquor and wild political talk."⁴⁶

A continuing theme of the Dunning historians was that the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau were ineffective and often corrupt. E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia, the last of the major historians to utilize Wallace as a source, quoted him to the effect that the freedmen would have made "better citizens and more honest legislators if they had not been contaminated by strange white men who represented themselves to them as their saviors." Coulter concluded from Wallace that "many Negroes were to learn too late that they had misplaced their confidence."⁴⁷ In his 1938 book, *The Story of Reconstruction*, Robert S. Henry wrote that Wallace showed how "the errors and excesses of that period were due not to the newly enfranchised colored citizens but to the contamination and contrivance of strange white men who came among them persuasively representing themselves as saviors of the race."⁴⁸

On nearly every topic relating to Reconstruction, Wallace questioned the role of black and white Republicans. His description of Radical legislators was used by Bowers. "Nights find bright lights and abundant whiskey in hotel rooms, whence members, won by money, stagger joyously."⁴⁹ Randall used Wallace to support claims of voter fraud. "To colored voters in Florida, acting under instructions from Radical leaders, the motto seemed to be 'Vote early and often.'⁵⁰ Fleming, among others, quotes Wallace to support the claim of corruption among black legislators. "In Florida the Negro members of the Legislature thinking they should have a part of the bribe and loot money which their carpetbag masters were said to be receiving,

45. Claude Bowers, *The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln* (Boston, 1929), 361.

46. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 735.

47. Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction*, 126-27, 184.

48. Robert S. Henry, *The Story of Reconstruction* (Indianapolis, 1938), 152.

49. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, 361.

50. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 848.

went so far as to appoint what was known as a smelling committee to locate the good things and secure a share."⁵¹

Wallace even supported the Black Codes that were enacted by southern legislatures in 1866, and were designed to limit the right of the newly freed blacks by restricting their freedom to work and to move about and established harsh penalties for those who violated them. Fleming again, using Wallace's book, argued that the codes "were passed only to deter the freedman from committing crimes."⁵²

Most of Wallace's stories are impossible to substantiate. In both *Sequel to Appomattox* and *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, Fleming quoted a Wallace story in which students were taught to respond to the question, "What should the colored people do with the men who is trying to get Governor Starns [sic] out of his seat?" by saying, "They should kill them."⁵³

The historians who cited Wallace praised both his writing and reliability. In *The Story of Reconstruction*, Robert S. Henry said Wallace "gives the liveliest version of the 1876 campaign."⁵⁴ Jonathan Daniels in *Prince of the Carpetbaggers*, the biography of notorious carpetbagger General Milton S. Littlefield, said Wallace "left the best eyewitness account of the period in his *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*."⁵⁵ But these historians ignored questions about Wallace's integrity and the accuracy of his writings. Although they were quick to accept Wallace's flimsy charges of Republican party corruption, they failed to mention that in 1870 Wallace had been accused by an employee in the federal land office of accepting a bribe, although no charges were brought.⁵⁶

The errors in Wallace's book are numerous and frequently rather obvious. For instance, he recalled that the 1865 Florida Constitutional Convention was willing "to sustain Negro suffrage to a limited extent" even though it was clear that the conservative white delegates were intent on denying blacks the right

51. Fleming, *Sequel to Appomattox*, 226.

52. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I, 272.

53. Fleming, *Sequel to Appomattox*, 218-19; Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, II, 206.

54. Henry, *The Story of Reconstruction*, 560.

55. Jonathan Daniels, *Prince of the Carpetbaggers* (Philadelphia, 1958), 237.

56. *State v. Kriminger*, case 33, Leon County Circuit Court Records, Tallahassee.

to vote.⁵⁷ He accused dozens of political enemies of crimes, yet presented no evidence, and there were seldom any other witnesses.

One of Wallace's stories has been retold many times to demonstrate the unreliability of newly freed blacks. Wallace wrote that a black named Joe Oats was selected to attend the National Negro Convention in Washington in 1866. According to Wallace, Oats was "a mulatto of intelligence, of rascally practice and of suave tongue." Wallace said fellow blacks gave Oats money to attend the conference in Washington, but that the man never went to Washington and instead spent the money on high living. The truth is that Oats did go to Washington and did meet with President Andrew Johnson at the White House. Historians, including William Watson Davis, were quick to accept Wallace's account without attempting to verify it, and Oats entered the history books as an example of black dereliction rather than as a man who was one of the first blacks to meet with a president of the United States to press for civil rights.⁵⁸

The historians who cited Wallace failed to question his accuracy in recalling events and in quoting others. Wallace wrote his book nearly two decades after most of the events but was able to recall direct quotations, even though there is no evidence that he kept a diary or notes. Was Wallace the true author of *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* or was it written by someone else who wanted to remain anonymous? The question of authorship has been raised before, but without reaching any conclusion. In a footnote to *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, William Watson Davis wrote, "Ex-Governor Bloxham told me that he aided Wallace in the compilation of his work."⁵⁹ In the preface to the 1964 facsimile reprint of *Caretbag Rule in Florida*, Rembert W. Patrick wrote, "The extent of Bloxham's authorship of the volume is unknown. . . . At times we are tempted to see Bloxham holding the pen, or at least strongly directing it."⁶⁰

If Bloxham, a conservative Democrat who was a key figure in the overthrow of Republican party rule in Florida, was the

57. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, 12.

58. Peter Klingman, "Rascal or Representative? Joe Oats of Tallahassee and the Election of 1866," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (July 1972), 52-57.

59. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 625.

60. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule*, xii.

real author, then the contradictions and anti-Radical views are easier to understand. The book was published in the midst of the 1888 political campaign, and it warned of the perils of the return to Republican party rule and tried to show blacks that the Democrats were their friends. The final paragraph of *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* makes the argument that blacks were better off under the Democrats than the Republicans. "Although the carpet-bag Government was overthrown in 1876, a certain property was bequeathed to the colored people by the carpetbaggers which has been and still is to a certain extent very damaging and burdensome to them. . . . The demoralization in which our people were left by the carpetbaggers is gradually being wiped out by the labors of the best men and women." Wallace argued that the return of the Democrats "has proved a blessing in disguise. . . . Prejudice on account of color is passing away, and the Negro has experienced his worst day in this State." The book concludes with an attack on black ministers who gained influence as black politicians lost their offices. "These men have in times past been guilty of every wrong that can be committed against innocence and virtue, and have violated every moral law and obligation."⁶¹

Nearly every politician active during the Reconstruction period in Florida is criticized except Wallace's former employer, Bloxham. In describing Bloxham's nomination for lieutenant governor in 1870, Wallace called him "a political giant, who was destined to overthrow the carpetbag dynasty of Florida. . . . In fact, the Democratic party of Florida had no cohesiveness until Bloxham became its candidate [for lieutenant governor] in 1870, and it was Bloxham who rallied the masses against Stearns in 1876."⁶² In *The Tragic Era*, Bowers used this Wallace quotation as the basis to write that Bloxham "stepped forth to give cohesiveness and courage to the opposition and to revive the spirit of the native whites in a brilliant campaign of denunciation."⁶³

It is impossible to prove whether *Carpetbag Rule in Florida* was written by Governor Bloxham or John Wallace. However, the more significant question may be why the book was pub-

61. *Ibid.*, 346.

62. *Ibid.*, 127.

63. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, 361

lished. Was the book designed to aid the Democratic party and to undercut blacks and Republicans? The answer may lie not in the author but the publisher. From his constant pleading for a pension increase, it is clear that Wallace lacked the financial resources to publish a book. It is also difficult to envision a large readership for a book that is as ponderous as *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*. The book was published in 1888 by DaCosta Printing and Publishing House of Jacksonville which was owned by Charles W. DaCosta. The firm did commercial printing and published a number of small business newspapers.⁶⁴ Within months of the publication of the Wallace book, DaCosta's fortunes improved dramatically. The new Democratic governor, Francis P. Fleming, named DaCosta to the newly created post of state printer. The position enabled DaCosta to purchase new equipment, and in 1889 he was advertising his firm as the "largest and most complete printing establishment in all Florida."⁶⁵ DaCosta also purchased the Tallahassee *Floridian* which faithfully supported the Democratic party. In 1891, Fleming named DaCosta, then thirty-five, as a Jacksonville alderman, and in 1893 DaCosta was elected to the post.⁶⁶ After Governor Fleming's term ended, DaCosta's fortunes began to decline. He lost his post as state printer, and his printing firm failed.⁶⁷ By 1904, he owned a smaller printing and stationery business, but by the following year the firm was no longer listed in the city directory, and DaCosta was living in a rooming house.⁶⁸

For nearly half a century, Wallace was quoted in many Reconstruction studies. After 1947, the use of Wallace as a source became infrequent as historians grew more suspicious of his contentions. In *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877*, published in 1965, Joe M. Richardson wrote that Wallace's "statements should be accepted with a good deal of skepticism," and that "the book contains many inaccuracies and is pro-Democrat."⁶⁹ In his 1974 book *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of*

64. S. Paul Brown, *Book of Jacksonville: A History* (Poughkeepsie, NY, 1895), 172.

65. *Webb's Jacksonville Directory*, 102.

66. Brown, *Book of Jacksonville*, 172.

67. *Titusville Star*, January 6, 1893.

68. *Jacksonville City Directory*, 1904.

69. Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Gainesville, 1965), 190, 193.

Reconstruction, 1863-1877, Jerrell H. Shofner was also highly critical of Wallace.⁷⁰

Carpetbag Rule in Florida had no apparent impact on Wallace's life. He continued to seek pension increases and to practice law in Jacksonville. He stayed out of politics for nearly a decade before becoming the last black to run for statewide office in Florida in the nineteenth century. By 1896, the Republican party was divided into two groups—the Lily Whites and the Black and Tans. Despite the name Lily Whites, and the party's platform which excluded blacks, it did have black members, including Wallace. The Black and Tans tried to attract both whites and blacks and ended up with a number of Republican politicians who had been prominent during Reconstruction. In 1896, support for the Populist movement peaked as the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan whose message encompassed much of the Populist platform. In the South, Populists combined with the remnants of the Republican party and mounted a threat to the Democrats in some states, particularly North Carolina where a Republican-Populist coalition won seven of the nine congressional seats and the governorship.⁷¹ The Lily Whites and the Black and Tans both fielded candidates in Florida, including Wallace who ran for attorney general as a Lily White. As it became clear the two groups would only divide the opposition vote, they combined into one ticket, but Wallace did not appear on the November ballot.⁷² The Democrats that year nominated for governor their old standby, William Bloxham, who won with 66.6 percent of the vote, one of the lowest percentages for the Democrats between 1892 and 1960. Undoubtedly, Bloxham would have won even if the Republicans had not been divided, but once again Wallace, as he had in 1876, helped create a division that aided Bloxham and the Democratic party.

After his abortive campaign for attorney general, Wallace ended his political career and spent the remainder of his life practicing law. Between 1891 and 1904, he appealed eleven cases to the Florida Supreme Court and won four. In 1901, in *Hicks v. State*, Wallace, working with Jordan who helped prepare

70. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 213, 298.

71. *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U. S. Elections*, 679.

72. Klingman, *Neither Dies Nor Surrenders*, 110-211.

the case, won a reversal for a man convicted of arson.⁷³ Wallace argued his final case before the Florida Supreme Court in 1904 and lost.⁷⁴

Wallace died on November 25, 1908, in Jacksonville of cystitis, with prostate enlargement, at the age of sixty-three. He was buried in the Mount Olive Cemetery located at 1685 West 45th Street in Jacksonville.⁷⁵ His second wife Alice survived him. She died November 19, 1941.⁷⁶

In recent years, two black Florida Reconstruction leaders, Jonathan C. Gibbs and Josiah T. Walls, have received recognition for their accomplishments—Gibbs as the first black to serve in the Florida cabinet and Walls as a member of the United States House of Representatives. Wallace, who held elective office longer than any other black in Florida, faded after serving the purposes of white historians for nearly half a century.

73. *Hicks v. State*, Supreme Court of Florida, March 5, 1901, *Southern Reporter* 29, 631-33.

74. *Johnson et al. v. Wilson*, Supreme Court of Florida, division B, June 28, 1904, *Southern Reporter* 37, 179-80.

75. John Wallace, Standard Certificate of Death, November 25, 1908, Duval County, Jacksonville.

76. Frederick D. Wallace, Jr., to U. S. Treasury Department, December 5, 1941, V. A. file.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN ALACHUA COUNTY, FLORIDA, 1850-1860

by EVERETT W. CAUDLE

IN 1773, the English botanist William Bartram traveled through north-central Florida. Impressed with the richness of the soil in the Alachua region, he commented on the variety and quantity of crops that the Indians who lived there seemed to grow with ease.¹ Despite Bartram's favorable report, and later comments like it, few settlers arrived in the area to establish farms and plantations when Florida became an American territory in 1821. Indeed, more than just fertile soil would be needed to lure farmers into the Florida wilderness. In this regard, the account of plantation agriculture's arrival in Alachua County, Florida, will help illustrate the forces that shaped later migrations onto the southern frontier. For though there were many reasons for resettlement, the elements that impelled people to move from one place to another can be reduced to two basic forces: one pushing and the other pulling. While the prospect of increased prosperity is often recognized as a powerful force that "pulled" people toward the wilderness, the "push" of unfavorable conditions that sometimes existed in the more settled regions of the antebellum South was also a significant impetus to migration.

The settlement of the frontier throughout the South was characterized by two waves of emigration. The first consisted of herdsmen who subsisted primarily by grazing their livestock on the open domain— the majority of which was public. The forests

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1. Mark Van Doren, ed., *The Travels of William Bartram* (New York, 1928), 169-70.

abounded with acorns, roots, and vegetation which would easily support large numbers of swine, and the savannas and open woodlands were covered with wild oats, grasses, vetch, and pea vines that provided pasturage for cattle.² Hogs and cows could freely roam the open territory fattening themselves during the spring and summer. In the winter, the beasts were herded together and driven to markets to be sold. Early settlement patterns in Florida were hardly any different. Around 1850, one observer described the situation as it had been a few years earlier. "So numerous were the herds of cattle in Alachua before the war [the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842] that from 7,000 to 10,000 could be seen grazing at once on Payne's prairie; and there was a single grazier on the Wacasassa [west of present-day Gainesville] whose stock had increased in the course of a few years to the number of 3,000 without any other expense than that of *herding* them."³

Livestock herding was only profitable when large amounts of land remained available for free grazing. With the arrival of the second wave of settlers—farmers and planters—the livestock drovers either left the area for the new frontier or themselves became tillers of the soil. Solon Robinson, a traveling journalist for the *American Agriculturist*, commented during the late 1840s that in the recently settled region of west Florida, farmers no longer "make pork for the people." Robinson further noted that "cattle and sheep are plenty, and just as mean as could be desired." But he added, "they are worthless to a cotton planter, causing him to build a great deal of fence and affording him no profit."⁴ Livestock herders were thus simultaneously pushed from the forests and savannas and pulled towards the more unsettled frontier. However, the conditions that impelled the farmer or planter to move into the wilderness were more complex. There was the lure of fertile but inexpensive (and sometimes even free) land that beckoned to those hearty enough to

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2. Frank L. Owsley, "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," *Journal of Southern History* 11 (May 1945), 149-50; Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (New York, 1941), II, 831-33.
 3. "Florida: Its Soil and Products," *The Western Journal* 6 (June 1851), 181.
 4. Herbert A. Kellar, ed., *Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, 1936), II, 461.

try their luck. Yet the attraction of the frontier alone would not have been sufficient to pull a Georgia or South Carolina agriculturist from the familiar surroundings of a farm or plantation that he had spent time and labor clearing, planting, and— it would seem— improving.

In 1851, a farmer from Troup County, Georgia, lamented about the agricultural condition of his region. “We are awfully bad off up here, having worn out one of the prettiest and most pleasant countries in the world. . . . It is true, we have many of the marks of age, and if a young Rip Van Winkle should find himself suddenly waked up in the middle of some of our large plantations, when he looked out upon the waving broomsedge, the barren hill sides, and the terribly big gullies, it would not be wonderful if he should not feel that he was *about home*.”⁵ This farmer was describing a situation that had been witnessed earlier in older regions of the plantation South. The frontier method of cultivation, which required a constant supply of virgin land in order to produce consistently high yields of exportable crops such as tobacco and cotton, had ruined the region for any further profitable agricultural production.

Farming practices in the antebellum South were still influenced by frontier conditions, for agriculture as a science was little known. Solon Robinson, traveling through Georgia in the vicinity of Macon, commented on the exhausted condition of the region. “Much of the soil of the surrounding country has been wickedly destroyed by a system of cultivation prevalent all over the south.” He described the practice of “plowing very shallow, up and down hill, which has had the effect to send the surface all down to the rivers.” Robinson believed that “probably no soil in the world has ever produced more wealth in so short a time, nor been more rapidly wasted of its native fertility, than the central part of this state.”⁶

Intensive agricultural cultivation became widespread in the early nineteenth century just about the time large bodies of Indian lands began to be available as a result of wars and treaties. First in middle Georgia, and then later in southwestern Georgia and southern Alabama, vast areas were opened for settlement.

5. Letter to the editor (Columbus, GA) *Soil of the South* 1 (July 1845), 36.

6. Kellar, *Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist*, II, 459.

These lands proved to be very suitable for the cultivation of Green-Seed or Upland Cotton, a product that had only become profitable with the invention of the cotton gin in 1793. Large numbers of planters and farmers from Virginia and the Carolinas moved onto these lands, and by 1830, a wide belt of cotton plantations stretched from South Carolina through middle Georgia, across southwestern Georgia and southern Alabama, and westward to the Mississippi River.⁷ In the late 1830s, however, many planters who had been part of the move were facing problems of soil exhaustion and declining crop yields. For these people, there were two options: they could supplement their land with expensive and tedious methods of fertilization, or they could emigrate once again to areas where virgin acreage was available for cultivation.

Most farmers probably preferred not to leave their homes and resettle on the frontier. Families who had established strong ties to their communities were understandably reluctant to emigrate. One Georgia farmer described his objections to migration. "I have, in the first place, a family of children to educate, and my neighborhood affords excellent school facilities. . . . In the next place, I have a home which I love, I have built me a good comfortable house, my negro houses, barn and stables are all good, I have fine orchards, my wife has beautified our yard with flowers and shrubs, we have an excellent set of neighbors, and I really feel that it would be severing some of the dearest ties of life to have to leave this spot, so endeared by association."⁸ Examining land values in Hancock County, Georgia, James Bonner found that during the 1850s the most productive acreage was owned by a few wealthy planters. These individuals also possessed much of the unimproved property in the area. For the plantation elite, the purchase of extra land thus served as insurance against resettlement because unimproved acreage could be brought into cultivation when older land was worn-out and became unproductive.⁹

7. James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860* (Athens, 1964), 41-42. See also chapter 4 for a description of the rise of Upland or "Green-Seed" Cotton.

8. Letter to the editor (Columbus, GA) *Soil of the South* 1 (March 1851), 53.

9. James C. Bonner, "Profile of a Late Ante-Bellum Community," *American Historical Review* 59 (July 1944), 675; Bonner, *History of Georgia Agriculture*, 67.

By the mid-1840s the agricultural situation in the older southern states was growing more serious. The disastrous results of cheap land and ruinous cultivation techniques were evident throughout the Georgia and South Carolina plantation belt. To make matters more difficult, southwest Georgia, Alabama, and the Florida panhandle were no longer considered agricultural frontiers.¹⁰ If a farmer were to find fresh acreage, he would have to look far afield to the distant West— perhaps as far away as Texas— or south into the heart of north-central Florida.

That the unsettled area of Florida would offer a viable source of fresh, fertile land, in retrospect, seems obvious. After all, Florida was closer than Louisiana, Arkansas, or Texas. Furthermore, the climate and topographical features of north-central Florida were similar to many areas of Georgia and South Carolina. With the available lands in Alabama and Mississippi already under cultivation by the late 1830s Florida should have been an almost sure alternative to many settlers. But conditions in much of the Florida territory at that time were not peaceful enough to attract a large number of people into the region. Furthermore, conditions in the older states had not yet reached the critical point they would in the next few years.

North-central Florida in the 1830s was still a vast wilderness. In 1824, three years after Florida became a territory, the Territorial Council created Alachua County. Newnansville, about eighteen miles northwest of present-day Gainesville, became the county seat, and a federal land office was opened there. Nevertheless, settlement was very slow, the major obstacle being a problem with the Seminole Indians. In 1829, upon assuming the office of president, Andrew Jackson began a policy of removing the Seminoles from Florida to reservations in the West. He met a strong resistance from the Indians, and in 1835, open warfare broke out between the government and the group of Seminoles whose leaders vowed to remain in Florida. By July 1836, every settlement south of Newnansville had been destroyed. Settlers were forced into the scattered fortified areas,

10. Bonner, *History of Georgia Agriculture*, 63; J. D. B. De Bow, *Industrial Resources, Etc. of the Southern and Western States*, 3 vols. (New Orleans, 1852), I, 355.

and in many cases they had to be supplied with government rations. The war continued for seven years.¹¹

Early settlement in north-central Florida was also stifled by a dearth of transportation routes in and out of the region. In 1822, settlers in Micanopy had built a road east to Picolata which was located on the St. Johns River a few miles from St. Augustine. Also in use was a "cart road" that led from Micanopy, through the eastern half of Alachua County, and then northwest to the south Georgia port of St. Marys.¹² But the major route of transportation through Alachua County was the Bellamy Road. Completed in 1826 and funded by allocations from the United States Congress, the Bellamy Road traveled west from St. Augustine through the northern part of Alachua County to Pensacola. The road was twenty-five feet wide and was the major east-west highway used by Florida planters to haul their agricultural products to market.¹³

The Second Seminole War and its logistical problems did much to improve transportation into north-central Florida. Military roads were built from the St. Johns River into the interior, and by 1835, regular steamboat service was established between several landings on the upper and lower St. Johns River and Savannah, Georgia. On October 8, 1835, the Jacksonville Courier reported that the "steamer FLORIDA arrived at our wharves last evening from Savannah on her way to Picolata. We are glad to see her gliding up and down our river. It seems to give life to everything."¹⁴ In the 1840s, several other steamers established regular service between ports on the St. Johns River and Savan-

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11. Charles H. Hildreth and Merlin G. Cox, *History of Gainesville, Florida, 1854-1879* (Gainesville, 1981), 4-5; F. W. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County, Florida: Narrative and Biographical* (St Augustine, 1929), 90.
 12. Buchholz, *History of Alachua County*, 58. For a discussion of the "cart road" from Micanopy to St. Marys, see Burke G. Vanderhill, "The Alachua-St. Marys Road," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (July 1987), 50-67.
 13. Appropriations for the Bellamy Road were authorized by Congress in 1824. The major part of the funding, \$20,000, was to be used for the main roadway, while \$3,000 was to be used for construction of branch roads. The road's surface was hard sand and clay, and the government stipulated that no stumps were to be left standing higher than twelve inches. Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 21-22; Buchholz, *History of Alachua County*, 58.
 14. Jacksonville Courier, October 8, 1835.

nah, and it became much easier to ship Florida agricultural products to northern and southern ports.¹⁵

The cessation of the Indian war and improved transportation facilities combined in the early 1840s to make north-central Florida a more attractive place to settle. There were, nonetheless, a small number of Seminoles who continued to make occasional raids. The Indians' presence and the desire to open the frontier caused Congress to pass the Armed Occupation Act in 1842 opening 200,000 acres south of present-day Alachua for settlement. The Act provided 160 acres of land to any single man over eighteen or the head of a family who could bear arms and would live on the parcel for five consecutive years and cultivate at least five acres.¹⁶

Although many of the new settlers moved through north-central Florida to make their selections further south in the present-day Orange and Polk counties area, others took advantage of the rich soils and mild climate of the Alachua region. A few of the settlers had been in the area earlier and were asserting claims to land that they had previously staked out. However, it was estimated in June 1843, that well over one-half of the people filing claims were from outside Florida— most from Georgia and South Carolina.¹⁷

Plantation agriculture slowly gained a foothold throughout north-central Florida. The region's attractiveness was enhanced when it was discovered that Sea-Island Cotton— a fine, high quality, long staple cotton that commanded a premium price on the market— would thrive in the interior of the state. Because the peninsula was affected by the both the Gulf and Atlantic sea breezes, this long staple variety of cotton was not restricted to the coastal regions as it had been in other southern states. One

15. For a discussion of early steamboat service in Florida, see Edward A. Mueller, "East Coast Florida Steamboating, 1831-1861," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (January 1962), 241-56.

16. There were other conditions that limited each man's selection. Sites could not be located on any coastal island or within two miles of any established fort. Also excluded were private claims already established. The land south of the Peace River was declared an Indian reservation and was, therefore, also out of bounds. A 200,000-acre limit was placed upon total selections. See James W. Covington, "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (July 1961), 41-52.

17. St. Augustine *Florida Herald*, June 5, 1843, quoted in Covington, "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," 46.

writer, extolling north Florida's agricultural virtues, noted that "a superior quality of this article had been produced extensively on the Suwannee, and in the very centre of Alachua, as well as on the eastern coast."¹⁸ By January 22, 1847, the *Jacksonville News* noted the exports that were leaving Florida's interior for outside markets. The editor wrote: "The Steamer St. Matthews, on Tuesday last, left this place freighted with one hundred and twenty three bales of sea island cotton. . . . This is a most auspicious evidence of the improved cultivation of our new State, for it is by far the most valuable cargo that has ever been shipped in one week from the St. Johns."¹⁹

North-central Florida's appeal as an agriculture bonanza grew throughout the latter half of the 1840s and into the 1850s. Farmers and planters in the worn-out regions of the older southern states quickly discovered that affordable and inhabitable acreage was available only a few hundred miles away. Even those who had missed the opportunity for free land under the Armed Occupation Act found that acreage remained relatively cheap. As late as 1851 Solon Robinson claimed that in Florida "the advantages offered to any farmer desirous of locating a cotton plantation are probably greater than in any other state east of the Mississippi. Improved lands can be bought from \$5 to \$10 an acre— less than the present value of a single crop."²⁰

An examination of the 1850 Florida census returns will reveal that the combination of forces— the "push" from the older, exhausted regions and the "pull" of opportunity in the new Florida frontier— had a marked effect upon the population.²¹ In 1850, there were 1,608 free inhabitants residing in Alachua County; 53.5 percent listed birthplaces outside of Florida. Of the people that were born in states other than Florida, the

18. "Florida: Its Soil and Products," *The Western Journal* 6 (June 1851), 179; Jerrell H. Shofner and William W. Rogers, "Sea Island Cotton in Ante-Bellum Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (January 1962), 373-80.

19. *Jacksonville News*, January 22, 1847.

20. Kellar, *Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist*, II, 462-63.

21. The manuscript returns of the seventh and eighth censuses (1850 and 1860, respectively) contain information about individuals, families, farms, and slave holdings. These two censuses are divided into six schedules: I, free inhabitants; II, slaves; III, mortality statistics; IV, production of agriculture; V, productions of industry; and VI, social statistics. The following citations will indicate the census and schedule from which the information was garnered.

majority— 86.6 percent— were natives of Georgia and South Carolina, states that were experiencing problems with soil exhaustion and poor crop yields. Furthermore, the age distribution of the 1850 residents indicates that most of the settlers from outside Florida— 77.7 percent— were fifteen years of age and older. By contrast, three-quarters of the native-born Floridians— 75.1 percent— were under the age of fifteen, and over one-third— 38.7 percent— were less than five years old.²² A majority of the people born in Florida, then, were children, and it was the older settlers— the non-natives— who would become Alachua County's economic and political leaders in the years just prior to the Civil War.

A majority of Alachua County's 1850 male residents— 74.8 percent— listed farming as their principal profession.²³ It was likely also that many people who reported another primary occupation were also engaged in some farm activities, if no more than producing food for themselves and their families. Yet if the prospects for finding fertile, virgin land had been the sole force that prompted agriculturists into this frontier county, one could expect a fairly even mixture of birthplaces listed. Farmers from Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina should have been equally attracted to north-central Florida if fresh soil had been the only impetus to migration. This, however, was not the case. An examination of occupations among those heads of families who had moved into Alachua County before 1850 indicates that 76.4 percent of Georgians and 85.1 percent of South Carolinians were farmers, while among the migrants from all other states, only 57.8 percent listed farming as their principal occupation. In fact, 73.7 percent of all family heads who were involved primarily in agriculture production were from Georgia and South Carolina— the two states that had suffered the greatest from soil depletion.²⁴ The evidence, then, is supportive of the idea that alone the advantages of the frontier was not enough to spur emigration from one region to another. Most agriculturists, it seems, only moved into north-central Florida when conditions in the older areas became unfavorable.

22. Manuscript returns of the Seventh U. S. Census, 1850, Alachua County, FL, schedule I (free population), National Archives Microfilm Series M-432, roll 58.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

For the people who emigrated to Alachua County in the late 1840s land was available. By 1850, nearly one-half— 43.8 percent— of the families in the area owned at least one small farm. By 1860, the percentage of families who owned real estate increased markedly to 65.1 percent.²⁵ Of course, the land would have to be cleared or “improved” before it could be utilized for agriculture production. In this respect, Alachua County remained in 1850 only slightly better than a wilderness since only 16.7 percent of the total real estate owned was denoted as improved acreage.²⁶

Clearing land in the mid-nineteenth century was a physically demanding task. The small-scale farmer usually could clear within a year or two enough acreage to sustain himself and his dependent family. But for the agriculturist who hoped to garner substantial profits from his property, it was imperative to the process of land clearing, planting, and harvesting that he either have grown sons, hired hands, or slaves. Of the 274 households listed in the 1850 Alachua County census returns, 40.5 percent— 111 households— were the owners of slaves. But a majority of these slaveowners— 75.7 percent— possessed fewer than ten bondsmen; just over 10 percent owned more than twenty slaves; and only three households possessed more than forty.²⁷

The majority of Alachua County slaveholders in 1850 were migrants from other states and presumably had brought their slaves with them when they moved into the area. Of the 111 heads of household who owned slaves in 1850, 90 percent were born outside Florida.²⁸ This is not proof, of course, that slaves were not purchased once the emigrant reached Florida. However, given the premise that most migration into the area had been quite recent and that Alachua County was isolated from population centers where slaves could have been easily obtained,

25. Manuscript returns of the Seventh U. S. Census, 1850, Alachua County, schedule IV (productions of agriculture), on microfilm in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL. Manuscript returns of the Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, Alachua County, schedule IV (productions of agriculture), on microfilm in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

26. Seventh Census, schedule IV.

27. Manuscript returns of the Seventh U. S. Census, 1850, Alachua County, schedule II (slaves), National Archives Microfilm Series M-432, roll 60.

28. *Ibid.*

it would seem plausible that a majority of the slaves accompanied their masters onto the frontier. And since most of the newcomers were from Georgia and South Carolina, the majority of the slaveowners— percent— were from these two states.²⁹

In the years from 1850 to 1860, the conditions that favored the production of market crops in Alachua County— particularly cotton— improved. A major factor in the enhancement of the county's attractiveness to planters was the proposal and eventual completion of the Florida Railroad. This line stretched across the peninsula from Fernandina to Cedar Key. The Florida Railroad, by 1860, passed through the heart of Alachua County and provided the population with convenient and reliable transportation of commodities in and out of the region³⁰

While the appeal of north-central Florida continued to grow during the final decade of the antebellum period, agricultural conditions in the plantation belt of the older parts of the South remained in a state of deterioration. An examination of the 1850 and 1860 census returns from several contiguous middle Georgia and central South Carolina counties indicates that most lost population or gained only a very small number of residents during that ten-year period.³¹ Had there been no further migration into these counties, one could expect that natural increase from births would have contributed to some growth. It must be concluded, therefore, that counties which lost population and those with little or no population growth all witnessed an exodus from 1850 to 1860.

The increased push from the worn-out regions and the stronger pull of an evolving area combined to have an important effect on the growth and development of north-central Florida. From 1850 to 1860, the free population of Alachua County

29. *Ibid.*

30. Cox and Hildreth, *History of Gainesville*, 11-12.

31. Counties surveyed were taken from a four-county-wide area from the Macon vicinity northeast through central South Carolina. Of the twenty-five Georgia and eleven South Carolina counties sampled, only eight increased their population in the ten-year period. Population figures are from *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, House Misc. Docs., vol. 2, 32d Cong., 2d sess., 464-65, 338-39; *Population in the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, House Misc. Docs., vol. 5, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 58-61, 449.

more than doubled, and the slave population quadrupled.³² In a study of economic and social mobility within Alachua County, only 146 individuals could be linked from the 1850 to the 1860 census.³³ This fact suggests, then, that population expansion in this decade was due largely to migration. An examination of the origin of heads of family (or, interchangeably, heads of household) will illustrate that a majority of this population growth was due to emigration from other states— especially the two older states of Georgia and South Carolina. In 1850, 123 of the family heads in Alachua County were Georgia-born; by 1860 native Georgians accounted for 309 of the county's heads of household. The county also experienced an increase in the number of native South Carolinian families from sixty-seven in 1850 to 338 in 1860.³⁴

Alachua County did experience during the 1850-1860 period a significant increase in the number of native Floridians who were heads of household— twenty-seven to 110. There was also an increase in heads of household from other states— forty-five to 151. But of the county's emigrants, it was the people from Georgia and South Carolina who were most likely engaged in farming as their principal means of livelihood. Indeed, 66.3 percent of Georgians and 55.9 percent of the South Carolinians were agriculturists. By contrast, only 36.4 percent of the migrant heads of household from all of the other states combined farmed for a living.³⁵ Also significant was the number of slaveholders that were native Georgians or South Carolinians. By 1860, nearly three-quarters-74.9 percent— of Alachua County's slaveholding population were from these two states.³⁶

By 1860, Alachua County had become one of Florida's major cotton-producing counties. Free population in the county had slightly more than doubled, the amount of acreage listed as improved had quadrupled, and the total value of real estate had

32. The white population of Alachua County increased to 3,767 in 1860; the slave population, which was 906 in 1850, rose to 4,457 by 1860. *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, 400; *Population of the United States in 1860*, 51, 53.

33. Patricia Smith Garretson, "Social and Economic Mobility: Alachua County, 1850-1860" (unpublished manuscript), 11.

34. Seventh Census, schedule I; Eighth Census, schedule I.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Eighth Census, schedule II.

increased to more than seven times its 1850 value.³⁷ Only six other Florida counties produced more cotton than Alachua County, and since the census returns do not distinguish between Green-Seed Cotton and Sea-Island Cotton, it can be assumed that the county's cotton crop— a portion of which was more likely the finer Sea-Island variety— had a higher value and thus afforded Alachua County's farmers and planters a larger margin of profit.³⁸

Given time, north-central Florida surely would have developed into a cotton-producing region that could rival many of the traditional cotton states. But it was more than just the region's ability to produce agricultural profits that encouraged migration into the area. The promise of fertile acreage— and the consequent prospects of wealth and prosperity— was surely one force that lured men from the familiar, settled lands of South Carolina and Georgia into the Florida wilderness. Yet without the constant push of worn-out land and dwindling profits, it would be hard to explain the rapid development that characterized the settlement of north-central Florida during the late antebellum era.

37. Garretson, "Social and Economic Mobility," 14.

38. Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida*, 11. See also Shofner and Rogers, "Sea Island Cotton in Ante-Bellum Florida," 379-80 for discussion of the value of Sea-Island cotton in Florida.

“A GANG OF PIRATES”: CONFEDERATE LIGHTHOUSE RAIDS IN SOUTHEAST FLORIDA, 1861

by RODNEY E. DILLON, JR.

In July of 1861, three months after Confederate gunners opened fire on Fort Sumter igniting the Civil War, a distinguished group of United States Army, Navy, and civilian officials met in Washington, DC. These men, Flag Officer Samuel F. DuPont, Commander Charles H. Davis, Major John G. Barnard, and Superintendent Alexander D. Bache of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, had been appointed by the Navy Department as a blockade board to study the geography and topography of the southern coastline, the state of Federal naval resources and manpower, and the strategic and tactical plans necessary to make President Lincoln's frequently ridiculed blockade of the Confederate States a reality. Meeting throughout the summer and early fall, the board prepared a series of reports giving detailed descriptions of the Confederate shore and recommending the division of blockading forces into sections. Commenting on the southern Atlantic coast of Florida in their July 26 report, the board dismissed the region with the statement that it “can hardly be said to be inhabited, and is of no great consequence except as a convenient place of resort for pirates.”¹ Although this statement reflected the common perception of southeast Florida during the mid-nineteenth century, events would soon prove it notably shortsighted.

The report was certainly correct in describing the region's condition of settlement. Less than 300 people made their homes along the coast south of Cape Canaveral. Over 200 of these

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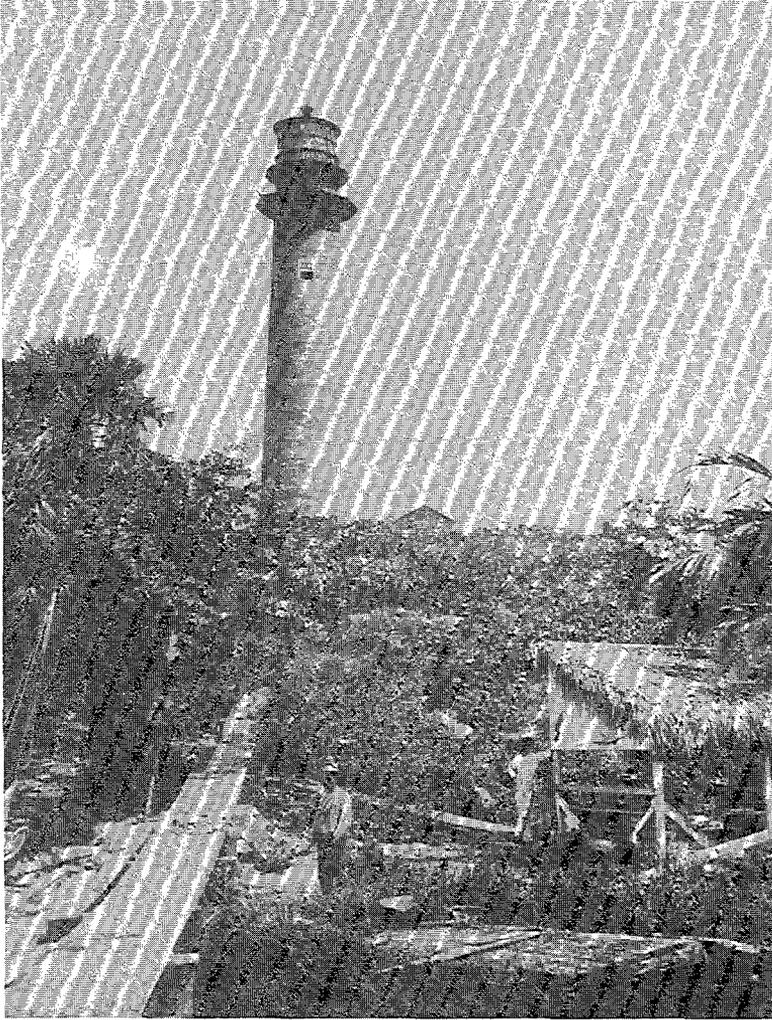
1. Third Report of Conference for Consideration of Measures for Effectually Blockading the South Atlantic Coast, July 26, 1861, U. S. Naval War Records Office, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 27 vols. (Washington, DC, 1894-1927), series 1, XII, 201-06 (hereafter cited as *ORN*).

resided in small communities and isolated homesteads scattered from the Indian River Inlet to south of the St. Lucie River. They were known collectively as the "Indian River settlements." An additional group, estimated at some thirty people, clustered along the Miami River and Biscayne Bay.²

Of far greater value to both Union and Confederate authorities than these tiny frontier settlements were southeast Florida's two Federal installations, the imposing lighthouses at Jupiter Inlet and Cape Florida. In addition to serving as bastions of Federal authority in an otherwise hostile territory, these structures were of vital importance to navigation in a region that, despite its sparse population, formed the boundary of a busy shipping route. Bordered by the deep waters of the Gulf Stream, the southeast Florida coast lay directly adjacent to the natural sea lanes followed by ships sailing between northeastern and European ports and the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, the South Atlantic, and ultimately Cape Horn and the Pacific. Southeast Florida's few residents also depended on nautical means of transportation. Living on a thin strip of dry ground between the ocean and flooded marshlands to the west, they had become, by necessity, adept at sailing their small craft along the coast and the inland waterways and through unmarked, shifting inlets.³

Although southeast Florida waters were important shipping lanes throughout the early and mid-nineteenth century, they were also extremely dangerous. The same deep waters that brought ships close to shore provided ample opportunities for careless navigators to beach their vessels on the abrupt

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2. Manuscript returns of the Eighth U. S. Census, 1860, population schedules, Brevard and Dade counties, on microfilm, University of Florida Library, Gainesville (hereafter cited as Eighth U. S. Census); Mrs. A. C. Richards, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Miami," *Miami News*, 1903, clippings in Agnew Welsh Collection, Miami-Dade Public Library, Miami; U. S. War Department, *Memoir to Accompany a Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay* (New York, 1856), 7-9; Lieutenant J. C. Ives, "Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay" (New York, 1856).
 3. Charles M. Brookfield, "Cape Florida Light," *Tequesta* 9 (1949), 11; Charles W. Pierce, "On the Wings of the Wind," typescript in the collection of the Historical Society of Palm Beach County, West Palm Beach, FL, 1; George Winston Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (October 1948), 103-04.



Jupiter Lighthouse about 1883. Reprinted from *Tequesta* 20 (1960). Original in the Palm Beach County Historical Society Collection.

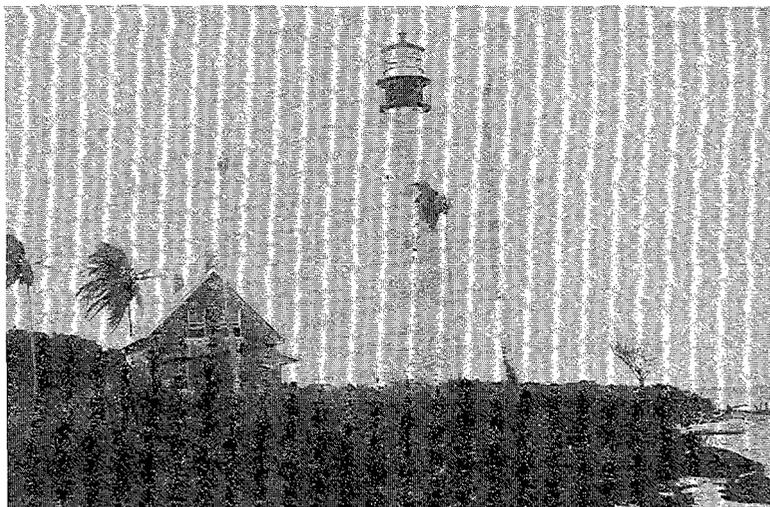
shoreline. Treacherous, submerged coral reefs also lay offshore, hugging the coast closely from Hillsboro Inlet south to Biscayne Bay, where they emerged as the Florida Keys and continued southwestward into the Straits of Florida. Violent storms often swept the sea and adjacent land as well. So prevalent were

hazards to navigation that salvaging shipwrecks was a major economic activity for the residents of the south Atlantic coast and the Keys.⁴

In an effort to minimize navigational hazards, the federal government had, as early as 1825, constructed the lighthouse at Cape Florida on the southern tip of Key Biscayne at the entrance to Biscayne Bay. Despite hurricanes and a devastating Indian attack during the Second Seminole War, the white-painted brick tower continued to mark the entrance to the bay and warn ships away from the reef at the outbreak of the Civil War.⁵ Reconstructed in 1846 to repair extensive damage from the Indian attack, and renovated to a height of ninety-five feet in 1855, the Cape Florida lighthouse stood alone on Florida's south Atlantic shore until 1859 when a 105-foot tall red brick tower was completed at Jupiter Inlet. Designed by army engineer Lieutenant George Gordon Meade, who was soon to gain fame as the Union commander at the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863, the new light tower was capped with a beacon "of the First Order," visible for eighteen to twenty-seven miles and first illuminated on July 10, 1860.⁶

When Florida seceded from the Union on January 10, 1861, the fact that the Jupiter and Cape Florida lighthouses were the only Federal installations on or immediately adjacent to the mainland of the lower peninsula was not lost on the area's few settlers. Although southeast Florida lay far from the scenes of political turmoil and military mobilization which characterized much of the nation, residents nevertheless eagerly awaited news from the outside world and vigorously discussed current events. Most, regardless of their places of origin, considered themselves

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4. "Wrecking in the Florida Keys," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 18 (April 1859), reprinted in *Broward Legacy* 6 (Winter/Spring 1983), 2-10; *New York Times*, January 9, 1861; Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West the Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1968), 162, 165; Stuart D. Ludlum, comp., *Exploring Florida 100 Years Ago* (Utica, 1973), 41-43.
 5. Dorothy Dodd, ed., "Volunteers' Report Destruction of Lighthouses," *Tequesta* 14 (1954); 68-69; Brookfield, "Cape Florida Light," 6-11; Richards, "Reminiscences of Early Days," *Miami News*, 1903 clippings.
 6. Brookfield, "Cape Florida Light," 11; Dodd, "Volunteers' Report Destruction," 68-69; Bessie Wilson DuBois, "Jupiter Lighthouse," *Tequesta* 20 (1960), 6-8.



Cape Florida Lighthouse about the turn of the century. Reprinted from *Guide to Florida Lighthouses*, by Elinor De Wire (Pineapple Press, Sarasota, 1987). Original in the National Archives

loyal to the state of Florida and to the nascent Confederate States of America.⁷

Throughout the winter and spring of 1861, state authorities and enthusiastic secessionists seized a number of lighthouses and navigational aids along the southern coast. The opening of hostilities at Fort Sumter on April 12, and Lincoln's blockade proclamation seven days later, accelerated this process. On Florida's north Atlantic coast, the Confederate commander of St. Augustine's Fort Marion ordered the lighthouse there extinguished. Despite some protest from local shipping interests, the city's customs collector and former mayor, Paul Arnau, led a group of men across the Matanzas River to Anastasia Island, where they dismantled the beacon. Arnau also directed the keeper of the Cape Canaveral light to darken his structure,

7. W. Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892* (Baltimore, 1955), 322, 324, 328; Richards, "Reminiscences of Early Days," *Miami News*, 1903 clippings; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida Begun and Held at the Capitol in the City of Tallahassee on Thursday, January 3, A. D. 1861* (Tallahassee, 1861; reprint ed., Jacksonville, 1928), 35; *The Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Florida*, 10th sess. (Tallahassee, 1861), 165-67.

which he did by removing the lamps and machinery and burying them on his orange grove near the Banana River.⁸ By the end of April, the string of south Florida lights between Jupiter Inlet and the Dry Tortugas were reported to be the only beacons remaining on the Confederate coast between Chesapeake Bay and the Rio Grande. Although the five lights in the Keys were difficult to reach from the mainland and were carefully watched by Union naval forces headquartered at Key West, pro-confederate south Floridians felt assured that either the state or the Confederate government would soon dispatch an agent to oversee the extinguishing of the unprotected lights at Jupiter and Cape Florida.⁹

As spring passed into summer, no emissary arrived, and area settlers grew increasingly impatient. This was particularly true of those along the Indian River, which formed a natural inland water route from Jupiter Inlet to the St. Johns River region and other more populous areas of northern Florida. At Jupiter, assistant lighthouse keeper August Oswald Lang, a German immigrant, repeatedly urged head keeper Joseph F. Papy to take matters into his own hands and shut the installation down. Although frequently professing his loyalty to the Confederacy, the Florida-born Papy stubbornly refused to take action, claiming that he was awaiting orders from the proper authorities. Perhaps, as his fellow south Floridians suggested at the time, he was also unwilling to sacrifice his government pay and provisions—which were rare commodities on that distant frontier. Or, as later writers have observed, pride in the powerful new light that he had supervised since the first of the year may have compelled Papy to remain at his post.¹⁰

8. "Report of the Lighthouse Board" (November 26, 1861), *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of Finances*, Sen. Exec. Doc. 2, 37th Cong., 2d sess., 203-04; George E. Buker, "St. Augustine and the Union Blockade," *El Escribano* 23 (1986), 2; Thomas Graham, *The Awakening of St. Augustine: The Anderson Family and the Oldest City, 1821-1924* (St. Augustine, 1978), 92-93, 102, 267; Harriett Carr, *Cape Canaveral, Cape of Storms and Wild Cane Fields* (St. Petersburg, 1974), 19-21.

9. "Report of the Lighthouse Board," 204; Dodd, " 'Volunteers' Report Destruction," 68.

10. Dodd, " 'Volunteers' Report Destruction," 68-69; James Paine to Christopher C. Memminger, October 10, 1861, photocopied letter in Historical Society of Palm Beach County, West Palm Beach; Mary Collar Linehan, "German First to Live on Palm Beach," *Update* 13 (November 1986), 3; DuBois, "Jupiter Lighthouse," 7; Eighth U. S. Census, Monroe County.

On August 9, 1861, exasperated by the apparent disinterest of higher authorities and by Papy's refusal to cooperate, Lang abruptly resigned his position and departed the lighthouse and the sturdy coquina structure that served as a house for the keepers. He journeyed northward forty miles to the home of James Paine, a settler of strong Confederate sympathies who lived near the Indian River Inlet. After considering Lang's dilemma, the two men resolved to extinguish the light themselves, by force if necessary. Fragmentary evidence indicates that Paine had been contemplating a raid on the lights south of the Indian River for some time before Lang's arrival, and he had been encouraged to proceed by Paul Arnau, the St. Augustine customs collector who had overseen the darkening of northeast Florida's lighthouses earlier in the year.¹¹

Within one week of his departure, on August 15, Lang returned to the Jupiter lighthouse accompanied by Paine who bluntly informed keeper Papy of the purpose of their visit. When Papy demanded to know under what authority Paine and Lang were acting, Paine replied that "we came as Citizens of the Confederate States, to discharge a duty to our country," adding that "our acts would meet the approbation of our Government."¹² Then, as Papy stood helplessly by, the two "citizens of the Confederate States" proceeded to render the facility unusable. Mindful of the cost and the potential value to the Confederacy of the fragile mineral lamps, French-made lenses and prisms, and the precision ball bearing rotating mechanism, Paine and Lang were careful not to damage any of the equipment, methodically removing only enough of the machinery to disable the beacon. They secured the dismantled parts, along with miscellaneous tools, paint, and oil, in a locked storage area on the lighthouse property.¹³

Encouraged by the success of this bold action, Paine and Lang considered the possibility of a similar raid on the Cape Florida lighthouse. While they discussed the feasibility of a trip

11. Dodd, "Volunteers' Report Destruction," 69; Paine to Memminger, October 10, 1861; *Charleston Courier*, September 24, 1861; DuBois, "Jupiter Lighthouse," 6-7.

12. Paine to Memminger, October 10, 1861.

13. *Ibid.*; Dodd, "Volunteers' Report Destruction," 68-70; DuBois, "Jupiter Lighthouse," 5-7.

to Key Biscayne, they were joined by Papy's second assistant, a recent arrival from the Fort Meade area named Francis A. Ivy, and by two additional men. Ivy and the two others agreed to accompany Lang to Cape Florida, a treacherous journey of approximately ninety miles over land and water. Paine stayed behind.¹⁴

Beginning their journey on foot, the four men passed the red sand dunes that stretched along the coast south of Jupiter Inlet, and skirted the shores of Lake Worth, the long, slim, freshwater lake running parallel to the ocean beach for over twenty miles and separated from it only by a strip of land averaging less than one-half mile in width. By keeping to the beach, the travelers were able to avoid the numerous swamps, sawgrass marshes, and palmetto thickets that made inland travel so difficult.¹⁵ Walking the open beach, however, exposed them to "a burning Sun and drenching rains," which they endured, as they later reported, "with a very scant allowance of food."¹⁶ After passing the Orange Grove Haulover, with its large grove of wild orange trees, and Lake Boca Raton, where a one-time inlet to the sea had been blocked by shifting sands, the four Confederates encountered the first serious obstacle to block their paths—the swift-flowing Hillsboro Inlet. Although contemporary reports do not specify how the four-man raiding party crossed this hurdle, they may have waded over at low tide or improvised a raft from the abundant vegetation that grew along the inlet's banks. As they proceeded southward, they faced, and crossed, an even more formidable barrier at New River Inlet before reaching Biscayne Bay where they procured a small sailboat. They set sail down the broad bay under cover of darkness and arrived at Key Biscayne late on the night of August 21.¹⁷

14. Paine to Memminger, October 10, 1861; Dodd, " 'Volunteers' Report Destruction," 68-69; Linchan "German First to Live on Palm Beach," 3; Eighth U. S. Census, Hillsborough County.

15. U. S. War Department, *Memoir to Accompany a Military Map*, 11-13; Ives, "Military Map."

16. Dodd, " 'Volunteers' Report Destruction," 69.

17. *Ibid.*, 68-69; U. S. War Department, *Memoir to Accompany a Military Map*, 13-19; Ives, "Military Map." An excellent description of the problems encountered in crossing the inlets between Lake Worth and Biscayne Bay before bridges or ferries were installed can be found in Pierce, "On the Wings of the Wind," 376, 436-38.

The Confederate party had been informed that the Cape Florida lighthouse keepers were armed, instructed to protect their station with force if attacked, and "had repeatedly boasted that they would defend the Light to the last."¹⁸ In confirmation of these reports, Lang, Ivy, and their two companions reached the lighthouse at midnight to find the two keepers ensconced in the tower with the iron door below bolted and locked from the inside. Clearly unable to gain possession of the lighthouse by force, the raiders settled upon a simple ruse to accomplish their mission. One of the four, acquainted with the Minorcan head keeper, Simeon Frow, and knowing that he was daily expecting supplies from Key West, hailed him with the message that he had news from the island city. This approach brought Frow and his assistant scurrying down the tower to unfasten the door, only to find themselves confronted by four armed men waiting in the darkness.¹⁹

As he and his companions examined the lighting mechanism, August Lang recommended destroying the parts that they could not take with them in their small boat. Proximity to Federal strongholds in the Keys precluded any possibility of holding and defending the property and thus discouraged the raiders from attempting to conceal the machinery on Key Biscayne. Accordingly, they smashed the lenses and reflectors, then removed the three lamps and burners along with two muskets and two Colt revolvers which had belonged to Frow and his assistant. The keepers themselves vigorously asserted their loyalty to the Confederacy, despite their earlier boasting that they would protect the light with their lives. James Paine later wrote that scarcity of room in the raiders' small boat more than this professed change of loyalties saved the two men from being taken into custody. Apparently, the four Confederates made most, if not all, of the journey back to Jupiter in their sailboat since Paine later wrote that they had traveled only ninety miles of the roughly 180-mile round trip on foot.²⁰

18. Dodd, "Volunteers' Report Destruction," 69.

19. *Ibid.*, 68-69; Paine to Memminger, October 10, 1861; *Charleston Courier*, September 24, 1861; Lighthouse Appointments, record group 26, National Archives, Washington, DC; Manuscript returns of the Ninth U. S. Census, 1870, population schedules, Dade County, on microfilm, University of Florida Library.

20. Dodd, "Volunteers' Report Destruction," 69; Paine to Memminger, October 10, 1861; "Report of the Lighthouse Board" (October 16, 1866),

After their departure, keeper Frow quickly shed any pretense of Confederate sympathy and set out for Key West in a small dinghy. Upon his arrival, he related his account of the raid to Union officials and to the correspondent of the *New York Herald* who relayed the news to the North. Frow claimed that the assailants had identified themselves as "The Coast Guard," led by "Captain Arnou [Arnau?] of St. Augustine." This assertion seems to indicate that the raiders were acting with the advice and cooperation of the St. Augustine customs collector, a supposition reinforced by the fact that James Paine was acquainted with Arnau and did, in fact, seek his advice concerning the deposition of the lighthouse equipment in the weeks following the raids. Frow's statement also raises the possibility that Arnau himself may have been one of the two unidentified men who accompanied Lang and Ivy to Cape Florida. Other statements made by Frow, however, weaken the credibility of his account. He reported, for example, that on August 26, while en route to Key West, he had seen the lighthouse raiders sailing southward toward the Carysfort Reef lighthouse, when, in reality, they had returned to Jupiter.²¹

When the raiding party returned, they stored the articles confiscated from Cape Florida on the Jupiter lighthouse property. Keeper Papy they "turned away" as "not the proper person to be in such a responsible position."²² Papy gathered his family together and sailed for Key West where he had resided before taking the keeper's job at Jupiter. Shortly after his compatriots rejoined him, Paine wrote a report to Florida Governor Madison Starke Perry that detailed the lighthouse raids and solicited the governor's approval. This report, signed by Paine, Lang, and Ivy, also requested Perry's decision on the final deposition of the lighting equipment stored at Jupiter and expressed fears of a Union attack on the facility. "As it is most likely that the enemy will undertake to retaliate [sic] by destroying the Light and property," Paine wrote, "we would suggest that a Guard be Sent

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of Finances, House Exec. Doc. 4, 39th Cong., 2d sess., 219.

21. *Charleston Courier*, September 24, 1861; Buker, "St. Augustine and the Union Blockade," 2-3.

22. Dodd, "'Volunteers' Report Destruction," 69; Paine to Memminger, October 10, 1861.

to protect it, or if not, instruct us to have the property moved to some safe place." The arms captured at Cape Florida, he added, "will be much needed at Jupiter in case of an attack."²³ Paine also informed Perry that he had taken the liberty of placing Lang in charge of the Jupiter lighthouse. After completing the report, he set out for Tallahassee to deliver it to the governor in person.²⁴

The lighthouse raids did not long escape the attention of Union naval authorities. Federal Commander T. Augustus Craven of the steamer *Crusader* wrote Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles from New York harbor on September 6, 1861, shortly after returning north from blockading duty in the Florida Keys. Evidently basing his report on information provided by former lighthouse keeper Frow, Craven described the damage to the southeastern coastal lights by "a gang of pirates from St. Augustine." Although he erred as to the origin of the raiders, he accurately described the removal of the lighting apparatus from the Jupiter tower and the destruction of the lenses at Cape Florida.²⁵

While deploring the darkening of these two vital lights, Craven expressed greater concern for the safety of the lighthouses at Carysfort Reef and Sombrero Key which guarded the submerged outer reef off the upper Keys. Although his anxiety echoed Frow's inaccurate belief that he had seen the raiders traveling south toward Carysfort Reef, Craven's concern for the reef lights was thoroughly justified. These beacons, erected in the 1850s sat atop steel frame towers anchored in the coral and designed to withstand both hurricane winds and the relentless battering of the waves. In addition to being considered engineering marvels, they guarded one of the most dangerous sections of the reef, past which Union ships had to navigate when sailing between Key West and northern ports. Unsure of the size or intentions of the "gang of pirates" striking south Florida's lighthouses, Commander Craven recommended "early

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23. Dodd, " 'Volunteers' Report Destruction," 67-69; Richards, "Reminiscences of Early Days," *Miami News*, 1903 clippings; Eighth U. S. Census, Monroe County.
 24. Paine to Memminger, October 10, 1861; Dodd, " 'Volunteers' Report Destruction," 69.
 25. T. Augustus Craven to Gideon Welles, September 6, 1861, *ORN*, series 1, XII. 207.

measures for the security of the Reef Lights," specifying that a small, light-draft steamer stationed in the vicinity could "effectively prevent further acts of violence."²⁶

Salmon P. Chase, Federal secretary of the treasury, whose department included the United States Lighthouse Board, seconded Craven's recommendations. Quoting a report by the lighthouse inspector for the lower Atlantic coast, he wrote Welles on October 11 that "a small vessel not drawing over eight feet of water" should cruise Hawk Channel between Cape Florida and Sombrero Key to protect the reef lights.²⁷

The Union Blockade Board added their voices to the call for strengthening the northern military presence in southeast Florida. Although it is doubtful that the news of the lighthouse raids had reached them by the time their September 3, 1861, report was issued, the board had somewhat belatedly come to the conclusion that they had seriously underestimated southern Florida's importance in their July report. Accordingly, the September report sought to rectify the situation by advocating a strict blockade of the state's lower east coast and even recommending the military occupation of Indian Key and the mouth of the Miami River.²⁸

In the meantime, the Confederate lighthouse raiders, far from being in a position to launch raids against the formidable Keys lights, were having difficulties deciding how to secure the equipment already in their custody. When Paine presented his report to Governor Perry in Tallahassee, the governor ordered him to transport all of the dismantled lighthouse machinery to St. Augustine, and there present it to the commander of Fort Marion where it could be properly guarded. Leaving Tallahassee, Paine traveled to St. Augustine to confer with collector Arnau before returning to the Indian River. His long trek home convinced him that the arduous journey northward would damage the fragile lenses and precision machinery which he had taken such care to protect. Therefore, on October 10, he

26. Ibid.; Love Dean, *Reef Lights, Seaswept Lighthouses of the Florida Keys* (Key West, 1982), 23, 47-52, 61-69; *Charleston Courier*, September 24, 1861.

27. Salmon P. Chase to Welles, October 11, 1861, *ORN*, series 1, XII, 216.

28. Second Report of Conference for Consideration of Measures for Effectually Blockading the Coast Bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, September 3, 1861, *ORN*, series 1, XVI, 651-52.

addressed a letter from his Indian River home to Confederate Secretary of the Treasury Christopher G. Memminger asking Memminger's "opinion and decision."²⁹

The secretary's reply, if any, is unknown. And while Paine sought advice and debated his course of action, his Jupiter storehouse was becoming increasingly vulnerable. Throughout the second half of 1861, as the Confederate government amassed large armies in the upper South to meet invading forces from the northern states, Florida officials lamented that their state was being abandoned. Even these officials worried more about the safety of populous ports such as Fernandina, Pensacola, and St. Marks than about south Florida's lonely shores. As early as September 13, 1861, Brigadier General John B. Grayson, commanding all Confederate troops in middle and east Florida, informed the war department in Richmond that "Florida will become a Yankee province unless measures for her relief are promptly made."³⁰ By the end of the year, Tampa remained the Confederacy's southernmost military outpost. On the east coast, no southern troops were active below St. Augustine.³¹

With no resources for defense, and with Union naval forces directing greater attention to the southeast Florida coast, Paine, Lang, and their companions recognized the folly of leaving the lighthouse apparatus at Jupiter. Sometime in late 1861 or early 1862, they removed the items and carefully concealed them in the wilderness nearby. According to local tradition, the hiding place was a palmetto hammock near the shore of Lake Worth Creek, a narrow, winding stream that flowed into Jupiter Inlet from the south.³² Theirs was a wise and timely decision. Major Federal offensives in Tennessee in the spring of 1862 escalated the withdrawal of Confederate troops from Florida. In March, John Milton, who had succeeded Perry as governor the previous

29. Paine to Memminger, October 10, 1861.

30. John B. Grayson to Leroy P. Walker, September 13, 1861, U. S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, 1880- 1901), series 1, VI, 276 (hereafter cited as *OR*); John Milton to Stephen R. Mallory, October 2, 1861, *ibid.*, 287; Milton to Jefferson Davis, October 18, *ibid.*, 291.

31. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 56-57.

32. Bessie Wilson DuBois, "Two South Florida Lighthouse Keepers," *Tequesta* 33 (1973), 41; DuBois, "Jupiter Lighthouse," 8.

October, protested that the effect of these troop reductions was "to abandon Middle, East, and South Florida to the mercy or abuse of the Lincoln government."³³ As Confederate garrisons withdrew from the state's northeast coast and the St. Johns River region, Union invaders quickly exploited the situation. Fernandina fell on March 5, 1862, St. Augustine on the eleventh, and Jacksonville on the twelfth. In southeast Florida, blockaders began maintaining regular patrols of the coast.³⁴

Although Federal blockading activity increased in both frequency and efficiency as the war progressed, the darkening of the lighthouses no doubt encouraged and facilitated the blockade running trade in southeast Florida. Jupiter Inlet, with its access to the sheltered Indian River route northward, gained particular notoriety as a blockade running center. By the end of the war, a total of eleven blockade running vessels had been captured entering or leaving the inlet—a figure unsurpassed in south Florida except by the Indian River Inlet. No statistics record the number that passed through unmolested. The darkened lighthouse itself was reported to have been used by local Confederates as an observation and signal tower, flashing prearranged torchlight messages to waiting blockade runners when no Federal ships were present.³⁵

Still stunned by the bold raid on the light the previous year, the Federal lighthouse service reported in 1862 that the Jupiter "tower and lantern" had both been destroyed. Union sailors patrolling the area knew otherwise, and, in July, Lieutenant James H. Spotts, commanding the United States schooner *Wanderer*, reported that despite the absence of lights, the structure

33. Milton to Judah P. Benjamin, March 5, 1862, *OR*, series 1, VI, 402; Robert E. Lee to James H. Trapier, March 1, 1862, *ibid.*, 405.

34. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 150-61; Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 62-66; Welles to James L. Lardner, June 10, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, XVII, 263; William P. Randall to Welles, June 23, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, XVII, 267; Lardner to Welles, July 9, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, XVII, 286.

35. James A. Henshall, *Camping and Cruising in Florida* (Cincinnati, 1884), 81; Stanley L. Itkin, "Operations of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron in the Blockade of Florida, 1862-1865" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1962), 198.

and its remaining machinery were "in good order."³⁶ On February 12, 1863, a Federal shore party from the blockade steamer *Sagamore*, composed primarily of pro-Union Florida volunteers, discovered a blockade runner's cache of salt, as well as sails, tools, and "a lot of articles pertaining to the lighthouse" near Jupiter Inlet. Since local tradition maintains that Captain James A. Armour, a New York native who resided on the Indian River during the war, discovered the hidden lighthouse parts, and since Armour was a Union sympathizer who served as a pilot aboard the *Sagamore*, he may have been a member of this landing party, and the "lot of articles" may have included the actual illuminating apparatus. If this were the case, Union authorities may have felt that reilluminating the light while hostilities continued would invite a second raid because the beacon remained dark during the rest of the conflict.³⁷

The extinguishing of the Cape Florida light did not open the Biscayne Bay region to large-scale blockade running. Since bay area blockade runners had no practical way to convey their goods north once they landed, they confined their inbound cargoes to supplies needed by settlers at the tiny Miami River settlement. The darkened light on Key Biscayne, however, concealed a greater hazard to Federal navigation than that at Jupiter. With no warning to guide ships away from the reefs south and east of Cape Florida, these reefs, astride the main shipping channel to Key West, claimed a number of Union vessels. In February 1862, Brigadier General John M. Brannan, newly appointed commander of the Union Department of Key West, optimistically informed the Lighthouse Board that he would be able to protect the Cape Florida light by the end of the month and that he intended to station a guard there.³⁸ The following April, a detachment from the Forty-seventh Pennsylvania Infantry, stationed at Key West, accompanied a party of civilian carpenter-

36. DuBois, "Jupiter Lighthouse," 7; Lardner to Welles, July 26, 1862, *ORN*, series 1, XVII, 292.

37. Henry A. Crane to Earl English, March 4, 1863, *ORN*, series 1, XVII, 372; DuBois, "Two South Florida Lighthouse Keepers," 41.

38. Richards, "Reminiscences of Early Days," *Miami News*, 1903 clippings; John M. Brannan to W. B. Shubrick, February 6, 1862, U. S. Army Continental Commands, Department of Key West, letters sent, 1862-1863, record group 393 National Archives, (hereafter cited as Department of Key West).

ters to Cape Florida in an attempt to repair the lighthouse and prevent additional shipwrecks. They found the damage there too extensive for their limited resources to remedy.³⁹

With Federal efforts to guard and repair the lighthouse proving futile, the reefs bordering Biscayne Bay remained a dangerous impediment to shipping. Two notable wrecks in the area took place within one week in early January 1863 when two large Union troopships ran aground. One, the *Lucinda*, snagged between Long and Triumph reefs, was freed by a passing blockade vessel. But the other, the *Sparkling Sea*, grounded on the north point of Ajax Reef and was abandoned as a total loss.⁴⁰ By the end of 1863, the Federal Lighthouse Board purchased replacement lenses, reflectors, and lamps, and shipped them to Key West to be stored until "it may be found safe and prudent" to install them at Cape Florida.⁴¹

Although Federal naval expeditions operated freely along Florida's southeastern coast during the final years of the war, and occasionally visited the lighthouses, no further repair efforts appear to have been made until the conflict ended. Confederate naval officer and blockade runner John Taylor Wood, who accompanied southern Secretary of War John C. Breckinridge down Florida's east coast during his escape to Cuba in June 1865, noted passing the "destroyed" light at Jupiter Inlet. Later that same year, the Lighthouse Board dispatched an agent to south Florida "with instructions to use every exertion" to reilluminate the two lights.⁴² In January 1866, over six months after Florida's last Confederates had laid down their arms, Temple Pent, a Bahamian-born Biscayne Bay resident who had served

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39. Lewis G. Schmidt, *A Civil War History of the 47th Regiment of Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers* (Allentown, 1986), 127.
 40. L. Ronstein to F. Z. Heebner, January 11, 1863, Department of Key West; English to Welles, January 10, 1863, *ORN*, series 1, XVII, 349; William J. Schellings, ed., "On Blockade Duty in Florida Waters, Excerpts From a Union Naval Officer's Diary," *Tequesta* 15 (1955), 67.
 41. "Report of the Lighthouse Board" (October 31, 1863), *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances*, House Exec. Doc. 3, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 153-62.
 42. John Taylor Wood, "Escape of the Confederate Secretary of War," typescript copy of an article in *Century* 25 (1893-1894), 8, in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; "Report of the Lighthouse Board" (October 26, 1865), *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances*, House Exec. Doc. 3, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 197.

as keeper of the Cape Florida light in the 1850s, was reappointed to that position. The light shone again on April 15. James Armour, the Indian River Unionist who had recovered the lamps, lenses, and machinery from the Jupiter light, helped repair that beacon, and was appointed assistant to keeper William B. Davis when the installation reopened on June 28, 1866.⁴³

From the perspective of over a century, the southeast Florida lighthouse raids appear as a footnote in the state's illustrious Civil War history. Nevertheless, by assisting the efforts of blockade runners to supply the beleaguered Confederate States, by hindering Federal navigation, and by drawing men and vessels away from more vital theaters of action, James Paine, August O. Lang, Francis Ivy, and two men whose names have been lost to posterity did their small part to prolong the struggle. In doing so, they proved that even a "convenient place of resort for pirates" had a role to play in the great conflict.

43. Lighthouse Appointments, record group 26, National Archives; Eighth U. S. Census, Dade County; DuBois, "Two South Florida Lighthouse Keepers," 41; DuBois, "Jupiter Lighthouse," 8-9; "Report of the Lighthouse Board" (October 16, 1836), *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances*, House Exec. Doc. 4, 39th Cong., 2d sess., 219.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER BLOUNT: DEFENDER OF THE OLD SOUTH AND ADVOCATE OF A NEW SOUTH

by THOMAS MUIR, JR.

William Alexander Blount, as a child, had experienced the frustrations of poverty and disorder resulting from the Civil War. While steeped in many of the values and traditions of the Old South, Blount was one of the new generation of southern leaders who, after the end of Reconstruction in 1877, strove to modernize the South through industrialization and closer cooperation with northern capitalists. His keen intellect and sharp legal mind served him well as a corporate lawyer for the Louisville and Nashville Railroad in Florida. Blount's legal career in Pensacola spanned the Bourbon period, roughly from 1877 to 1900, when conservative Democrats controlled Florida's politics into the early twentieth-century Progressive era. His actions, at times, reflected conservative Bourbon principles and, in other instances, liberal Populist-Progressive ideas and goals. In either role, Blount epitomized the leadership of the New South. Scholars of southern history have devoted considerable attention to describing the men of the New South, sometimes questioning even if the term New South is historically accurate. More studies of prominent, well-respected professionals like Blount possibly can shed additional light on the ongoing controversial subject of whether or not there was continuity or discontinuity in prewar and postwar leadership in the South. Were the leaders of the New South former planters and large landholders, as W. J. Cash and others contend, or were they southern urban merchants and professionals, as C. Vann Woodward and others suggest?¹

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1. Robert Dean Pope, "Of the Man at the Center: Biographies of Southern Politicians from the Age of Segregation," in J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C.*

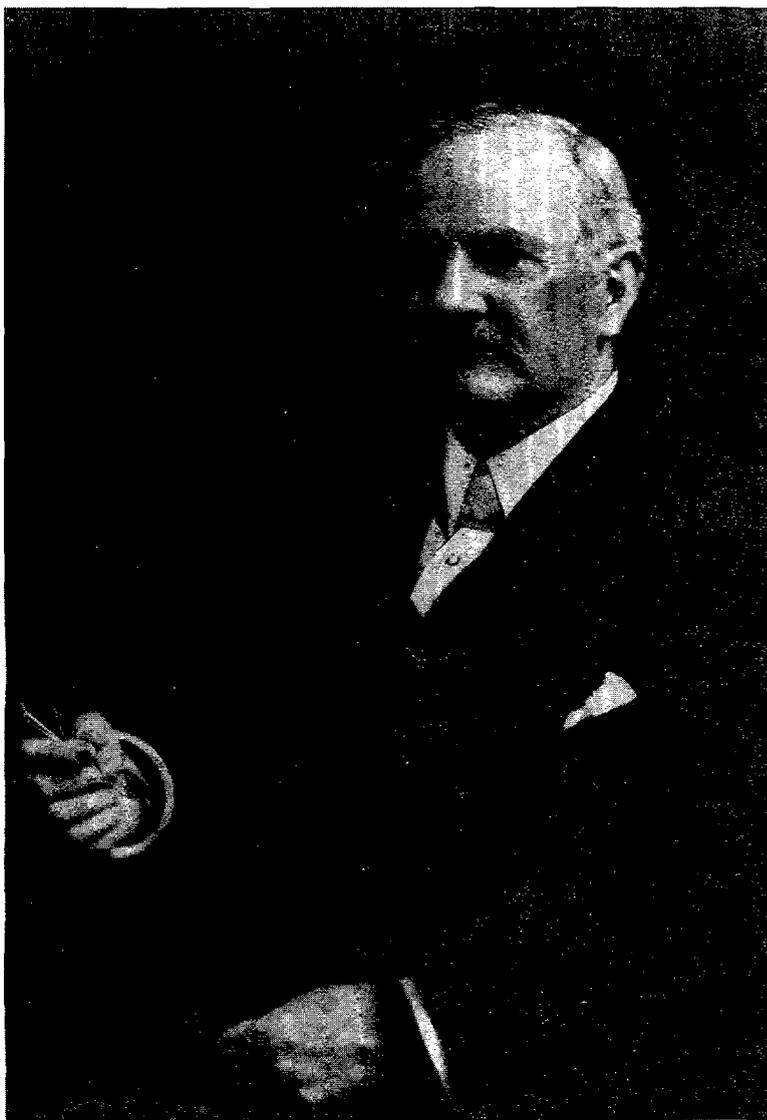
Blount took great pride in his distinguished ancestry. His father Alexander Clement Blount, a prominent attorney in New Bern, North Carolina, had married Julia E. Washington in September 1843. Eight years later, in 1851, Alexander moved his wife, their first child, and their slaves to Alabama where the availability of cheap land enabled him to become a plantation owner and turpentine operator. William Alexander Blount, the second of their seven children, was born on October 25, 1851, at the family's log house in Clarke County, Alabama.²

Life on a frontier plantation proved inhospitable to Alexander and Julia; she especially missed the social life of New Bern. Consequently, the Blounts left the plantation to caretakers and moved to Pensacola on January 8, 1858. Alexander resumed the practice of law there, busied himself in community affairs, and was an especially active member of the Episcopal church.³

Meanwhile, secession sentiment was engulfing Florida and the rest of the South during these years. One observer, an officer in the United States Navy, "found the people at Pensacola in a state of great excitement." Town meetings in support of secession, he wrote, "were being held every evening, where most violent speeches were made to fire the southern heart; men, women and children seemed to have gone mad."⁴ During the 1860 legislature, Blount, representing Escambia County, opposed calling a convention to take Florida out of the Union. However, on the third vote, November 22, he went with the majority. When Florida voted to secede on January 10, 1861, he gave his support to the southern cause. Alexander and his oldest

Vann Woodward (New York, 1982), 93; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 19-22; W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1941; reprint ed., New York, 1969), 209-10.

2. W. A. Blount's family had served the country since the colonial period as public officials. See "Biography of William Alexander Blount." Blount Family Papers, box 1, Special Collections Department, University of West Florida, Pensacola, 1 (hereafter cited as BFP); W. A. Blount to Jas. P. Taliaferro, August 3, 1910, BFP, box 5.
3. Julia J. Yonge, *Christ Church Parish Pensacola, 1827-1927* (Pensacola, 1927) 58; Carrie Washington to Cora Blount, June 29, 1924, BFP, box 1.
4. Henry Erben, "Surrender of the Navy Yard at Pensacola, Florida, January 12, 1861," *Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, New York Commandery, Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion*, series 2 (New York, 1897), 215-16 quoted in George F. Pearce, *The U.S. Navy in Pensacola: From Sailing Ships to Naval Aviation (1825-1930)* (Pensacola, 1980), 66.



William Alexander Blount. Photograph courtesy of the Pensacola Historical Society.

son Frederick both served in the Confederate Army. With their departure from Pensacola, Julia and the children— William, Ale-

xander Clement, Jr., James, Annie, Helen, and Carrie— went back to Alabama to help run the family plantation.⁵

William's early education consisted mostly of instruction by his mother. When the war ended, the Blounts, like most other Southerners, were faced with economic adversity. Believing that economic opportunities were greater in practicing law than operating a plantation, the Blount family returned to Pensacola. There William was tutored for one year and spent another year in self-study to prepare himself for college. In 1869, he entered the University of Georgia to work for a bachelor of arts degree.⁶

Upon graduation, William took a position briefly as a teacher in a small country school in Roberts, Florida. This brief stint at teaching convinced William that law would be a more attractive profession for him to follow. He had shown some interest in law while in college, and he had read law in his spare time. His father, who always turned to law when the family's fortunes declined, encouraged William to continue his education. While still teaching at Roberts, he applied for and received an adjunct professorship at the University of Georgia. His duties were to tutor students in English and mathematics. As an adjunct, William could pay for part of his education and also enroll in the university's school of law. He was graduated with a degree in law in 1873.⁷

William entered the practice of law in the office of Charles W. Jones in Pensacola. When Jones, who had practiced in Florida since 1857, left the firm in 1875, Blount continued alone. Blount always felt "a great obligation" to Jones for the kindness shown him.⁸ The 1870s were difficult years to begin a professional career in Pensacola. Still experiencing the effects of the Civil War, Pensacola's economy was extremely sluggish.

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5. Herbert U. Feibelman, "William Alexander Blount, 'Florida's Greatest Lawyer,' Native of Alabama," *The Alabama Lawyer* 17 (April 1956), 157; Julien C. Yonge, "Pensacola in the War for Southern Independence," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (January-April 1959), 361.
 6. W. A. Blount, *Platform and Statement of the life of William A. Blount Candidate for the United States Senate* (Pensacola, 1910), 9.
 7. *Ibid.*; Feibelman, " 'Florida's Greatest Lawyer,'" 157.
 8. John B. Jones, "Biography of Charles W. Jones," n.d., Jones Family Papers, box 1, Special Collections Department, University of West Florida; William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York 1913; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 645; W. A. Blount to John B. Jones, October 13, 1897, Jones Family Papers, box 2. C. W. Jones was the first Democrat from Florida to be elected to the United States Senate during Reconstruction.

The reason for its slow development, Blount concluded, was the "fewness of people and fewness of dollars."⁹ As a consequence, income from his law practice was meager, and Blount began speculating in real estate.¹⁰

Blount, on March 24, 1877, was appointed by Governor George Drew to the Escambia County Board of Public Instruction. While the stipend was only nominal, Blount considered the appointment a civic duty and accepted it with pleasure. Blount and the other two appointees, J. Dennis Wolfe and Philip K. Yonge, were sworn in by Judge J. C. Whitney. Blount served for one term.¹¹

On June 19, 1878, Blount married Cora Nellie Moreno, and they moved into the house he had recently built on East Wright Street in the more affluent section of Pensacola.¹² The higher elevation of the terrain provided a more healthy environment than that found in the lower-lying sections near the bay. The Blount home sat on a sizeable parcel of land and resembled a small farm. It was surrounded by a well-kept lawn, a privacy hedge, and a picket fence. Blount's barnyard housed ducks, chickens, and horses. Pigeons and gopher turtles were kept for food. The other buildings included a hot house, where flowers and vegetables were grown, and a storage shed for coal and wood. Servant quarters located to the rear of the main house were for their several black employees.

One of the servants, Sydney Wynn, was the son of a slave once owned by the Blounts. Every morning he milked the cows, worked in the garden, and in the winter months built the fires. He served the meals dressed in a white coat. After lunch, he performed the ritual of brushing his employer's coat and bidding him goodbye as he departed for work. Sydney thought of himself as a lifelong friend of the family as well as a personal servant.

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9. W. A. Blount, "The Railroads of Florida," *Florida Bankers Association Proceedings* (St. Augustine, 1917), 33.
 10. Elizabeth D. Vickers and Virginia Parks, "The Golden Dream: Life in Pensacola in the 1870s," *Pensacola Historical Society Quarterly* 7 (Spring 1974), 3; Occie Clubbs, "Pensacola in Retrospect, 1870-1890," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (January-April 1957), 377; William T. Cash, *The Story of Florida*, 4 vols. (New York, 1938) II, 667; Miriam Blount Craig to Thomas Muir, December 12, 1981, letter in possession of author.
 11. E. L. Maclay, *Public School Reminiscences* (Pensacola, 1887), 3; Feibelman, "Florida's Greatest Lawyer," 157.
 12. Craig to Muir, December 12, 1981; Regina Moreno Kirshof Mandrell, *Our Family, Facts and Fancies: The Moreno and Related Families* (Pensacola, 1988), 291.

Upon the retirement of his father and the death of Frederick, William, by 1880, had become the family leader. His father's longtime connection with the railroads probably influenced Blount's choice of clientele. One of William's early clients was Daniel F. Sullivan who began work as an Irish immigrant and who, together with his brother, became a major force in the banking, lumber, and railroad industries of west Florida. In 1877, Daniel Sullivan purchased the Pensacola and Louisville Railroad, and three years later, on February 27, 1880, he sold control of it to the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company (L&N).

Subsequent to this agreement, the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad Company (P&A), with the L&N as its major stockholder, was formed to purchase Sullivan's Pensacola and Louisville Railroad. The P&A received a charter of incorporation on March 21, 1881, from the Florida legislature, permitting Pensacola and west Florida to connect with the railroad systems west of Tallahassee. Sullivan was named, along with William Dudley Chipley and Milton H. Smith, as incorporators of the line, and William Blount became the company's attorney. The P&A went to work immediately to fulfill the obligations of its charter with an official ground breaking which took place in a ceremony at Pensacola on August 22, 1881.¹³

The P&A was completed in May 1883, making travel from Pensacola to Jacksonville possible without changing cars. Although the railroad was finished; problems plagued the company because of the land grant it had received from the state. The Internal Improvement Fund continued to cause political problems in Florida as it had since the Civil War. The new railroad also prompted extensive litigation involving contracts, construction costs, unauthorized use of company land, negligence suits, and rate disagreements. These litigations provided a good opportunity for a capable, young corporate lawyer like William Blount to become recognized.¹⁴

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13. The road was originally named the Alabama and Florida. In 1877, upon purchasing the railroad, Sullivan renamed it the Pensacola Railroad. Dudley Sady Johnson, "The Railroads of Florida, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1965), 118; George Warren Pettengill, *The Story of Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, 1952), 115; *The Matter of the Alabama and Florida Railroad Company Declared Bankrupt, U. S. Circuit Court, Fifth Judicial Circuit of the Northern District of Florida* (Washington City, 1869), 8; "Blount" entries in James A. Servies, *A Bibliography of West Florida*, revised ed., 3 vols. (Pensacola, 1978), I, 292.
 14. Thomas Muir, Jr., "William A. Blount, Railroad Advocate," in Virginia Parks, ed., *Iron Horse in the Pinelands* (Pensacola, 1982), 73-78.

Blount welcomed the additional legal work and income as P&A's attorney. However, he still had time to follow other business pursuits and to participate in civic organizations. Blount was a member of a management committee with Stephen R. Mallory, Jr., and J. S. Leonard which published the *Pensacola Advance Gazette* from 1882 until late in 1883 when a change was made in control of the paper.¹⁵ He held the office of Noble Grande in the Pensacola lodge of the International Order of Odd Fellows, and he was also a member of the Osceola Club, an exclusive men's club started in 1883. In return for legal expenses, Blount often received company shares from businesses that he represented. In return for work performing title searches, liens, and collections, he became an officer of the Building and Loan Association.¹⁶

In 1884, Blount's brother Alexander Clement, Jr., joined the law firm. The extra help in the office permitted Blount to pursue additional legal and governmental activities. He became involved in his first public service at the state level in 1885. In the spring of that year, county conventions were held throughout Florida to select delegates to the upcoming constitutional convention which would write a new state constitution. Blount was one of the four delegates elected to represent Escambia County.¹⁷

The call for a state constitutional convention came at the height of Bourbon, or conservative Democratic, dominance in Florida politics. The Bourbons were kindly disposed toward corporate interests, especially railroads. Of the 108 delegates, eighty-two, including Blount, were conservative Democrats; the remainder were liberal Democrats who were beginning to develop some support in Florida.¹⁸ The liberals charged corporate attorneys who were delegates with representing the special interests of the railroads. The *Pensacola Commercial* also held this view. An article in the paper alleged that corporations were influencing certain delegates.¹⁹ It was disclosed that Blount carried a railroad pass which allowed him to travel at L&N expense, and liberal Democrats considered a railroad pass a form of bribery. Blount's right to a seat at the convention was challenged,

15. *Pensacolian*, December 15, 1883.

16. *Pensacola Semi-Weekly Commercial*, October 27, 1882.

17. *Pensacolian*, May 2, 1885.

18. Edward C. Williamson, *Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893* (Gainesville, 1976), 135.

19. *Pensacola Commercial*, July 8, 1885.

but with Bourbon support, he retained his position. The controversy, however, resulted in a constitutional provision that prohibited the issuance of railroad passes to elected representatives or salaried officers of the state. Blount supported this provision.²⁰

Blount also voted in favor of the controversial issue that would permit foreigners and aliens to purchase land in Florida. The railroads wanted to sell their acreage and encouraged foreign immigration for this purpose. The liberals viewed this measure as an attempt to establish the English landlord and tenant system. They declared that English lords had their imitators at the convention and that former slaveholding aristocrats were not yet extinct.²¹ Most of the liberal Democrats were strong nativists and opposed immigration.²²

Blount's voting record on other sections of the constitution provides evidence that he did not always support the views of big business. He favored an article prohibiting the state's credit or tax revenues— or revenues from any county, city, borough, or township— from being used to benefit individual corporations. The article also prohibited those governing bodies from becoming a joint owner or stockholder in a corporation, something of which many of them had been guilty. For instance, at one time the city of Pensacola had controlled the stock of the Alabama and Florida Railroad Company which later went into bankruptcy. Blount also voted for a provision that would allow the legislature to tax industries and to pass laws to correct discriminatory rates by common carriers. The latter resulted in the establishment of a railroad commission to regulate railroad freight and passenger rates.²³

Following the convention, Blount returned to his Pensacola law practice. Liberal Democrats in the legislature stepped up their efforts to regulate the railroads in the public interest. In 1886, they attempted unsuccessfully to prevent an attorney employed by a corporation from serving as a public official.²⁴ On June 7, 1887, the legislature established a Railroad Commission over the opposition of conservative Democrats. The commission

20. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida*, June 9, 1885 (Tallahassee, 1885), 53, 500; *Pensacola Commercial*, June 20, 1885; W. A. Blount, *Platform*, 11.

21. *Pensacola Commercial*, July 11, 1885; *Pensacolian*, June 4, 1885.

22. C. Vann Woodward, *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1960; reprint ed., New York, 1969), 108.

23. W. A. Blount, *Platform*, 11.

24. *Pensacola Commercial*, June 12, 1886.

set a passenger rate of three cents per mile on all railroads in Florida.

The P&A refused to comply with the new regulation. The road, covering a distance of 161 miles, could be travelled in seven to nine hours at a cost of \$7.25, or a rate of 4 11/16 cents per mile. A lesser rate, officials of the P&A claimed, would cause the company to lose money.²⁵ With Blount as their legal council, the P&A contested the three cents per mile regulation. While Blount recognized the legality of the Railroad Commission and its power to make rate schedules, he argued that this right was not "conclusive"; only the court could render a final decision on matters concerning private property rights. This power, he believed, should not be vested in a three-member commission because it was a violation of the due process clause in the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Blount argued that to deprive the P&A of the "beneficial use" of its property by ordering the road to operate under an unfair low rate was taking property without due process of law.²⁶

On appeal, the Florida Supreme Court issued a ruling after the Railroad Commission's rate-setting order was declared legal by a lower court. The Railroad Commission's constitutionality was confirmed by the Florida Supreme Court, but the commission's power to regulate transportation came under close scrutiny. Chief Justice Raney cited the precedents of the "Granger Cases" involving the question of regulation in several mid-western states. The consensus in these cases stated that if a rate did not allow the railroad to cover operating expenses, it would ultimately result in the company becoming worthless thus depriving it of the beneficial use of its property which would be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Raney also noted that the P&A provided the only rail service in west Florida. The judgments against the P&A by the lower courts were reversed, therefore, and the Florida Supreme Court granted an injunction against enforcement of the Railroad Commission's rate.²⁷ This victory gained Blount a statewide reputation, and his legal expertise was in greater demand.

Blount preferred the role of the courtroom lawyer, and was quick to espouse his high regard for the dignity and ethics of his profession. In one incident, at the United States Circuit

25. *Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad v. State*, 5 *Southern Reporter* (1889), 842 (hereafter cited as *P&A v. State*).

26. *Pensacolian*, July 28, 1888.

27. *P&A v. State*, 845.

Court in Pensacola, Blount took the district attorney to task for his remarks criticizing the "sharp practice" indulged in by local lawyers. Blount declared: "in this section of the state every lawyer presumed another to be a gentlemen. They might sometimes refer to another's want of intelligence, or the puerility of his arguments, but they never charge him with ungentlely acts."²⁸

In another more serious incident before a local court, Blount became involved in a heated argument with the opposing attorneys. A dispute had arisen between the Terminal Railroad Company and the Pensacola and Perdido Railroad. Both companies contested the ownership of a section of land near the city and the right to build on the property. When both sides employed armed guards to enforce their alleged property rights, Pensacola seemed on the verge of a railroad war. Blount had been a director of the Pensacola and Perdido, a small road running from Pensacola to Millview, Florida, since 1882. When the companies finally brought the case to court, harsh language erupted between the attorneys which resulted in a courtroom brawl. The local paper reported that "soon the courtroom became a pugilistic stage upon which several prominent persons played leading roles." The contestants suffered noticeable damage, "among the catalogue being black-eyes, bit fingers, bruised heads, broken finger bones, and torn clothing." Blount carried a lump on his hand the rest of his life from the fracas. The combatants were Blount and C. B. Parkhill against J. C. Avery and Hunt Chipley. All parties shook hands and apologized at the next session of court. The attorneys' code of ethics required that loyalty to the bar should overcome any bitter dispute encountered in the courtroom.²⁹ An example of this is seen when George McWhorter, one of Blount's antagonists in the Railroad Commission cases, died in 1891. Blount handled his legal estate and served as a pallbearer at his funeral.³⁰

In 1891, the legislature voted the Florida Railroad Commission out of existence. For all practical purposes, the commission had ceased to operate with the loss of McWhorter, and a Populist dominated legislature chose to discontinue the commission rather than accept the appointment by the governor of a railroad sympathizer to the vacant seat. However, in 1897 John C. Stockton, a liberal representative from Duval County in the

28. Pensacola *Daily News*, April 1, 1891.

29. Craig to Muir, December 12, 1891; Pensacola *Daily News*, June 19, 1892.

30. Pensacola *Daily News*, May 26, 1891.

Florida House of Representatives, spearheaded legislation establishing a new and stronger Railroad Commission through the legislature. Blount again would find himself having to explain to the public the L&N's position on the rate issue.³¹

At the beginning of the new century, Blount could look back upon over twenty years of service to the city of Pensacola. He was elected president of the Chamber of Commerce, an organization in which he had long been active, and he served from 1900 to 1904. Under his direction the Chamber gave financial support to revitalize an old community event, Mardi Gras. Blount remembered the first celebration of Mardi Gras in Pensacola in 1874. The tradition was reborn in 1900 with the reorganization of the Knights of Priscus Association. All members of the Blount family were active participants in the celebration.³²

Blount announced in 1902 that he would seek a seat in the Florida Senate on the Democratic party ticket. One observer predicted that Blount "will go into the State Senate and add to that body a force . . . which must in the very nature of things eventually exert a profound and far reaching influence." During a campaign rally at the Pensacola Cosmopolitan Club, the *Daily News* reported, "Blount told his audience he was not a politician, was seeking office for the first time in his life and [had] never asked a single man to vote for him."³³

Since no candidate challenged Blount, he did not need to campaign extensively or announce a platform. When the legislature convened on April 10, 1903, Blount was sworn in by Chief Justice E. C. Maxwell. He was appointed to the Judiciary, Organized Labor, Commerce and Navigation, Railroads, and Claims standing committees. A first order of business for the 1903 Florida legislature was to form a committee to arrange a visit by the governor, cabinet members, and the legislators to Pensacola to meet the officers and men of the ships that belonged to the North Atlantic Fleet then visiting the Pensacola Navy Yard.³⁴

After their trip to Pensacola, Blount and the other state officials and legislators returned to Tallahassee "ready for busi-

31. Kathryn T. Abbey, "Florida Versus the Principles of Populism, 1896-1911," *Journal of Southern History* 4 (November 1938), 467-73.

32. Pensacola *Daily News*, January 31, 1902; Barbara L. Fisher, "A History of Pensacola's Mardi Gras from 1900 to 1930," *Pensacola Historical Society Quarterly* 7 (October 1972).

33. Pensacola *Daily News*, June 18, 1902.

34. Florida *Senate Journal* (1903), 283. These were ships which would later make up the "Great White Fleet."

ness.”³⁵ Blount sponsored one of the early bills which called for state support for public high schools and grade schools; he wanted to be sure that the best educational facilities would be “within reach of every child in Florida, rich or poor.”³⁶ The bill would extend the annual school term to eight months; Florida’s school year had been only 104 days. The bill passed.³⁷

During the 1905 session, Blount continued to support education. He helped sponsor the Buckman Act which merged all of the small, state-supported seminaries and colleges into three institutions—the University of the State of Florida (for male students), Florida Female College, and Colored Normal School. The Act created a Board of Control to oversee the state university system. It was signed into law by Governor Napoleon B. Broward on June 5, 1905.³⁸ While in the legislature, Blount made it clear to the public that he would oppose any measure that sought special privileges for corporations although, as he put it, “in many instances those interested in the passage of the bills were my personal friends and greatly desired their passage.”³⁹

During the 1905 session, Blount offered an amendment to a “Jim Crow” bill sponsored by John C. Avery, the representative from Escambia County. The bill called for the separation of white and black passengers on public street cars. Blount claimed that the bill, in its original form, would do harm financially to the operators of the street cars because they would have to provide separate cars for each race. Blount also happened to be an attorney for, and shareholder in, the Pensacola Electric Company which ran Pensacola’s street cars. Blount’s amendment called for separation of whites and blacks on the same street cars, a measure that would save companies the expense of providing separate cars. The bill proposed by Blount also called for an exception to this arrangement by permitting black nurses in charge of white invalids or children to sit with white passengers. The amended bill was approved by the legislature, but was held

35. Pensacola *Daily News*, April 21, 1903.

36. W. A. Mount, *Platform*, 13.

37. Florida *Senate Journal* (1903), 123; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 305; Lucius Ellsworth, *Pensacola: Deep Water City* (Tulsa, 1982), 86.

38. The bill was first introduced by Representative H. H. Buckman from Duval County. Florida *House Journal* (1905), 795; *Laws of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1905), 37; *Pensacola News Journal*, April 9, 1905; Samuel Proctor, “The University of Florida: Its Early Years, 1853-1906” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1958), 475-83.

39. W. A. Blount, *Platform*, 12.

unconstitutional by the Florida Supreme Court. The court ruled that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment by giving nurses privileges denied other blacks.⁴⁰

Blount announced in May 1905 that, due to private business obligations, he would not run for reelection to the Florida Senate. He had served only a single term from 1903 to 1905.⁴¹ Invited to speak at a rally for the Democratic party candidates in the 1905 municipal election primaries in Pensacola, Blount told the voters precisely where he stood on the racial issue because he was "desirous of letting the people of Pensacola know that there was no truth in the rumor that I was not willing to stand square and flat footed upon the platform representing the White Democratic Party." Blount referred in his speech to the days of Reconstruction when Pensacola had a black city council president and city marshal. Recalling his childhood, he mentioned a slave boy with whom he had explored for gopher turtles, and the faithful servant who was with his family for twenty-five years. Negroes, he believed, "filled the sphere for which they were intended." Blount believed that even if the population was predominantly black, "the white man must rule." Despite some of Blount's progressive ideas on government and improving the quality of life in the community, his opinion toward black Americans was evident. He firmly believed the black man should be kept out of politics and in a socially inferior position.⁴²

Blount's old nemesis, the railroad rate issue, began to demand attention again. Late in 1902, the Florida Railroad Commissioners notified the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to appear in Tallahassee on July 1, 1903, to present evidence why rates, as proposed by the commissioners, should not go into effect. The new rate would be three cents per passenger mile, a reduction of one cent for the L&N. Not satisfied with the L&N's protests, the Railroad Commission then revoked their

40. The city of Pensacola, with the support of the Chamber of Commerce, enacted similar legislation for the same purpose, *Andrew Patterson v. Isham Taylor*, 40 *Southern Reporter* 493 (1906); *Florida House Journal* (1905), 14; *Pensacola News Journal*, April 9, August 3, 1905. Since 1887, various measures had been passed by the Florida legislature to provide separate accommodations for blacks.

41. *Tallahassee True Democrat*, May 28, 1905. The *Tallahassee True Democrat* declared it was a "distinct loss to the interests of the state."

42. *Pensacola News Journal*, June 6, 1905; The available documentation on political offices held by blacks in Pensacola during Reconstruction is vague. *Pensacola Weekly Observer*, June 23, 1868; *West Florida Commercial*, April 30, 1968

order and changed the required compliance date for the railroad to May 1903. The commissioners desired to bring the case to court for a quick legal settlement; litigation was inevitable. Blount filed for an injunction against enforcement of the lower rate in the United States Circuit Court, and his appeal was granted. The judge ordered the L&N to post \$20,000 bond pending disposition of the case.⁴³

When the case went to court, Blount contended the L&N was entitled to earn a fair return on its property. A three cents rate, he argued, would cause the road to operate at a loss. Blount produced several witnesses with knowledge of the operating expenses and an elaborate statement on L&N losses in conducting business in west Florida. Blount told the court that if the road were forced to reduce its rates, an additional loss of \$21,000 annually would be incurred.⁴⁴

The Railroad Commission countered by undertaking an audit of the L&N's records since 1897. The commission's plan for a quick end to the litigation failed because the audit would take several years to complete. In 1909, with the audit well underway, the commission asked the legislature in its annual report for an additional \$5,000 to complete the lengthy investigation. Finally, late in 1909, the commission reported findings of its audit of L&N's accounts, and concluded that the three cents rate was reasonable.⁴⁵

Blount then proposed a compromise settlement to the Railroad Commission: the railroad would accept the three cents rate if the commission would assume part of the cost of the years of litigation. The commissioners agreed to the L&N's offer upon the advice of their attorney, L. C. Massey. Massey and Blount, who had first debated rate issues in west Florida courtrooms some twenty years earlier reached an agreement on April 24, 1911, and the L&N put the new rate into effect in May 1911.⁴⁶

In 1910, some members of the American Bar Association (A.B.A.) expressed interest in electing a Southerner like Blount as president of the organization. Blount had been a member since 1894. Blount wrote a colleague in Savannah, Georgia. "I had not considered myself as a possibility, because I am not

43. *Sixth Annual Report of the the Railroad Commission of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1903), 12-17.

44. *Twelfth Annual Report of the Railroad Commission of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1909), 14.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Railroad Commission of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1912), 21.

nationally known." Although he had attended only three previous A.B.A. meetings, he said, "I would neither be human nor truthful were I to say that the selection of me for the position would not be exceedingly gratifying."⁴⁷ If he did not become president of the organization, Blount hoped for an appointment to one of the association's committees. He told another colleague in New York that he wanted to work with the committee on Uniform State Laws, "it being larger and perhaps the more important." He did not want the appointment, however, if it meant displacing another attorney with a more impressive record of service to the association.⁴⁸

Blount did not become president of the American Bar Association at the time, but he did receive the committee appointment that he sought. In 1911, he was elected president of the Florida Bar Association. In an address to the Florida Bar, he told them, "the association should be a very powerful factor in procuring good, and defeating bad, legislation."⁴⁹ Much of his one-year term was devoted to increasing membership which Blount felt was essential to the strength of the organization.

Later that year, 1911, Blount became involved in a legal controversy within the A.B.A. The organization's executive committee had admitted W. H. Lewis as a member of the A.B.A. without realizing that he was black. The committee's decision to rescind Lewis's membership created a heated debate among members of the association. Blount wrote the president of the A.B.A. supporting the committee's actions as "eminently proper, and well within its authority."⁵⁰ The A.B.A. president, S. S. Gregory, feared trouble would arise over the controversy in the next annual meeting scheduled to be held at Milwaukee in 1912. Blount agreed, stating, "it should be the part of conservative men to see that as little friction and antagonism are produced" as possible. He added, "I can appreciate the feelings of our New England friends . . . [who support Lewis], but the sentiment of the great majority" is opposed to admitting a Negro to the

47. W. A. Blount to P. W. Meldrin, August 8, 1910, Blount, Blount, and Carter Papers, box 22, Special Collections Department, University of West Florida (hereafter cited as BBC).

48. The American Bar Association National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws drafted and made recommendations to state legislatures for making laws uniform with other states. Blount to Edgard H. Farrar, September 27, 1910, BBC, box 22.

49. W. A. Blount, *Address to the Florida Bar*, June 6, 1912, BFP, box 4.

50. F. M. Simonton to Blount, March 5, 1912, BBC, box 22; Blount to S. S. Gregory, March 14, 1912, BBC, box 22.

organization.⁵¹ Blount's argument stressed that there was a difference between the eligibility and the desirability of Lewis's appointment. Lewis should not have attempted to join the A.B.A., according to Blount, because "every Negro knows the racial feeling existing in the larger portion of the United States against any degree whatever of social equality."⁵² Although A.B.A. members worked for progressive reforms, many did not believe that the reforms should be extended to black attorneys regardless of their education and experience. At the national meeting in 1912, however, the majority of the members passed a resolution stating that the executive committee had been wrong in its action, and Lewis was reinstated.⁵³

Judge David D. Shelby, Fifth United States Circuit Court of Appeals, died in 1914, and Blount's supporters and friends launched a campaign to have him appointed to the vacant seat. Blount's partner, Francis B. Carter, began a mail campaign asking individuals to write President Woodrow Wilson in support of Blount. In his own letter to the president, Carter stated that Blount "does not desire to be a personal applicant for the position but is willing to accept it if the president should see fit to appoint him." Carter then learned from the United States Attorney General in September 1914 that the White House had a rule that men over sixty years of age would not receive appointment to judicial positions. Blount was sixty-three and, thus, was not qualified.⁵⁴

The entry of the United States into World War I in 1917 had a disrupting effect on Blount's family and his business activities. The war years were busy and stressful for Blount and his family as they were for millions of other Americans. Blount's health was declining. He wrote a colleague in August 1919, "I have in the last two years undertaken, speaking frankly, more than I can do."⁵⁵ Blount feared that he might have to give up his American Bar Association position as president of the National Conference of Commissioners for Uniform State Laws. He had held it for three years and derived much pleasure from it.

In September 1918, Blount travelled to Baltimore to confer with doctors at the Johns Hopkins Hospital about a painful ulcer

51. Blount to S. S. Gregory, March 11, June 17, 1912, BBC, box 22.

52. Blount to Charles Rosen, September 7, 1912, BBC, box 22.

53. Blount to George Whitelock, September 10, 1912, BBC, box 22.

54. Francis Carter to Woodrow Wilson, August 28, 1914, BBC, box 23; T. W. Gregory to Carter, September 29, 1914, BBC, box 23; Blount to Bart A. Riley, October 1, 1914, BBC, box 23.

55. Blount to Henry Stockbridge, August 8, 1918, BBC, box 27.

from which he had been suffering for a lengthy period. At the time, however, the Spanish flu epidemic was raging across the United States, and surgeons advised delaying an operation because of possible contamination from the virus.

With the law firm running satisfactorily without him, Blount devoted more time and attention to his work with the American Bar Association. Blount's eloquence as a speaker made him a popular member of the association. He had long aspired to become its president and was frustrated when he had not achieved this goal. In 1919, Blount wrote a fellow attorney, "I have no idea as to what may have taken place in the Great Council last year which may have affected my selection as president of the A.B.A. I was present, I believe, at all the meetings of the council, except the last one, when I was sick."⁵⁶ He was not to be further disappointed; in 1920, Blount was elected by his colleagues to serve as president of the American Bar Association. He was the first Floridian to hold this prestigious office. Blount thanked the members of the organization for selecting him. The election victory, he said, was "an honor which . . . appears to me to be the highest unofficial professional goal to which an American lawyer can aspire."⁵⁷

In his first, and what would be his last, letter to the association, Blount outlined some of what he considered were the important functions and benefits of the organization. He urged his fellow members to help strengthen the profession's sense of ethical conduct. Only the most highly qualified attorneys should be admitted to the bar and the less desirable excluded. The association members also should deliver public addresses, formal and informal, to help liberalize thought and encourage patriotism. The greatest benefit of the association, Blount thought, was "the bringing together of most charming companions, overflowing with comradeship, earnestness and humor, gravity and good nature, and a blending of social qualities which endear one gentleman to another."⁵⁸

Blount's work with the association was cut short by the recurrence of his illness early in 1921. His doctor prescribed bed rest. While at his home, Sea Marge, Blount wrote to his doctor, "I have had very little pain since I saw you . . . there has been no occasion to produce pain, as I have been in bed most of the

56. Blount to Henry Upson Sims, August 16, 1919, BBC, box 23.

57. American Bar Association, *Annual Report*, 1920, BFP, box 5.

58. *Ibid.*

time."⁵⁹ Meanwhile, Blount continued his association and office work by dictating letters to his secretary.

In June 1921, Blount returned to Johns Hopkins Hospital for an operation on his stomach. He suffered a heart attack before the operation and died June 15 at the age of sixty-nine. The *Pensacola Journal* reported that it was "the end of a long period of ill health which Mr. Blount had borne with fortitude, continuing always at his work."⁶⁰

Blount's body arrived in Pensacola by train two days later. A procession of mourners followed the hearse to the gates of Sea Marge where his body was placed in his bedroom. His longtime servant, Sydney Wynn, put Blount's favorite flower, begonias, and tall candles in the room. As was customary, people in all walks of life came to pay their respects. On the day of the funeral, a ceremony was held in the living room of Sea Marge. Railroad operations halted on the L&N and the Florida East Coast Railway to pay respect to Blount. The flags in the city were flown at half-mast, and the United States Supreme Court adjourned in Blount's honor, a rare tribute to someone not a member of the court.

W. A. Blount, born and raised in the South, proudly acknowledged his southern heritage. During his career, Blount faithfully adhered to the Bourbon program of creating a New South, as was evident by his longstanding loyalty to the corporate interests of Florida.

Blount's corporate clients provided the opportunities to achieve progress in the South after the hard times of the 1860s and 1870s. To accomplish his goals, Blount often practiced a complicated mixture of Bourbon and Progressive politics. His distinguished family background and impressive business credentials, flamboyant oratorical ability, and persistence, made him a political and civic leader. As a spokesman of the New South, Blount did what he could to promote industry and to support education.

Due to his reputation as a corporate lawyer, Blount might be mislabelled a middle class urban professional and, therefore, he might fit the New South leadership model suggested by C. Vann Woodward. However, closer analysis of his family life and career suggest similarities to the leaders of the New South described in studies by W. J. Cash, John J. Beck, and Jay R. Man-

59. Blount to Dr. John Elliot, April 9, 1921, BFP, box 5.

60. *Pensacola Journal*, June 16, 1921.

dle. Blount, a descendent of a prewar plantation regime, sought to preserve his family's social and political status, and he was eminently successful in achieving this goal. Yet for Florida and his own community, Pensacola, he advocated change if it guaranteed progress. Blount was basically conservative in his political philosophy and social attitude. Change in the name of progress was good, but he did not want change to threaten his position in the community or his control over its affairs.⁶¹

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61. James R. McGovern, *The Emergence of a City in the Modern South: Pensacola 1900-1945* (DeLeon Springs, FL, 1976), 171; Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 19-22; Cash, *Mind of the South*, 209-10; John J. Beck, "Building the New South: A Revolution from Above in a Piedmont Country," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (August 1987), 441-70; Jay R. Mandle, *The Roots of Black Poverty: The Southern Plantation Economy After the Civil War* (Durham, NC, 1978), 15-50; Thomas Muir, Jr., "William Alexander Blount, Defender of the Old South and Advocate of a New South" (master's thesis, University of West Florida, 1988), 65.

FLORIDA LIBRARY 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 archive in question.

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has acquired the following manuscript collections: United States Senator Paula Hawkins Papers, Judge Bryan Simpson Papers, Congressman Charles Bennett Papers, and the papers of Land Mortgage Bank of England/Florida Finance Co. of Jacksonville (1895-1945). Book acquisitions include *Ano de 1781: Reflexions Politicas y Militares Sobre le Presente Guerra* (1781); Tulio Arend, *La Republica de las Floridas, 1817-1818* (1986); Fundacio Español en U.S.A., *Fuentes Para La Historial Social de la Florida Español*; Frost, *The Mexican War and Its Warriors*; *Proceedings* (1830-1839; 1920; 1955-1975), M. W. Grand Lodge of Florida; *P.E.O. 50 Years in Florida*; Wynn, *General History of the British Empire in America* (1770); and Compiagne, *Voyages Chasses et Guerros* (1876). Other acquisitions include a map, *Carta Particole Delle Costa di Florida* (1646), by Robert Dudley; and two newspapers, *Richmond Enquirer* (1804-1867) and Plant City, Florida, newspapers (1926-1931). Microfilm additions include the United Methodist Church *Conference Journals*, 1895-1923, and Florida Mission *Minutes*, 1919-1952. The Spanish Borderland acquisitions include A.G.I. Santo Domingo (twenty-five reels) and manuscript materials of Aileen Moore Topping, Jacksonville (thirty reels).

The Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, has acquired correspondence concerning the presentation of a tablet honoring United States Senator William James Bryan of Florida (1930) and a letter from Colonel Lloyd Griscom of Luna Plantation, Tallahassee (1940). Newspaper acquisitions include the Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser Prices Current* (1848).

The Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, added the Charles Hutchinson letters (1839-1840) and his hand-drawn map of Tallahassee (1840); miscellaneous papers of Dr. F. A. Rhodes, Tallahassee; miscellaneous Florida holiday proclamations; microfilm of the Tallahassee *Floridian* (1829-1860, 1865-1893); miscellaneous travel and tourist pamphlets and books; and photostats of railroad maps (1856-1900).

The Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, added the following to its manuscript collection: William and Julia Stockton Papers (1845-1869); Joseph C. Shaw Papers (1863-1907), David Lang letters (1862-1864); account books of the San Luis Vineyards (1892-1954); Washington Ives journal (1860-1862); Thomas Hanger and Thomas Randall letters, Tallahassee (1830-1848); Florida State Genealogical Society's 1988 Pioneer Certificates; scrapbook of the United Confederate Veteran (1887-1927); Byrd Family Papers (1860s-1930s); S. A. Floyd journal (1872); microfilm copy of the registers of the Trinity Church, Apalachicola (1830s-1900); church register of the Antioch Baptist Church, Quincy (1880-1918); and the Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Halifax River Railway Company payroll ledger (1886-1888). From the Department of Military Affairs the Archives has received World War I army card rosters (1917-1919), naval militia records (1890s-1940s), veterans graves registration, and Vietnam casualty records (1961-1973). Other public records accessioned include Governor Robert Graham's speech files (1979-1986); news releases (1979-1986); records of the Governor's Task Forces on Emergency Rooms and Trauma Centers (1987) and Medical Malpractice (1987); SUS Chancellor Barbara Newell's subject files (1981-1982); Judicial Council of Florida records (1953-1980); Department of Legal Affairs, Florida Drug Abuse Prevention and Education Trust records (1976-1979); State Planning Board minutes (1934-1944); and Florida Children's Commission minutes (1947-1963). The photographic collection has added 368 images pertaining to Jefferson County, 150 from the Lake County Historical Association, 720 from the Van Brunt family of Tallahassee, and 386 of the Mosaic Project relating to the Jewish experience in Florida.

The St. Augustine Historical Society has accessioned the Patriot War Papers, correspondence, and claims (1812-1846); the

case of *Walter B. Fraser vs. Curtis Publishing Co.* (1949) with testimony by Verne E. Chatelain, Albert C. Manucy, X. L. Pellicer, Verle A. Pope, and Emily L. Wilson; Florida Militia and Florida Volunteers muster rolls (1836-1859); and Flagler Hospital Papers which include the board of trustee minute books (1906-1973), training school records (1914-1932), auxiliary meetings minutes (1908-1946), staff meetings minutes (1925-1971), and miscellaneous papers (1925-1980).

The Pensacola Historical Society has accessioned the following documents: "The Railroad Comes to West Florida" (1882); Pensacola & Atlantic Railroad Company, annual reports (1882-1883, 1884-1885, 1885-1886), president's report to stockholders (July 1, 1881), and general specifications report; L & N Railroad public timetable (March 1, 1910); copies of articles from the *L & N Employee's Magazine* and *McClure's Magazine*; "Historical Development of L & N and Nashville railroads," by James G. Kerr (1926); Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad Co. general specifications; and a typescript from John Brosnaham's diary (March 1, 1845). Also accessioned were *Early Vital Records of Pensacola, Fla. Volume No. 1* (transcript of official records of births and deaths, 1891-1899, edited by Sidney P. Thomas); gravestones registry, Escambia County; veterans graves registration project; archaeological investigations for phases two and three of the Palafox Project, Pensacola; and miscellaneous blueprints and city records.

The Historical Association of Southern Florida has accessioned the Edith Atkinson Papers (1920s-1980s); manuscript account of Mrs. C. T. Bishop's trip to Miami (1927); Stanley Cooper collections (1870s-1925); Miami City cemetery death cards (1896-1988); Arva Moore Parks's collection of papers, photographs, and drawings (1970-1988); Beverly Phillips's scrapbooks and photographs (1970s-1988); Cyril Berning and C. O. Richardson Family Papers; A. H. Whitney scrapbook (1903); and H. Hastings Mundy's drawing of the clubhouse for the Miami Jockey Club. Photographic acquisitions include nineteenth-century prints, magazine illustrations, and lithographs pertaining to Cuba, Cubans in Florida, and/or Americans in Cuba; 1600 engravings by Theodor de Bry; and John James Audubon's *Birds of America*.

The Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, acquired additional Carrie Dunlap Papers (1910-1934); seven letters (1898-1899) from an English insurance company maintaining insurance in Cuba during the Spanish-American War; and a printed album, "Illustrated Florida" (1882). Maps added to the collection include G. Van Keulen's "Nouvelle carte Marine de toute les cotes de l'Amerique" (1684); lines of survey across Florida for a canal between Espiritu Santo Bay and the St. Johns and Ocklawaha rivers, by M. L. Smith and F. T. Bryan (1854); and a map showing the railroads in progress and completed in the U.S. and their connection as proposed with the harbor of Pensacola (1848). Photographic additions include an album of scenes from late-1800 Clay Springs, Florida, and forty-seven photographs of Florida East Coast trains (1920-1930).

The John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, added the records of the University of West Florida Press (1978); the University's College of Arts and Sciences records (1978); Dr. Hite Bennett's Papers (1927-1988); Florida Board of Regents records (1964); the University's Academic Affairs records (1966-1985); Samuel Keep Papers (1825-1830); Federal Writers' Project materials; Theodore Weber Papers (1904-1910); Campbell Family Papers (1899-1933); and the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway study papers (1975-1976).

The Florida Historical Society Library, University of South Florida, added seventy postcards of various Florida locations; Hillsborough County Democratic party records (1870-1988); the memoirs of Frances Elizabeth Brown; and correspondence relating to the life of Judge Douglas.

The Southern Folklife Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, accessioned the Paul Newman Guthrie Papers (1952-1966).

BOOK REVIEWS

Louis William DuBourg: Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, Bishop of Montauban, and Archbishop of Besançon, 1766-1833. Volume one, *Schoolman, 1766-1818*; Volume two, *Bishop in Two Worlds: 1818-1833*. By Annabelle M. Melville. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1986. xvi, 1,065 pp. Preface, photograph, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

Episcopal biography, the one-time staple of American Catholic historiography, is often eschewed as methodologically outdated and elitist by contemporary historians, even though recent scholarly biographies by Richard Marius, William Bouwsma, and Kenneth Silverman received critical acclaim. Annabelle M. Melville, Commonwealth Professor Emerita at Bridgewater State College (Massachusetts), makes a substantial contribution to the art of American Catholic biography with her work on Louis William DuBourg.

Born on the Caribbean island of Saint-Domingue and raised in Bordeaux, France, a priest of the Congregation of St. Sulpice (founded in 1642 for the education of diocesan priests) and later a bishop, DuBourg was at the center of the most significant events, institutions, and personages of American Catholicism in the Early Republic both on the east coast and in the frontier West. From 1813 to 1826, DuBourg was the head of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, the largest American ecclesiastical jurisdiction before or since. Melville not only gives the reader the text of DuBourg's life and the life of early American Catholicism, but the economic, political, social, and even military context of both. We have no hagiography here of either DuBourg or the Church of which he was a part. The flaws of DuBourg's character (whose nobility and impetuous zeal she compares to Don Quixote), the infighting among the Sulpicians and among the American hierarchy, the miscommunication between America and Rome, the disorder and conflicts of the frontier church, especially with Père Antoine and the marguilliers (lay trustees) of the cathedral in New Orleans, are all discussed with critical sagaciousness.

Melville's work is lengthy— 885 pages of text with 177 pages of endnotes, bibliography, and index. It is in two volumes. Volume I discusses DuBourg's family background, his early education, his work as a Sulpician priest-educator in France and later in the United States, his appointment in 1813 as apostolic administrator of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, and finally his lengthy trip to Europe to beg money and personnel for his frontier diocese. Volume II begins with Bishop DuBourg's return from Europe in 1818, his response to the many vexations of a frontier church, his conscientious resignation in 1826, and his reassignments in France as bishop of Montauban and eventually archbishop of Besançon.

Those looking for information about Florida will be disappointed. Though bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, DuBourg only visited the Floridas once, in 1825, and then only Pensacola where he noted the good disposition of Catholics there. Until 1822 the archbishop of Havana claimed jurisdiction over Florida; after which DuBourg asked Bishop John England of Charleston to oversee the small Catholic populations in St. Augustine and Pensacola. In 1825 Michael Portier at the age of twenty-nine became the vicar apostolic of Florida and Alabama, thus officially relieving DuBourg of jurisdiction in Florida.

Melville is eminently qualified for her task because of her previous works on Elizabeth Seton, John Carroll, and Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus. Begun in 1973, this may be Melville's opus magnum on Republican Catholicism. It is the product of slow, patient research (she investigated thirty-one archives, fourteen of which were in Europe), and careful literary craftsmanship, qualities sometimes uncommon amidst the pressures to publish in American academe today. Although not suitable for use as a course text, Melville's broad canvas and her application of color, texture, light, and shadows reveal an excellent portraiture and an expansive landscape of early American Catholicism. Melville's informative and insightful work reminds us that biography might not be *passé* after all.

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MICHAEL J. MCNALLY

Melbourne Village: The First Twenty-five Years (1946-1971). By Richard C. Crepeau. (Orlando: University of Central Florida Press, 1988. viii, 207 pp. Illustrations, preface, appendices, notes, bibliographic note, references, index. \$25.00.)

The idea of Melbourne Village, a small incorporated suburban town to the west of Melbourne, Florida, grew from the experiences of three dynamic women attempting to find solutions for the problems of the depression in Dayton, Ohio, in the 1930s. Virginia Wood, a Smith College graduate who married well, became involved through her volunteer work. Elizabeth Nutting received the first doctorate of religious education awarded a woman from Boston University and came to Dayton to teach religion in the public schools. She soon moved to the Council of Social Agencies where she met Wood. Margaret Hutchison also attended Boston University where she received a master's degree in religious education and met Nutting, who brought her to Dayton.

In 1932, Nutting organized the unemployed of Dayton into "production units" to grow food, make clothing, and produce other essentials for their own use and to barter. When the city administration cooperated in the program the Council of Social Agencies decided to consult Ralph Borsodi, a social critic who had inaugurated a homesteading program in the 1920s. Borsodi opposed relief in all forms, saying that it only provided a means of survival while waiting for the old system to recover. Instead, he proposed subsistence homesteading to free man from the old factory system. Although the Dayton homesteading project never worked, Borsodi's ideas, and particularly his book, *This Ugly Civilization*, had a great influence on Wood, Nutting, and Hutchison.

In 1946, the three women and several other Borsodi disciples purchased eighty acres west of Melbourne to found Melbourne Village. At the same time they established the American Homesteading Foundation. The project, very much influenced by the back-to-the-land movement, allowed residents to supplement their regular incomes by growing their own food. This fulfilled the Borsodi ideal by reducing their dependency on the impersonal economic forces of modern life. By creating the American Homesteading Foundation, the founders could dis-

courage land speculation and could exclude potential members uncommitted to their ideals of community living. Wood, who contributed most of the money for the project, hoped to establish a self-governing community with its citizens living on large lots with gardens and fruit trees and where they might engage in home industries and home crafts to supplement their incomes.

Such high idealism naturally was suspect to the local residents. Rumors circulated that the village was tainted by communism, or even worse, that it was to be a nudist colony. Nutting defended the village, saying that no group could be more committed to a way of life in which communism could never take root. She said that the majority of the people of the village were "decentralists" and defined the term as people in "favor of doing things in small rather than large groups."

Ralph Borsodi came to the village in 1953 to establish the University of Melbourne, a small graduate school with a "universal" point of view and devoted to the "arts and sciences of living." Borsodi had determined that there were sixteen problems of living and all knowledge was composed of answers to those problems. Wood and Borsodi's wife each contributed to a trust fund to found the university, though from the beginning numbers of village residents opposed the school. One said that they feared that "when the university failed it would leave behind buildings and clutter needing a bulldozer. There was never any fear that it would succeed: We were just so positive that he was a screwball that it would never go through" (p. 105). When it did fail, its buildings, never in the village, formed the nucleus of the Florida Institute of Technology.

As more members settled in the village the original ideals of the founders were diluted. With the coming of the space program, many new residents were scientists and engineers seeking an exceptionally nice place to live, though uncommitted to an ideology born of the impact of the Great Depression. In fact, by the 1970s, Melbourne Village had become a well designed and spacious suburb for the "Space Coast." As such, perhaps Louise Odiorne deserves more credit for the village than its original founders. Odiorne, who had degrees in landscape design and landscape architecture and had studied community planning at MIT and Harvard, created the village plan in return for a mem-

bership and a lot. In an area where the average development is laid out in a uniform grid pattern, her plan, with its winding streets and natural landscape, gave the village its unique character. Unfortunately, there are really no illustrations that allow the reader to experience that uniqueness.

Melbourne Village is a closely researched and well written history of an interesting experiment. As such, it adds a new dimension to local history in Florida.

Florida Atlantic University

DONALD W. CURL

La Defensa de las Indias, 1764-1799. By Julio Albi (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1987. 252 pp. Introduction, illustrations, notes, conclusion, appendices, bibliography. \$25.50.)

Julio Albi de la Cuesta, a member of Spain's diplomatic corps, holds a law degree but also has a serious avocation in the study of the colonial Spanish military. In *La Defensa de las Indias*, Albi devotes a lengthy prologue to the previous history of Spain's attempts to defend its wide American dominions. He then concentrates on the period after 1764 when Bourbon reforms led Spain from military weakness to a powerful position at sea and on land. For the earlier periods, the author relies largely upon the studies of others, such as Paul Hoffman, John Lynch, Juan Marchena, and Cesareo Fernández Duro. He later employs more primary materials in the treatment of his major focus, the Bourbon period.

The author describes the Spanish crown's early decision to give second priority to American defense concerns. While Spanish rulers built a number of fortifications in Florida and the Caribbean, they required their Indies jurisdictions to provide militia support, and subsidized many establishments from the treasuries of Peru and New Spain. At the same time, the merchant trade was taxed for its own defense at sea. Albi agrees with Hoffman's earlier conclusion: the early defense system was largely passive but generally worked well. Rival European powers, however, gradually established themselves in the Caribbean and North America.

The great age of piracy, the time of Spain's most grievous weakness, came and went. With the coming of the eighteenth century, warfare in the New World was increasingly waged by regular European armies and navies, and Spain was again under strong challenge from St. Augustine to Cartagena. British forces forced the surrender of Havana in 1762, and required Spain to yield Florida in exchange.

Spain determined to reinforce strongly her Indies defenses to preclude further disasters. The Royal Order of June 24, 1767, posed pragmatic solutions for the problems Spain faced in the Americas. To avoid the decimation by disease and desertion of peninsular regiments posted in the Indies, and limit the great costs of military expansion, it was proposed to create fixed bodies of troops overseas. These would receive short-term reinforcements from peninsular forces. But well-trained militias, paid only during active service, would form a strong base for the establishment.

Next, thoroughgoing new plans for the defense of each strong point were promulgated— those for Florida's Pensacola and St. Augustine presidios were approved shortly after the colony's return to Spain in 1784. Implementation of these, or any others in the Americas, were limited by the scarce resources of the Spanish crown. But for Florida, the culmination of the system had been reached with the Spanish conquest of Pensacola in 1781.

In his conclusion, Julio Albi pronounces the Bourbon Indies defense system to have been a success, suggesting that the reader compare a map of the Americas in 1764 with one of 1799. In sum, Albi's work is a solid, comprehensive, and very useful study. Provision of an index would strengthen the work for future editions.

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EUGENE LYON

Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters. By Steven M. Stowe. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987. xviii, 309 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.50.

The subject of Steven M. Stowe's book is the class consciousness of antebellum southern planters, which he understands to be both a matter of individual perception and a shared sense of social order. The social world that the planters created, they *each* created, rendered their subjective ideas into objective reality by the conduct of their lives. Partly this was a matter of the forcible control of others, but more importantly, in the antebellum years, it related to the personal character of the planters. So much was personal character defined by behavioral concerns for social order (an order that specifically involved the equality of powerful, impassioned, and ambitious men situated at the top of a social hierarchy and free, Stowe writes, "to act unilaterally because of their unquestioned unity" [p. 211 as well as the division of the sexes into separate spheres), that it represented, Stowe declares, that "collective order itself" (p. 250). Personal character expressed in public conduct received legitimacy from the very order it created, so that the expression of individual personality was necessarily channeled by the demands of authority, suggesting, if I read Stowe aright, that planter behavior was not so much a matter of self-control as it was a function of self-esteem dependent upon public acknowledgment of personal worth. This channeling the planters accomplished in ritual observances, that is, in public-family and community-behavior, which constituted both the forms of reality and the processes by which the individuality of the members of each generation and both sexes were expressed and directed.

Ritual, and the uses of language in ritual, provide Stowe with his entry into the "shared mentality," as he calls it (p. xiii), of the planter class. Part one of this two-part work is a study of three rituals: the duel (or affair of honor), courtship, and coming of age. Briefly, the affair of honor, involving perceived challenges to personal character and hence to the foundation of social order, was designed to maintain order by restoring the equality of elite men that such perceptions and challenges disrupted, uniting men in a bond of mutual recognition of moral worth. Courtship, on the other hand, while its ritual was also designed to preserve social order by containing a disruptive pas-

sion, divided people into gender-specific spheres, since gender, not love, was the significant element of the ritual. Similarly, in the ritual conduct associated with coming of age, sons and daughters learned, in a formal academic setting, the requirements of being sons and daughters, the representatives of their families and their families' worth, for the orderly continuity of the generations. The interplay of these rituals of honor, love, and knowledge with the daily routine of family life is the subject of the second part of Stowe's book, where he examines three family case studies, each with a point and interest of its own.

Stowe's handling of written language is a significant part of this study; it is masterly and, in the main, convincing. He is alive to and able to make sense of situational demands upon language, the contextual uses of words and phrases, nuances of meaning, rhythms of expression, timing of responses, and even the texture of writing materials themselves— paper, pen and ink, and penmanship. The depth of his analysis, moreover, is striking: his sense of the variety and complexity of the dialectic of individuality and ritual constraints, of "intimacy" and "authority," is as keen as his examination of it is deft and provocative. But it can be, I think, legitimately objected that his tendency to consider attitudes that are common to people in widely different circumstances as distinctively pertinent to antebellum planters leads him sometimes to make the evidence prove too much, and so to draw occasionally labored conclusions. Again, in his plain sympathy for the men and women in his study who, in his view, moved beyond conventions of class and gender to achieve what he believes was a fuller expression of genuine humanity than those conventions made easily available, and the tone of regret in which he writes of others who did not, there emerges a perspective that tends to shift his orientation from the planters' consciousness to pejorative commentary about it.

These are matters readers may consider for themselves. With those mentioned (and one caveat beside: Willington Academy belongs in South Carolina, not North Carolina) it must be said finally that this is a work of first-rate intellect, imagination, and sensitivity, a significant addition to the increasingly sophisticated body of literature yearly accumulating on the mind and culture of the Old South.

The Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom in the Old Southwest: Mississippi, 1770-1860. By John Hebron Moore. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xii, 323 pp. Preface, figures, maps, tables, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$40.00.)

“Food is power,” the American secretary of agriculture insisted in the early 1970s. “Agripower will be more important than petropower.” The words may have been new, but they expressed an old idea about agriculture as a power base. “Food will win the war,” was another expression of the same idea. So was “King Cotton.” The author of this book suggests that the history he has studied led Mississippians and other Southerners to embrace the theory of agripower. “The leaders of the white ruling class of the Lower South,” he writes, “made that fateful decision [secession] because they had regained confidence in the slave-worked cotton plantation that was the basic unit in their socioeconomic system. . . . [Jefferson] Davis was to stake the success of the Confederacy upon a belief that England and France would be forced to come to the aid of the southerners in order to obtain cotton” (pp. 289, 292).

The subtitle is more accurate than the title as an indication of the scope of this book. It does refer to other parts of the Old Southwest, the region that replaced the Southeast during the first half of the nineteenth century as the main producer of cotton in the United States. But the book deals mainly with Mississippi, a focus justified by the fact that it became the leading cotton state.

Although the book ends with a political event—secession—of gigantic and tragic significance, the author devotes most of his pages to economic and social history. Organized topically, the work ranges over a wide variety of topics, including the “agricultural revolution,” agricultural slavery, rural whites, water and rail transportation, towns and villages, manufacturing, white inhabitants of the towns, and urban blacks. The substantial attention to villages, towns, and cities and the people and activities in them may seem out of place in a book on a “cotton kingdom,” but in Mississippi, those places were parts of the kingdom. They existed to serve needs of people on farms and plantations.

While the organization is predominantly topical, a chronological scheme underlies the book, and a concept—revolution— involving movement over time is a central feature. The author begins in the beginning, traces the early development of the Mississippi economy, looks at the boom of the 1830s moves to the serious depression that began at the end of that decade, explores the revolution of the 1840s and 1850s that enabled cotton producers to regain prosperity before the war, and prepares us to understand first the Civil War and then the agricultural crisis of the late nineteenth century. The discussion of the revolution is one of the book's contributions, for often the American agricultural revolution of the nineteenth century, which included the substitution of animals for people as the sources of energy for some farm tasks, is seen as only a northern phenomenon.

The author was well prepared for success and did the work required to achieve that. For four decades, Professor Moore of Florida State University has explored the economic history of the Old Southwest and Mississippi, and during those years, he published several articles and two books on that topic before writing this book. In the new work, he draws upon the rich scholarly literature on his topics and brings that scholarship together with plantation records, census materials, newspapers, and other primary sources that he has examined. And he presents his findings in an orderly and clear style. I would argue that the revolution he describes influenced southern agriculture even longer than he maintains, for only a small minority of southern farmers and planters used tractors before World War II, but I have no other changes to propose for this very good book.

University of Washington

RICHARDS. KIRKENDALL

McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders. By Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1988. xiii, 332 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.95.)

Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr., promises his readers a study of two prominent Creek leaders, William McIntosh and William

Weatherford. Born during the American Revolution, both men had European as well as Creek ancestry and grew up as fully integrated members of Creek society. They early distinguished themselves as warriors and political leaders, and they accumulated wealth sufficient to permit them to live in the manner of white southern planters. Yet McIntosh and Weatherford took different political courses in Creek society: McIntosh embraced the United States's policy of acculturation and removal, while Weatherford helped his people resist violations of their territorial and cultural integrity. In the War of 1812, McIntosh fought with the United States against fellow Creeks; Weatherford devised the strategy for and led the attack on Fort Mims, a Creek victory that claimed approximately 250 white lives. Despite his role in the Creek War, Weatherford became something of a folk hero, the epitome of the "noble savage," when he rode unaccompanied into Andrew Jackson's camp and surrendered at the end of the war. The less romantic McIntosh became a general, led a Creek detachment in Jackson's invasion of Florida, and helped in the destruction of Seminole villages.

In Griffith's narrative, we lose sight of Weatherford after the war. Apparently, he simply retired to his plantation in southern Alabama where he died in 1824. McIntosh, however, went on to achieve infamy in Creek history by shady dealings with the Creek agent, an attempt to bribe Cherokee chiefs to cede land, and his role in the Treaty of Indian Springs. The first two acts contributed to his dismissal as speaker of the Creek Confederacy and his expulsion from the Cherokee Council where he had been regarded as a chief, but negotiation of the treaty ultimately was his downfall. In 1825, Creek warriors executed McIntosh for the illegal cession of Creek land. McIntosh and Weatherford came to very different ends, the opposite perhaps of what one would have predicted a decade earlier.

Griffith's study of these two fascinating men fails to fulfill its promise. His narrative focuses on Creek history rather than on the disparate lives of these superficially similar Creek leaders. Many pages pass with no mention of either man. Furthermore, Weatherford is given far less than equal treatment, understandable perhaps because of fewer sources but inexcusable in a work that purports to be a "dual biography" (p. xi). Furthermore, the author demonstrates a surprising lack of sensitivity to Creek culture given his fine summary of its major elements in chapter

two. At times he lapses into language ethnohistorians no longer find acceptable. For example, when Indians win, it is a "massacre" (p. 104-111 passim); when whites win, it is a "victory" (p. 149). His apparent inability to integrate information about Creek culture into his analysis may explain why he never answers the major questions posed by the study. Why did men so similar in background, training, and circumstances choose such different courses? Why did one find satisfaction in Creek society and culture while the other adopted Anglo-American values and attitudes? What do their choices tell us about culture change? These are important questions, and the author should be commended for raising them but criticized for his failure to grapple with them.

University of Kentucky

THEDA PERDUE

Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era. By James M. McPherson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. xix, 904 pp. Preface, introduction, maps and illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$35.00.)

For nineteen weeks, James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom* appeared on the *New York Times* bestseller list, with copies sold reaching six digits. Paperback rights, rumor has it, went for a king's ransom. The enormous popularity stems from a number of factors. McPherson has written a very dramatic story about a subject that often elicits wide national response. Moreover, enough time has passed since the Civil War Centennial to rebuild an audience after the oversaturation of the 1960s market. Finally, at a time of uncertainty and declining world power, a tale of triumph, colossal events, and military glory has special appeal.

This is grand history in the best of the narrative tradition. The emphasis is upon the clash of arms. Shrewd analysis and interpretation, however, are by no means neglected. To choose just one example, most persuasive is his conclusion about the South's victory at First Manassas, often pictured as the occasion when southern pride—and complacency—came before the fall. Instead, he reasons that Irwin McDowell's defeat in the summer

of 1861 reinforced Federal caution and sense of military inferiority, most evident in the dilly-dallying of George B. McClellan. In well-ordered, thoroughly researched chapters, McPherson makes the reader hear the zing and thud of shells, see the wisps of rifle-fire smoke, and smell the stench of the dead and dying. On the slopes of Malvern Hill, an observer whom McPherson cites could see 5,000 men, dead or wounded, but enough were "alive and moving to give to the field a singular crawling effect" (p. 477).

Especially commendable are his enlightening discussions of new weaponry and tactics and their impact on battle outcomes—the development of the ironclads, rifled barrels to replace smoothbores, loose-order skirmish lines, revised cavalry implementation. In describing the economic muscle that enabled the North to bury the South in mountains of war supplies, he never falters into boring statistical recitations. Even his comparisons of Rebel and Union tax and monetary policies are interesting. Moreover, the glaring inadequacies of Lincoln's succession of generals until Ulysses S. Grant's installation, the brilliance, as well as lapses, of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, the intrepidity of Admiral David Farragut, in sum, the personalities of the commanders are rendered in very penetrating sketches. Leaders figure more prominently than common soldiers, but for this kind of history, the balance should not be otherwise.

With eye-catching colors and animation, the cover of the book indicates the thrust of the treatment within. It chiefly shows an array of blue jackets belonging to the 5th Wisconsin Volunteers trampling over dead and wounded Confederates whose sole prominent defender in the far right corner fires a pistol. Not surprisingly McPherson wastes little sympathy on the Richmond government, although Jefferson Davis and company managed to keep the Confederacy alive far longer than Federal might should have allowed. McPherson's view of Lincoln, on the other hand, is both plausible and inspired as with consummate skill he shows his gradual mastery of party, war, and nation. Devoting almost a third of the whole to the subject, the author provides a highly imaginative account of the war's prelude. Much of the discussion is devoted to the North's attitudes. Indeed, he has little grasp of southern feeling and motive. McPherson presumes that a single moral code prevailed across antebellum America. But until the Union Army settled the mat-

ter, there was no national ethical consensus insofar as the virtues of liberty and honor were concerned. Each side defined them in accordance with its separate economy and differing concepts of community and individual rights. Slavery was the cause of war, as McPherson explains, but the fury of southern reaction against northern "insult," chief of which was Lincoln's election, involved threatened self-esteem not just fear of an imposed black emancipation.

This lone criticism should deter neither the general reader nor the specialist who will find that narration does not preclude insight of the highest order. Above all, McPherson helps to restore our faith in history as something not for the cloisters alone but for a nation in which the battle cry of freedom still echoes down the years.

University of Florida

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia: A Biography. By Thomas E. Schott. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xx, 552 pp. Abbreviations, preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

When a Union soldier encountered the vice president of the Confederacy in February 1865, he exclaimed, "My God! He's dead now, but he don't know it." While the observation referred to Stephens's anemic appearance, it could be equally applied to his political philosophy. Alexander H. Stephens was many things—congressman, senator, governor, vice president, and unreconstructed Southerner. His lengthy political career embodied the trials, tribulations, and frustrations of a "man of principle" who constantly found those views under siege from friend and foe alike.

In this well-written biography (the first on the subject in more than forty years), Thomas Schott reveals "a basically decent and high minded man" beset by tragedy. Born a Georgia "cracker," Stephens was driven by a need for recognition rather than money or power. In many ways he typified a breed of southern politician of the era who loved the Union and revered the Constitution, but was caught in the inescapable web of slav-

ery. Seeking to reconcile increasingly contradictory views, the Georgian switched political parties (Whig to Democrat) and embraced the controversial doctrine of popular sovereignty. Fully two-thirds of the book deals with the pre-Civil War period. Schott excels in leading us through the labyrinth of the shifting state factions and national alignments in the 1850s. Since "Little Alec" served in Congress from 1843 to 1859, he became a major player and articulate observer on the political stage of the era. Stephens never allowed his skeletally frail constitution (seventy-five pounds) to affect his caustic wit or barbed remarks—once calling his fellow congressmen "a grand set of blockheads" and referring to Washington, DC, as a "great river of political filth."

Although Stephens strived mightily to preserve the Union, he saw secession as a right and firmly embraced the southern code—including personal honor, white supremacy, individual liberties, and states' rights. The last of these cost him dearly in his relationship with the new Confederate government. Stephens had been selected for the vice presidency in an effort to unify the South. His moderate Unionism and Georgia roots made him a very attractive candidate. The collision between Jefferson Davis and Stephens, both quick-tempered, irritable, and self-righteous, seemed inevitable. The personality differences, however, quickly were displaced by substantive conflicts over conscription, taxes, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and a negotiated peace settlement with the Yankees. Not content to disagree privately, Stephens alienated many Southerners by his outspoken defense of states' rights at a moment of national crisis. "Insufferably egotistical," Stephens simply pressed on, secure in the knowledge that there was a higher truth than independence.

In spite of the tarnish applied to Stephens's image by his anti-Davis activities, "Little Alec" became a legend in postwar Georgia, serving briefly in the Senate, then for a decade in the House of Representatives, before a twilight four months as governor in 1882-1883. Stephens's success can be attributed in part to his iron-willed resistance to Reconstruction. Espousing principles of race and state sovereignty he had held for forty years, Stephens became a pawn for those who championed the "New South."

Thomas Schott has written a solid traditional political biography interwoven with enough threads from his subject's per-

sonal life to bring Stephens alive. The reader seeking a lengthy discussion of the Civil War and Reconstruction years will be disappointed. This is largely a study of an antebellum politician. But mild criticism of content imbalance and the absence of an analytical conclusion do not detract from the work's overall strength. This well-researched and solidly documented study will become the standard biography of Alexander H. Stephens.

University of South Florida

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

From Civil War to Civil Rights: Alabama: 1860-1960. Compiled by Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1987. xi, 535 pp. Introduction, list of contributors, notes, index. \$24.95.)

From Civil War to Civil Rights is a compilation of twenty-nine articles from *The Alabama Review* selected and arranged by Professor Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, editor of the journal, in six parts. The first section treats the Civil War and Reconstruction in eight selections, among which are articles on William L. Yancey by Ralph B. Draughon, Jr., the Confederate Navy by William N. Still, the military front by James F. Crook, the Confederate quartermaster by Frank E. Vandiver, and the women on the homefront by Jonathan M. Wiener. An article on military prisons by Peter A. Brannon, founding director of the invaluable Alabama state archives, is included, along with two others on scalawags and carpetbaggers in the Reconstruction era by Professor Wiggins.

The second part of *Bourbonism and Populism* includes some of the writings of Grady McWhiney on Alabama agriculture, Frances Roberts on the Greenback party, and Joseph A. Fry on Senator Morgan's political battles. Two significant selections are "The Alabama State Grange" and "The Farmers' Alliance in Alabama" by William Warren Rogers of Florida State University.

The Progressive era is depicted in part three. The selections include Allen W. Jones on political reform, James F. Doster on railroads and politics, Hugh C. Bailey's "Edgar Gardner Murphy and the Child Labor Movement", and Marlene Hunt

Rikard's "George Gordon Crawford." The topic is rounded out by Wayne Flynt's article on religion in Birmingham, and Lee N. Allen's "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Alabama."

Part four deals with the 1920s in five articles: Leslie S. Wright's work on the controversy surrounding Henry Ford's attempt to buy the nitrate facilities at Muscle Shoals, William R. Snell's treatment of the revived Ku Klux Klan in Alabama, Lee N. Allen's portrayal of Oscar Underwood's 1924 campaign, William E. Gilbert's "Bibb Graves as a Progressive," and J. Mills Thornton III on J. Thomas Heflin, Alabama's maverick Democratic senator.

Part five on the Great Depression era is considered in a single selection by Wayne Flynt, "Spindle, Mine, and Mule: The Poor White Experience in Post-Civil War Alabama."

Part six is entitled World War II and Beyond, and covers the period to the late 1950s. Included are selections by William D. Barnard on the political changes from Bibb Graves's gubernatorial term in the late 1920s through the emergence of "Big Jim" Folsom in the early 1940s Leonard Dinnerstein's treatment of Aubrey Williams's difficulties with the United States Senate over his appointment as director of the Rural Electrification Administration, Carl Grafton's treatment of the Folsom campaign in 1946, and J. Mills Thornton III's article on the Montgomery bus boycott.

There is an unavoidable imbalance in the treatment of the several topics necessarily imposed by the availability of articles that have been published in the *Alabama Review*. But the selections which appear represent some of the best scholarship on Alabama and include articles from several of the leading writers on southern history of the last quarter of a century. The dual purpose of the anthology, according to Professor Wiggins, is to fill a void left by the absence of a comprehensive history of Alabama and to encourage the writing of such a history. This book of readings seems to fulfill those purposes.

White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery. By Herbert Shapiro. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988. xvi, 582 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth; \$14.95 paper.)

Today, many whites blame blacks for most of the violent crimes committed against persons and property. After examining the years from Reconstruction to the late 1950s, Herbert Shapiro found that the overwhelming majority of inter-racial violence resulted from whites attacking blacks to insure the continuation of white supremacy. That record of white violence provides a particularly effective way to study racism. Whereas the anonymity of impersonal bureaucracies can disguise institutional racism, violence represents an unmistakable expression of racial hatred. Frequently we can determine who did it and why they did it.

This study's strength stems from its systematic examination of white violence over a century and the response of blacks to that violence. It does not contain an exhaustive catalogue of brutality, but instead it focuses on representative episodes that illustrate the prevailing pattern for each chronological period. Among the topics discussed are Ku Klux Klan violence, lynching, the riots that came during and immediately after World War I, and the Willie McGee case of the 1950s. The author has not compiled a cut-and-paste job. Even when discussing episodes that have previously received scholarly attention, Shapiro offers fresh, critical insights. Having a strong command of American history, he does well in placing his material within the context of the period in which each event occurred.

Afro-American opponents of racist violence examined in this volume range from Frederick Douglass to William E. B. DuBois to Malcolm X. Blacks who took a stand against white violence frequently had to contend with retribution from law enforcement officials. Local police, state national guards, and federal troops participated at times in suppressing blacks who attempted to defend their communities. Over the course of the twentieth century, the pattern slowly began to change. In the Tulsa riot of 1921, for example, blacks defended themselves so vigorously that they enhanced their self-confidence and pride. After World War II the international implications of racial violence

increasingly influenced responses by state and federal authorities. Although blatant episodes like the Emmett Till case still occurred in the 1950s, the nation had become increasingly intolerant of racial violence. Equally important, in that decade Afro-Americans developed a new resolve to change the prevailing patterns of race relations.

This book is the first of a two-volume study, the second of which will focus on the civil rights movement and the years thereafter. Professor Shapiro has set high standards that reflect extensive research and mastery of the materials. He has made an important contribution in examining a dark corner of our history. American violence does not compare in scope with that of Hitler's Germany or Pol Pot's Cambodia, but many episodes that the author discussed will rank with the most brutal acts committed in the modern world. Having profoundly affected the Afro-American experience, white violence warrants the careful attention that it receives in this volume.

University of Georgia

WILLIAM F. HOLMES

Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919. By Patricia A. Cooper. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. xvi, 350 pp. Preface, introduction, tables and illustrations, notes, note on sources, oral histories, index. \$29.95.)

"What this country needs is a good five-cent cigar." Thomas Marshall uttered his famous quote during a 1919 United States Senate debate, immortalizing yet another unknown American vice president. Marshall's hope for a nickel cigar was soon achieved. Mechanization perfected the act of making cigars—but not perfect cigars—and in the process eroded the status of the much vaunted cigar worker.

In this masterful study, Patricia Cooper paints a rich portrait of the world of the cigarmaker. Feisty, proud, and at times intractable, the cigarmaker symbolized the nineteenth-century artisan and the strength but ultimate weakness of the craft union. In this study, Cooper traces the evolution of the industry and its workers during a rapidly changing period of mechaniza-

tion and labor unrest. Consumers, bewitched by pure Havanas and Philly cheroots, smoked over 6,000,000,000 cigars a year during the industry's golden age. Over 15,000 factories dotted the continent, employing 100,000 cigar workers.

Once a Cigar Maker represents far more than a history of the Cigarmakers' International Union (CMIU). Justly recognized as a pillar in the American Federation of Labor's temple of craft unionism—indeed, Samuel Gompers proudly carried the union card of the cigar worker—the CMIU entered the twentieth century flush with success. But change swept the industry in the two decades after 1900, the result of shifting relationships wrought by new technologies. The workforce, once dominated by skilled artisans, became increasingly comprised of unskilled immigrant women. Cooper deftly deals with the social history of those workers rather than a conventional history of their union. Curiously, she chose largely to ignore Florida's twin cigarmaking centers of Tampa and Key West, a decision which dilutes the book's impact. Instead, the author concentrated on cigarmakers in Illinois, New York, and Michigan—states having a large number of factories.

The strength of Cooper's work centers around her recreation of the culture of work that pervaded cigarmaking. "Work culture," she explains, "stressed autonomy, collective identity and mutual aid, a fierce independent pride and self-worth, control over work, respect for manliness, a sense of both adventure and humor, duty to the trade, and loyalty to each other." Cigarmaking involved vestiges of a preindustrial era, work patterns clearly at tension with the new developments shaping the industry after 1900. Patterns of resistance included strikes, slowdowns, and walkouts, but also power struggles over control of the workplace.

Cooper has utilized a rich variety of sources. In addition to traditional labor history sources—union archives, government studies, and census records—she drew upon forty-three interviews with former cigarmakers. The interviews add a dash of spice, humor, and color, but leave the critic puzzled as to the nature and organization of the interviews.

Once a Cigar Maker originates in the "new" labor history, a remarkable outpouring of scholarship with David Montgomery and Herbert Gutman serving as its high priests. The recent publication of Montgomery's *The Fall of the House of Labor* (1988)

marks a major synthesis for a generation of labor historians who have sought to reconstruct the cultures and communities of working-class Americans. Previous scholarship, reflecting the "consensus" school of the 1950s downplayed working-class protest and concentrated on the evolution of the modern union movement. Historians such as Cooper view working-class dissent and protest as a legitimate counterculture. The latest volume in the University of Illinois Working Class in American History series, *Once a Cigar Maker* represents a splendid example of solid scholarship and rigorous editorial standards.

University of South Florida

GARY R. MORMINO

Southerners and Europeans: Essays in a Time of Disorder. By Andrew Lytle. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. Acknowledgments, foreword, index. \$32.50.)

Andrew Lytle's *Southerners and Europeans: Essays in a Time of Disorder* brings together eighteen essays written over a period of thirty-five years which "attempt to maintain a sense of the sacred, the communal, and the traditional in the face of the historical decline of Western Christendom." As Lewis Simpson notes in his insightful foreword to the collection, "America has no premium on innocence in Lytle's moral vision, which has always embraced European and American writers as necessarily constituting one community. This vision is reflected in the organization of the present collection. . . . Beginning with several essays of general thematic character and moving to a number that focus primarily on individual writers, the volume concludes with a final group of essays on European writers who have been important influences on the way Lytle sees literature and history."

Part one, which opens with an essay, "The State of Letters in a Time of Disorder," is significant, not only for Lytle's assessment of individual literary works, but also for his conclusions about the function of the writer who lives in a world no longer seen as "divinely ordered." Here, Lytle reasserts the agrarian premise: "I would say, almost absolutely, the great, at least lasting, literatures and representative arts are found in either a

pastoral or an agrarian society. The images and references which the arts find to hand are to things natural and supernatural: to men, animals, plants, winds, water, and fire, not indiscriminately used but always through their proper functions and necessities."

Lytle's essays in part two focus on southern writers, including Gordon, Warren, Faulkner, Ransom, Tate, and Flannery O'Connor. One essay treats his own work, *The Velvet Horn*. As in the first section, there are telling comments on specific works. For example, in "Helen's Last Stand: Faulkner's *The Town*," Lytle comments, "Faulkner's post of observation usually lies with some individual who, out of his need for self-knowledge, even salvation from those complications of the human scene which 'outrage,' tells the story and, in telling it, resolves it." Of Allen Tate he says, "Every serious writer has one subject . . . which he spends his life exploring and delivering as fully as he may. Tate's subject is simply what is left of Christendom, that Western knowledge of ourselves which is our identity." He observes one of O'Connor's early stories, "what she had done was what any first-rate artist always does— she had made something more essential than life but resembling it."

Of even greater interest, though, are Lytle's more general observations on the role of the artist as in the following passage in which he distinguishes between the purposes of the historian and those of the creative writer. "To the historian the past is dead. To the novelist the past is contemporaneous, or almost. There can be no absolute sense of contemporaneity in the re-creation of any age, or segment of an age, anterior to the time in which the author writes. Indeed, if this were so, the principal value of using the past would be lost: the value being just this illusion of the contemporary within a context of historical perspective, so that while an action is taking place it is rendered in terms larger than those of its immediate appearance."

In part three, Lytle examines European writers, including Tolstoy, Flaubert, Joyce, and Ford Madox Ford. In his analysis of *War and Peace* Lytle paraphrases Percy Lubbock saying, "His essential position is this: the artist creates; the critic becomes an artist by re-creating as nearly as he may what the artist has done." Of Joyce he notes, "Some of the stories in *Dubliners* are more moving than others, but they all produce that shock of surprise which comes from an old truth once again reborn into

the full radiance of its meaning." Taken together, these two statements reflect Lytle's own purposes in this volume. Although *Southerners and Europeans* is literary criticism, Lytle has not abandoned nor forgotten his commitment as a creative writer. Through these essays he analyzes the work of individual writers which he groups together in one great literary community. More importantly, though, he interprets their work for the larger purpose of examining the role of the artist in his or her most essential task—the re-creation in new forms of universal truths.

Florida State University

ANNE E. ROWE

The Bingham of Louisville: The Dark History Behind One of America's Great Fortunes. By David Leon Chandler with Mary Voltz Chandler. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1987. xii, 292 pp. Preface, epilogue, appendix, acknowledgments, notes, index. \$17.95.)

House of Dreams: The Bingham Family of Louisville. By Marie Brenner. (New York: Random House, 1988. 452 pp. Prologue, notes, author's note, index. \$19.95.)

Two books published at the same time with similar titles could be assumed to cover the same ground, but in this case the assumption is wrong. The books concentrate on different subjects and can both be read without much duplication.

David Chandler's book is a mystery, with plenty of clues in the death of Mary Kenan Flagler Bingham. Chandler offers circumstantial evidence and a suspect. The death of Mary Bingham is only of passing interest to Marie Brenner. She states that the death will always remain a mystery, and moves on. Her book is a love story detailing the marriage of Mary Bingham's stepson and his wife Mary.

Robert Bingham was a small-time Louisville politician when he married Mary Flagler. She was the third wife and widow of Henry Flagler who had made a fortune as a partner of John D. Rockefeller, then moved to Florida and spent the remainder of his life developing the state from Jacksonville to Key West. She married Bingham in 1916 and the following year died under questionable circumstances.

Robert Bingham produced a will of questionable validity which left him \$5,000,000. Her other heirs fought unsuccessfully to invalidate the bequest to Bingham, but he won and used the money to purchase the *Courier-Journal*, Kentucky's leading newspaper. From that start the Binghams quickly became the state's leading family. With his new status, Bingham rose in national politics and became ambassador to England under Franklin Roosevelt.

His son, Barry Bingham, inherited the newspaper and added television and printing to the company's holdings. The paper won national recognition which made the Bingham name feared and respected. It all came to an end in 1986, and the family quickly fell from its exalted position to become a super-market tabloid sideshow. One of Barry Bingham's children, Sallie, claimed that her older brother had ignored her advice, and she announced her intention to sell her interest in the company. Barry Bingham, unable or unwilling to settle the dispute among his children, sold the company for \$450,000,000.

The collapse of the Bingham empire set off a literary fire storm. To date, publishers have five books under contract. For Chandler, the book is something of a sequel to his 1986 book, *Henry Flagler: The Astonishing Life and Times of the Visionary Robber Baron Who Founded Florida*, published by Macmillan Company of New York. Chandler's book on the Binghams was also to have been published by Macmillan, but at the last minute the Bingham family raised objections, and the publisher backed out. Crown then agreed to publish the book.

The Bingham family's objections are understandable. Chandler claims that Robert Bingham drugged Mary to get her to change her will, and eventually was responsible for her death. His circumstantial case is convincing, although he fails to produce conclusive evidence.

While Chandler concentrates on the building of the Bingham empire, Marie Brenner examines its dissolution. Barry Bingham and his wife were devoted to each other, so much so that their children were treated as visitors in their own home. Two of those children died tragically, and the others grew estranged from each other and their parents. In the end they seemed all too willing to discuss their family problems on television interview programs.

The books are very different, and it is unfair to compare them. For the historian seeking to trace the family history, the Chandler volume is better. For those who want to examine the fall of a family and a major American business, Brenner offers a portrait that is equal parts soap opera, superior reporting, and penetrating analysis.

Orlando Sentinel

JAMES C. CLARK

Varieties of Southern Religious Experience. Edited by Samuel S. Hill. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. vii, 241 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, introduction, tables, conclusion, list of contributors, selected bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Varieties of Southern Religious Experience has relatively little to say about the history of Florida, but Florida is a part of its history. The editor, Samuel S. Hill, teaches at the University of Florida, and Richard L. Rubenstein of Florida State University wrote one of the collection's essays. All ten essays were originally presented at a conference at Florida State in April 1981. Perhaps because of the long period between delivery and publication, many of the essays have appeared elsewhere or closely parallel other works by their authors— always a danger in such collections.

Again as in similar volumes, a few of the essays seem to stand alone. Rubenstein's sensitive reading of *Sophie's Choice* as a Southerner's meditation on slavery differs from all the other essays. Clarence Goen's "Scenario for Secession: Denominational Schisms and the Coming of the Civil War" and William Martin's analysis of the electronic church do not develop the book's theme of variety so much as they support the idea of a South dominated by a conservative, culture-bound evangelicalism. The majority of the essays, however, do complement one another— more so than in most collections— and together present a strong case for diversity within the southern religious experience. Four of the essays do so by focusing on groups outside mainstream southern Protestantism. Eric Lin-

coln describes the distinctive roots and beliefs of the black church. Randall Miller explains how antebellum southern Catholics sought to survive in the dominate evangelical culture through strategies of both exclusion and adaption, but most often chose adaption, and in the process sacrificed much of their own tradition. Ralph Luker traces a southern Anglican tradition that emphasized the incarnation of Christ, as opposed to evangelicals' stress on his atonement, and shows its influence on several southern activists and theologians, most prominent among them William Porcher Dubose. Wade Roof describes the social backgrounds and attitudes of the contemporary southern "unchurched" (p. 195), people not formally participating in the South's religious culture. The remaining three essays directly challenge current conceptions of southern Protestantism as racist, monolithic, and conservative. John Bole's essay carefully argues that in the antebellum South the church constituted a biracial community. Contributions by David Harrell and Wayne Flynt show how at the turn of the century southern denominations divided along class and urban-rural lines. Flynt also presents a case for the existence of a social gospel in the cities and religious support for lower-class radicalism in the countryside.

Together the essays demonstrate a need to revise, or at least refine, public and scholarly conceptions of southern religion. Hill, whose own work was central in shaping its current image, is to be commended for presenting a collection that points scholars beyond his own arguments. In a useful conclusion, Hill himself proposes several "fresh angles or new emphases" (p. 213) on the study of southern religion. Perhaps most interestingly, he argues for the continued acceptance of the idea of a distinctive regional faith, but adds that internal diversity, illustrated so well in this book, requires that it be studied "dialectically—back and forth between 'the South' and the numerous parts that make it up" (p. 226).

Southern Civil Religions in Conflict: Black and White Baptists and Civil Rights, 1947-1957. By Andrew Michael Manis. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. xi, 160 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.00.)

In this book "civil religion" is defined as "religious piety with one's nation as the patriotic object of worship." Implicit in this statement is the interaction of religion and nationalism. This study examines the religio-patriotic themes which profoundly affected southern Americans' attitudes on the meaning, purpose, and destiny of America, and it concludes that racism caused serious conflict within the South's religious community.

Two major civil religions existed in the South in the immediate post-World War II years. One was practiced by white Protestants (most of whom were members of the Southern Baptist Convention), while another was practiced by black Protestants (most of whom were members of the National Baptist Convention). Prior to 1954, white and black Baptists held— with minor variations— similar views in regard to their civil religions. They believed that the United States was a Christian nation under attack from godless (i.e., Communist) nations and that the United States's role in the world was to serve as the example and protector of individual rights and freedom.

The Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* turned the attention of white and black Baptists in the South from world affairs to internal matters. It accentuated differences between white and black civil religions. Black churchmen and people saw desegregation of schools and other public facilities as a fulfillment of an American ideal, giving justice and equal opportunity to all citizens. The religious white folk of the South viewed desegregation, not to say integration, as antithetical to their vision of a future America which they hoped would be homogeneous, Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon. Increasingly forced to curtail their own liberty to segregate black Southerners, whites viewed desegregation as a religious symbol, a token that their hope for America would go unfulfilled. To these patriotic Americans, desegregation became the ultimate threat. In short, racism brought serious conflict between the South's dominant civil religions.

This well-written, brief, "de-dissertationized" monograph may too single-mindedly focus on Martin Luther King type

blacks and White Citizens Council type whites; nevertheless, its perceptive pages offer considerable food for thought concerning conflict in the postwar South's civil religions.

New Mexico State University

MONROE BILLINGTON

Blacks in Southern Politics. Edited by Laurence W. Moreland, Robert P. Steed, and Tod A. Baker. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987. ix, 305 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables and graphs, notes, index. \$24.95.)

This volume, based on a symposium on southern politics held at The Citadel in 1986, contains fifteen essays on the impact of blacks in southern politics. The title is at least slightly misleading, for this book's focus is contemporary, and its approach is that of the political scientist. The greater part of the discussion centers on the role of blacks in this decade's politics. Early essays concentrate on the history of black political participation before 1965 and the civil rights revolution and its effects on southern politics during the 1960s. The remaining authors concern themselves with the emergence of Jesse Jackson and renewed black political activism during the election of 1984.

A number of the essays will be useful for historians. David C. Colby's essay treats eighty-two documented instances of white violence during the civil rights movement in Mississippi between 1960 and 1969. Discovering that anti-civil rights violence peaked during the mid-1960s he argues that it was a "continuation of normal politics, by other means" (p. 42). Violence occurred not in random frustration but in deliberate response to the assertion of black political power. In a statistical profile of black activists during the 1984 presidential campaign, Laurence W. Moreland, Robert P. Steed, and Tod A. Baker maintain that Jackson supporters resembled other black party activists. They also contend, convincingly, that black activists have come to anchor the liberal wing of the Democratic party, both regionally and nationally. In still another essay that seeks to revise prevailing notions, Harold W. Stanley argues that runoff primaries have probably increased, not diminished, black political power. And in the vol-

ume's most interesting and original essay, Linda F. Williams discusses the impact of racial polarization upon the election of 1984. Effectively using attitudinal data, Williams demonstrates the different political worlds of southern blacks and whites and shows that, except for the factor of race itself, major racial differences prevail in virtually every category of political attitudes.

Like most volumes which are produced from symposia, this book suffers from unevenness. Although the volume makes an attempt at establishing a historical context, it does so weakly, and the essays on the pre-1984 subjects do not go beyond standard historical literature. For example, Frederick D. Wright's essay on black political participation before 1965 provides little new on a subject about which political historians have already thoroughly researched and written. Most historians, even those with strong interests in politics and quantification, will find the format, writing, and conclusions of most of these essays to be ponderous. With some exception, the authors become lost in their data and tables; for the most part they provide a surplus of numbers, but the erratically human nature of political choices eludes their understanding. In the end, most scholars will find little surprising in this volume.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

WILLIAM A. LINK

The Making of Urban America. Edited by Raymond A. Mohl. (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1988. vii, 328 pp. Preface, introduction to chapters, notes, illustrations, index. \$35.00 cloth; \$13.95 paper.)

For students of urban history, this collection of essays about pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial American cities offers insights based on the scholarship of the past decade. This limitation is both the book's greatest strength and weakness. For a reader who cannot keep abreast of all the writings in the urban field, the collection introduces one to the latest thought of Gary Nash, Steven Riess, and Kenneth Jackson, among others. At the

same time, pioneer and often classic essays by Robert Merton, Herbert Gans, and Sam Bass Warner are excluded. But such are the choices of an editor.

Overall, Raymond Mohl has compiled a readable, thoughtful collection introducing one to the different character of colonial southern cities, the social utility of the working-class saloon, and the growth of the urban Southwest. Southern cities are unique, suggests David R. Goldfield, because of their symbiotic links to their agricultural hinterland, the presence of a biracial society, and their economic dependency upon northern cities. Of particular interest to readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is Mohl's article on race and housing in Miami during the New Deal. In it, he describes local interests manipulating federal funds and policies to move blacks out of inner city Overtown to public housing in Liberty City in order to facilitate downtown economic development.

Also of particular interest because of its relevance to Florida is Kenneth Jackson's essay on "The Drive-in Culture of Contemporary America," taken from his recent book, *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. Jackson's focus on the automobile's impact upon America's interstate highways, motels, drive-in theaters, shopping centers, mobile homes, industrial parks, and what he calls the "drive-in culture" and the "centerless city," describes much of Florida's recent growth. More upbeat is Richard Wade's article, "America's Cities Are (Mostly) Better Than Ever." It shows contemporary American cities, despite their multiple problems, as decidedly better places for people to live than at the turn of the century when housing, disease, poverty, congestion, and government were significantly worse. The book closes with an historiographical essay by Mohl on recent scholarship about Sunbelt cities, suburbanization, urban politics, race, ethnicity, urban culture, and other contemporary themes.

Of particular help are Mohl's introductions to the essays collected under pre-industrial, industrial, and twentieth-century headings. In them he describes the major demographic, economic, social, and political transformations of American cities that took place during the eras in which the following articles fit.

Clearly the book has been edited for college students taking courses in urban history. Yet teachers of American history also

will find material on culture, minorities, immigrants, and politics to update class presentations. Other readers, particularly those interested in American cities, will find thoughtful articles to examine at their leisure.

University of North Florida

JAMES B. CROOKS

Indians in American History, An Introduction. Edited by Federick Hoxie. (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1988. xv, 336 pp. Contributors, preface, introduction, illustrations, appendix, index. \$13.95.)

This outstanding and unusual book is highly recommended. It culminates a systematic effort since 1972 of the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, the Newberry Library, to promote richer scholarship and broader interest in American Indian history. This effort has resulted in an explosion of interest and an increasing body of scholarly literature. Yet there has been little change in the way in which American history is taught. This book addresses this problem and can be used effectively as a text or source book.

Ten of the thirteen essays were originally presented in a series of McNickle Center conferences on "The Impact of Indian History on the Teaching of U.S. History." While the authors speak from a variety of disciplines and perspectives, their common goal is to present the Indian side of the historical narrative. The essays are well written to communicate the excitement in contemporary scholarship. They review in chronological order the standard topics of American history. But while the topics are familiar, the content is probably new. Each chapter includes suggestions for further reading.

Alfonso Ortiz provides an outstanding introduction to an Indian perspective on Indian/white relations. James A. Brown's "America Before Columbus" is an excellent review of archaeological evidence. James Axtell demonstrates how difficult it would be to imagine Colonial America without Indians. Henry F. Dobyns reviews the "Indians in the Colonial Spanish Borderlands." But these initial essays are less "revolutionary" than those covering topics less associated with Indian history. Kenneth M.

Morrison provides a brilliant contrast between fact and story in "Native Americans and the American Revolution." Charles F. Wilkinson's essay on "Indian Tribes and the American Constitution" deals with the historical background and continuing rich framework of Indian law. Theda Perdue examines the often overlooked "Indians in Southern History." R. David Edmunds demonstrates the complexity of national westward expansion. William T. Hagan's "How the West Was Lost" focuses on the Indian wars. Frederick E. Hoxie's account of "Reformers and the American Indians" covers the self-limiting understanding of the reformers and their replacement by effective Indian spokespersons. Walter L. Williams effectively applies the perspective of United States foreign affairs in his essay "American Imperialism and the Indians." Alvan M. Josephy, Jr., summarizes recent Indian history in "Modern America and the Indian," while W. Richard West, Jr., and Kevin Gover place Indian affairs in the context of modern politics in "The Struggle for Indian Civil Rights."

It bears repeating that the significance of these essays lies not in the topics, but the examination of these topics from an Indian perspective. This series of essays is highly recommended, in the words of Ortiz "to develop a sharper view of Indian history, . . . to reconsider our past and to reexamine our historical assumptions."

Mississippi State University

JOHN H. PETERSON

American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492. By Russell Thornton. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. xx, 292 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, tables, maps, photographs, appendix, references, index. \$29.95.)

University of Minnesota sociologist Russell Thornton is one of the few professors (possibly the only one) who has enjoyed the opportunity to teach a history of American native population college course. Supported from 1979 to 1986 by the National Institute of Mental Health, the Smithsonian Institution, the Newberry Library, and the Universities of California at Ber-

keley and Los Angeles, Thornton converted his presentations and publications into a textbook for such a course. Reviewing studies of America's native peoples during their historic confrontation with newcomers to their lands, Thornton makes this "annotated bibliography" valuable to students as a guide to relevant references. It is not equally useful to the well-read researcher.

Thornton summarizes briefly the order in which different peoples reached the Americas before discussing the magnitude of native population in 1492. An admitted compromiser, like geographer William M. Denevan, Thornton asserts that the Americas held over 72,000,000 people in 1492. He espouses some curious concepts in compromising. For example, Thornton takes archaeologist Herbert J. Spinden's 1928 wild guess that 75,000,000 people inhabited the hemisphere about A. D. 1200 as indicating a possible numerical decline to 1492. Thus, the sociologist displays no critical awareness that in 1928 the archaeologist had to guess just as wildly about ruin dating as about numbers. All chronometrically reliable dating techniques have been invented since 1928— dendrochronology, radioactive carbon, paleomagnetic, obsidian hydration, and potassium-argon dating, etc. Archaeological research carried out during the sixty years— 1928-1988— has, moreover, expanded knowledge of pre-Columbian American population trends by several hundred percent. So Spinden's 1928 wild guess is an historical curiosity not to be taken seriously today.

Thornton devotes three chapters to what he terms the "holocaust." First, he presents an "overview" of native depopulation from 1492 until the 1890-1900 decade. Then he reviews 300 years of declining native numbers from 1500 to 1800. Third, he examines nineteenth-century native decline to the lowest numbers in North America. Thornton follows with a summary discussion of native psychological response to disease, death, and declining numbers compounded by newcomer domination— the Ghost Dance movement late in the last century. (Earlier, Thornton demonstrated a statistical correlation between smallness of native ethnic populations with recent disease mortality experience and Ghost Dancing.)

Thornton devotes three final chapters to native numerical recovery in twentieth-century North America. One chapter summarizes the recovery trend numbers. A second chapter discusses

difficulties that newcomers encounter in defining and enumerating natives who are seldom highly motivated to cooperate with dominant group counters. While Thornton's analysis of changing United States Census Bureau enumeration techniques from 1950 to 1960 to 1970 is useful and instructive, he barely mentions the 1980 census findings. Not mentioned is a significant dimension of the 1980 mail-survey self-enumeration form pointed out by another Native American sociologist, C. Matthew Snipp. The form included two questions about ethnic ancestry. The first "forced choice" (white, black, Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, American Indian, Asian Indian, etc.) led somewhat more than 1,000,000 persons to identify themselves as primarily American Indian. The second "free choice" allowed six to seven times as many individuals to identify themselves as having some American Indian ancestry. It seems remarkable that this remarkable difference went unremarked by Thornton. A third chapter describes post-1950 native rural-urban migration and its consequences. It begins, however, with a much-needed reminder that Mesoamerican natives developed true cities long before Cholula and Tenochtitlan impressed invading Spaniards with their teeming tens of thousands.

The Newberry Library

HENRY F. DOBYNS

The Business of Jews in Louisiana, 1840-1875. By Elliott Ashkenazi. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1988. x, 219 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables and illustrations, conclusion, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

Elliott Ashkenazi's valuable exploration of Jewish business life in mid-nineteenth-century Louisiana places its story in the context of immigration history, southern economic development, and the relationship of Jewish merchants to the society around them. The Jews who immigrated after 1840 differed substantially from their predecessors. They were largely Ashkenazic Jews, French and German, from both sides of the Rhine River, supplemented by southwestwardly migrating Jews from South Carolina and Georgia. They superseded the predominantly Sephardic and more assimilated Jewish community

they encountered, and successfully established a foundation upon which later Jewish immigration built.

Ashkenazi contends that the background of these European Jews was well suited to the opportunities presented by the antebellum South. They came from rural towns and villages where, barred from owning land themselves, they found economic livelihood in trade and commerce. Generally poor and poorly educated, they were cast into the stream of New World possibilities by diminishing economic opportunities and threats to their communal and semi-autonomous status. The agrarian-landholding nature of the South, which Ashkenazi considers "feudal" (p. 3), provided familiarity and opportunity to the immigrant Jews who flowed into the mercantile and capitalistic positions that Southerners themselves avoided.

Jews developed a sense of social cohesion. While Jews traded with non-Jews, they actively supported one another in business, and these business ties were generally tightened by family connections. Ashkenazi argues that a sense of community developed "without reference to the presence or absence of formal religious congregations" since there were few synagogues, even in New Orleans (p. 103). Tradition, involvement in charitable associations, and especially business associations and family connections counted more than formal religious institutions.

Jews were often highly transient, which prompted suspicion and anti-Semitism. So, too, did the Jewish immigrant emphasis on thrift and saving, traits that clashed with the southern planter consumption ethos and served to underline the pervasive idea of Jews as a " 'mysterious people' " (p. 151). Yet Ashkenazi also points to Southerners' characterization of Jews in more positive terms and their acceptance in some places in "a matter-of-fact way" (p. 156). Anti-Semitism existed, but its salience is somewhat unclear.

While much of *The Business of Jews in Louisiana* is informative and suggestive, a few caveats might be noted. Ashkenazi exaggerates the degree to which Jewish mercantile activity helped "the spread of capitalism in a feudal setting" (p. 164). The South was hardly feudal, and the assisting hand of communal loyalty among Jewish businessmen would seem to contradict the idea that they functioned so clearly as purveyors of the invisible hand of liberal capitalism. The nature of anti-Semitism and the workings of Jewish charitable and other non-religious networks re-

main sketchy. What future did these immigrants envision— as Jews, as Southerners, as Americans— as they constructed their businesses and social networks in Louisiana? Still, Ashkenazi has opened an important window into the urban and rural world of Louisiana and southern Jews in the middle nineteenth century, and other studies will hopefully follow to complete the picture further.

Tulane University

RICHARD B. LATNER

BOOK NOTES

Tallahassee is one of Florida's most historic cities. From the time Hernando de Soto made winter camp there in 1539 until the present, many of the important happenings that have affected citizens all over Florida occurred in Tallahassee and Leon County. The first inhabitants were the Apalachee Indians, one of the largest and most important of Florida's native people. The Spanish sought to convert the Indians and in 1656 established San Luis de Talimali, one of their most important missions, on the western edge of present Tallahassee. The excavation of the San Luis archaeological and historic site has been a major project. In 1824, three years after Florida became an American territory, Tallahassee was designated as the capital. When the town was incorporated in 1825, Leon County's population was 996— 608 whites, 387 slaves, and one "free person of color." The land was fertile and accessible, and the county was quickly settled by farmers and planters. An early arrival was Richard Keith Call who twice served as territorial governor. His mansion, the Grove, was a fine example of Greek revival architecture. Former Governor LeRoy Collins and Mrs. Collins live in the Grove now. Prince Achille Murat, a nephew of Napoleon, was another Leon County planter. He and his wife, a relative of George Washington, were prominent local social leaders. Frances Eppes, grandson of Thomas Jefferson, lived in Tallahassee and was recognized before the Civil War as the community's notable political leader. Tallahassee was the scene of the secession convention that voted to take Florida out of the Union in January 1861. While the state was never a major theater of military activity during the war, there were several engagements, including the Battle of Natural Bridge in March 1865, south of Tallahassee. The defense force included cadets from the West Florida Seminary, a parent of present Florida State University. Tallahassee was the only Confederate capital east of the Mississippi River that was not captured by the Federals during the war. Not only is Tallahassee the seat of Florida's government, it has always been a prosperous trading center and is the home of two major universities— Florida State University and

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. *Favored Land, Tallahassee: A History of Tallahassee and Leon County*, by Mary Louise Ellis and William Warren Rogers, is the history of this important community. The volume includes many historic photographs, some being published for the first time. Joan Perry Morris, director of the Florida Photographic Archives, was the photo editor. There are also contemporary photographs in color and short sketches of several local businesses. The volume was published by the Donning Company, Norfolk, VA; the price is \$29.95.

Brevard County: From Cape of the Canes to Space Coast is by Elaine Murray Stone, author and longtime resident of the area. In this handsomely illustrated volume, Mrs. Stone traces the history of the area from its prehistoric beginnings to the 1980s. The scarcity of transportation facilities, except boat travel, and the presence of Indians deterred settlement until the middle of the nineteenth century. According to the 1840 United States Census, there were no white inhabitants living in what was then called Mosquito County other than the military personnel stationed at Fort Pierce and New Smyrna. When the Seminole War ended in 1842, Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act which opened the area for settlement. There was slow but continuing growth for the next seventy-five years. Citrus became a major crop after the disastrous freezes of 1894 and 1895 wiped out the groves in north Florida. Tourists were always attracted to the area but not in very large numbers until recent years. Tourism is now a major Brevard County industry. The construction of Henry Flagler's Florida East Coast Railroad in the 1890s enabled settlers, developers, and tourists to move in. However, it was World War II which was the catalyst for the modern-day boom. The military installations brought in service personnel and their families. Their dollars and military construction boosted the economy. Many service people became so enamored with the area that they returned after the war to settle permanently. Then came the space age spurred by the launch of *Sputnik* by the U.S.S.R. in 1957. Cape Canaveral, the Kennedy Space Center, and related private industries brought in thousands of technicians, scientists, managers, workers, and tourists. Brevard County has become internationally known. The account of these events provide the basis for this history of

Brevard County. The picture research was by Ron Lindsey. L. A. Davis was the business historian, and he provided the histories of local businesses which are included in this volume. Published by Windsor Publications, Northridge, CA, *Brevard County* sells for \$27.95.

William J. Porter, a Duval County attorney, began teaching at the Jacksonville Law School in the early 1930s. In 1934, the year that Porter was elected judge of the Duval Court of Records, he helped establish William J. Porter University, a two-year junior college. The first classes met in the First Baptist Church's educational building. The library consisted of seventy-five reference books and an unabridged dictionary, the gifts of an anonymous donor. Most of the eleven instructors were also teachers in the local public schools. The name of the institution was later changed to Jacksonville Junior College, and it moved to the Florida Theater building in downtown Jacksonville. Money was scarce; student tuition was the main source of income. One-half of the tuition, when it was paid, was divided among the teachers. In the spring of 1936, some instructors gave the administration an ultimatum: no pay, no grades. The college continued to struggle through the Depression of the 1930s and war years of the 1940s. Then with money raised by the Civitan Club, the college in 1944 acquired the mansion of Colonel William E. Kay on Riverside Avenue. Garth Akridge, an experienced educator, became president. With the G.I. Bill, enrollment increased; some 550 students registered for the fall term, 1946. One of the college's major supporters and trustees was Carl Swisher, president of Jacksonville's King Edward Cigar Company. With his help, a 137-acre tract of land along the St. Johns River, seven miles from downtown Jacksonville, was acquired in 1947. Swisher challenged the community and the students to help raise funds for the first building, and he also pledged his generous support. (Part of the campus site had once belonged to Zephaniah Kingsley, the early nineteenth-century cotton planter and slave trader. The property was willed to his wife Ana, and later it was owned by her son-in-law John Sammis.) The first permanent campus building, which included classrooms and administrative offices, was ready for the fall term, 1950. Paul L. Johnson, a Columbia University graduate, became president in 1951, and he was followed in 1956 by Frank

Johnson. On September 5, 1956, the Jacksonville Junior College was renamed Jacksonville University. A third-year curriculum was added in 1957, and a fourth year in 1958. The first degree candidates were graduated in June 1959. The campus expanded and eventually included many buildings, three of which are named for Carl Swisher. Several athletic facilities were named for Alexander Brest, another generous Jacksonville philanthropist. George Hallam, a member of the English faculty, has written the history of Jacksonville University. He covers the years from the institution's early beginnings through the administration of President Frances B. Kinne, 1988. His interesting narrative is complemented with many excellent black and white and color photographs. *Our Place in the Sun: A History of Jacksonville University* was published by the University. It sells for \$36.50, plus \$2.50 handling; order from the University Bookstore, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL 32211.

Palm Beach Revisited: Historical Vignettes of Palm Beach County was by James R. Knott, former president of the Florida Historical Society and president emeritus of the Historical Society of Palm Beach County. Drawing from his own personal experience and knowledge and careful research, Judge Knott began publishing a weekly series of historical articles in the *Palm Beach Post*. Known as the Brown Wrapper Series, it was immensely popular. Several of the vignettes were published as a monograph several years ago. A second monograph, *Palm Beach Revisited II: Historical Vignettes of Palm Beach County*, is now available. Included are the stories of August Oswald Lang, the first white man to live in what is now Palm Beach (reputedly a Confederate deserter, he left the area after the Civil War to settle on farm near Fort Pierce); the September 1928 hurricane which devastated the area; President Harding's unexpected visit to Palm Beach in 1923; the Celestial Railroad running from Jupiter to Juno, and passing through the way stations at Mars and Venus; the dinner party that Marjorie Meriweather Post gave in honor of Lady Bird Johnson; the burning of the Breakers Hotel; and a description of Colonel C. Michael Paul's annual Russian Easter party. *Palm Beach Revisited* may be ordered from the author, 125 Worth Avenue, Palm Beach, FL 33480; it sells for \$6.95.

The Fairchild Tropical Garden, which was dedicated March 23, 1938, began with a collection of palms and cycads in the gardens of Robert H. Montgomery's home in Coral Gables. He and Dr. David Fairchild were close friends. In 1898, Fairchild created and became the first director of the Seed and Plant Introduction Section of the United States Department of Agriculture. When he retired and moved to Coconut Grove in 1935, he and Colonel Montgomery began working on the guidelines for the Garden. Fairchild served as director when the Fairchild Tropical Garden opened and then was president emeritus until his death in 1954. Another major promoter of the Garden was Charles H. Crandon who, after a successful business career, became active in Dade County politics and strongly advocated the establishment of a county park system. Still another strong supporter was Marjory Stoneman Douglas, a founding member of the Garden and the first editor of the *FTG Bulletin*. The Garden, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1988, annually attracts thousands of visitors. It has the largest collection of tropical plants in the United States. In addition to distributing plants and seeds to members and to others, the Garden offers courses in horticulture and other subjects and sponsors tours for school children. The directors of the Garden have always been interested in protecting endangered species. The Center for Plant Conservation was founded there in 1984. It is one of nineteen botanical gardens in the United States working to protect endangered plants. *The Dream Lives On: A History of the Fairchild Tropical Garden, 1938-1988* is by Bertram Zuckerman. It was published by Banyan Books, P. O. Box 431160, Miami, FL 33243, and it sells for \$5.95.

Deco Delights: Preserving the Beauty and Joy of Miami Beach Architecture is by Barbara Baer Capitman. She played the leading role in the battle to preserve the historically important South Miami Beach Art Deco District. Through the efforts of Mrs. Capitman and her associates, the area is on the National Register of Historic Places, and there has been great progress in saving and restoring many of the hotels and other structures. This account of the fight to preserve Miami Beach's Art Deco District could serve as a role model for other communities who want to

maintain their own historical areas. Most of the buildings in the Miami Beach Art Deco District were constructed between 1920 and 1941 when Miami was developing into one of the nation's major resort areas. In the post-World War II period, hotel construction north of Lincoln Road allowed the Art Deco District to deteriorate. Neglect and decay became the visible signs of the District. Then Mrs. Capitman and a group of concerned citizens launched a campaign to save the area. Even with these guardians, not every structure has been preserved, but most of them remain and many are back in use as hotels, apartment houses, restaurants, and other business establishments. A number of these structures have been photographed by Steven Brooke and are included in *Deco Delights*. Published by E. P. Dutton, New York, it sells for \$17.95.

High Springs: A Photo Album was compiled and edited by Joel Glenn. High Springs, in Alachua County, has for more than 100 years played an important role in the history and development of the county. It is the center of a rich agricultural area, and farming has played a major role in High Springs's history. Mining, turpentine, lumbering, and the railroad have also been important. Many of the photographs included in this booklet were reproduced from family albums. Some are faded, but all recount past and present history of the residents of High Springs. Their homes, places of business, churches, schools, and recreational areas are the subjects of these photographs. *High Springs* is available for \$10, and it may be ordered from the office of *Florida Living*, 102 N.E. 10th Avenue, Suite 1, Gainesville, FL 32601.

The Jewel in the Wilderness: Fort Lauderdale from Early Times to 1911 is by Paul S. George, director of the Historic Broward County Preservation Board. This Broward County Comprehensive Survey was prepared for use by teachers and students in the public schools of the area. The chapters cover "The Area and Early Times," "Fort Lauderdale and the Second Seminole War," "Isolation Returns to New River," "Stranahan, Flagler, and the Quickening Development of Fort Lauderdale," "Agriculture, the Indian Trade, and the Dredge," and "Promoters and Incorporators." For information on the availability of this survey, contact the Commission Office, 600 Sagamore Road, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301.

Florida Visionaries: 1870-1930 is the title of an exhibition of oils, watercolors, and sketches presented at the University of Florida Gallery in February and March 1989. All portray Florida marshes, swamps, rivers, flowers, and birds. Works by some of America's greatest artists are included: Martin Johnson Heade, George Inness, Lows Remy Mignot, William Morris Hunt, Herman Herzog, Winslow Homer, William Aiken Walker, Thomas Moran, George H. Smith, James Wells Champney, Stephen J. Parrish, Frank H. Taylor, George Herbert McCord, Louis Comfort Tiffany, George Cope, John Singer Sargent, Frank W. Benson, Henry Salem Hubbell, and Granville Perkins. The pictures were assembled from private collections and museums throughout the United States. The exhibit catalogue was published by the University of Florida Press. It includes an introduction by Ruth K. Beesch and information on the artists. Reproductions of the art, many in color, are also included. The catalogue sells for \$12. Order from the Press, 15 N.W. 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32603.

Golf in America: The First One Hundred Years is by George Peper, Robin McMillan, and James A. Frank. Florida, because of its climate, became a winter resort in the late nineteenth century for wealthy tourists. Among the visitors were many golf enthusiasts, and the hotel and resort developers built courses for them. As early as the 1890s, there were golf courses at Tampa, St. Augustine, Ormond, Palm Beach, and Miami. Alex Finelay, a Scottish-born greenskeeper, was Flagler's "golfer-in-chief," and he laid out the courses at the St. Augustine Country Club, Ponce de Leon Golf Club, Palm Beach Country Club, and the Miami Golf Links. John Duncan Dunn, another Scotsman who worked for Henry Plant, was responsible for the Belleair Golf Club, Coral Gables Golf Club, Ocala Golf Club, and the Tampa Golf Club. Among the many photographs in *Golf in America* is one of a group in 1899 at Miami's Royal Palm Hotel. Another, dated 1902, shows golfers playing on a course next to the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine. Some of the group are either playing or searching for a lost ball in the moat next to the fortress. Among the most celebrated golf courses in Florida now is the Doral in Miami, one of the stops on the PGA Tour. It was built by Alfred Kaskel, a New York real estate developer who named it for his wife Dora. The Doral Open is played there annually. Another famous Florida course is at

Ponte Vedra near Jacksonville. *Golf in America: The First Hundred Years* was published by Harry N. Abrams, New York, a firm well-known for publishing illustrated volumes on popular American sports. The price is \$39.95.

The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference was organized in the 1960s in Pensacola by the University of West Florida, Pensacola Junior College, and the Historic Pensacola Preservation Board. Its purpose was to encourage research and the study of the history and culture of the Gulf coast. The theme of the first conference in 1969 was "In Search of Gulf Coast Colonial History." All the succeeding conferences have held true to the purpose of the Conference with papers and panel discussions relating to the history of the area. The theme of the eleventh conference, held in Pensacola March 6-8, 1986, was "Civil War and Reconstruction." The papers presented have been published in a special issue (vol. 4, no. 2) of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review*. In the session "Military Life and Developments," Edwin C. Bearss spoke on "Fort Pickens and the Secession Crisis"; Dean DeBolt on "Life on the Front as Reflected in Soldiers' Letters"; and Frank L. Owsley, Jr., on "Incidents on the Blockade of Mobile." William N. Still, Jr., was the commentator. Papers for the second session, "Inside the Confederacy," were delivered by Jack D. L. Holmes, "Pensacola Civil War Art: Benjamin LaBree and Thomas Nast"; Clarence L. Mohr, "Slavery and Class Tensions in Confederate Georgia"; and James F. Morgan, "New Orleans and Confederate Louisiana's Monetary Policy: The Confederate Microcosm." Charles R. Wilson was the commentator. Speakers for the third session, "Families and other Participants," included Russell E. Belous, "The Diary of Ann Quigley"; William S. Coker, "The Moreno Family of Pensacola and the Civil War"; and James H. O'Donnell III, "Dear Aunt Lydia: A Family's View of the Florida Gulf Coast during the Civil War." Joe Gray Taylor was commentator. Delivering papers at the session "Reconstruction" were Harriet E. Amos, "Trials of a Unionist: Gustavus Horton, Military Mayor of Mobile During Reconstruction"; Joe E. Richardson, "The American Missionary Association and Blacks on the Gulf Coast During Reconstruction"; and Jerrell H. Shofner, "Wartime Unionist, Unreconstructed Rebels, and Andrew Johnson's Amnesty Program in the Reconstruction, Debacle of Jackson County,

Florida." William C. Harrison was commentator. The *Gulf Coast Historical Review* is published each fall and spring by the history department of the University of South Alabama, Humanities 344, Mobile, AL 36688. For information on this special issue and also subscriptions, contact Dr. Michael V. Thomason, managing editor.

Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings is recognized as Florida's most eminent author. She moved to Cross Creek in 1929, and most of her books and short stories are about the Creek and the people who lived there. Her novel *The Yearling* was a Pulitzer Prize winner in 1939, and the film made from the book and starring Gregory Peck was acclaimed by both critics and the public. Her books and short stories continue to be read and enjoyed. The Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society, organized in 1987, publishes a newsletter, a literary journal, and sponsors an annual Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Festival. In 1987, Michael Blauer, the owner of the San Marco Bookstore in Jacksonville, reprinted *The Secret River*, Mrs. Rawlings's only book for children. Blauer has also reprinted three other Rawlings books: *Golden Apples*, *The Marjorie Rawlings Reader* which includes *South Moon Under*, and *When the Whippoorwill*. The latter is a collection of stories that include *Gal Young Un* (also made into a motion picture), *Varmints*, and *Jacob's Ladder*. The *Reader* includes an introduction by Julia Scribner Bigham who became Mrs. Rawlings's literary executor. All of the books may be ordered from the San Marco Bookstore, 1971 San Marco Boulevard, Jacksonville, FL 32207; the price for each is \$19.95, plus \$1.60 postage.

Jewish Times: Voices of the American Jewish Experience is by Howard Simons, who was managing editor of the *Washington Post* during the Watergate years and is now curator of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University. *Jewish Times* includes Mr. Simons's own memories of his childhood and early years, but he also conducted oral history interviews with 226 men and women throughout the United States about their life experiences, childhood memories, and the stories of even earlier years that they had heard from their parents and grandparents. Simons interviewed several prominent Jews, including Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, Henry Morgenthau, television host Larry King, and Ruben Morris Greenberg, the Jewish,

black chief of police of Charleston, South Carolina. Two non-Jews (but of Jewish ancestry), United States Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona and United States Senator William S. Cohen of Maine, were also interviewed. Simons interviewed a number of Floridians in Jacksonville, Gainesville, and Miami. Most of the interviews emphasize the struggle for economic survival and the desire to take advantage of the educational opportunities available in the United States. Almost every interviewee, including Senators Goldwater and Cohen, recounted incidents of anti-Semitism. There is a surprising amount of discrimination and alienation that persisted in Florida and elsewhere in the United States according to the interviewees. *Jewish Times* was published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston; it sells for \$22.95.

In the introduction to *Place Names in Alabama*, Virginia Foscue notes that "because the geographic names in a region can reveal a wealth of information about the land and its inhabitants, they deserve careful study." Geographic names in Alabama help preserve the state's Indian heritage. European colonists have also left evidence of their presence in Alabama place names. Before Alabama was American, the Spanish, French, and British flags flew over the area at different intervals, and many Alabama place names date back to the periods of their occupation. When Americans began arriving after 1798, many often gave the settlements that they established the names of the towns from which they had migrated. Soldiers and statesmen, including five early presidents, provided names for Alabama settlements. Local landowners and community leaders were also sources for Alabama place names. In addition, the settlers revealed their humor with names like Licksillet. There are some 2,700 names of approximately 2,000 geographic features included; all are listed alphabetically. Area maps covering the period from 1820 to 1903 are provided. A list of Foscue's research sources is also included. These documents are available at the University of Alabama Library in Tuscaloosa. *Places Names in Alabama* was published by the University of Alabama Press, and it sells for \$12.95.

Southern Black Creative Writers, 1829-1953 is a collection of biobibliographies compiled by M. Marie Booth Foster. The term

“southern,” as used by Foster, refers to writers who were born or spent time in the former Confederate States of America and in Maryland, Washington, DC, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Thirteen of the writers were born in Florida or lived and wrote here, some for only brief periods. They include: Alpheus Butler, poet, Tampa; Henri Cheriot, novelist, Orlando; Maurice Fields, poet, Jacksonville; Timothy Thomas Fortune, journalist and poet, Marianna; Mercedes Gilbert, novelist and poet; Zora Neale Hurston, anthropologist, folklorist, and novelist, Eatonville; James Weldon Johnson, novelist, journalist, biographer, and poet, Jacksonville; John Willis Menard, journalist and poet, Jacksonville and Key West; Leonard Francis Morse, poet, worked in Florida; Arthur W. Reason, poet, Leesburg; Edward S. Silvera, poet, Jacksonville; Thomas Hamilton Walker, non-fiction writer, Tallahassee; and James C. Walters, Jr., journalist, Jacksonville. *Southern Black Creative Writers* was published by Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, and it sells for \$29.95.

Paul Thompson, founder and editor of *Oral History*, is the most prominent oral historian in Britain. The new edition of his *The Voice of the Past, Oral History* describes how oral sources are being collected and used by European and American historians. Professor Thompson is a Reader in Social History at the University of Essex and director of the National Life Story Collection in London. *The Voice of the Past* was published in 1978. The revised and expanded edition includes a chapter on memory and the self, a discussion of drama and therapy, and additional data on historical interpretation. Published by Oxford University Press, it sells for \$39.95 cloth, \$12.95 paper.

A Man Called Raleigh is by W. Horace Carter, magazine writer, and editor and publisher of the *Tabor City Tribune* in North Carolina. He often visits Florida and has lived in Cross Creek, where he is described as the community’s “own resident writer.” The articles in this collection are mostly about his father, Walter Raleigh Carter, who died in 1969. Some are Carter’s own memoirs, including the account of his battles against the Ku Klux Klan. His newspaper received the Pulitzer Public Service Prize because of the Klan exposé articles that it printed. *A Man Called Raleigh* was published by Atlantic Publishing Company, P. O. Box 67, Tabor City, NC 28463; it sells for \$7.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its eighty-seventh convention in Gainesville, May 11, 12, 13, 1989. The Florida Historical Confederation will hold its annual meeting and workshops at this time also. The convention hotel is the Gainesville Hilton, 2900 S.W. 13th Street. Registration for conference participants will be on the lobby floor. Welcoming the delegates on Friday morning will be David Coffey, Gainesville mayor-commissioner; Robert Gasche, president of the Alachua County Historical Society; and Paul S. George, president of the Florida Historical Society. Chairpersons for each of the seven planned sessions are Paul George; Leland Hawes, *Tampa Tribune*; Samuel Proctor, University of Florida; Robert R. Rea, Auburn University; Eugene Lyon, St. Augustine Foundation; William Coker, University of West Florida; and Rodney Dillon, Broward County Historical Commission. Presenting papers or serving as commentators are Willam Ivy Hair, Georgia College; Wayne Flynt, Auburn University; Glen Jeansonne, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; Raymond Arsenault, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg; Susan L. Clark, St. Augustine; David Nolan, St. Augustine; Thomas Graham, Flagler College; Helen Cumberly Ellerbe, Alachua County Historical Commission; Charlotte M. Porter, Florida Museum of Natural History; Sudy Cauthen, Alachua; Robin F. A. Fabel, Auburn University; Ethan A. Grant, University of West Florida; Wendell L. Griffith, University of West Florida; Charles W. Arnade, University of South Florida; Jerald T. Milanich, Florida Museum of Natural History; Charles Ewen, Tallahassee; Marvin Smith, University of Georgia; Ed Keuchel, Florida State University; Joe Knetsch, Tallahassee; Everett Caudle, University of Florida; George Klos, Florida State University; David Coles, Tallahassee; Robert Taylor, Florida State University; and Lola Haskins, Gainesville.

The banquet will be held Friday evening at the Hilton. At that time, the winners of the Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize, Charlton W. Tebeau Book Prize, Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History, the President's Prizes, and the

American Association for State and Local History Awards will be announced.

The History Fair projects will be on exhibit throughout the conference, and prizes will be awarded on Friday afternoon at 4:00 p.m. The President's Reception, hosted by Dr. George, will be held in the Presidential Suite following the banquet. The annual J. Leitch Wright Memorial Run, Walk, and Crawl will be held on Saturday morning at 7:30 a.m. Thomas Graham is the run master. The Society's annual picnic will be held at Bivens Arm Park at 12:30 p.m., Saturday, following the Society's annual business meeting. There will be a walking tour of the Gainesville Historic District on Thursday, May 11 at 4:30 p.m., and a bus tour of Paynes Prairie on Friday at 3:30 p.m. The board of directors will hold its business meeting Thursday evening. Lester May is in charge of local arrangements.

Florida Historical Confederation

Registration for the Florida Historical Confederation meeting at the Gainesville Hilton, Thursday, May 11, 1989, begins 1. at 9:00 a.m. in the hotel lobby. The Confederation has scheduled three panels on Thursday, May 11. Moderators for these sessions are J. Andrew Brian, Historical Association of Southern Florida; Randy F. Nimnicht, Historical Association of Southern Florida; and Ormond Loomis, Bureau of Florida Folklore. Members of the panels are Mark Appleby, Fort Myers Historical Museum; James Omahen, Historical Association of Southern Florida; Linda Williams, Spanish Point at the Oaks; Wit Ostrenko, Museum of Science and Industry, Tampa; Susan Clark, Loxahatchee Historical Society; Brent Cantrell, Historical Association of Southern Florida; and Nancy J. Nusz, Bureau of Florida Folklife.

J. Andrews Brian, chairman of the Confederation, will preside at the luncheon and will present the Confederation awards.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, reports the following Florida properties added to the National Register of Historic Places during the year 1988: Alachua County— Southeast Gainesville Residential District; Broward County— Davie School and Oakland Park Elementary

School; Clay County— Clark-Chalker House; Dade County— Coral Gables Elementary School and Miami Shores Thematic Resource Group; Duval County— Jewett-Thompson House, Village Store, and San Jose Estates Gatehouse; Hillsborough County— LeClair Apartments; Jefferson County— Dennis-Coxetter House; Lee County— Henry Ford Estate and Alderman House; Marion County— Dunnellon Boomtown Historic District, Orange Springs Methodist Episcopal Church and Cemetery, Tusawilla Park Historic District, and James W. Townsend House; Palm Beach County— Delray Beach Schools; Pinellas County— Harbor Oaks Residential District; Putnam County— Old A.C.L. Union Depot; and Volusia County— United States Post Office, South Beach Street Historic District, Casements Annex, The Porches, and Rowallan.

Southern Jewish Historical Society

The Southern Jewish Historical Society is receiving grant applications for awards, not to exceed \$2,500 per year, to support the completion of works pertaining to the southern Jewish experience. These works may be in any medium, including books, exhibits, films, or video cassettes. The typed proposal, not to exceed three pages, should include a cover page with the submitter's name, address, and telephone number; a proposed budget; a statement of the contributions the project will make to the study of the southern Jewish experience; and a rationale of why the Society should support the project. If the request is to support a matching grant, evidence that the matching agency is a tax-exempt foundation or agency is needed. Proposals should be sent to Dr. Sheldon Hanft, Department of History, Appalachian State University, 238 Whitener Hall, Boone, NC 28608, by August 1, 1989. Awards will be announced at the Society's annual conference in Charleston, SC, November 3-5, 1989.

The Southern Jewish Historical Society announces the creation of a \$500 award for the best paper dealing with southern Jewry by a current graduate or undergraduate college student. The author will be invited to read the winning essay at the Society's annual conference in Charleston, SC, November 3-5, 1989. Up to one-half of the award may be used for travel and conference expenses. Submissions should be at least 4,000 words in

length and typed double-spaced. The submitter's name, address, and academic affiliation must appear only on the cover letter and not in the body of the paper. Entries should be sent before August 1989 to Mrs. Phyllis Weinstein, 4149 Churchill Drive, Birmingham, AL 35213. The prize honors the memory of the late B. H. Levy of Savannah, GA, the author of several books and monographs on southern Jewish history and a founding trustee of the Society.

Announcements and Activities

The Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society held its second annual meeting, April 12-15, 1989, in St. Augustine. Mrs. Rawlings and her husband Norton Baskin moved from Cross Creek to St. Augustine in 1940. The presentations were on the life and works of Rawlings by scholars and persons who knew and worked with her. A reception at Markland and dinner in the dining room of Flagler College (formerly the Ponce de Leon Hotel) on Saturday evening concluded the program.

The Florida College Teachers of History held its annual conference, April 3-15, 1989, at Fort Myers. The banquet speaker was Dr. Sheldon B. Liss of the University of Akron.

The Southern Jewish Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Charleston, SC, November 3-5, 1989. The program committee invites proposals for individual papers, complete sessions, panels, and workshops on all aspects of southern Jewish history. It is interested in papers relating to the Charleston/Low Country area of South Carolina. A brief abstract for each paper or presentation should be submitted by May 10, 1989, to Dr. Sheldon Hanft, Department of History, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608, or Dr. Stuart Knee, Department of History, College of Charleston, Charleston, SC 29424.

The film "Living in America: One Hundred Years of Ybor City" is available for sale for \$15.95 from the Tampa Historical Society, 245 South Hyde Park Avenue, Tampa, FL 33606. Gayla K. Jamison, documentary film maker and videographer, produced the film, and Dr. Gary Mormino served as historical consultant. Supporting the project were the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, Florida Bureau of Historic Preservation, Florida Arts Council, and the Ybor City Museum Society.

The Alachua County Historical Commission dedicated a historical marker to David Levy Yulee on February 26, 1989, at the Historic Archer Depot. Yulee, born in St. Thomas, arrived in St. Augustine in 1821. After reading law at the office of Judge Robert Raymond Reid in St. Augustine, Yulee was elected to the Florida Territorial Council and represented St. Johns County in the Constitutional Convention in 1838. He was a territorial delegate to Congress (1841-1845), and he led the move to have Florida admitted as a state. He was Florida's first United States Senator, and the first person of Jewish birth ever to serve in the United States Senate. He was responsible for the construction of the first cross-state railroad which ran from Fernandina to Cedar Key. Although a strong advocate of secession, Yulee held no political office in the Confederate government. He was living at Cotton Wood, his plantation in Archer, when the war ended, and it was there that the personal baggage of President Jefferson Davis and his family and the remainder of the Confederate treasury arrived on May 22, 1865. There is a historical marker at the house site. Senator Yulee's father was Moses Elias Levy, and Levy County is named for the family. The Archer Historical Society held an open house at its museum and headquarters, the Historic Archer Depot, following the program.

The Jacksonville Historical Society has opened its archives and library and invites scholars to use its books, photographs, and files. The collection, located on the second floor of the Swisher Library at Jacksonville University, will be open from 12:15 to 3:00 p.m. on Saturdays, except for April 29 and May 6.

The Oral History Association will hold its annual meeting in Galveston, TX, October 19-22, 1989. The four-day conference will feature papers on political, black, women's, immigration, and local history. There will be workshop sessions adapted to different levels of oral history methodology, panel discussions of current issues, and a variety of media presentations. Tours of Galveston and area museums are being arranged. For information on the meeting, write Richard C. Smith, 1093 Broxton Avenue, #720, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

The Florida Bureau of Historic Preservation administers a program of historic preservation grants-in-aid to encourage and assist the identification and preservation of Florida's historic re-

sources. Grants are made from the Historic Preservation Trust Fund. Departments or agencies of the state (including state universities); units of county, municipal, or other local governments; and any corporation, partnership, or other organization (public or private) may submit applications. In addition, private individuals may apply for funds.

The Illinois Historic Preservation Agency is engaged in preparing a complete and annotated edition of Abraham Lincoln's law practice papers entitled *The Lincoln Legals: A Documentary History of the Law Practice of Abraham Lincoln, 1836-1861*. The agency requests assistance in locating any documents, records, letters, contemporary printed accounts, or after-the-fact recollections that relate to the subject. To send material or for information, contact *The Lincoln Legals*, I.H.P.A. Drawer 75, Old State Capitol, Springfield, IL 62701 (phone 217-785-9130).

The Southeastern Council on Latin American Studies held its thirty-sixth annual meeting, April 13-15, 1989, at Myrtle Beach, SC. The theme of the conference was "Literature, Culture, and Revolution in Latin America." Florida scholars presenting papers were Waltraud Queiser Morales, University of Central Florida; Louis A. Pérez, Jr., University of South Florida; Thomas W. Leonard, University of North Florida; Louis A. Woods, University of North Florida; and Dario Moreno, Florida International University. Jaime Suchlicki, University of Miami, was the banquet speaker.

The Southeastern American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies will meet in Athens, GA, March 1-3, 1990. Proposals are solicited for papers and panels dealing with all aspects of the eighteenth century. Interdisciplinary papers and panels are welcomed. Panels should have no more than three papers, and may have a commentator. Round table discussions or workshops are also welcomed. A one-page abstract for each paper or presentation and a brief vita for each participant must be received by October 1, 1989. Address proposals to Dr. Barbara B. Schnorrenberg, 3824 11th Avenue South, Birmingham, AL 35222.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The mid-winter meeting of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 10:00 a.m. in the Special Collections Reading Room, University of South Florida, Tampa, December 3, 1988, by Paul S. George, president. Officers and directors attending included: Rodney E. Dillon, Samuel Proctor, Kathleen H. Arsenault, Patsy West, Niles F. Schuh, Eugene Lyon, Henry Green, Eugene W. Roach, J. Andrew Brian, Gwendolyn B. Waldorf, Robert C. Harris, David R. Colburn, Hampton Dunn, Stuart McIver, Marinus H. Latour, William S. Coker, Michael Slicker, and Lewis N. Wynne, executive director.

The minutes of the May 1988 board meeting were accepted as published in the October 1988 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The published agenda of a presentation delivered at the annual meeting, May 1988, on the "Discovery of the Atocha," was amended to note that one of the speakers was "Patrick Cline," rather than "Patricia." The minutes of the Executive Committee meeting, held August 13, 1988, Tampa, were amended to reflect the correct tabulation of votes. Thus, the minutes now read: "Voting in favor of remaining at the University of South Florida were Hampton Dunn, Samuel Proctor, Kathleen Arsenault, and Marinus Latour. Voting in favor of St. Augustine's offer were Randy Nimnicht, Paul George, and Michael Slicker." The voting positions of Marinus Latour and Michael Slicker were reversed in the minutes as published. The resignation of Gerald W. McSwiggan was regretfully accepted.

It was announced that hereafter, unless they include items requiring specific action, most committee reports will be published in the *Society Report* and will not be included on the board's agenda.

Gwendolyn Waldorf reported that 1989 would probably see a doubling in the number of counties and students involved in the History Fair program. This increase in participation is due, in large part, to the involvement of the Florida Department of

Education, and in particular, Kathy Brown (education curator, Museum of Florida History) and Peggy Durham (teacher).

Initial response from the Georgia Historical Society regarding a joint meeting with our Society has been positive. A committee, consisting of Nick Wynne, Samuel Proctor, David Colburn, Raymond Mohl, Kathy Arsenault, and Paul George, was formed to issue a formal invitation, establishing a time (preferably the fall 1990 or 1991) and place for such a meeting.

Nick Wynne reported a revitalized relationship with the University of South Florida, mentioning specifically that (1) several board members had enjoyed individual, informal meetings with President Borkowski; (2) the Society is in the process of moving to its expanded quarters on the fifth floor of the library; (3) the university has provided a part-time work-study student for the Society's use; (4) the university has provided sources of indirect funding to benefit the Society's activities and programs, including some furnishings for the Society's new office; (5) the USF Woman's Club has offered assistance; and (6) the University of South Florida Press has offered jointly to sponsor book publications. The Society has begun paying its bill to USF for services performed (postage, photocopies, telephone, office supplies, etc.) during the period of 1981-1988. Reflecting on the size and nature of the bill, the board requested that Dr. Wynne and Dr. George meet with President Borkowski and request that the university forgive similar future expenses.

As the *Florida Portrait* project was discussed, the publications committee agreed to provide the board with a report in thirty days that would: (1) outline our obligations to sponsors; (2) provide final figures for the cost of production; (3) make recommendations for actions the Society should take in regard to Douglas Drown of the defunct publishing company Continental Heritage; (4) make recommendations regarding the marketing of the book, including the extent of the involvement on the part of the University of South Florida; and (5) make sure that we do not reverse the will or previous decisions of the board. If there is the need, the board will take action on specific items with a mail-vote.

In response to fiscal demands, the board voted to recommend the following changes in dues: (1) increase all individual and private membership categories \$5 per year, with the exception of the student category; (2) create a corporate membership

category with an annual membership of \$100; and (3) increase the library membership category \$10 per year. The recommended memberships are annual membership— \$25, family membership— \$30, library membership— \$35, contributing— \$55 and above, corporate membership— \$100, and student membership— \$15. The board approved an increase in the director's salary (to reflect his increased duties) through May of 1989, in the amount of \$7,500. On or before February 1, 1989, the director will present the board with an itemized budget for its approval. In the future, all budget reports will include the following: (1) itemized budget lines for all income and expenses; and (2) comparative figures for both of the immediate prior years, and one year in advance (the projected year). In the interim, no expenses beyond the day-to-day expenditures are approved, unless authorized by the Executive Committee.

In further response to fiscal responsibilities, the board requested: (1) that the director communicate with the executive directors of other state societies to discuss techniques for fund-raising; (2) that the Society consider the possibility of retaining a consultant to develop a comprehensive, two-year program to raise \$500,000; and (3) that during the current review of the by-laws, the committee consider the possibility of expanding the board to include members with the sole responsibility for fund-raising.

The board requested that the president, or a committee of his selection, approach the governor, the legislative leadership, and the cabinet to explore the possibility of establishing a cooperative, working relationship with the state of Florida.

President George expanded the library committee to include Rodney Dillon (chairman), Kathy Arsenault, Becky Smith, Gwendolyn Waldorf, and Michael Slicker. He charged the committee with the responsibility of reviewing the Society's holdings of books, prints, maps, manuscripts, and artifacts, and requested that the committee make recommendations as to their present and future status, especially the Audubon prints which are currently deteriorating.

Andrew Brian delivered the report of the Florida Historical Confederation, concluding with the suggestion that the by-laws committee review the status of the Confederation and determine whether it should continue as a standing committee or develop as a separate entity.

Niles Shuh chairs a committee reviewing the Society's by-laws, giving special attention to the following items (in addition to those previously discussed in this meeting): the make-up of the Executive Committee, the line of succession, the status of the Newsletter editor, and the various duties and responsibilities of ex-officio members of the board.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:50 p.m.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . .

1989

May 11-13	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY— 87th MEETING	Gainesville, FL
May 11	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Gainesville, FL
June 18-22	American Association of Museums	New Orleans, LA
Sept. 6-10	American Association for State and Local History	Seattle, WA
Sept. 28-30	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Lakeland, FL
Oct. 11-15	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Philadelphia, PA
Oct. 19-22	Oral History Association	Galveston, TX
Oct. 24-28	Society of American Archivists	St. Louis, MO
Nov. 3-5	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Charleston, SC
Nov. 9-12	Southern Historical Association	Lexington, KY
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	San Francisco, CA

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