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### COVER

Dredger working on a canal in the Everglades, accompanied by the laborers' house boat. Ca. 1910. From a postcard published by the H. & W. B. Drew Co., Jacksonville, FL.

# The Florida Historical Quarterly



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### THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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### THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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### "WHITEWASH" IN FLORIDA: THE LYNCHING OF JESSE JAMES PAYNE AND ITS AFTERMATH

by Jack E. Davis

N an October morning in 1945, the body of a black man was found lying on the side of a graded road in rural Madison County, Florida. Jesse James Payne, a struggling young sharecropper with a wife and child, had been unceremoniously lynched the night before. This was not an unusual occurrence in a state that by 1920 had the nation's highest lynching rate relative to its population. But with Payne's death coming at the close of World War II. when such crimes were all but nonexistent, Florida was again distinguished by being host to the only recorded lynching of the year. The outrageous event raised the specter of tragedy for the South and Florida Governor Millard F. Caldwell. Trying to avert national disgrace and the resurgence of proposals for federal antilynching legislation, he defined the crime as a private murder that lacked the characteristic elements of a lynching. The media viewed his actions as a semantic deception, however, and one hostile critic, Collier's magazine, tagged the governor an advocate of lynch law. Caldwell responded with a libel suit, for the legal system in force permitted, indeed demanded, that the governor defend his integrity against the New York publisher. Yet the familiar pattern of events that preceded and followed Payne's lynching was testimony to the darker side of southern justice.

In his mid-twenties in 1945, Jesse James Payne stood approximately five feet and nine inches tall, with a lean and muscular build, and a coal-black complexion. After spending the past

Jack E. Davis is a doctoral student, Brandeis University.

Payne's age is uncertain. Various sources list him to have been nineteen, twenty, and thirty years of age in 1945. In interviews with his cousin John Perry and Maria Arnold, his sister-in-law at the time, neither could give Payne's birth date. Perry speculated that Payne was between twenty and thirty. Simeon H. Moore, a state trooper who met Payne in July 1945, also estimated that Payne was between twenty and thirty. Interviews with John Perry, Jr., by author, May 2, 1989; Maria Arnold, by author, May 8, 1989; and Simeon H. Moore, by author, November 23, 1989.

few years drifting around the South, Payne settled into share-cropping in his hometown of Greenville, a small farming community on the west side of Madison County. He worked on the Levy Goodman farm and lived in a cabin there with his wife, baby daughter, widowed mother, sister, and brother-in-law who was also a sharecropper. Working twenty-two acres, Payne divided a "half crop" of tobacco, cotton, peanuts, watermelons, corn, and okra with Goodman, all planted to the landlord's specifications. With hard work and patience, the young sharecropper had grown a "beautiful" crop which he bragged about to friends and relatives. In late June, he was waiting for harvest and market time to reap the benefits of his labor.<sup>2</sup>

Payne, however, was in serious financial trouble. He owed a local merchant \$30 and some helpers their pay. More important, he needed provisions for his family and medicine for the baby. Payne turned to his landlord and asked for an advance on his crop, not an unusual request for a sharecropper. But Goodman declined to help him, and a heated argument ensued. Payne told Goodman that he would have no choice but to seek an advanced subsidy on his tobacco allotment from the state government. Apparently having overplanted his own allotment, Goodman vehemently opposed the idea, fearing that state officials would discover his excess, which included a small plot planted for his brother-in-law, Madison County Sheriff Lonnie T. Davis.<sup>3</sup>

A few days later, on Sunday, July 1, Goodman decided to make sure Payne would not expose the discrepancy. That afternoon, Payne, his wife, and his sister and her husband were visiting friends at their home on the farm of Arch Davis, Goodman's father-in-law. Around 5:30, the group was inside the house when they heard the sound of a vehicle outside. Armed

Sworn statement of Jesse James Payne (hereafter cited as Payne Statement), July 13, 1945, record group 102, series 576, box 49, Governor Millard F. Caldwell Administrative Correspondence (hereafter cited as Caldwell Letters), Florida State Archives, Tallahassee; Affidavit, Lucy Payne, Lillie Mae Payne, and Lucy Mae Payne, October 29, 1945 (hereafter cited as Family Affidavit), box 49, Caldwell Letters.

<sup>3.</sup> Payne Statement; Family Affidavit; Arnold interview. Under the allotment system in Florida, the state paid the difference between the number of arable acres and the number actually planted. For instance, if a farmer could plant fifty acres of tobacco and the government allotted him only thirty, he would be paid for twenty he did not plant.

with guns, Goodman and his two sons had driven up in a pickup truck. After stepping from his vehicle, the farmer called out Payne's name. When the sharecropper appeared at the door, Goodman ordered him into the truck. Payne hesitated, but the white man raised his gun, and Payne climbed in.<sup>4</sup>

After driving a few miles, the pickup turned down a secluded dirt roads, crossed several small wooden bridges, and came to a stop in a swampy area. Goodman then ordered Payne to get out of the truck and down on his knees. When Payne complied, the landlord approached the sharecropper and said, "I am going to teach you how to put the Government on my land." Then a gun "snapped," and Payne sprang to his feet and "took to the woods." A shot was fired, but missed, and Payne disappeared behind the trees.<sup>5</sup>

A short time after Payne's escape, Goodman organized a posse of friends and relatives. Carrying shotguns and rifles, fifty white men met at Shorty Jones's place, a "beer joint" in Greenville. Among them was Sheriff Davis. Changing the story from his original grievance, Goodman now claimed that Payne had sexually abused his five-year-old daughter. He said he was not concerned about who caught Payne, or when, because the sharecropper would never go to trial. When talk of "killing the negro" spread among the men, however, some in the group refused to take part and left. Those who remained split up into search parties and set out on a manhunt. 6

Located in the old plantation belt, once the economic and political center of Florida, Madison County had become economically and demographically stagnant since the 1880s. In 1945, blacks and whites evenly divided the county's population of 15,537. Since Reconstruction, much of the plantation land

<sup>4.</sup> Family Affidavit.

<sup>5.</sup> Payne Statement. The term "snapped" is vague. Two interviewees believed the gun misfired, and one speculated that it was being cocked. Arnold and Perry interviews; Moore interview, May 25, 1989.

Confidential Report, W. H. Gasque to Millard F. Caldwell, November 7, 1945, box 48, Caldwell Letters; Family Affidavit.

<sup>7.</sup> From 1900 to 1945, the Madison County population grew 60 percent while the state population increased 325.71 percent. Florida Department of Agriculture, Seventh Census of the State of Florida, 1945, 10-11, 60-63; U. S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940 (Washington, 1942), 109. In 1940, the per capita buying income in Madison County was \$203, compared with \$498 for the rest of the state, exclud-

had been divided into tenant or sharecropper plots. Agriculture was still the major industry, employing nearly one-half of the male work force. The two major towns were Madison, the county seat, and Greenville. To keep order, Greenville employed a constable; Sheriff Davis, his sixty-nine-year-old deputy, and a highway patrolman maintained vigil over the entire county. Since the 1936 lynching of Buckie Young— a Greenville black accused of raping a white woman— the county had not experienced any outward signs of racial unrest. But blacks were more at risk of being lynched in Florida than in any other state, and Madison County had been a major contributor to this sad reality.<sup>8</sup>

Standing approximately six feet tall, with dark hair, and a pockmarked face, the sheriff came from an old Madison County family that had settled in the area before the Civil War. He was a popular sheriff and was described as "just a good ole boy" by the white citizens who had reelected him to a third term in 1944. Among Madison County's black citizens, who were functionally disenfranchised and without a voice in the selection of a sheriff, Davis personified the racial prejudice and injustice that tainted southern law enforcement.<sup>9</sup>

On Monday night, with Payne still on the run, Sheriff Davis paid a visit to the black fugitive's mother, Lucy Payne. Forcing her to accompany him, Davis extended his search into Jefferson County, bordering Madison on the west, and persuaded her to reveal where Jesse's relatives lived. 10 Sometime in the middle of

ing the old plantation belt counties— Alachua, Gadsden, Jackson, Jefferson, Leon, Madison, Marion, and Suwannee. Florida State Planning Board, *Statistical Abstract of Florida Counties* (Jacksonville, 1944).

<sup>8.</sup> In Florida, the lynching rate per 10,000 blacks was 4.5, the highest in the country, compared with the national rate of 1.84. Arthur F. Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill, 1933; reprint ed., Montclair, NJ, 1969), 28. With thirteen lynchings from 1889 to 1918, Madison County experienced the third highest number of lynchings of Florida counties, behind Alachua with eighteen and Marion with twenty-one. NAACP, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States*, 1889-1918 (New York, 1919; reprint ed., New York, 1969), 32-56.

<sup>9.</sup> In the 1940s, Madison County had no registered black voters. In the early 1950s, Jenyethel Nixon Merritt, the county superintendent of black schools from the 1930s to the 1950s, became the first registered black voter in Madison County since the early part of the century. Interview with Frank Merritt, by author, April 1, 1989.

<sup>10.</sup> Family Affidavit; Moore interview, April 25, 1989.

the night, John "Bubba" Perry, a black railroad worker, was stirred awake by noise outside of his Monticello home where he lived with his wife and young son. When Perry looked outside, he saw Sheriff Davis and local officials, with a contingent of men armed with flashlights and shotguns, combing his fourteen-acre plot of land. The posse offered no explanation when it searched Perry's house and that of his mother, Lucy Payne's sister, who lived 100 yards away. Perry was concerned for his aunt who stood outside "buck barefeeted" and frightened witnessing the manhunt for her son. <sup>11</sup>

Finding no success at Perry's place, Davis took Lucy Payne back home. Once in Greenville, posse members threatened her, family members, and friends with a beating unless they cooperated. But no one knew of Payne's whereabouts. He was hiding somewhere in the piney woods that stretched across the area. Making his way west, Payne eventually crossed the Aucilla River and the county line. By Tuesday morning, July 3, he was in Monticello.<sup>12</sup>

Shortly after sunrise that morning, John Perry was surprised when he opened his back door and saw his cousin Jesse standing there hungry, tired, and visibly scared. After spending nearly two days running through the woods, Payne appeared "about naked," his clothes "ragged and dirty." Perry was also frightened; he remembered Sheriff Davis's visit the previous night and how the posse, with its bloodhounds, "had been running [Jesse] just like people huntin' deers." Still, he gave his cousin a clean pair of overalls and five dollars. Payne told Perry, "Bubba, I'm hungry." Perry warned him, "Child, you better get from around here cause those white folks will kill you." "I'm hungry," the young sharecropper persisted. Perry then instructed Jesse to go fetch a watermelon. Heeding his cousin's suggestion, Payne walked across a field, "busted a watermelon," and retreated to the woods. 13

The next day was July 4th. At midday, five of the posse members, including Sheriff Davis, had been scouring the area around Monticello when they suddenly came upon Payne. "Halt!" the men shouted after they spotted him running from

<sup>11.</sup> Family Affidavit; Perry interview.

<sup>12.</sup> Family Affidavit; Perry interview.

<sup>13.</sup> Perry interview.

an old barn and across an open field. In the excitement, one man stumbled over one of the bloodhounds and fell. He heard a shot, and when he looked up, he saw that Payne had been hit with buckshot and that the sheriffs shotgun was still smoking.<sup>14</sup>

Suffering superficial wounds to his arm and shoulder, Payne was loaded onto the back of a pickup truck and driven to the Jefferson County jail at Monticello. A short time later, trooper Simeon "Simmie" Moore, who was assigned to Madison County, received orders from Highway Patrol headquarters in Tallahassee to take custody of Payne and remove him from the jail. When Moore arrived, he found a number of automobiles and approximately fifty whites congregated around the jailhouse. As he escorted Payne outside and into his patrol car, someone in the crowd demanded to know where he was taking the prisoner. "To the doctor," Moore replied, tacitly assuring the group that the suspect would be returned.<sup>15</sup>

In truth, Payne was being whisked away for medical attention and to safety at the state prison near Raiford. Throughout their 100-mile trip, Payne maintained his innocence, insisting that he knew nothing about the alleged abuse of Goodman's daughter, and declaring that his landlord had fabricated the story to run him off the farm and steal his crop. Moore believed that his prisoner was telling the truth.<sup>16</sup>

News of Payne's arrest had reached Governor Caldwell's office in Tallahassee almost immediately. The following day, state Attorney General J. Tom Watson traveled to Madison to investigate the rape allegations. An acknowledged white supremacist with an eye on the governorship, Watson broke the news to the public by erroneously telling reporters that physical examination of the Goodman child indicated abuse and venereal infection.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14.</sup> Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, July 5, 1945; Tallahassee Daily Democrat, July 5, 1945; "Gainesville Court Transcript," in Millard F. Caldwell v. Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, A Delaware Corporation (hereafter cited as Trial Transcript), 318-19, Civil Action Case 152, box 43, National Archives, East Point, GA; Family Affidavit; Moore interview, October 25, 1988.

<sup>15.</sup> Family Affidavit; Moore interview.

<sup>16.</sup> Family Affidavit; Moore interview.

<sup>17.</sup> Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, July 5, 1945; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, July 5, 1945.

A Madison County grand jury conducted a simultaneous investigation. Unfortunately for Payne, one of the jury members, James Bishop "J. B." Davis, was the sheriff's brother and the alleged victim's uncle. Eight days after Payne's arrest, the jury filed a warrant charging that he had intended to "unlawfully ravish, carnally know and abuse" a white female under the age of ten.<sup>18</sup>

After spending three months in Raiford, Payne was extradited to Madison for arraignment. On October 9, 1945, Madison County deputy sheriff Alexander H. Wade, who sensed trouble from vigilantes, followed a circuitous route when he drove his prisoner back to the county jail in the town of Madison. The next day, Payne was taken before the all-white grand jury which included J. B. Davis. Pane pleaded not guilty to all charges, but the jurors found that evidence warranted an indictment. A trial date was set for the following Tuesday, October 16, 1945. <sup>19</sup>

Following a relatively uneventful hearing, Payne was returned to the county jail to await trial. Despite the potential for a repeat of the mob excitement that had ensued after Payne's July arrest, Sheriff Davis followed standard procedure and left the jail unguarded. Around 6:30 that evening, while making his usual rounds, Deputy Wade made a final check of the jail. He turned on the inside night lights from an outside switch and then left for the night. Inside the jail, a modest structure with ten cells. Payne talked with two other black prisoners before going to sleep about ten o'clock. At approximately two a.m., October 11, a muffled commotion from the "negro section" woke two white inmates. Thinking that an officer had come in to lock up a new prisoner, they went back to sleep. When they awoke later that morning, Payne was gone. Seven miles away, a truck driver found his body lying beside a stretch of dirt road. His back was riddled with buckshot.<sup>20</sup>

Following the discovery of Payne's body, local officials stirred into action. During the morning, a coroner's jury met to make an examination of the corpse; by mid-afternoon, authorities had

<sup>18. &</sup>quot;State of Florida v. Jesse Payne," box 44, Trial Transcript.

Tallahassee Daily Democrat, October 12, 1945; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 12, 1945; Baltimore Afro American, October 20, 1945.

J. Tom Watson to Millard F. Caldwell, October 23, 1945, box 43, Trial Transcript; Tallahassee Daily Democrat, October 12, 14, 1945.

buried Payne's body. On Saturday, October 13, the six-member jury reconvened behind closed doors to evaluate further evidence and question two witnesses: Sheriff Davis and the truck driver who had found Payne's body. The sheriff maintained his innocence. The whole affair "looks bad on my part, but I didn't have anything to do with it," he insisted.<sup>21</sup> After hearing testimony from the two witnesses and examining physical evidence— a coat hanger wire found on the jail steps and buckshot wadding discovered near the body— the jury presented its formal verdict: Jesse Payne "came to his death in Madison County, Florida, by being Shot with a Shot Gun at the hands of Unknown Persons or Person." <sup>22</sup>

Finding this report unsatisfactory, Governor Caldwell decided to launch new investigations. Initially, he had been reluctant to interfere in local affairs, and for nearly a week he had vacillated over the matter. During the previous March, ironically, he had established his position on such issues when he told an audience at the Madison Lions Club that "he would not be disposed to enter into local governmental affairs unless local people had given evidence that they had sought diligently themselves to correct the evil complained of." 23 When reporters approached him on October 16, the Tuesday after Payne's death, Caldwell said he was giving the matter "a great deal of consideration." Then on Wednesday, the day after the coroner's jury finding, he asked Madison Circuit Judge R. H. Rowe to "please" impanel a grand jury to investigate the Payne killing and Sheriff Davis's possible involvement or negligence. The governor also sent a special agent from his office and requested Attorney General Watson to initiate his own inquiry in collaboration with the state attorney from Lake County. "I trust no pains will be spared in fixing responsibility of what occurred," Caldwell assured the public.24

Many people and newspapers had already fixed partial responsibility upon Sheriff Davis and the system that employed

<sup>21.</sup> Tallahassee Daily Democrat, October 12, 1945.

St. Petersburg *Times*, October 12, 13, 14, 1945; "Verdict of Coroner's Jury, Madison County," October 11, 1945, box 44, Trial Transcript.

<sup>23.</sup> Madison Enterprise-Recorder, March 16, 1945.

Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, October 18, 1945; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, October 23, 1945; Trial Transcript, 181-82; Watson to Caldwell, October 23, 1945, box 43, Trial Transcript; Caldwell to R. H. Rowe, October 17, 1945, box 48, Caldwell Letters.

him. Initially, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* commended Governor Caldwell for requesting the grand jury investigation, but after investigations indicated that keys had been used to enter the jail, the *Tribune* demanded to know how the killers had obtained them. It then called for the removal of the "delinquent" Sheriff Davis for his "obvious negligence." The St. Petersburg *Evening Independent*, citing an article in the state constitution that empowered the governor to remove elected officials for "incompetence or neglect of duty," endorsed the *Tribune's* recommendations. Similarly, the *St. Petersburg Times* urged that while considering disciplinary measures against the sheriff, Caldwell should keep in mind that Davis did not "use his noodle enough to know that the prisoner shouldn't be left in an unguarded jail." <sup>25</sup>

There was also strong reaction outside the state. The Chicago Defender, the country's most widely read black newspaper, accused Davis of having led a "posse mob" that had gunned down a "terror-stricken boy." Some people in Madison "whisper," the Defender claimed, that Davis had conspired with the mob and had stood in his nightshirt watching from the bedroom window of his house, which stood adjacent to the jail, as they carried their victim away. In Birmingham, the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC), a civil rights organization that allegedly had links to the American Communist party, circulated a leaflet that called north Florida "one of the most benighted sections in our country," where "habitual lynchers have struck again." Proclaiming that Payne's civil rights had been violated, the International Defense League, the legal arm of the Communist party that had gained fame in the Scottsboro (Alabama) case, and the SNYC each offered a \$500 reward to anyone providing information that would lead to the arrest and conviction of Payne's killers. 26

New developments in Madison seemed to justify the criticisms. In late October, Governor Caldwell learned that the grand jury examining the Payne killing had consisted of the

Tampa Morning Tribune, October 13, 16, 17, 19, 25, 30, 1945; St. Petersburg Evening Independent, October 15, 30, 1945; Florida Constitution (1885), Article 4, Section 15, 1941 update; St. Petersburg Times, October 13, 1945.

Chicago Defender, October 27, November 3, 24, 1945; New York Daily Worker, October 22, 24, 30, 1945. Louis E. Burnham to Caldwell, October 15, 1945; Leaflet, Southern Negro Congress, n.d.; Vito Marcantonio to Caldwell, October 17, 1945, box 48, Caldwell Letters.

same eighteen men, including J. B. Davis, who had indicted Payne. Compounding the matter, Sheriff Davis was acting as special officer to the grand jury and was investigating the crime to which he was a possible accessory. Incensed by Madison County's seeming contempt for justice, Governor Caldwell ordered a new grand jury impaneled and removed Davis from any further involvement in the investigation. Nevertheless, the governor was careful not to overstep his bounds in local matters and allowed the sheriff to continue his other law-enforcement responsibilities.<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile, Governor Caldwell's special agent, W. H. Gasque, was uncovering further damaging evidence. He learned that Davis kept the jail keys in a box on the floor of his car, even when the vehicle was unlocked and unattended. The sheriff explained that he possessed the only keys to the cellblock doors and that he usually left them in the box or hanging on a nail in his kitchen. On the night of the Payne killing, however, they were in his pants pocket in his bedroom.<sup>28</sup>

When Gasque tried to talk with some of the citizens of Madison, he found them reticent and uncooperative. He informed the governor, "95% of the people were glad the lynching took place, and no one would give me any assistance." Gasque did find one cooperative witness in N. T. Langston, a farmer from Greenville who seemed to have a passion for law enforcement. When Goodman organized the posse in July, he was an eager volunteer, but after some of the members began talking about killing Payne, he wanted no part of the manhunt. From Langston, Gasque learned how Goodman had stirred emotions at Shorty Jones's place by stating that Payne would never go to trial. When Gasque later asked Davis about his brother-in-law's statement, the sheriff would neither confirm nor deny it.<sup>29</sup>

Armed with the findings of his investigations, Gasque, with Langston as a witness, went before the first and second grand juries. Both juries were unmoved by the testimonies of the two men and declined to expand their investigations. Gasque noted in his report to Governor Caldwell, "Regardless of whatever evidence anyone would be able to secure about the lynching or

<sup>27.</sup> Tallahassee Daily Defender, November 11, 1945.

<sup>28.</sup> Gasque Confidential Report.

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid.; Moore interview, April 25, 1989.

the Sheriff's negligence, no Grand Jury you might be able to get [in Madison] would indict or make any presentments." $^{30}$ 

Four days after the governor had requested the installment of a new grand jury, it handed down a presentment. Basing its conclusions on the original panel's inquiry, the second jury noted that after "thoroughly investigat[ing] the matters," it uncovered no evidence "that indicates or tends to indicate who inflicted the wounds that caused the death of Jesse James Payne." In regard to Sheriff Davis, the jury concluded that he "was not negligent in the performance of his duties as Sheriff ... with respect to the removal of the said Jesse James Payne from the Madison County Jail, nor was he negligent in any manner in handling Jesse James Payne in connection with offense with which the said Jesse James Payne was charged." The report then recommended that official investigations continue and, "if possible," ascertain the identity of the killers. The national and state press, Florida blacks, and the Payne family awaited the governor's response.<sup>31</sup>

On November 8, Caldwell released a statement. He maintained that after reviewing the grand jury presentment, he had determined that Payne's death "resulted from the stupid inefficiency of the sheriff and not from his abetting or participation." Disregarding Gasque's concern about the Madison jury's obvious apathy, Caldwell pointed out that his special investigator's probe into Davis's behavior concurred with the grand jury's. While Sheriff Davis "has in this case proven his unfitness for office, he was, nevertheless, the choice of the people of Madison County. . . . Stupidity and ineptitude are not sufficient grounds for the removal of an elected official by the Governor." Caldwell then served notice to Florida law enforcement officers that in future cases of a similar nature he would expect "the highest degree of care to be exercised." 32

Furious reaction to Caldwell's statement erupted throughout the country. From New York, the *Daily Worker* charged that the Payne killing was the result "of a Southwide lynch ring involving wealthy white landlords living off the sweat of Negro labor."

<sup>30.</sup> Gasque Confidential report.

<sup>31. &</sup>quot;Grand Jury Report, Madison County," October 31, 1945, in Trial Transcript, 293-95; New York *Daily Worker*, November 10, 1945.

<sup>32.</sup> Governor Caldwell News Release, November 8, 1945, box 44, Trial Transcript.

The paper claimed that the grand jury investigation was a "pious farce" that "completely white-wash[ed] Sheriff Davis, who is said to know everybody in Madison County." Furthermore, Caldwell's statement was a "masterpiece of Dixie double-talk." While he was unwilling to suspend Davis, he warned other law officers not to follow the sheriff's example. The *Chicago Defender* warned, the "friends of law and order" will not allow Florida's "chief executive . . . [to] forget the role he played in a whitewash of the crime." <sup>33</sup>

In Florida, before the release of the governor's statement, the *Tampa Morning Tribune* maintained that the "Grand Jury has handed the white-wash brush to Governor Caldwell," and then asked, "Will he too use it?" A week later the *Tribune* noted, "Sheriff Davis goes without punishment for his inexcusable failure to do his duty." The paper then wondered "how many officers will give serious attention to the Governor's warning" to exercise greater care in the future. With less enthusiasm, but equal disenchantment, the *Jacksonville Journal* found the grand jury presentment "unconvincing" and contended that "there is still much progress to be made." 34

Coming immediately after the end of World War II, the Payne lynching exposed the moral paradox of southern justice. Comparisons between Florida's form of justice and Nazi and fascist tyranny were not unusual. The caption of a *St. Petersburg Times* editorial read, "Fair Trials for Nazis, Japs But Lynch Law in Florida." The editorial noted that there was an American commitment to law and order that assured "every man his day in court. This same desire for fair play, however, does not always burn so brightly in Florida. The lynching at Madison . . . is an example of how to flout the very ideals for which our army has been fighting." In Jacksonville, the state branch of the Congress of Industrial Organizations called for FBI assistance to "help end the Hitlerite lynching[s] that have cropped up too often in our great state."

New York Daily Worker November 10, 1945; Chicago Defender, November 13, 1945, February 23, 1946.

<sup>34.</sup> Tampa Morning Tribune, November 2, 8, 1945; Jacksonville Journal, November 1, 1945.

<sup>35.</sup> St. Petersburg Times, October 13, 1945.

<sup>36.</sup> New York Daily Worker, October 22, 1945.

The stigma left from the Madison incident troubled Governor Caldwell. When E. B. Eleazer, a researcher compiling data on lynching for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, asked Caldwell to elaborate on his position on the Payne killing, the governor used the occasion to defend his and Florida's integrity. "A crime of this nature is not essentially local in character," he stated. "Its significance transcends the borders of both the country and state and draws unfavorable attention to Florida." Caldwell tried to minimize the severity of the Payne killing by denying that it could be classified as a lynching. He perceived lynching as a murder carried out by a mob acting under the pretext of justice. Since investigations in the Payne killing had not revealed the presence of a mob, Caldwell insisted, "My personal opinion is that the crime did not come within any recognized definition of lynching." "37"

Caldwell's semantic discourse was part of the South's attempt at that time to rid itself of an embarrassing tradition. In February he reaffirmed this position before an audience at the annual Governor's Day luncheon in Tampa. After arguing that Payne's death was not the result of a lynching, he reproached the Florida media for printing "negative" editorials about the Madison incident. He then blamed the press for having "smeared the state with the sole lynching in the U. S. "<sup>38</sup>

Caldwell had been making similar accusations against the Tuskegee Institute. In 1940, representatives from the Institute, the NAACP, and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings had met to revise and establish a common definition of lynching. According to this new definition, which the Tuskegee Institute utilized in 1945, "There must be legal evidence that a person has been killed, and that he met his death illegally at the hands of a group acting under the pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition." A similar definition of lynching was used in various proposals for federal antilynching legislation that these groups generally accepted and even helped frame. Antilynching bills classified a mob as a group of three or more persons.

<sup>37.</sup> Trial Transcript, 297-99.

<sup>38.</sup> St. Petersburg Evening Independent, February 14, 1946.

Jessie Daniel Ames, The Changing Character of Lynching: Review of Lynching, 1931-1941 (Atlanta, 1942), 22.

<sup>40.</sup> Ibid., 29.

Caldwell's definition of lynching was essentially the same as the Tuskegee Institute's; differences lie in their respective perceptions of the Madison affair. Caldwell argued that the organization had ignored its own criteria when it determined that the Payne killing was a lynching. Demonstrating his commitment to the findings of the Madison grand jury, he maintained that evidence had not attributed Payne's death to mob action. He added that "the person or persons" responsible for the death had acted "with revenge as a motive and from personal interest, by reason of blood or family relationship or friendship with the victim and not under a pretext of service to society or racial group." Although Caldwell did not offer an explanation of how he reached this conclusion, he called on the Tuskegee Institute to correct its records in line with his assertions and to refrain from classifying the Payne killing as a lynching. "

As Caldwell knew, the consequences of the Tuskegee Institute's recorded statistics extended beyond Florida's tainted image. In October 1945, Texas Congressman Hatton W. Sumners, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, feared that the Madison incident would lead to renewed proposals for federal antilynching legislation. A lynching in the South "makes it difficult for those of us who have the responsibility of trying to protect the South against those who are actuated by sectional prejudice," Sumners noted in a letter to Caldwell. The governor had been a friend of Sumners when he had also served in the Congress. Caldwell shared Sumners's concern. The "most disturbing factor" in connection with lynchings, Caldwell contended, was that they lend "great encouragement to meddlers from the north who have injected themselves into the National picture by poll tax legislation, antilynching and social legislation generally. "43 Caldwell vehemently opposed federal intervention in southern and state affairs. He believed that Southerners had a better understanding of their own social problems and responsibilities than anyone from the outside. In a statement that was reminiscent of arguments of the Reconstruction era, he warned

<sup>41.</sup> Caldwell to Tuskegee Institute, February 14, 1946; Jesse P. Guzman to Caldwell, February 19, 1946; Caldwell to Guzman, March 6, 1946; Caldwell to Dr. F. D. Patterson, March 18, 1946, box 48, Caldwell Letters.

<sup>42.</sup> Hatton W. Sumners to Caldwell, October 17, 1945, box 48, Caldwell Letters.

<sup>43.</sup> Caldwell to G. D. Gurley, October 22, 1945, box 48, Caldwell Letters.

that with the advent of antilynching legislation, the South would "be confronted with the presence here of federal law enforcement officers attempting to thrust upon us police regulations which will be both distasteful and unfriendly." <sup>44</sup> He felt that Southerners could and should assume the responsibility of teaching the evils of lynching, one of which was the threat of federal intervention.

When Caldwell responded to Eleazer's inquiry, he was hoping to temper national criticism, and he authorized the release of his reply to the Associated Press. His defensive tone, however, and his attempt to sidestep the lynching issue typified the southern response to these kinds of charges. Worse, the candid note that he added about a white mentality that continued to plague the South, convinced many in the North that he endorsed the lynching of blacks. Caldwell stated: "The ordeal of bringing a young and innocent victim of rape into open court and subjecting her to detailed cross-examination by defense counsel could easily be as great an injury as the original crime. This fact probably accounts for a number of killings or lynchings which might otherwise be avoided. Society has not found a solution to this problem."

After receiving the Associated Press dispatch outlining Caldwell's reply, Florida newspapers warned that others might misinterpret the governor's comments. Nevertheless, Caldwell refused to change his stand, and as the press had predicted, his remarks elicited trouble.

In a January 7, 1946, article entitled "The South," with a subhead "Two Governors," *Time* magazine compared the racial attitudes of Governor R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina with Millard Caldwell. The news weekly lauded Cherry for commuting the death sentence of a fourteen-year-old black rapist to life imprisonment and for placing partial blame of the crime on the state and society. Conversely, *Time* denounced Caldwell for refusing to admit that the Madison killing constituted a lynching. The magazine maintained that Caldwell's statement about rape

<sup>44.</sup> News Release, "Florida Governor Sees Anti-Lynching Law Unless Ministers Take Responsibility For Civil Rights Education," November 16, 1945, box 48, Caldwell Letters.

<sup>45.</sup> Trial Transcript, 299.

victims and the courts demonstrated that he condoned the Payne shooting because "it saved a lot of trouble."  $^{46}$ 

These accusations greatly angered the governor. In a letter to *Time* publisher Henry R. Luce, Caldwell detailed the article's inaccuracies and condemned the magazine's attack on his integrity. The assertions by *Time* are "without a shred of truth," he insisted. <sup>47</sup> *Time's* editorial director, John Shaw Billings, reciprocated with an assurance of a public apology and retraction. "Mr. Luce and . . . I deeply regret that you have been placed in an embarrassing position by the poor reporting of the magazine," Billings wrote Caldwell. <sup>48</sup>

Caldwell had no sooner settled his dispute with *Time* when another publication assailed him. On February 13, 1946, after reading a *Collier's* editorial sent to newspapers through an advanced publication release, Caldwell phoned the magazine's editor, Henry La Cossitt. In a stern but respectful manner, Caldwell warned La Cossitt that the proposed editorial contained libelous remarks. Furthermore, he found it "inexcusable," since it had been released after *Time* had published an apology. He urged La Cossitt to withdraw permission to print the advanced proofs in newspapers and to pull the piece from *Collier's* next issue. La Cossitt told the governor he would look into the matter and thanked him for calling.<sup>49</sup>

Despite Caldwell's admonitions, *Collier's* printed the controversial editorial in its February 23, 1946, issue. In a near facsimile of the *Time* "Two Governors" article, the *Collier's* piece, "Two Governors on Race Problems," praised Governor Cherry and denounced Caldwell. Like *Time, Collier's* interpreted Caldwell's comment on a rape victim's ordeal in court as an endorsement of lynchings. Governor Caldwell "went on to opine that the mob had saved courts, etc., considerable trouble," the editorial noted. In conclusion, *Collier's* maintained that Florida's governor personified "the old, narrow view" which has been injurious to both white and black Southerners. <sup>50</sup>

<sup>46. &</sup>quot;Two Governors," Time (January 7, 1946), 16.

<sup>47.</sup> Caldwell to Henry R. Luce, January 9, 1946, box 48, Caldwell Letters.

<sup>48.</sup> John Shaw Billings to Caldwell, February 13, 1946, box 44, Trial Transcript.

Transcript of phone call, Caldwell to Henry A. La Cossitt, February 13, 1946, box 43, Trial Transcript; Trial Transcript, 305.

<sup>50. &</sup>quot;Two Governors on Race Relations," Collier's (February 23, 1946), 94.

Convinced that *Collier's* had intended to boost circulation at the expense of his own reputation, Caldwell informed the magazine that he had turned the matter over to his attorneys. On March 20, the governor's private counsel filed a \$500,000 libel suit in the United States District Court in Tallahassee, charging that the *Collier's* editorial "was maliciously and wickedly done with the intent of causing ridicule and contempt." <sup>51</sup> Then to discredit the magazine's presumptions about his racial views, Caldwell announced that he would donate any damage award to the Florida Agriculture and Mechanical College, the state's black educational institution in Tallahassee. <sup>52</sup>

On Monday, March 8, 1948, after two years of various pretrial motions, including one dismissal and a subsequent reversal, Caldwell's libel suit came to trial in Tallahassee. To argue against the plaintiffs charges, *Collier's* had hired legal counsel from Florida: Chester H. Ferguson and Pat Whitaker of Tampa, and J. Lewis Hall of Tallahassee. Caldwell had retained the services of his former Tallahassee law partners, John T. Wigginton, Julius F. Parker, and Leo L. Foster.<sup>53</sup>

After jury selection— which included two blacks— and opening speeches, the court heard testimony. Caldwell was the second witness examined. He was subjected to a two-and-one-half-hour grilling which extended into the next day. His own attorney tried to establish that the editorial had diminished the black community's trust in the governor and had hampered his efforts to create a regional college system for blacks. "I found it difficult to deal with the negroes of this state on regional education and educational matters," Caldwell testified. Wigginton then asked, Governor, what effect did the "editorial have on . . . your duties in connection with the 1947 session of the legislature?" Caldwell answered, it brought "about a tightening up of controls. [T]he net result was the state suffered. "<sup>54</sup>

Pat Whitaker followed with the cross-examination. He began by spending several minutes attempting to show that the decision to leave Sheriff Davis in office proved that Caldwell advo-

<sup>51.</sup> Caldwell and John T. Wigginton to William Chenery, February 27, 1946, in Trial Transcript, 307-16; Trial Transcript, 4-11.

<sup>52.</sup> Trial Transcript, 14-24; Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, March 21, 1946.

<sup>53.</sup> Trial Transcript, 5-55.

<sup>54.</sup> Ibid., 181-207.

cated the principles claimed in the editorial. Finding no success in this strategy, he moved onto charge that the governor's reputation had not been damaged.

- Q: You were appointed, as a matter of fact, within 90 days after publication of the article in *Collier's* to the high office of chairman of the Governor's association of the entire United States, which is a national organization?
- A: That is right. Governors are not guided too greatly by what appears in some magazine.
- Q: Still you were elected chairman, weren't you?
- A: Yes, sir.
- Q: You are still Governor?
- A: Yes, sir.
- Q: Since publication of the article was any impeachment proceedings brought?
- A: No, sir, there were none.<sup>55</sup>

In its direct examinations, the defense counsel called *Collier's* personnel to clarify the timing of events. The testimonies established that *Collier's* was a weekly periodical, unlike *Time* which was a weekly news magazine, and that *Collier's* issues typically were distributed several days before the cover date. La Cossitt testified that after receiving the governor's phone call on February 13, he discovered that the February 23 issue had already been printed and distributed. Therefore, he dropped further investigation of the matter. When asked why the magazine offered no retraction and no apology, La Cossitt answered that he considered such action moot since Caldwell had declared that he would accept neither and that he intended to sue. <sup>56</sup>

The plaintiff's counsel then took its turn questioning the witness. After establishing that *Collier's* based its conclusions primarily on the original *Time* article, Julius Parker wanted to know why the editor had not accepted the accuracy of *Time's* retraction. La Cossitt replied that after conducting his own research, he had no reason to doubt *Time's* original report. In his interpretation of the *Time* article and Caldwell's quoted remarks, Parker then asked La Cossitt, if he believed that the governor's

<sup>55.</sup> Ibid., 211-34.

<sup>56.</sup> Ibid., 257-64, 273-91.

statement said in effect that "mobs saved the courts, etc., considerable trouble?"

A: Yes, that is what it said.

Q: You say that is what the Governor said?

A: That is our opinion.

Q: And you printed it?

A: Yes, sir.

La Cossitt was then excused, and after both sides exhausted testimony, the court recessed until the following day.<sup>57</sup>

A few minutes after ten o'clock on Wednesday morning. Wigginton stepped before the jury to make his closing speech for the plaintiff. After reviewing the facts and discounting the defense's arguments, he entered into an impassioned oratory. Claims made by Collier's "that Caldwell represents the old, outmoded way of thinking . . . has done more harm to the people of the south, both black and white, than anything else," Wigginton argued. He warned the jurors that Collier's attorneys would claim that the editorial was written with the public interest in mind. "They wanted to inform the people of Florida what was going on down here that they didn't know about. I ask you if the editors of Collier's had any interest in us. . . . Are you going to let people sitting at 250 Park Avenue in New York tell us down here the kind of man we ought to have to run our state?" Return a verdict that will repudiate the false charges "against the man's name," Wigginton demanded, "correct the wrong done to him."58

If Wigginton shook the finger of southern allegiance in front of the jury, Whitaker waved the American flag. A convincing orator himself, and a "showman" in the courtroom, the defense attorney refused to be beaten by his opponent's appeal to southern passions. Alternating between whispers and shouts, and stamping his foot for emphasis, Whitaker sounded a series of patriotic notes. He identified himself with the Tallahassee jurors by continually reminding them that he too was a Southerner. A decision for *Collier's* would be a victory not for a New York publisher but rather for the fundamental rights of the people,

<sup>57.</sup> Ibid., 273.

Ibid., 365-79; Interview with Jane Graham Wigginton, by author, November 3, 1988.

he argued. Public officials have the duty to accept the burden of criticism, for it is not libel to disagree with a man. Patrick Henry established a constitutional principle when he "stood up in the Halls of the Assembly in Virginia and proclaimed, 'I do not agree with what the gentleman says, but I will defend to the death his right to say it." Put local affinities aside, Whitaker urged, and preserve freedom of speech "for posterity— it is a principle old Tom Paine, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, advocated— every one of them believed in, fought for." <sup>59</sup>

After receiving final instructions from Judge Dozier De-Vane, the jury was dismissed for deliberation. Despite Whitaker's performance, Wigginton struck a sensitive nerve when he painted the *Collier's* editorial writer as a northern agitator whose attacks on Governor Caldwell damaged the integrity of Florida and its citizens. His pleas to the southern sense of honor demanded a response, and the jury gave him what he wanted. After two hours of deliberation, the jury awarded Caldwell \$237,000, at the time the largest assessment in libel damages ever awarded in the United States. 60

Collier's attorneys immediately filed an appeal with the United States Fifth Circuit Court in New Orleans, listing ninety-one judicial errors and causes for retrial. Responding to the plaintiff's final arguments, the defendant's motion argued that the jury members, all from north Florida counties, held deep-seated cultural prejudices against what seemed to them to be a threatening external force. Taking advantage of social and political conditions, the plaintiffs attorneys inflamed these prejudices to persuade the jury "to serve notice on all eastern and northern newspapers and periodicals to desist from publishing articles considered . . . inimical to southern tradition and customs. This constitutes "the most powerful, illegal and prejudicial appeal that could be made to a jury of southern citizens who were trying this case."

Trial Transcript, 382-400 (quotations); Interview with Leo L. Foster, by author, October 26, 1988; Interview with Sam T. Dell, by author, November 16, 1988.

<sup>60.</sup> Trial Transcript, 444.

<sup>61.</sup> In 1948, Madison County whites formed a party coalition called the White Democrats. In broadsides announcing meetings, White Democrats invited all who supported their views. Those who endorsed Truman's civil rights proposals need not attend, the posters proclaimed. *Madison Enterprise-Rec*order, March 5, 1948.

<sup>62.</sup> Ibid., 447-75.

On December 7, 1948, the appellate court handed down a unanimous decision to reverse the case and remand it for retrial. The justices found that Judge DeVane had failed to instruct the jury properly on certain points of libel law. Although unbiased, he had acted "a little too aloof" and more of a moderator than an administrator, allowing the proceedings to get out of hand. The justices noted that the trial resembled a "public gladiatorial exposition" that was "carried away by the sense of unfolding drama presented by the spectacle of a sectional row, a struggle of North against South, Florida against New York. . . . [L]itigants, witnesses, lawyers and jury seemed to regard the contest as a sporting event, a wager by battle, in which the best battler ought to and would win." The court also strongly recommended a change of venue. 63

On June 27, 1949, Judge DeVane called a new trial to order in the federal courthouse on the second floor of the post office in Gainesville, Florida. Wanting to avoid another "cause celebre," *Collier's* brought in new legal counsel; Caldwell retained his former partners. Both counsels followed the same fundamental strategies used in the first trial, but proceedings lacked the grandiloquent speeches that had been delivered in Tallahassee. After hearing testimony and final arguments, the Gainesville jurors deliberated for sixty-seven minutes and returned a verdict awarding Caldwell \$100,000 in damages. 64

The defense threatened another appeal, but before a motion was filed, the two litigants came to an agreement. Weary of the protracted case, *Collier's* publisher instructed counsel to tender a settlement. Eager to avoid another appeal and additional expenses, Caldwell and his attorneys accepted the offer of half the verdict—\$25,000 for Caldwell and \$25,000 for attorneys' fees and court costs. On August 19, the three-and-one-half-year libel suit came to an end, and as Caldwell had promised, he donated his \$25,000 damage award to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. 65

Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, December 8, 1949 (quotation); New York Times, December 8, 1948.

<sup>64.</sup> Gainesville *Daily Sun, June 27, 28, 30, 1949*; Tallahassee *Daily Democrat, June 27, 30, July 1, 1949*.

<sup>65.</sup> Dell interview; "Caldwell vs. Collier's, Satisfaction of Judgement," August 19, 1949, box 44, Trial Transcript.

Following the settlement, the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* interpreted Caldwell's victory as a redemption of the state's integrity. The South has taught the North a "lesson of tolerance and unbiased contemplation of the views of others," the *Democrat* proclaimed. "*Collier's* . . . like some individuals and organizations, take a dim view of things southern. . . . Our neighbors earnestly hope that we will become more tolerant and less prejudiced. We return their good wishes with the kindly hope that they learn their own lesson." <sup>66</sup>

As illustrated by the Caldwell - *Collier's* trial, the South had been taught a lesson, as well. They could no longer sidestep the lynching problem through semantics. Opponents would not let the issue die, regardless of how southern whites defined a particular crime. As Jesse James Payne's tragic death revealed, lynchings were no longer synonymous with mob justice, and quiet executions at the hands of the unknown would not escape the record books or national scrutiny.

<sup>66.</sup> Tallahassee Daily Democrat, August 8, 1949.

### BILLY BOWLEGS, SAM JONES, AND THE CRISIS OF 1849

by James W. Covington

NE of the most unusual events that took place during the removal of some 4,000 Indians and blacks from Florida to Indian Territory during the 1836-1859 period, occurred during the so-called Outbreak of 1849 when the Seminoles delivered three alleged murderers to the whites for trial and possible execution. This outbreak blazed forth in July 1849 when a group of young Seminoles went on a rampage along both coasts of Florida. In the first attack, the Seminoles killed one man and vandalized a small settlement along the Indian River. Then they crossed the peninsula, killed two other persons, and burned the Kennedy and Darling store located on a tributary of the Peace River. Since the majority of the Seminoles did not want to endure another war, they arranged meetings with the whites at Charlotte Harbor and delivered three of the alleged culprits and the severed hand of a fourth to Major General David E. Twiggs and white justice. Both whites and Indians considered the three to be murderers, and there should have been a trial, but none took place. Then in February 1850, they were placed on a boat with other Indians and shipped west.

At the conclusion of the Second Seminole War in 1842, the Seminoles had been assigned to a temporary 4,288,000 acre reserve located in southwestern Florida. Billy Bowlegs (Holatter Micco), Fuse-Hadjo (the lawyer), and No-co-se-mathlar (the Bear King) were invited to sign an agreement at Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay on August 5, 1842, that would guarantee the Seminoles temporary hunting and planting rights in a 6,700 square mile area. Although Sam Jones, leader of the Mikasukis,

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William J. Worth to the Adjutant General, August 12, 1842, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., Territorial Papers of the United States, 27 vols. (Washington, DC, 1934-1969), Florida Territory, XXVI, 524; "Order No. 27, Military Department No. 9," August 11, 1842, ibid., 519.

and Chipco, leader of the Muskogees, did not attend the Fort Brooke conference with Colonel William Worth, they may have given their approval in a council held before the Billy Bowlegs group departed.<sup>2</sup>

During the next few years, relations between the whites and Indians were relatively good. When ships were wrecked along the coast, the Seminoles helped in the rescue efforts and assisted the crews to make their way to Tampa or Key West. Since there were no trading posts available on the southwestern coast of Florida at that time, the male Seminoles in groups of ten or more came to Tampa and exchanged deer skins and furs at the post sutler's store for whiskey, cloth, knives, and utensils. Military authorities provided the visitors with an empty shack in which they could stay and "sober up." They could also hold dances and ball games on the lawn.<sup>3</sup>

To the whites, Billy Bowlegs was the principal chief of the Seminoles; he was a member of their so-called "royal family" and a descendant of Cowkeeper, who had established what may have been the first Seminole town in Florida near Paynes Prairie in the eighteenth century. Colonel Worth and others had prevented possible rivals to Bowlegs's authority from migrating south after peace was declared in 1842 by shipping them to Indian Territory. Whenever negotiations or a trip to Washington were needed, they sought Bowlegs's assistance, for he was approachable and did not have the negative attitude that others expressed.

In 1847, Captain John T. Sprague, who was to write a firsthand account of the Second Seminole War, met with the Seminoles and expressed his views to the authorities in

<sup>2.</sup> The Seminoles were divided into two groups speaking "the related but not mutually intelligible Muskogee (Creek) and Mikasuki (Hitchiti) languages." John M. Goggin, "Source Materials for the Study of the Florida Seminole Indians, Laboratory Notes: 3" (mimeographed), University of Florida Anthropology Laboratory, Gainesville, August 1959, 2. Since there was a considerable amount of intermarriage and contact between the two groups, probably many persons spoke both languages. Chipco was leader of the predominately Muskogee speaking band, Sam Jones of the Mikasukis, and it is difficult to determine which language was the dominant one in the Billy Bowlegs band.

<sup>3.</sup> George Ballentine, Autobiography of An English Soldier in the United States Army (New York, 1853), 185.

Kenneth W. Porter, "The Cowkeeper Dynasty of the Seminole Nation," Florida Historical Quarterly 30 (April 1952), 341-49.

Washington. "I have the honor to report that I met the Indians as anticipated at this place on the 8th instant. The chiefs Holatter Micco [Billy Bowlegs] and Assinwar, Echo-emathlar-Chopco, Chitto Hadjo, Nub-cup-Hadjo, subchiefs together with thirtyfour young warriors, well armed without women and children, were present. I was disappointed in not meeting Arpeika or Sam Jones who sent a messenger stating that from age, indisposition and the extreme cold weather, he was unable to travel. My insisting upon seeing him tended to disparage the position and power of Holatter Micco who, in all respects, is qualified for supreme command which he exercises with skill and judgement. He is about thirty-five years of age, speaks English fluently, active, intelligent and brave. Arpeika [Sam Jones] is ninety-two years of age; without warriors, authority or influence. These chiefs and their followers express the strongest friendship and have adopted vigorous laws to punish those who violate the relation existing between the whites and red men but the young men, long accustomed to hunt the whites as they now do deer and turkeys, are ruthless, vicious and vengeful. To counteract this, I have enjoined the necessity of prompt and severe punishment and shall see that they are executed."5

Persons like Sprague did not understand that though Billy Bowlegs had the largest band of warriors (fifty-four), and considerable political power, he lacked the religious influence of Sam Jones who had a following of only thirty-two warriors. In addition, the twenty-six warriors led by Chipco and the eight in Ismahtee's boat party represented bands that were outside of Bowlegs's jurisdiction.<sup>6</sup>

It was the religious authority of shaman Sam Jones that swayed most of the Indians. Sam Jones, refusing all offers to negotiate with the whites, stood as the symbol of a struggle to the final end. In July 1849, Captain John Casey tried to give presents to the members of the boat party, but they refused all but tobacco and whiskey, saying that "Sam Jones would kill them if he heard of it." In December 1849, Kapiktsootsee, a Mikasuki

Captain John T. Sprague to Major General R. Jones, January 11, 1847, S26, Seminole Agency Office of Indian Affairs Records, National Archives, Washington, DC.

James W. Covington, "A Seminole Census: 1847," Florida Anthropologist 20 (September 1968), 120-22.

Captain John Casey to Jones, July 23, 1849, in Operations in Florida, Sen. Exec. Doc., vol. 1, no. 1, pt. 1, 31st Cong., 1st sess. (ser. 549), 116.

subchief, and his people wanted to surrender, but since "Sam Jones and others had made a strong law," he would only surrender when protected by a large force of cavalry.8 Even Billy Bowlegs had made two appointments to meet with the whites but was forced to cancel them when the other Indians in his party were afraid that he would be seized.

In October 1845, Thomas P. Kennedy, the sutler at Fort Brooke, was given permission to open a store at Pine Island, located near the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River, where he could trade with the Indians coming from the reserve. This venture was not very successful because some white settlers, wanting to sell whiskey to the Indians, warned them that if they went to the island, they would be seized and sent to Indian Territory. However, John Darling, a leading Tampa merchant, joined forces with Kennedy and added his thirty-two-ton schooner Rosella to the tiny fleet supplying their Tampa store and the Charlotte Harbor post.

The Pine Island store burned in 1848, and Kennedy and Darling were given permission in March 1849 to open another store some distance inland on present-day Paynes Creek, a tributary of the Peace River. 10 Within a short time, the firm had erected a combination store and dwelling, wharf, storehouses, and a bridge. It was a sizeable enterprise staffed by proprietor Captain George Payne and employees Dempsey Whidden and William McCullough. Articles kept at the store for which the Indians traded skins and produce included rifles, gun powder, lead, brass kettles, blankets, saddles, cloth, tools, and whiskev.<sup>11</sup> A considerable number of Indians began visiting the store, including Chipco, chief of the Muskogee speaking band, who traded watermelons, bear skins, deer skins and meat, and sweet potatoes for needed articles.

<sup>8.</sup> General David E. Twiggs to Secretary of War George W. Crawford, December 10, 1849, in Message of the President of the United States, Communicating Further Information Relative to Hostilites Committed by the Seminole Indians in Florida During the Past Year, Their Removal, &c, Sen. Exec. Doc., vol. 13, no. 49, 31st Cong., 1st sess. (ser. 561), 73-74.

<sup>9.</sup> Joab Griffin to Thomas P. Kennedy, September 27, 1845, John C. Casey

Papers, file 4026.3818, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

10. Michael G. Schene, "Not a Shot Fired: Fort Chokonikla and the 'Indian War' of 1849-1850," *Tequesta* 37 (1977), 21.

<sup>11. &</sup>quot;Deposition of William and Nancy McCollough," August 11, 1849, in Message of the President, 161-63.

A band of some twenty Seminole men, called the "outsiders," had been declared outlaws at a recent busk or Green Corn Dance, and they moved beyond the limits of the reserve. Included among the "outsiders" was Chipco, five other members of his Muskogee group, seven Mikasukis, six members of Bowlegs's group, one Creek, and one Yuchi. 12 It was not known why the members of this band were outlawed, but the were upset about an 1849 law passed by the Florida legislature that stated the agent could not authorize the Indians to leave the reserve. and anyone- including the agent- caught selling liquor to the Indians would be subject to a fine ranging from \$100 to \$500.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps in anger against this law or to take revenge for unfair treatment by some traders, the "outsiders" decided to attack two isolated settlements- one on the east coast and the other on the Gulf coast. On July 12, four armed "outsiders" visited a small settlement four miles north of Fort Pierce where they ate at the home of James Barker. They later killed Barker and wounded William Russell as the two men were talking in a nearby field. Perhaps Barker was killed because he was a former Indian trader and may have cheated the Seminoles. Two of the Indians were recognized by Russell's family as recent visitors; one was known as Sammy or Sam and the other as Eli. 14

Hearing the gunfire and being warned by Russell, the forty-four whites and blacks in the settlement rushed into a boat and moved offshore. When they returned the next day, they found one house burned and two others vandalized. The news of the attack had reached the Indians living on the west coast, and Assinwar, a leader nearly seventy years of age, was sent to investigate the matter. By the time he and his men learned that the "outsiders" were moving west and were retracing their steps to Peace River, they arrived a day too late. <sup>15</sup>

The "outsiders" band, after a rest of several days, also attacked the trading post at Paynes Creek. On July 17, near nightfall, four Indians appeared at the store carrying rifles and re-

<sup>12. &</sup>quot;Diary of John C. Casey, 1849-1854" (no pagination), Casey Papers.

<sup>13.</sup> Florida, Acts and Resolutions of the Fourth General Assembly (Tallahassee, 1849). 71.

Brevet-Colonel C. F. Smith to Jones, July 18, 1849, Message of the President, 29-30; Andrew Canova, Life and Adventures in South Florida (Tampa, 1906), 53.

<sup>15.</sup> Casey to Major W. W. McKall, September 6, 1849, Operations in Florida, 121.

quested the use of a boat to carry a pack of deerskins from the other side of Payne's Creek. Payne agreed to let them use his boat but refused their request to sleep in the store. While the men at the trading post were eating their evening meal, the Indians sat on the porch near the door smoking pipes. Then, without warning, they began firing their rifles, killing Whidden and Payne and wounding McCullough. When the Indians paused to reload, McCullough grabbed a rifle from the wall and followed his wife and child who were running to the bridge. Both McCullough and his wife were wounded, but they were able to escape by hiding in the underbrush. The Indians looted the store and set fire to the building and huts. The McCulloughs made their way some twenty miles to the nearest white settlement on the Alafia River. Later, Nancy McCullough identified one of the attacking party as Yoholochee, a Mikasuki whom she had seen frequently at her father's house on the Alafia River. 16

Although authorities in Washington and Tallahassee ordered the mobilization of troops and were ready to attack the Indians, it was Indian Emigration Agent Captain John Casey who helped avert a possible conflict. Casey had sailed along the Caloosahatchee River from July 9 to the 18, 1849, searching for the Indians so he could arrange a meeting. He left "peace signs" at points along the way, but was unaware of the events taking place at Paynes Creek or Fort Pierce. To Upon his return to Fort Brooke, Casey learned about the murders. As soon as Major William Morris, commander of Fort Brooke, was told about the Paynes Creek attack, he sent Lieutenant John Gibbon, four men, and an interpreter to Guy's settlement located on the Alafia River where he believed the attack had taken place. Gibbon met McCullough at the home of Jocky Whidden and learned the details of what had cocurred. To the company to the sent Lieutenant to the details of what had cocurred.

 <sup>&</sup>quot;Deposition of William and Nancy McCullough," Message of the President, 161-63.

<sup>17.</sup> For an account of Casey's life, see Fred C. Wallace, "The Story of Captain John C. Casey," Florida Historical Quarterly 42 (October, 1962), 127-44. Casey was a trusted friend of Billy Bowlegs. One reason for the friendship may have been the fact that Elizabeth Bowlegs, Billy's sister, had been the mistress of Casey before she was shipped west in 1839. John Darling to Governor Thomas Brown, February 14, 1852, Correspondence of Governor Thomas Brown, 1849-1853, record group 101, box 2, Indian Affairs 1849-1852, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida.

<sup>18. &</sup>quot;Order 105," July 20, 1849, Message of the President, 30.

Several days after the Peace River attack, Felipe Bermundez, a man who served as guide to Casey, found fastened to the door of his deserted fishing hut at the south end of Sarasota Bay, a peace sign consisting of a tall stick, small white flag, tobacco, white beads, and heron's feathers. This sign may have been left in reply to Casey's peace signs or as a gesture to avert hostilities caused by the murderers. Felipe left a reply to the Seminoles stating that he would return by the time of the full moon.<sup>19</sup> After a patrol visited the burned trading post and buried the bodies of Payne and Whidden, federal authorities decided to send Major General David E. Twiggs to Florida to deal with what might be the beginning of another Indian war. Secretary of War George Crawford wanted Twiggs to use negotiators from Oklahoma and considerable financial inducements to persuade the Indians to leave Florida peacefully, but if those inducements failed, they would be forcibly removed.<sup>20</sup>

By August 31, Casey was anchored near the rancho of Bermundez. The first contact with the Indians took place four days later in the early evening of September 3, 1849, at the place where the white flag had been found. Three Seminoles hailed Casey's sloop, and he landed carrying along their flag. Casey came alone because Sampson, the black interpreter, refused to leave the boat. Casey learned from the Indians that Billy Bowlegs was anxious to meet with him in a council.<sup>21</sup>

The following day, Casey was told that the murders had been committed by five outlaws, and that when the news of the killings had been delivered by runners sent by Sam Jones, Assinwar had been dispatched to detain them. As noted previously, Assinwar had missed the outlaws by a day, but when they could not get others to join them in other raids, the five were taken into custody by Chitto-hajo at a camp along the Kissimmee River. When Bowlegs learned of the killings, he called in his men who had been out on a hunting trip and attempted to contact Casey. Although Bowlegs wanted to confer with Casey, the agent pointed out that the whites were prepared for war and that only Twiggs had the authority to settle the matter. As a result, Casey and Bowlegs arranged a meeting at Charlotte

<sup>19.</sup> Morris to Jones, August 20, 1849, ibid., 59-60.

<sup>20.</sup> Schene, "Not a Shot," 23.

<sup>21.</sup> Casey to Jones, September 9, 1849, Operations in Florida, 122-24.

Harbor on September 18. Fuss Enehan, a friend of Bowlegs, returned with Casey to Tampa to serve as a hostage and to demonstrate that the Indians were sincere in wanting peace.<sup>22</sup>

The scheduled meeting near the site of Kennedy and Darling's burned store at Charlotte Harbor took place as planned aboard the steamer *Colonel Clay* anchored in the harbor. When the steamer carrying Major General Twiggs and Casey approached land, the two men saw Bowlegs and thirty-seven of his warriors on the shore awaiting their arrival. On the following day, September 18, Bowlegs and four or five of his warriors came aboard the steamer. Bowlegs again stated that the killings had been done by outlaws, and he insisted that the Indians wanted peace. The next day, Bowlegs returned with Kapiktootsee who was representing Sam Jones and the Mikasukis. Both Indians pledged that the killers would be surrendered at the next meeting scheduled a month later on October 19 at Charlotte Harbor.<sup>23</sup>

Although negotiations had begun, Twiggs began to plan for a campaign against the Indians in which a 200-mile line of forts stretching from the Manatee River to the Indian River would be erected. Garrison for the posts would be two companies each, making a total of forty companies. In addition, garrisons of thirteen companies stationed at depots on large rivers, 500 sailors and marines in ten boats, and a mounted force of three hundred men would be needed— a total of 4,150 regular soldiers. Secretary of War Crawford gave his approval to Twiggs's plan by suggesting that he take prompt steps to establish the forts and extend patrols from the posts so that all intercourse between whites and Indians would be prevented. The first post to be erected was Fort Chokonikla built on the site of the burned Payn's Creek store.<sup>24</sup>

The *Colonel Clay*, with Twiggs and Casey aboard, arrived at Charlotte Harbor two days ahead of schedule, and there the whites found that the Indians had been waiting their arrival for nine days. As soon as it was possible, on October 18, Billy Bowlegs came aboard and informed Twiggs that three of the murderers were being held with his party of sixty warriors, another

<sup>22.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23.</sup> Casey to Jones, September 23, 1849, ibid., 125-26.

Twiggs to Lieutenant Colonel W. G. Freeman, October 3, 1849, ibid., 126-28; Schene. "Not a Shot." 25.

had been killed while attempting to flee, and the fifth had made a successful escape. The following day, Bowlegs, accompanied by twenty warriors, again boarded the Colonel Clay bringing with them the three prisoners and the severed hand of the fourth to prove that he had been killed. 25 Yo-ho-lo-chee, a member of Sam Jones's band, had been identified by Mrs. McCullough as being in the attack. He had almost been captured while asleep but had heard the approach of the Indians and fled carrying his rifle with him. One shot from the pursuers hit his right hand, wounding him and causing him to drop the gun. The damaged rifle with blood on it was brought back as evidence for the whites. 26 By allowing so many of their warriors to watch the delivery of the prisoners to the whites aboard the Colonel Clay, the Indian leaders were showing their determination to keep the peace. Bowlegs promised that if another such attack ever took place, he and his people would willingly walk aboard the ships bound for New Orleans. Yet Twiggs, in response, stated that there was no peace for the Seminoles in Florida and that they should listen to a delegation that was coming from the West. 27

Acting under orders of Secretary of War Crawford, Twiggs placed the prisoners in chains and carried them back to Tampa where they were held for their trial on murder charges pending a decision by Florida Governor Thomas Brown. Crawford concluded that should state and local authorities not want to place the Indians on trial, they should be shipped west whenever it was convenient. Twiggs, before leaving Tampa to take charge of the prisoners, had declared that he would "hang them to the yardarm." Possibly due to a letter from Crawford and a desire to achieve fame by removing all of the Seminoles from Florida, however, Twiggs reconsidered the hanging threat.<sup>28</sup> Governor Brown was not notified of the need to make a decision concerning a possible trial, and Simon Turman, justice of the peace and judge of probate for Hillsborough County, was approached by Twiggs in an effort to delay a trial.<sup>29</sup> Twiggs re-

Twiggs to Crawford, October 19, 1849, Operations in Florida, 133-34. Kenneth W. Porter, "Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco) in the Seminole Wars (Part I)" Florida Historical Quarterly 45 (January 1967), 232.

Crawford to Twiggs, October 30, 1849, Operations in Florida, 135.

<sup>28.</sup> Testimony of Simon Turman sent to Governor Thomas Brown, box 2, folder 4, Brown Correspondence.

<sup>29.</sup> Ibid.

quested Turman to use his influence to "prevent a civil process" being issued against the Indians. Twiggs claimed that he could "use them to great advantage for a short time and can probably effect the removal of all the Indians of Florida through their instrumentality."  $^{30}$ 

James Whidden, the father of the young man who was killed at Paynes Creek, visited Turman to find out what was going to be done with the prisoners. After Turman had told him about the views held by Twiggs, Whidden visited the general and was told that the prisoners would be kept under guard in close confinement. After the removal plan had been tried, they would be delivered to the civil authorities of Hillsborough County for trial. Whidden agreed to the wait, for he believed that removal of the entire tribe from Florida through the assistance of the murderers was worthwhile.<sup>31</sup>

Joseph B. Lancaster, judge in the Southern Judicial Circuit Court, would have presided at the murder trial if it had taken place. He was also deceived by Twiggs who convinced him that if the prisoners were not transferred to Florida authorities, he would use them to help remove all of the Seminoles from Florida. If he failed in this venture, Twiggs promised that the Indians would be hung. Thus, Lancaster exerted little pressure upon Twiggs for a speedy trial.<sup>32</sup>

By November, Twiggs was putting his plan into execution. District Judge Lancaster had agreed that since the fall court session was concluded, the captives should remain with the military and serve as guides if needed in a possible move against the Indians. The prisoners were sent to Fort Chokonikla where Twiggs hoped their families would come in and surrender. In a November 10 letter to Crawford, Twiggs admitted that he had not yet notified Governor Brown in Tallahassee that the prisoners were available.<sup>33</sup>

On January 21, 1850, Twiggs, Bowlegs, and other Seminole leaders held a conference at Chokonikla to discuss possible emigration from Florida. At this conference, Twiggs announced a very attractive offer: each man was to be given a bonus of \$500, each woman and child \$100, and the leaders additional

<sup>30.</sup> Ibid.

Ibid

<sup>32.</sup> Joseph B. Lancaster to O. B. Hart, April 27, 1852, Brown Correspondence.

<sup>33.</sup> Twiggs to Crawford, November 10, 1849, Operations in Florida, 136.

sums. Bowlegs promised to think it over, but some sixty other Seminoles readily accepted the offer and surrendered at Fort Arbuckle on the Kissimmee River. As this group moved towards Fort Hamer on the Manatee, others joined it making a total of seventy-four. On February 28, 1850, nineteen men (including the three prisoners), twenty-two women, fourteen boys, and nineteen girls boarded the steamer *Fashion* bound for New Orleans.<sup>34</sup> A total of \$15,953 was paid to the party of seventy-four persons including the prisoners who were now free from probable murder charges.

It took some time for officials in Florida and the Whidden family to understand what had taken place. Finally, under pressure by Whidden, the state of Florida indicated the three Indians April 27, 1852, on charges of murder. It was too late, however, for they were a thousand miles away.<sup>35</sup> Ossian B. Hart, solicitor for the Southern Judicial Circuit in Florida, hoped that Governor Brown would request that President Millard Fillmore order the return of the Indians, but nothing was done.

Before it can be concluded that a grave miscarriage of justice had taken place, both from the white and Seminole positions. more evidence must be considered. Several months before the February 1850 departure from Florida, Jim Jumper, the newly selected governor of the Western Seminoles, promised, in response to a letter written by Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, to send a delegation from Indian Territory to induce the Eastern Seminoles to join them. Marcellus Duval, Seminole sub-agent, finally obtained government approval of the trip and the sanction of a majority of the Western Seminoles. Halleck Tustenuggee, who favored removal, was appointed chairperson of the delegation that left Indian Territory on October 16, 1849.<sup>36</sup> With Duval representing the Indian Office, the group contained six Mikasukis (including Halleck Tustenuggee), three Muskogees, two Alachuas (former members of the Bowlegs band), and two interpreters. The delegation reached New Orleans, November 6, and Fort Brooke, November 10, 1849. Be-

<sup>34.</sup> Twiggs to Crawford, March 1, 1850, Message of the President, 84-85.

<sup>35.</sup> State of Florida to the Sheriff of Hillsborough County, April 27, 1852. "Indictment of the three Indians," Brown Correspondence.

Marcellus Duval to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Orlando Brown, November 5, 1849, Message of the President, 143-45; Edwin C. McReynolds, The Seminoles (Norman, 1957), 266.

fore beginning negotiations with the Florida Seminoles, Duval and his group, needing food and medicine for the trip into the wilderness, killed some deer near Fort Brooke and collected roots to make medicine.<sup>37</sup> The members of the delegation visited the three prisoners then being held at Fort Chokonikla to ascertain where the different Seminole camps were located so word could be sent that the delegation had arrived and that it wanted to meet with the Florida Seminoles.<sup>38</sup>

The visit of the delegates to the fort at Paynes Creek produced some information concerning the recent disturbances. The prisoners told the delegates "there were many more Indians concerned in the murders (directly and indirectly) than reported to General Twiggs." The principal culprit had not escaped but was bein protected by Sam Jones. Furthermore, the prisoners claimed that they had been "delivered as a sacrifice to save others" and to relieve the members of the tribe from responsibility for the murders.<sup>39</sup> The two attacks had been planned as retaliation for the law passed by the state of Florida on January 13, 1849, that forbade the Indians from leaving the reserve and levying a fine upon anyone selling them liquor. When the federal and state authorities reacted with the movement of nearly 2,000 troops in the area, the leaders felt it better to turn over to the whites several of the Indians who had taken part in the affair.

The view expressed by the Indian prisoners was likewise given by an unidentified writer to a newspaper at the same time. The two attacks were planned and made under the direction of Sam Jones. Several minor leaders and at least thirty warriors from both bands were in the neighborhood of the attacks and shared in the plunder taken from the store. Since Sam Jones had refused to surrender any of the murderers or those who had taken the plunder, it was up to the great peacemaker Billy Bowlegs to make the needed adjustments.

Captain John C. Casey was the one who explored the matter, and he was able to identify the participants through information

<sup>37.</sup> Duval to Orlando Brown, November 12, 1849, Message of the President, 145-46.

<sup>38.</sup> Ibid.: Duval to Orlando Brown, November 19, 1849, ibid., 146.

<sup>39.</sup> Duval to Orlando Brown, November 19, 1849, ibid., 146.

<sup>40.</sup> Unidentified clipping, "Florida Indians 1836-1865," collection of newspapers from contemporary newspapers, Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville, Florida.

supplied by Billy Bowlegs and other Seminole informants. The attack at Indian River was made by four Indians, including Hoithlemathla Hajo, Panukee, Kotsa Eleo Hajo, and Seh-taigee. 41 In the killing of the storekeeper and clerk at Paynes Creek, Pahay Hajo, Gahouchee Hoithlemathla Hajo, and Kitso Hajo took part. 42 When the Seminoles discovered that McCullough and his wife had survived and fled, three of them-Chipco, Pahay Hajo and Yahloochee- pursued and fired at the fleeing whites. Delivered to the whites at Charlotte Harbor were Pahay Hajo, who had taken part in the Peace River attack; Yahola Hajo, who had pursued McCullough; and Kotsa Eleo Hajo, who had been at Indian River. The hand of Hoithlemathla Hajo, who took part in the Indian River attack, was given to the whites. Lahtaigee was the one who escaped at Kissimmee River. 43 Thus, most of the alleged criminals had been surrendered to the whites, but Chipco and a few others had too much influence and power to allow their followers to be made captive.

Actually, the three prisoners may have been of help to Twiggs, for the two chiefs—Kapiritsootsee and Cacha Fixico, leaders of the band that had gone aboard the ships in February 1850—had lived along the Kissimmee River, the place where the prisoners had resided. It may have been due to their influence that Twiggs was able to attain a measure of success. Within a short time, most of the newly erected forts were decommissioned, the troops were transferred to other places, and the crisis in Florida appeared to have ended. It appeared also that Billy Bowlegs possessed the political power among the Seminoles, but actually it was Sam Jones and the "hard liners" who had made the decisions concerning the selection and surrender of possible murderers.

<sup>41. &</sup>quot;Diary of Casey." Hoithlemathla Hajo was difficult to identify from Casey's list and one published in the Jacksonville *Florida News* August 27, 1853, but Panukee is 30 in a list of Sam Jones's warriors, Kotsa Eleo Hajo 19 in the Jones list and Panukee 16 in Chipco's warrior list.

<sup>42.</sup> It is difficult to identify Pahay Hajo and Gahoochee from the lists, but the other two took part in the Indian River attack.

<sup>43. &</sup>quot;Diary of Casey."

## APALACHICOLA IN 1838-1840: LETTERS FROM A YOUNG COTTON WAREHOUSE CLERK

edited by NILES SCHUH

ohn Chrystie wrote long, interesting letters from Apalachicola to the folks back home in New York. In a series of nine letters, written during the 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 business seasons, he described life in that busy cotton port. He wrote to his brother, Tom; to his brother's wife, Sis; and especially to his close friend, probably a cousin, Albert, about life in a young, fast-growing, frontier town in the territory of Florida. Business, social, and civic life were all of interest to the impressionable young man, and he had very definite ideas and opinions about most of what was going on around him.<sup>1</sup>

At that time, Apalachicola, with a population of over 1,000 people, was on its way to becoming Florida's largest cotton port and the third largest on the Gulf of Mexico, after New Orleans and Mobile.<sup>2</sup> Its location at the mouth of the Apalachicola, Chattahoochee, and Flint rivers system gave it a unique advantage over other seaports in that part of the Gulf. That river system was the principal path of commerce into a large area of southwestern Georgia, southeastern Alabama, and middle Florida. The commerce was mainly cotton moving downriver and manufactured goods moving upriver. Cotton was the most important single product of the South at that time, and the economy of Apalachicola centered around it.<sup>3</sup>

All quotations contained in the article are taken from a collection of nine letters in the private collection of the author; all are from Apalachicola and all are written by John Chrystie and addressed to relatives in New York City and Newburgh, New York. Six letters to Albert Chrystie, Jr., are dated December 23, 1838; January 5 and 13, February 3 and 12, 1839; and April 15, 1840. Two letters to Thomas W. Chrystie are dated February 10, 1839, and March 4, 1840. One letter to Mrs. Thomas W. Chrystie is dated January 4, 1840.

See also Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola: The Beginning," Florida Historical Quarterly 47 (January 1967), 283-91.

For a description of the town of Apalachicola, its strategic location, and its importance in Territorial Florida, see Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1966). For a description of the Apalachicola River and its commerce see Harry P. Owens, "Port of

John Chrystie was related to several noted people on his mother's side. His mother's father was James Nicholson, who was described as a "distinguished officer" in the American Revolution. He held the rank of commodore and was "first on the list of American Post Captains"; later he was a prominent merchant in New York City. John's mother, Jehoiadden Nicholson Chrystie, was the youngest of eight children. Her sister, Hannah, had married Swiss-born Albert Gallatin in 1793. Gallatin was the United States minister to France and secretary of the treasury in Thomas Jefferson's cabinet. John's father was apparently the Reverend James Chrystie who is listed in contemporary records as serving in Newburgh, New York, from 1818 to 1821. Whether he was an elected or appointed official is not known.

Chrystie maintained close contact with his family through his letters, and apparently he was fond of his recently acquired sister-in-law as can be noted in a letter to his brother postmarked March 4, 1840.

By the ship "St John" <sup>8</sup> to leave here the middle of this week I send on two boxes of trees (young), roots, & so on, one for Sis & one for Cousin Frances Chrystie – You will find I think some valuable trees "for the ornament of" Windsor Hill among those of Sis's box – they are put up by a careful hand & I will write you again with their names & directions for planting etc. . . . I have just returned from the garden (a public one) hoping that the gardener might have the list of roots & directions ready to copy in this letter but I shall have to wait for next mail.

However Tom I hope you will find they will succeed well for I know Sis delights in such things unless she has removed her affections from all earthly things & betstowed them without any reserve upon little Addie

Apalachicola," Florida Historical Quarterly 48 (July 1969), 15-18. See also William Warren Rogers, Outposts on the Gulf (Pensacola, 1986), 1-49.

<sup>4.</sup> Byam Kerby Stevens, Genealogical-Biographical Histories of the Families of Stevens, Gallatin and Nicholson (New York, 1911), 32-33, 35.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid., 22-25.

E. M. Ruttenber and L. H. Clark, History of Orange County, New York (Philadelphia, 1881), 312.

Thomas W. Chrystie married Elizabeth A. Ludlow on October 12, 1838.
 James P. Maher, *Index to Marriages and Deaths in the New York Herald, 1835-1855* (Baltimore, 1987), 25. No other Chrystie weddings or deaths are listed in work.

<sup>8.</sup> Probably the 398-ton ship listed as being on the New York to New Orleans run for Collins' New Line in 1839. Carl C. Cutler, *Queens of the Western Ocean* (Annapolis, 1961), 500.

 $-\,$  for whom in particular the finest Magnolia in the box is intended & must be set out with all due ceremony that they may both grow up together.

Chrystie, as well as most letter writers of the time, included comments on the postal system in his letters. The mail was extremely important to everyone, and letters from home were especially treasured by one who considered himself almost an exile from the civilized world. Prior to the arrival of the railroad and the telegraph, even the newspaper had to depend on the postal system for its outside news. As a result, newspapers often carried notices and editorials about failures of mail delivery. Chrystie often complained on this subject, also, and with good cause, according to his descriptions. He starts his January 5, 1839, letter by saying:

There can be no doubt as to the fact of this being a very great country. We are now without a mail for the last ten days; the regulation is that it should arrive & leave here twice a week & it has missed arriving for the last three times, the first time owing to a disagreement between the Captain of mail boat & the PMaster — Whenever the boat arrives behind time if only 5 minutes the PMaster puts on the fine, & that time the mail not being ready at the precise time appointed the Captain came off & left it. The second time there happened to be a barbecue at Bainbridge (where the Boat receives the mail) & when the mail arrived there from the north the P.M. & all hands were "very joyful" the P.M. just having sense enough when informed that the mail had arrived, to tell the messenger to "go to hell & take the mail along with him" & when the time came for the mail to go on board, the P.M. & nine tenths of the people were under the table & the other tenth so damnably fuddled that as old Morton said they had no inclination for any mail except a female.

#### Later, in the same letter, Chrystie added:

Upon my word I hardly think it is worth while to send you this letter as I doubt whether you will ever receive it. The Mail boat is again down without a mail making the 4th mail missed — For the last three weeks now we have had but one mail & one paper (of one date I mean) during the whole time. We have no more idea of what is going on in NYk than if we were in [sic] the moon.

<sup>9.</sup> One major point of contention concerned the transfer of mail from the main east-west land route passing through Chattahoochee to the steamboat for transport down the river and vice versa. For a lengthy running account of this problem during 1839, see the *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 22, July 10, July 24, and August 14, 1939.

A week later he finally received some mail. "After a long interregnum of nearly three weeks the mail has at last come & brought us about two packs of old newspapers, Bills Lading & letters; among others one from you being the first I have received since 23 December."

An alternative to the postal system was to depend on ship captains to hand carry letters, but John apparently did not feel that the ships were as reliable, even after his experience with mail delivery he had described earlier. He asked his brother in February 1839 to "give my love to Sis & tell her she's very foolish for keeping her letters for the Packets — ask her what she does so for, & tell her she musn't do so any more — she must send her letters by mail."

An indication of transit times for mail and passengers in 1840, and one of the reasons Chrystie felt so far from home, can be noted from his estimates to Albert. "It will take your letter a fortnight to get here & within a week after I receive it I can leave by land for N York & be there in 8 or 10 days after." When Chrystie said "by land" he meant one could travel by stage and railroad once he reached Bainbridge or Columbus, Georgia, by steamboat. There were no decent roads connecting Apalachicola to anywhere at that time.<sup>10</sup>

Chrystie worked for Goldstein & Co. which maintained offices at 59 Water Street in Apalachicola. The company operated as commission merchants in one of the three-story brick

For a description of postal routes serving Apalachicola and area see Richard J. Stannaback, "Postal Operations in Territorial Florida, 1821-1845," Florida Historical Quarterly 52 (October 1973), 169-71.

<sup>11.</sup> Apalachicola *The Courier*, May 8, 1839. Another advertisement on the same page lists Goldstein & Co. as also being in the insurance business but at a different address. From regular advertisements in the *Columbus* (Georgia) *Sentinel and Herald*, David Goldstein (or Goldsteine as it was spelled in that paper) operated as "D. Goldsteine & Co., Commission and Forwarding Merchant, Apalachicola, Flor.," from at least June 21, 1838. By October 25, 1838, it was "D. Goldsteine & Co., Commission Merchants, Apalachicola, Florida. Will advance on Cotton shipped to Havre, Liverpool and New York. D. Goldsteine, H. D. Darden, Apalachicola." *The Columbus Times* of September 2, 1841, announced the dissolution of Goldstein & Co, Henry Darden, the partner, stayed on in Apalachicola and in the same business at least through the 1840s. Although Chrystie mentions Goldstein and a "Darden's boy" in his letters as though they are known in New York, Goldstein could not be found in the New York business directories of the period.

warehouses along the riverfront. As commission merchants or cotton factors, Goldstein & Co. were the middlemen in the buying and selling of cotton. As middlemen, they were required to warehouse large amounts of cotton in Apalachicola on its journey from grower to user and from riverboat to ocean ship. <sup>12</sup> Chrystie was concerned principally with the cotton business, as is evident from his letters, and he sometimes became very tired of being surrounded by cotton both day and night.

On December 23, 1838, he wrote to his friend. "I have been writing business letters all day. . . . I have received about 800 bales of Cotton & loaded the ship Glide for  $NYk^{13}$  besides writing some 20 or 30 letters so you can see I am deep into the very vortex of business."  $^{14}$ 

And about two weeks later he wrote again.

The prospects of business this Winter are not very good, the crop is short & a large quantity of Cotton will be shipped to St. Joseph. We have the satisfaction however of knowing that . . . the house will do at least one half if not two thirds of all the business (Cotton business I mean) in this place— if it don't make money will at least pay expenses.

Business activity depended to a large extent on the level of water in the river, which in turn determined the river's navigability for steamboats. The business season ran from approximately September to June each year, a function of the cotton growing cycle and the navigability of the river. Fortunately, these annual cycles were usually compatible, although the depth of the water in the river during any given month could vary considerably from year to year. Chrystie's comments on whether he was busy or not reflected this situation.

On January 13, 1839, he wrote: "We have had very little business to attend to I am sorry to say – the damned river still keeps low & while that is the case nothing is done." On February

<sup>12.</sup> Lynn W. Ware, "The Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley, 1840-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1989), 12-13, 18-19. The terms "commission merchant" and "cotton factor" are used interchangeably. This dissertation contains an excellent discussion of cotton marketing and financing.

Probably the 131-ton schooner Glide, listed in 1826 as operating between New York and Savannah under the Schooner Line which continued in operation at least until 1858. Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, 475-76.

<sup>14.</sup> Ware, "The Cotton Trade," 12-13.

3, 1839, Chrystie commented: "Shipping scarce – freights damned high – Cotton brisk @ 15 c for prime – a lot of 180 bales having been sold at that figure by Goldstein & Co. yesterday." John wrote to his brother on February 10, 1839: "It has been an exceedingly dull season with us – the quantity of Cotton rec'd & of goods sold in the place has been less by one third nearly than it has ever been before."

During the following season on March 4, 1840, he wrote:

I have not really had time.... The river rose upon us all at once & Cotton came down at the rate of 7 & 8000 bales a week & we had at one time five ships loading altogether so you can form some idea of how we have been hurried. As there are now however two assistants besides myself in the counting room I have a little more leisure.

#### Later, in the same letter, he added:

I hate the sight of a Cotton bale & yet the fates have ordained that some ten or fifteen thousand of them should be eternally under my nose — I almost fancy at times that I am a Cotton bale myself.

On January 6, 1839, he wrote: "We have just received news of the sinking of another steam boat on the river making the third boat lost this season. This boat (the Alabama) had on 150 bales Cotton consigned to us." He complained about local prices and quality to his brother Tom. "I have serious intentions of coming down upon you with a 20\$ bill & 'an order to purchase' 1 dozen cord shirts as they are not to be had out here but of a poor kind & at a goddamned tall price."

He wrote to his friend in December 1838 to describe how he lived and worked in Apalachicola.

I have no news to tell you — nothing under God's heaven hardly that can interest you — there is no excitement here of any kind except that of business & when there is none of that you can hardly imagine what a damned dull place it is. We sleep in our warehouse, we get up in the morning, go up to the hotel to breakfast, come down again, go up to dinner, come down again, go up to tea, come down again, & spend the evening either in playing whist or lolling about our rooms smoking, talking & so on — this is when there is no business. When there is any of that though the scene is very different. We get up in the morning & have hardly time for anything else hardly time to go to bed again at night.

Chrystie did not think very highly of Apalachicola. He did not seem to like the place, the people, or the customs. He was, however, much more critical of conditions during his first season there; by the second season, he had tempered his feelings and even enjoyed himself a few times. He seemed to be resigned to the fact that his stint in such a place was necessary. "I am certainly not making anything but am learning business, living in the best style the place affords (as the House pays all my expenses)."

Chrystie's life seems to have been restricted to a small area, as he lived and worked in the same building.

So you want to know how we live — you've seen a horse in a mill or a squirrel in a cage — well, so we live — we have a large three story brick warehouse in the rear of the second floor of which are two rooms— one is the counting room & immediately adjoining is our sleeping room, Harry & myself. This is very convenient as we can be as late & as early at business as we please. We feed at the Hotel where we have as good a table as we ever sat down to. . . . [I]n the evening we sit in our offices & play whist, or read papers when they come or write letters as I am doing at present— the evenings we have altogether to ourselves. Sundays, there is a man here reads the Episcopal service at the Hotel at which all the old women both in petticoats & breeches attend. He is the cashier of a bank here & I believe a damned hypocritical son of a seacook. Have never been to hear him yet having plenty of everything else to do & when I have nothing of that to do I generally take my flute & music up in the third story & blow away like mad — In fact my Sunday mornings are generally devoted to music.

He advised a friend thinking of coming to Apalachicola that "he'll find more sand & fleas here than in any three places he was ever in before but plenty to eat venison & game of all kind mighty good liquors if he is fond of eating & drinking & plenty of fellows that will eat & drink with him night & day."

Chrystie was probably not very well-off financially or else he likely would have fled the summer heat and fevers as most Northerners did. He and one of the "Apalachicola boys" did not have "any idea of going north next summer — we have half made an agreement to go & spend a week or two up in the Cherokee country in the northern part of Georgia together, when it is too damned hot to live in this place."

Chrystie obviously missed the cultural life of New York. He asked, "Have you been to any opera theaters?" and refers to plays, books, and music often. To his friend, he wrote, December 23, 1838: "You say I don't tell you anything about Apalach – I wish to God there was something here at all in-

teresting to you or any other human being — as I said before it is the dullest of dull places & I do assure you the only pleasure I have here besides my flute is when the mail comes & brings me a letter from you. I have very few books to read (& I hereby while I think of it lay my commands on you & Tom to beg borrow & steal all the books & music you can lay hands on pack it up in a box & send it out to me)."

Although initially very critical of "Society" in Apalachicola and avoiding it, Chrystie later became involved in some social affairs and appears to have enjoyed himself. In an early letter, though, he wrote: "As to Society I do not pretend to go into it at all & therefore know nothing of it. There are devilish few women in the place though & still fewer pretty women." Later in the same letter, referring to his family's hometown, he wrote:

Good Lord deliver me from the Society of a small place — You know New Burgh — well Apalach is one third the size of N. Burgh. <sup>15</sup> Of course it is a reasonable conclusion that the society of Apalach is three times as bad & is cut up into three times as many little portions as that of N. Burgh was — & of course if a man goes into it he must run the risk of having his character & disposition cut up & his little failings & peccadilloes magnified by two thirds of his associates & sneered at by the other third — so damn all society. I'll take the advice of old Iago when he told Othello "go put money in your pocket!"

As to myself I am as fat & in as good condition as a man can be in this delightful climate. I have no women to trouble me & as to men I am learning the art of troubling them devilish fast. I cultivate no intimacies & allow nobody to cultivate an intimacy with me & so manage to get along very well — finding myself among a pack of damned rascals, I am obliged to be "wide awake & full of fleas" to use an Apalachicola expression which by the way I consider a damned sight more significant one than Aunt Fav's. She advised me to "do my business as if *I were walking in the rain* — if it leads me in the way of sinners. If it doesn't lead me in that way though I presume I have the old lady's permission to do it as if I were walking in the rain with an umbrella over my head — Ah Aunty bad rule that won't work both ways.

Citizens celebrated holidays in the Florida territory with as much enthusiasm, but perhaps less decorum, as anywhere else. For example, Chrystie described New Years in a letter dated January 5, 1839.

<sup>15.</sup> Newburgh is in Orange County, New York, seventy miles up the Hudson River from New York City.

New Years eve in Apalachicola there was a ball given by a woman of particularly easy virtue in the lowest class of life a washerwoman & formerly a chambermaid on one of the steamboats. She managed to muster about 15 or 20 of the same kind of women as herself & they had a regularly rowdy time – everybody was there (my worthy self excepted & a few others) all the young cocks whom you saw in NYk almost & they kept up till 2 o'clock. The principal merchants here danced with their draymen's wives, & the Mayor of the City played the fiddle for them! Hurra for Apalach!

Upriver at Bainbridge, the inhabitants had their own amusements. In the same January 1839 letter, Chrystie described a local holiday game.

The whole town was in a complete uproar all hands being engaged in a "goose pulling." The nature of the ceremony is this—the finest goose that can be raised is caught, plucked of all his feathers, tied up by the legs to a pole about 10 feet high placed in the middle of the principal street, with his neck well greased & the "pullers" ride past the pole full gallop & all have a snatch at the goose neck; whoever pulls the animal off the pole has him & of course treats all hands. So much for Bainbridge.

During his second season in Apalachicola, Chrystie finally went to a party, and on January 4, 1840, he wrote his sister-in-law a lively description of it.

I was at a very amusing party a night or two since (New Years night) consisting of four ladies & five or six gentlemen all the elite of the great city of Apalach. Don't be alarmed though Sis - one of the ladies was a widow, pretty well on the down hill of life, with a nose like a coal of fire in a dark room, another married, the third engaged & the fourthsquints! So just reflect upon the state of my purse & the attractions of the ladies & consider me perfectly safe - The married lady was by far the most dangerous of the concern, being decidedly pretty & reminding me very strongly in her manner of our friend Kate Walsh. You may be surprised at hearing that we have anybody in such an out of the way place at all resembling so ladylike a character & you may also be assured that the discovery of such a resemblance added greatly to my enjoyment of the evening. A flute was brought out from some corner or other, where it had lain hid I should think for at least a generation, upon which however I piped, to the great delight, as a matter of course, of all the audience. Whiskey punch doins & cake fixins were also produced & as the spirit of liveliness & sociability spread over the party the spirit of dance also began to prevail & towards 12 o'clock we wound up the evening with a grand "Virginny Reel" performed by all hands - feet rather - & danced in a most astonishingly vigorous & frisky style. It was the first party I ever attended here & I enjoyed it very much – The ladies don't

sit around the room like so many wallflowers (as somebody so wittily remarked about a hundred years ago) neither do the gentlemen stand before them like so many watering pots, pouring words out upon them that have just as animating an effect as drops of cold water generally have. Contrariwise, a great deal of sociability & fun within proper bounds of course – but prythee Sis for Gods sake don't mention this to any woman in N Burgh or it will get to Mrs Chittenden's ears who will infallibly write down to her husband the Doctor<sup>16</sup> that John Chrystie wrote Sis Chrystie so & so & that he, the Dr, must tell her, Mrs Chittenden, what lady in Apa has a red nose & what lady squints – & then poor I will be in a horrid scrape as I fancy you womankind don't generally like such animadversion upon your personal appearance – though I am not very sure – how is it?

#### Later, in the same letter, Chrystie wrote:

2 o'clock. Well Sis I am in a bad way, as we say here, & have just returned from a visit to another lady again! Very strange — last evening you must know I received a message from said lady threatening awful penalties if I did not come to see her, I not having done so since my introduction about three weeks ago — Feeling rather flattered (as what man would not at such a message? for she is beautiful) I went this morning & paid a longer visit than I would have dared to pay anyone in the [undecipherable] — I won't mention names but she's from Baltimore an intimate friend & correspondent of Cousin M.A. Chambers young very gay & as I said before very beautiful — but again I say Sis don't be frightened for she's married. So in a very short space of time you see I have been honored so far as to have become an intimate of two beauties married — Well, the Lord preserve me from the snares of the unmarried ones! that is if any of them think such a poor bedevilled poverty stricken merchants clerk as I worth spreading any snares for.

John Chrystie, of necessity, did his civic duty as a result of an ordinance passed by the city of Apalachicola on January 29, 1839. "To ensure the security and tranquility of the inhabitants, and safety of property." "All free white male inhabitants between the ages of eighteen and fifty years" were to take turns patrolling the streets every night to meet this goal. Any citizen failing in this duty would be subject to fine by the mayor. Chrystie was one of the men so obligated to "meet at the ringing of the City Bell at nine o'clock" and to "patrol the streets." They were "authorized to go into and examine all kitchens and outhouses within the jurisdiction of this Corporation, usually oc-

L. F. Chittenden, apparently an acquaintance from New York, was a prominent citizen of Apalachicola. He was mayor at the time Chrystie was there.

cupied by Negroes, or persons of color." They were also authorized to arrest and punish "by whipping" any slave or person of color caught away from home without a pass. <sup>17</sup>

Chrystie described his view of this civic duty in two letters. On February 3, 1839, he wrote:

I was out on a patrol the other night — a patrol you must know is a kind of City guard composed of all the young men of the place who turn out 5 at a time in turn to keep the peace & to guard the place from attempts at insurrection on the part of the negroes, from attacks by the Indians, from fire, thieves, & all other dangers that make night hideous. Well we had Bill Foster, Baker, Morton, J Day a pious old Methodist & myself<sup>18</sup>— We entered every negro kitchen in the place made them put out all their lights & so on — some of the scenes we witnessed were tall & some of the doings were also tall I can't describe them on paper but if we meet again I will spin you a yarn on the subject— With such a crowd though as Bill Foster Baker Morton you may conceive — The Methodist caught hell before the night was up. All the patrol wound up the night by taking off a basket of champagne belonging to somebody or other & getting in a high "state of excitement."

It seems these patrols were an excuse for the young white men to have some rowdy fun. Chrystie described other patrolmen's antics in his letter of February 12, 1989, which was unfortunately partially torn.

Talking of punches puts-me-in-mind . . . grand row the other night in which . . . city was quiet & put all the little niggers to bed & laid their mamas along side of them all, they concluded to adjourn to the Hotel & have an oyster supper. Under the effect of oysters & punch the fun became fast & furious – but they got to opening baskets of champagne the bottles of which they circulated with such rapidity that they finally got to throwing them at each others heads . . . the meeting was broken up in most admired disorder – black [eyes & bloo]dy noses were rife among the genteel part of society.

<sup>17.</sup> City of Apalachicola, Ordinances of Apalachicola, a typewritten copy of the original in the possession of Mrs. Patrick J. Lovett, Birmingham, Alabama. There is also a copy in the Apalachicola Public Library. The original ordinance was passed by the Council on January 29, 1839. Modifications were made in February 1839, and December 1843, and the ordinance was repealed March 8, 1847. A copy of the ordinance was printed in the Apalachicola Gazette, December 21, 1839. See the Watchman of the Gulf, August 12, 1843, for another colorful description of the "city guard" in action.

Jeremiah and Daniel Day and Company are prominent merchants in Apalachicola. Ware, "The Cotton Trade," 147; Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861," 204.

Chrystie's letters provide us valuable insight into Apalachicola business and society, but they are equally revealing for what they do not say. There were a number of things going on around Apalachicola and Florida that were of great interest to most residents which Chrystie did not mention. For example, he made no reference to the 1838 Constitutional Convention that was held just a few miles away in St. Joseph during his first season in Florida or the issue of statehood, which must have been discussed by many of his fellow inhabitants. His only mention of Indians was very brief, and it was one of the reasons for the local patrols. His residence in Apalachicola occurred in the middle of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842), but he does not mention it. While Apalachicola was some distance away from most of the military activity, several "Indian massacres" that took place a few miles up the river were described in local papers during his time in Florida. <sup>19</sup> These omissions are probably further evidence that he considered himself a New Yorker who had the misfortune to have to spend some time in a place where he did not want to be. He could not become very interested in things he intended leaving behind as soon as possible.

The writer has found very little information on John Chrystie's life other than that reflected in his letters. Nothing has been found from before his two seasons in Apalachicola and very little after he returned North. His record disappears for ten years after the last letter from Apalachicola until he is listed as a broker at 60 Wall in an 1850-1851 New York city directory. Presumably he continued as a broker in New York for the next several years. The 1857-1858 directory lists his widow, Frances, at his previous home address. Both his brother, Tom, and his friend, Albert, seem to have moved back to Newburgh around 1840, based on how John's letters are addressed to them.

<sup>19.</sup> See, for example, the *Apalachicola Gazette*, July 24, 1839, for a description of the killing of the Chairs (spelled Chaires elsewhere) family ten miles from Apalachicola and the January 29, 1840, edition descriving the massacre of the Rowlett family, thirty miles from the town. Both attacks were blamed on the Indians.

Charles R. Rode, Rode's New York City Directory, for 1850-1851 (New York, 1851)

<sup>21.</sup> Trow's New York City Directory (New York, 1858). John Chrystie's first listing in New York is in the 1850-1851 Rode's Directory. He continued to be listed in Rode's, and also in Trow's Directories each year until the listing of his widow, Frances, instead. One wonders if this is the same "Cousin Frances Chrystie" to whom he sent plants from Apalachicola.

# CHARLES TOWNSHEND AND PLANS FOR BRITISH EAST FLORIDA

by Donna T. McCaffrey

American Revolution necessarily brings in the career of Charles Townshend.<sup>1</sup> He introduced and guided through Parliament in 1767 the Townshend program of taxation for America. In so doing, Townshend reopened the dispute between the colonies and the mother country that had been moderated in the previous year by the repeal of the Stamp Act. For some years Townshend had been deeply concerned about colonial matters and was regarded as the expert on American affairs.<sup>2</sup> As a member of the Board of Trade, he had studied colonial problems. At the request of the Duke of Newcastle, first lord of the Treasury, he had prepared an evaluation in 1754 of the Halifax Plan of Union for America.<sup>3</sup> Both of his brothers saw military service in North America during the French and Indian War.<sup>4</sup> During the negotiations to end that war, Town-

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Cornelius P. Forster, O. P., The Uncontrolled Chancellor, Charles Townshend and His American Policy (Providence, 1978); Sir Lewis B. Namier and John Brooke, Charles Townshend (New York, 1964).

 <sup>&</sup>quot;No one in England understands America so well as Charles Townshend." Duke of Newcastle to the Marquis of Rockingham, May 6, 1766. Additional Manuscripts (hereafter Add. MSS), 32,975, fol. 89, British Museum; Forster, Uncontrolled Chancellor, 50, 96.

Charles Townshend to Newcastle, September 13, 1754, Add. MSS, 32,736, fols. 500-13.

<sup>4. &</sup>quot;Copies of Papers written by General Wolfe and the Brigadiers before the operations above the town of Quebec in 1759," Townshend MSS, 8/45/2, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (hereafter referred to as WLCL); Charles Townshend to Lady Townshend, October 17, 1759, Townshend MSS, Raynham Hall, England; Forster, Uncontrolled Chancellor, 8; Namier and Brooke, Townshend, 102; Charles Verre Ferrers Townshend, The Military Life of Field Marshall George, First Marquess of Townshend, 1724-1807 (London, 1901), 128; Historical Manuscripts Commission, The Manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend (London, 1887), 308-14.

shend was consulted by the king on the question of compensation for the return of Havana. Lord Bute, first lord of the Treasury, and the king believed that the cession of Florida by Spain would be adequate for the return of Cuba by England. Townshend thought otherwise, and he argued that Florida was not sufficient compensation and that Puerto Rico should be demanded from Spain as part of the peace settlement.<sup>5</sup> Although Townshend expressed negative views about Florida, he did acknowledge that it had potential for development.<sup>6</sup> As a result of the cession of Florida to Great Britain in the treaty of 1763, Townshend became deeply involved in plans for the settlement of this new province.

Plans for the settling of East Florida had some historic precedents to draw upon from earlier British colonization in North America. One example was an experiment to attract more settlers to the colony of Georgia. Clergymen were asked to seek out in their parishes respectable people who combined the moral and physical fitness required for work overseas. Thirty-five men and their families were transported to America without charge, and they were supplied with provisions for three months, along with clothing, arms for defense, and a tract of land

George III to Lord Bute, Early October 1762, in Romney Sedgwick, ed., Letters from George III to Lord Bute, 1756-1766 (London, 1939), 142. There are over 150 pamphlets (1759-1763) dealing with the treaty of peace at the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, RI. See Law- rence C. Wroth, "Source Materials of Florida History in the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University," Florida Historical Quarterly 20 (July 1941), 3-46.

<sup>6.</sup> George III to Bute, November 10, 1762, in Sedgwick, Letters from George III to Lord Bute, 161. "Mr. Townsend was here today he congratulated me but coldly on the Peace; said he heard Florida was given us instead of Porto Rico, that it was an uninhabited country and could not be looked on as any other acquisition but useless territory, then ran out in praises of Porto Rico; I told him it was impossible to please everybody that Florida from its fertility and goodness of climate was capable of the greatest improvements; he said upon this that the people would object and with reaason that this peace does not diminish in the least the power of France in the West Indies, that Porto Rico would have taken away that weighty objection to it.
... He then cut himself most immensely by saying he could make Florida the most advantageous of all our Colonys; his means were the making Pensacola a free port." Namier, Charles Towmshend, 80.

Lawrence H. Gipson, The British Empire Before the American Revolution, revised ed., 15 vols. (New York, 1958-1970), II, 158.

After the transfer of Florida to British control, Townshend paid increasing attention to its development. In writing to his physician friend Dr. Richard Brocklesby in 1763, he inquired, "Do you hear any plans for the cultivation of Florida?" Townshend attended meetings of the East Florida Society of London which met monthly to discuss "prospects for founding estates in America." Between 1764 and 1770, the Privy Council issued Orders in Council affecting 2,856,000 acres of land in East Florida. Townshend was among those who applied for and received from the Privy Council warrants for lands. He acquired 60,000 acres: 20,000 for himself; 20,000 for his brother, Lord George; and 20,000 for his stepson, the Duke of Buccleuch.

A few weeks before his sudden and unexpected death on September 4, 1767, Townshend confirmed his intention to carry out the settlement of his lands. In a letter written from Downing Street to James Grant, governor of East Florida, Townshend noted that "William Stork would now be entrusted with matters in Florida as Thomas Woolridge who had been recommended by Lord Townshend had been indiscreet." In this letter, Townshend assured Grant that he intended to become "a very large and steady adventurer." 12

<sup>8.</sup> Charles Townshend to Dr. Richard Brocklesby, June 12, 1763, Townshend MSS, WLCL; Forster, *Uncontrolled Chancellor*, 85.

George C. Rogers, Jr., "The East Florida Society of London," Florida Historical Quarterly 54 (April 1976), 480.

<sup>10.</sup> Ibid., 479.

 <sup>&</sup>quot;List of Grantees of East Florida, granted by Lord Hillsborough," Townshend MSS, 297/4/4, WLCL; W. L. Grant and James Munroe, eds., Acts of Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, 6 vols. (London, 1908-1912), IV, 813-15, V, 588-93; Charles L. Mowat, East Florida as a British Province (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 59-62.

<sup>12.</sup> Charles Townshend to James Grant, June 25, 1767, Ballindalloch Castle Muniments, Bundle 253. William Stork, a German botanist and a member of the Royal Society, had visited East Florida and published three pamphlets extolling the potential for development in glowing terms. See William Stork, An Account of East Florida, With Remark on its Future Importance to Trade and Commerce (London, 1766). After returning from Florida, he gave a report to the Board of Trade. March 6, 1766, and recommended the settling of Germans and other Protestants there. See George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnutt, eds., The Papers of Henry Laurens, 10 vols. (Columbia, SC, 1968-1988), VI, 73-74. "Thomas Woolridge, a hanger-on of the Earl of Dartmouth, who obtained successively and held concurrently the offices of provost marshall, fort adjutant and barrack master in St. Augustine on the military establishment, and receiver general of quit rents (a pure sinecure), was suspended by Moultrie in July 1772 for leaving the province without obtaining the requisite permission. His friends in Lon-

Until recently it has not been possible to study what plans or options Townshend may have considered for the development of his Florida estates. However, documents in the voluminous Townshend manuscripts collection in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, shed new and significant light upon this subject. There are four separate manuscripts, totaling about thirty-five pages, that discuss plans for the settlement of East Florida. The documents are not in Townshend's handwriting and appear to have been written by four different individuals. They are neither dated nor are they signed.

The first manuscript is entitled "Thoughts concerning Florida." <sup>14</sup> It begins with the observation that Florida "is little known to us; so that it will require some judicious person to explore it, before the government can determine positively, what projects or establishments they will found there, or even what present encouragements are necessary." The person selected to explore the territory was to be preferably a sea officer because "much of the advantage to be derived from this country

don, where he became Mr. Alderman Woolridge, secured his reinstatement, but he never returned to the province though he received his salary as provost marshall up to 1773 (the office being exercised by a deputy) and as receiver general up to the last salary-roll of the province 1784-1785." Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 20.

13. (1) "Thoughts Concerning Florida," Townshend MSS, 8/45/11. (2) "An Estimate of the Expenses of Settling 20,000 acres in East Florida as required by the Grant within the First Three years," Townshend MSS, 8/34/45. (3) "The Planning and Establishment of New Plantations in East Florida," Townshend MSS. 8/34/55. (4) "Estimate of the Expenses of Settling 20,000 Acres of Land in East Florida with Seventy-five Greek Families each Family one with the other to consist of one man, one woman, and two children, also with Twenty Negroes to clear land the first year," Townshend MSS, 297/4/5.

When Townshend died suddenly, his affairs, as well as his papers, were in disarray. His stepson Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, shipped the Townshend papers to his Dalkeith residence about seven miles south of Edinburgh. They were called the Buccleuch Manuscripts. About twenty years ago, the manuscripts were transferred from Dalkeith to the Scottish Record Office. In 1977, they were acquired by the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, to join other valuable Townshend manuscripts, including the letters written by Townshend to Dr. Richard Brocklesby. The collection is referred to as the Townshend Papers. C. R. Fay, Adam Smith and the Scotland of His Day (Cambridge, 1956), 114-17; Lady Greenwich to Lord George Townshend, January 16, July 26, 1768, Townshend MSS, Raynham Hall, England; Lady Mary Coke, The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1889-1896), II, 126, 130.

will depend on an accurate survey of the coast and the currents." One of the "immediate advantages from the cession of Florida" will be the navigation of the "Gulph of Florida" which is "so dangerous by being little known." <sup>15</sup>

The "principal object" was the establishment of a major port within the "Bay" (Gulf of Mexico) to serve for commerce as well as for command. <sup>16</sup> A careful study of the area from Cape Florida to St. Marks, "particularly in the 'Bay of Espirito Sancto' should be undertaken." The base was to be located where it could serve both to check the power of Spain and to facilitate British commerce and navigation.

Only two ports on the west coast of Florida were mentioned by the author of the report- Pensacola and Mobile. The former was capable of admitting ships of a nineteen-foot draught and with the possibility of accommodating even larger vessels. The bar in the harbor was "formed of coral rock which can either be crushed or torn up." When the French arrived in Mobile, the depth at the entrance to the harbor was five fathoms. "However the channel has since been filled up and whether it is capable of being opened is a matter of speculation." The report continued, "As every colony must be connected with Great Britain by ships, and this colony in particular lying at a great distance ... demanding ships of a large construction . . . the particular situation with regard to the dominions of Spain, which requires a naval force as well for offense as defense in case of a war, this will make a judicious choice of the principal establishment of the utmost consequence." 17

The report recommended that every port capable of carrying on the slightest commerce must be settled. The products to be cultivated in those areas would be determined by study and experimentation. After the location of the major base had been determined, then a study was to be made of the sites for "proper posts" within the province. These posts would have a twofold purpose: they would serve as a defense against the Indians and the Spanish, and they would be centers of communication and commerce. In the latter instance, a knowledge of the course and capacity of the rivers was essential. The most likely objects for

<sup>15.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17.</sup> Ibid.

trade and commerce were difficult to predict. However, judging from the past, as well as the climate, it seemed that top masts, tar, hides, deer skins, indigo, cotton, tobacco, dyes, Indian corn for Jamaica, and lumber for the West Indies could be produced. European commodities could result in a flourishing private trade with the Spaniards and "the remitting of Spanish money free from indulto." A profitable trade in fish with Havana was also possible. Spanish fishermen came to Cape Florida where the supply was plentiful, and the catch was cured by common dipping and drying that preserved it for a month before shipping to Cuba. Other potential objects of trade included sugar, wine, oil, and silk, but these would have to wait until the province was settled and the land cleared.

"The great object in every colony is encouraging population," for settlers were the essential element if the colony was to succeed. Several ways were proposed to achieve this end: recruiting foreigners, retaining the present population, civilizing the Indians, and importing slaves. The population increase depended on a "steady executive force in government, a strict administration of justice, a perfect security as to private property, a total indifference as to the religions of particulars, (a public security as to the effects of the dead) . . . , and a well digested distinct code for the legislation of the country." To implement such a program, it was necessary in the beginning to entrust broad discretionary powers to the governor.

Special attention must be paid, according to the report, to the efforts to retain the Spanish population and to cultivate the Indians. It would be extremely shortsighted to permit the present inhabitants to be seduced from their habitations for the want of proper assurances and encouragement. It was estimated that the population of St. Augustine was 1,500 in addition to the garrison. These inhabitants were the key to the important lines of communication with the Spanish empire, as well as with the northern colonies. "The same arguments which are used for retaining the Spaniards are also cogent for civilizing and maintaining a good correspondence with the Indians." If they were properly treated, the Indians would serve as "the greatest security" for preserving the slaves without which it will be impossible "to raise the colony to any eminence."

<sup>18.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid.

A carefully selected candidate was to be appointed governor with necessary discretionary powers. He was to be immediately dispatched to Florida prepared to execute his program as soon as the province was delivered. Presents were to be provided for the governor to enable him to cultivate the Indians and persuade the inhabitants to remain. A twenty-gun ship, a sloop, and the power of hiring smaller vessels were authorized. In addition, the governor was to have under his command two engineers for the shore and two draughtsmen for the sea. Seasoned British troops from Havana were to take possession of Florida. Pending further study, St. Augustine was to remain the capital. It was recommended that 800 men and 500 women be sent in order to launch the new colony when it was received from the Spanish. Experienced overseers could be recruited in Jamaica. "If Captain Johnstone is thought deserving of this appointment [governor], he is confident he could carry 300 worthy men from Britain, and the West Indies, who on the smallest encouragement from Government would follow his fortune." 20

Thus, the evidence indicates that the author wrote these "thoughts" between September 29, 1762, when news of the capture of Havana reached London, and sometime in 1763, before Captain George Johnstone was named governor of West Florida. Apparently he was on friendly terms with both Townshend and Captain Johnstone. Among other items, the author emphasized the importance of both settlers and slaves, if the province was to be successful. There were no religious qualifications imposed on the settlers in this document which made it unique. In the following three plans for recruiting colonists, religious restrictions were imposed.

The second manuscript in the Townshend collection is entitled "An Estimate of the Expenses of Settling 20,000 acres in East Florida as required by the grant within the first three years." It contains a detailed account of the projected expenses

<sup>20.</sup> Ibid. Captain George Johnstone, a naval officer and member of Parliament (1768-1787), was appointed the first governor of West Florida on July 14, 1763. Robin F. A. Fabel, "Governor George Johnstone of British West Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly 54 (April 1976), 497-516; Robin F. A. Fabel, Bombast and Broadsides: The Lives of George Johnstone (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1987), 16-26. See also Gipson, British Empire, IX, 200-04; and Lewis B. Namier and John Brooke, The House of Commons, 3 vols. (New York, 1964), II, 683-85.

<sup>21.</sup> Townshend MSS, 8/34/45, WLCL.

and income for the first five years. The initial outlay of £3,000 in the first year would net a profit of £3,880 at the end of the fifth year. The grantee would also own 233 slaves valued at £20 each for a total value of £4,660. The estimate held out prospects for a very lucrative venture for the settlement of a Florida estate. The following is the projected itemized line account of expenses and profits.

Procuring fifty foreign Protestant indentured servants
and conveying them to the place of embarkation at £3
per head
Freight and support of fifty persons from Holland to
St. Augustine at £5 per head
Expense of salt provisions (and so on) for the white
inhabitants before they can be supplied from the
plantation
Purchase of fifty Negroes at £30 per head 1,500
Clothing and maintenance of the Negroes the first year
Cows, calves, and oxen- in all fifty in number- taken
together at £2 a head
Ten horses at £5 a head 50
Hogs, sheep, and poultry 50
Farming tools
A stout boat and four canoes 50
A dwelling for the overseer and storehouses 150
Houses for the white servants and Negroes 150
The overseer
The colony survey and the contingent expenses 100
Agent for the first year
£3,000
Expenses of the plantation for the second year
Overseer 50
Renewal of utensils and contingent expenses 100
Total £150

# Profits of the plantation the second year

Suppose one-half of the servants and Negroes employed in clearing and the other half in raising common produce such as rice, indigo or hemp, each servant's work taken at £20
Subtract the expense of the second year 150
Agent's superintendency at 5 percent upon the produce
N.B. In this Estimate each man's labour is rated at £20 only, though as appears by the particular calculation at the end it might be rated at £30. As there is no allowance stated for death, sickness or other accidents I make a gross allowance for them by estimating the profit of each man's labour at £20 instead of £30.
Expenses of the plantation the third year
Overseer50Contingent expenses $\frac{100}{£150}$
Profits of the plantation the third year
The sum of £800 the second year's profit being laid out in the purchase of twenty-five Negroes; if twenty-five persons are employed in clearing, there will be 100 employed in raising produce.
Their labour at £20 a head
Deduct for expenses
For agency at 5 percent
Deducted from total profit Remains £1,750

Expenses of the plantation the fourth year

British East Florida Overseer	$   \begin{array}{r}     333 \\     50 \\     \hline     100 \\     \hline     £150   \end{array} $		
Profits of the plantation the fourth year			
The sum of £1,750 having been laid out in the puchases of fifty-five Negroes. Twenty-five servants and Negroes being still employed in clearing, there will 155 hands employed in raising produce.	nd		
At £20 ahead	3,100		
Expense	150		
Agency Total Expenses	$\frac{155}{£305}$		
Deducted from total profit			
Remains	£2,795		
Expenses of the plantation the fifth year			
Overseer	50		
Contingent expense	100		
The time of the service of the foreign indentured servants being expired the renewal of fifty at £8 a head			
	400		
Total	£550		
Profits of the plantation the fifth year			
The sum of £2,795 being laid out in the purchase seventy-eight Negroes, suppose twenty-five still be en ployed in clearing, and there will be 233 persons en ployed on produce at £20 a head.  Amounts to	m- m-		
Expenses	550		
Agency at 5 percent	230		
Deducted from total profit			
-	£3,880		

The income from the work of each slave or indentured servant was based upon "repeated observation" conducted in Carolina and Virginia. In the cultivation of indigo in Carolina, one man planted two acres that yielded 160 pounds and sold for 3 shillings 6 pence per pound for an income of £28. A single worker could plant six acres of Indian corn with a yield of fifty bushels each. Three hundred bushels at a market value of 1 shilling 10 pence each would net £27, 10 shillings. A single slave was expected to take care of four acres of rice with a medium yield of sixty bushels each for a sale value of £28. In Virginia, one slave attended 6,000 plants of tobacco with a yield of one-half pound per plant. At 2 pence a pound, the 3,000 pounds would provide an income of £25.

The third manuscript, a fifteen-page document with no title, also deals with the planning and establishment of new plantations in East Florida.<sup>22</sup> It begins with a reference to a published account about East Florida and supports its conclusion that considerable advantage may be expected from plantations in that province by reason of the soil, the climate, and the proximity to Spanish settlements.

In submitting a petition to the king in Council for a grant of land not to exceed 20,000 acres, the grantee was directed to disclose his financial resources and his intention to comply with the provisions of the grant.

The planning required for a settlement in East Florida was so complex that the author divided his subject into several headings.<sup>23</sup>

- A. Prior to his application, the prospective grantee was urged to decide on the sum of money to be allocated so that, the number of acres requested would correspond to the funds earmarked for development.
- B. The owner had to decide whether he would employ an agent or personally manage the plantation.
- C. After deciding the principal crop to be cultivated, the location of the settlement could then be selected. This, according to the author of the report, "involves many considerations that I will not attempt to reduce them to writing nor is it possible to decide peremptorily in England upon this part of the business."

<sup>22.</sup> Ibid., 8/34/55, WLCL.

<sup>23.</sup> Ibid.

He then proceeded to make a few appropriate suggestions.

- 1. The cultivation of sugar, coffee, pimiento, and West Indian produce should be planned for the area south of St. Augustine.
- 2. A navigable river must be the seat of the plantation.
- 3. The cultivation of vines, olives, rice, cotton, or indigo is suited to any part of Florida because the soil and climate are ideal.
- 4. A European outlet should be selected.

The author of the manuscript stressed the importance of the agent and the overseer who must be competent and honest. The agent had to visit the plantation frequently "to direct the method of proceeding there and to take all such measures as may be found conducive to the good of the plantation." He was responsible for providing all supplies and necessities. In addition, he was required to examine the accounts of the overseer and direct the shipping of the produce. Both the agent and the overseer would monitor the compliance of the plantation with the conditions of the grant and with respect to servants and slaves.

The royal grant imposed certain conditions with respect to the workers on the plantation. It required one white Protestant person for every 100 acres, and the whole estate had to be settled in this proportion within a period of ten years. One-third of the land was to be settled within three years. According to the report, a source of potential workers was Germany. "The disposition of the Germans to transport themselves to America has been of great service to that country. It is at all times practicable to induce the poorest of the Germans upon reasonable terms to go thither." <sup>25</sup>

The manuscript proposed a plan for recruiting indentured servants. The master of the plantation would have to transport the "emigrants" to Florida at his sole expense and fund them with all the necessities. In return, the "emigrants" would be indentured for four years to reimburse the owner for his investment. After four years, every male servant over twenty-one years of age would receive fifty acres, and every female servant was to be given twenty-five acres. In addition to the land, the worker would receive a house, a cow, and a calf. If the laborer accepted the offer, he must commit himself to work the land for an additional six years. If an individual decided to leave before

<sup>24.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25.</sup> Ibid.

the expiration of six years, he must supply a substitute to replace him. All children who were transported from Europe were bound to the master until they reached twenty-one years of age.

The manuscript envisioned a large slave population on the plantation. Since rice and cotton were commonly cultivated by Negroes, it was anticipated that at least as many black slaves would be used on the plantation as white servants. "Much depends upon skill in the buying of negroes." The slaves and the servants were to be furnished with "salt provisions" until fresh provisions became available from the plantation. As soon as the servants and slaves arrived, a proper piece of ground was to be fenced in for a large kitchen garden, cleared of trees, and sown with the proper seeds.

The settling of a plantation or a new town, according to the author of the plan, involved a "multiplicity of circumstances" that "I cannot reduce to writing." A number of those circumstances were mentioned: form of the town; plan of the houses and outhouses; manner of building them; "healthiness" and beauty of the situation; supply of good, fresh water; fertility of the lands immediately adjoining the town, both for garden produce and pasturage; and the convenience of importing and exporting produce.

As in England, the chief skill of a farmer consisted in putting the different parts of the farm to its proper use, and so in East Florida it was necessary to distinguish the proper cultivation of the various parts of the estates. Whatever culture the planter decided to adopt, whether it be sugar, cotton, rice, indigo, vines, etc., he must have at least one person who was the "entire master of whole of that culture." Such a person would know how to act in every contingency or accident to which the culture was susceptible.

The fourth manuscript in the Townshend collection is entitled "Estimate of the Expenses of Settling 20,000 acres of Land in East Florida with Seventy-five Greek Families each Family one with the other to consist of one man, one woman, and two children, also with twenty Negroes to clear land the first years." <sup>28</sup>

<sup>26.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28.</sup> Ibid., 297/4/5, WLCL. The line item for "expenses" from the second through the seventh years covers the cost of the overseers' salaries, agents'

The plan detailed a year-by-year account of expenses and profits that would offer attractive financial reward after seven years of hard work by the indentured families and slaves.

#### First Year

To procuring, maintaining, and carrying seventy-fiv	/e
families till their arrival in East Florida and maintain	n-
ing them for six months	1,700
To purchase twenty Negroes at £30 each	600
To maintaining and clothing them for the first year	60
To black cattle, <sup>29</sup> hogs, sheep, and poultry with farm	1-
ing tools	300
To a stout boat and some canoes	30
To the overseer's wages and maintenance $\ldots\ldots$	50
To a house for the overseer and warehouse $\ldots\ldots$	100
To houses for whites and Negroes	100
To the expense of the Grant Survey, etc	100
$\mathbf{f}$	3,040

Estimates of the profits arising from the plantation supposing that the proprietor employs those profits for the first seven years on the plantation.

#### Second Year

Expenses*	200
Profits	
Labor of twenty Negroes at £12 each	240

fees, contingency fund, and more housing when needed for new Greek families and additional Negro slaves.

The introduction of Greeks into Florida was recommended enthusiastically in a document written by Archibald Menzies, entitled "Proposal for Peopling his Majesty's Southern Colonies on the Continent of America," Megerny Castle, Perthshire, October 23, 1763. A copy is at the John Carter Brown Library.

29. Black cattle is a term used to refer to cattle, regardless of color, raised for slaughter rather than for dairy products.

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1/2 of la	bor of seventy-	five families at £5 each the	e
first year	•		$\begin{array}{c} 375 \\ \hline £615 \end{array}$
		Expenses	<u>- £200</u>
		Remains	£415
	Third Year		
Expenses Profits	*		. 190
		ear being paid out to the lkes thirty in all at £12 eac	
From lab	or of seventy-fi	ve families	<u>750</u> £1,110
		Expenses	<u>- £190</u>
		Remains	£920
	Fourth Year		
Expenses Profits	*		. 263
The gain		£920) used to buy thirty their labor at £12 each	
	· ·	seventy-five families	
		Expenses	- £263
		Remains	£1,207
	Fifth Year		
Expenses	»		. 470
Profits			
forty-thre	ee families, ma	07) being paid out in brir kes one hundred eighted	en at
	•	roes	
rioiii iab	or or sixty megi	1065	$£\frac{720}{1,900}$

British East	FLORIDA	339		
	Expenses	- £470		
	Remains	£1,430		
Sixth Year				
Expenses*		. 512		
Profits				
Gains of last year (£1,430) paid out in bringing into the plantation seventy-two families more— will make one hundred ninety in all, their labor at £10 is 1,900				
Labor of sixty Negroes		$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \cdot \cdot \frac{720}{£2,620} \end{array}$		
	Expenses	- £512		
	Remains	£2,108		
Seventh Year				
Expenses*		585		
Profits				
Gains of last year (£2,108) being paid out in one hundred families will make three hundred in all— the gains from their labor at £10 each 3,000				
From Negroes		$ \begin{array}{c} 720\\ £3,720 \end{array} $		
	Expenses	- £585		
	Remains	£3,135		
To quit rent to the crown the sixth year for one hundred thousand acres at $1/2$ penny an acre = £21				
	Remains	$\frac{-£21}{£3,114}$		

The author of the report on settling Greek families and black slaves in Florida added a note of caution concerning the financial gains. 30 Although the estimates of the profits on the labor of whites and blacks were fixed very low, he admitted the possibility of one-third less profit. This could be caused by accidents

<sup>30.</sup> Townshend, MSS, 297/4/5, WLCL.

to which a new colony might be prone. The £12 a year for the labor of the blacks and the £10 for the white family were conservative figures. The Greek family estimate of £10 for their labor would be one-half of their income, according to an agreement with the proprietor who would thereby be reimbursed for the cost of their transportation and their initial basic needs of food and shelter. With respect to the slaves, they "are property and consequently all . . . of their labor goes to the proprietor." As the blacks would be "employed the first year in clearing land for the Greeks, consequently the plantation renders nothing to the proprietor till the end of the second year."  $^{31}$ 

In the last year of his life, Townshend was concerned not only about American affairs but also about his financial situation. In August 1766, he was pressured by Lord Chatham to exchange his lucrative position at the Pay Office for the chancellorship of the Exchequer. This entailed a considerable sacrifice of income— about £4,500 a year. As a result, Townshend became more intent on pursuing financially rewarding ventures. When illness removed Chatham in December 1766 from the leadership of the government, Townshend assumed control of the cabinet and became in effect the "uncontrolled chancellor." He was, therefore, in 1767 the highest ranking government official actively engaged in settling estates in East Florida.

The four manuscripts in the Townshend collection contain valuable information concerning eighteenth-century British colonial development in general and Florida settlements in particular. The manuscripts outline plans for obtaining estates and also for developing them by recruiting settlers. All possible needs were listed and the expenses minutely itemized year by year. Based on the income from the cultivation of the plantation, profits were estimated after a five- to seven-year period. The projections were positive and quite optimistic, despite an occasional admonition concerning unforeseen reverses or accidents.

There is no record concerning which of the four manuscripts Townshend adopted. Since Dr. William Stork advocated the recruiting of German settlers for Florida, it is logical to conclude that Townshend opted for manuscript number three which recommended such a program. Two months after his pledge to settle the Florida estates, however, Townshend died, and his plans were never carried out.

<sup>31.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32.</sup> Forster, Uncontrolled Chancellor, 99-142.

#### FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list shows the amount and variety of Florida history research and writing currently underway, as reported to the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Doctoral dissertations and master's theses completed in 1988 are included. Research in Florida history, sociology, anthropology, political science, archaeology, geography, and urban studies is listed.

#### Auburn University

- Kathryn H. Braund— "Biography of David Taitt"; "The Origin and Course of the Creek-Choctaw War, 1763-1776" (continuing studies).
- Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)— "Loyalist West Florida: An Anomalous Community" (publication forthcoming).
- Ethan A. Grant— "Jersey Settlers in the Natchez District of British West Florida" (publication forthcoming).
- Robert R. Rea (faculty)— "Major Robert Farmar of Mobile" (publication forthcoming).

# Flagler College

Thomas Graham (faculty) – "Bryan's Brains, Pulitzer's Headache: C. H. Jones, A Political Journalist (publication fortcoming).

# Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

- Charles R. Ewen— "Report on the Excavations at the Tallahassee De Soto Site" (translations by John H. Hann) (publication forthcoming).
- John H. Hann— "Summary Guide to the Missions and Visitas with Churches of Spanish Florida in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"; "De Soto, Dobyns, and Demography"; "Mission to the Calusa, 1697," with introduction by William R. Marquardt (publications forthcoming); "Joachin de Florencia's Visitations of Apalachee and Timucua, 1694-1695"; "Juan de Pueyo's Visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1695"; "Diego de Jaen's Response to

- the Charges Made Against him in the Pueyo Visitation"; "Inquiry into the Santiago Murder Case, Potohiriba, 1695"; "Domingo de Leturiondo's Visitation of Apalachee and Timucua, 1677-1678"; Antonio de Arguelles' Visitation of Guale and Mocama, 1677-1678"; "Inquiry into the Tumult of the Chacatos, 1675"; "The Friars' Response to the Rebolledo Visitation" (all are being translated); "The Indians of Spanish Florida in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (continuing study).
- B. Calvin Jones— "Technical Report on the Excavations at the Tallahassee de Soto Site" (continuing study); "San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale, a Seventeenth-Century Apalachee Mission" (publication forthcoming).
- B. Calvin Jones and Gary Shapire— "Nine Mission Sites in Apalachee" (publication forthcoming).
- Gary Shapiro and John H. Hann— "Documentary Image of the Council Houses of Spanish Florida Tested by Excavations at the Mission of San Luis de Talimali" (publication forthcoming).
- Gary Shapiro and Bonnie MacEwan— "Report on the Excavations at the San Luis de Talimali Council House" (publication forthcoming).
- Richard Vernon— "Report on the Excavations at the San Luis de Talimali Church and Cemetery" (publication forthcoming).

# Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)— "Archaeology of the Hernando de Soto Expedition in Florida and its Impact on Native Peoples"; "Spanish Missions of Florida-Santa Fe, Santa Catalina de Guale: Amelia Island, Santa Maria" (continuing studies); "The European Entrada into La Florida: An Overview" (publication forthcoming).

Kathleen Deagan (faculty)— "Fort Mose Project" (continuing study).

### Florida Southern College

Larry J. Durrence (faculty)— "Work of the Florida Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, 1931-1940" (continuing study).

### Florida State University

- Frank W. Alduino— "The 'Noble Experiment' in Tampa: A Study of Prohibiton in Urban America" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Neil B. Betten and Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)— "Homicide and Capital Punishment: Jacksonville, 1880-1920" (continuing study).
- James B. Denham— "'A Rogue's Paradise': Violent Crime in Antebellum Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Philip Gelb- "Maya Music and Ritual in Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Susan Hamburger— "The Development of the Horse Racing Industry in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Annie B. Henry— "Philanthropic Foundations and Their Impact on Public Education for Blacks in Florida, 1920-1947" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- William Hickey— "The Key West Wreck and Salvage Business in Territorial Florida, 1822-1847" (master's thesis completed).
- Edward F. Keuchel (faculty)— "Sunshine Enterprise: A History of Florida Business and Industry" (continuing study).
- George Klos- "Black Seminoles" (master's thesis completed).
- Melanie J. Simmons— "Maya Indians in South Florida" (honor's thesis in progress).
- Raymond B. Vickers— "Prelude to Panic: The Florida Banking Crisis in 1926" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Lynn Ware— "Cotton Economy of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River Valley, 1840-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

# Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

- Valerie J. Bell, Stanley C. Bond, Jr., and Susan N. Smith— "Puente Site Archaeological Excavation" (continuing study).
- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., and Valerie J. Bell– "Archaeological Excavations on Marine and Cadiz Streets, St. Augustine, Florida" (completed project).

- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., Susan R. Parker, and Susan N. Smith— "Archaeological Investigatons of the Sabate Plantation" (continuing study).
- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., and Christine Newman— "Archaeological Investigations of Utility Excavations at the Castillo de San Marcos" (completed study).
- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., and Susan Smith— "St. Augustine Airport Runway Survey" (continuing study).
- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., and Julie Wizorek— "Archaeological Investigation of a Colonial Structure on Block 2, Lot 2, St. Augustine, Florida" (continuing study).
- Stanley C. Bond, Jr., Julie Wizorek, and Susan R. Parker— "Archaeological Excavation of the Ribera Gardens Site" (continuing study).
- Christine Newman and Mary K. Herron— "City of St. Augustine Archaeological Preservation Ordinance"; "Archaeological Investigations at the Sisters of St. Joseph Convent Site in St. Augustine, Florida" (continuing studies).
- Christine Newman, Bruce Piatek, and Mary K. Herron in collaboration with the Florida National Guard— "Archaeological Investigations at the State Headquarters of the Florida National Guard in St. Augustine, Florida" (continuing study).
- Susan R. Parker— "Property Ownership in Spanish St. Augustine"; "Returning Floridano Families in the Second Spanish Period" (continuing studies).
- Bruce J. Piatek— "Design and Implementation of a Computer Data Base Management System for Artifact Analysis and Collections Management at the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board" (continuing study).
- Bruce J. Piatek, Christine Newman, and Stanley C. Bond, Jr.— "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of the Rosario Redoubt and Ribera Gardens Sites" (continuing study).

#### Historical Association of Southern Florida

David Blackard, Patsy West, Daniel O. Markus, Rebecca A. Smith, Tina Bucuvalas, J. Andrew Brian—"Indians of Florida" (continuing study for exhibition).

- Tina Bucuvalas, Brent Cantrell— "South Florida Folklife"; "Arts of the African Diaspora"; "Sign Art in Miami's Little Haiti"; "Folk Arts of the Florida Keys" (continuing studies).
- Tina Bucuvalas, J. Andrew Brian— "Tropical Traditions: Folklife in South Florida" (exhibition forthcoming).
- Brent Cantrell- "Haitian Carnival" (continuing study).
- Robert S. Carr, W. S. Steele, Amy Felmley, J. Andrew Brian– "The Cutler Site: Archaeology in South Florida" (continuin study).
- Dorothy Fields— "Black Archives: History and Research Foundation in South Florida" (continuing study).
- Joseph H. Fitzgerald, Rebecca A. Smith, J. Andrew Brian— "Quest for the Indies: Maps of Discovery" (exhibition forthcoming).
- Paul S. George, Tina Bucuvalas, Rebecca A. Smith, DanielO. Markus, J. Andrew Brian

  "South Florida Tourism" (exhibition forthcoming).
- Paul S. George, Joseph H. Fitzgerald, Rebecca A. Smith, J. Andrew Brian— "Christopher Columbus" (exhibition forthcoming).
- Paul S. George- "Port of Miami" (continuing study).
- Arva Moore Parks— "Dade County"; "Harry S. Truman in Key West" (continuing studies).
- Thelma Peters— "Buena Vista" (continuing study); "Personal Travels in the West Indies" (publication forthcoming).
- W. S. Steele— "Seminole Wars in South Florida"; "Submerged Cultural Resources of the Dry Tortugas" (continuing studies); "Military History of the Joe Robbie Dolphin Stadium Site"; "Major General Thomas S. Jesup's South Florida Campaign" (publications forthcoming).
- Patsy West— "Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees"; "Seminoles in Tourist Attractions" (continuing studies); "The Historic Snake Creek Seminole Settlements: Dade County, Florida, ca. 1819-1900"; "The Settlement of the Everglades ca. 1819 and Its Impact on Seminole Culture History: An Analysis of the Everglades Dwelling Seminoles up to 1900" (publications forthcoming).

### Hong Kong Baptist College

J. Barton Starr (faculty)— "The Loyalists of British East Florida, 1763-1783" (continuing study).

### Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)— "The Narváez Expedition in Florida, 1528" (publication forthcoming); "Introduction to the Two-Volume Edition of Chronicles and Other Documents Relating to the de Soto Expedition" (continuing study).

#### National Park Service

Michael G. Schene— "Sugarcane Cultivation in Antebellum Florida"; "Live Oak Work and Government Regulation"; "Key West Prize Court" (continuing studies).

### Rollins College

Jack C. Lane and Maurice O'Sullivan— "A Florida Reader"; "Zora Neale Hurston at Rollins College" (publications forthcoming).

# University of Central Florida

- Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)— "History of Brevard County" (continuing study).
- Paul W. Wehr (faculty)— "History of Education in Seminole County" (continuing study).

# University of Florida

- Richard R. Alexander— "'The Streets Belong to the People!': The Student Movement on the University of Florida Campus, 1965-1972" (master's thesis in progress).
- Arch Frederic Blakey (faculty) "Confederate Warden: Brigader General John Henry Winder, C.S.A. (publication forthcoming).
- Canter Brown, Jr.— "The River of Peace: The Nineteenth Century" (publication forthcoming); "Fort Meade: On the South Florida Frontier in the Nineteenth Century"

- (study completed); "Biography of Ossian B. Hart" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Ligia María Castillo-Bermúdez— "A Study in the Dynamics of St. Augustine's Economy, 1784-1821" (master's thesis complete).
- Everett W. Caudle— "The Social Role of Militia and Volunteer Companies in the Antebellum South" (master's thesis in progress).
- Jeffrey Charbonnet— "Reform Politics in Alachua County, Florida, 1927-1973" (master's thesis in progress).
- James C. Clark— "The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary Between Claude Pepper and George Smathers" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- David R. Colburn (faculty)— "Florida Boom and Bust, 1910-1932" (continuing study).
- David Dodrill— "The Gulf American Land Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral, Florida, 1957-1969" (master's thesis in progress).
- Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (faculty)— "History of the Florida Historical Society"; "Biography of David Levy Yulee"; "Railroads of North Central Florida" (continuing studies).
- Michael V. Gannon (faculty)— "A History of Florida" (continuing study).
- Patricia S. Garretson— "Culture and Community in Late Antebellum Alachua County, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Kermit L. Hall (faculty)— "History of the Federal Courts of Florida" (continuing study).
- E. Ashby Hammond (faculty emeritus)— "Florida Physicians of the Nineteenth Century" (continuing study).
- Yael Herbsman (librarian)— "Jewish Life in Florida, 1854-1900" (continuing study).
- Kate Hoffman— "Analysis of the Excavations of the National Guard Headquarters, St. Augustine" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Kenneth W. Johnson— "Potano and Utina Site Sizes, Community Systems during the Contact and Mission Periods in North Central and North Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

- Sherry Johnson— "Women in St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period" (master's thesis completed).
- William Johnson— "Chronology, Subsistence, and Settlement Patterns of the Belle Glade Culture: New Perspective on the Prehistory of the Lake Okeechobee Basin" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- John Paul Jones (faculty)— "History of the Florida Press Association, 1879-1968" (continuing study).
- Patricia Kenney- "LaVilla, Florida, 1865-1910: A Community in Transition" (master's thesis in progress).
- Jane Landers— "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: Free Black Town in First Period Spanish Florida" (continuing study).
- Eugene Lyon (faculty)— "Pedro Menendez de Aviles"; "Pedro Menendez de Aviles and the Conquest of Florida: 1568-1577" (continuing studies).
- William E. McGoun— "Prehistoric Peoples of South Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Jeffrey M. Mitchem— "Redefining Safety Harbor: Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric Archaeology in West Peninsular Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Susan R. Parker— "Settlers of Spanish East Florida's Northern Rivers, 1784-1790" (continuing study).
- Samuel Proctor (faculty)— "Essays in Southern Jewish History" (continuing study).
- Fred C. Reynolds— "Albert J. Russell: His Life and Contributions to Florida Education" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).
- Donna L. Ruhl— "They Could not Live on Bread Alone: A Paleoethnobotanical Analysis of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Coastal Spanish Mission Sites in La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Joe H. Rose "*Epperson* v. *Arkansas*: Antievolution Laws Come to an End" (master's thesis in progress).
- Michael A. Russo— "Modeling Archaic Adaptaion in Peninsular Florida" (Ph.D. dissertaion in progress).
- Rebecca A. Saunders— "Archaeology of Santa Catalina and Santa Maria Spanish Missions, Amelia Island" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).
- Michael R. Scanlon— "The At-Large Election in Florida: 1910-1980" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

- Richard K. Scher (faculty)— "Towards the New South" (continuing study).
- Susan Sowell– "History of Archer, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).
- Arthur O. White (faculty)— "William N. Sheats: A Biography, 1851-1922" (continuing study).
- John E. Worth— "The Impact of European Contact on the Native Peoples of North Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

### University of Georgia

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

### University of Miami

- Greg Bush (faculty)— "Playgrounds of the USA: The Promotion of Leisure in Miami, 1896-1930" (continuing study).
- Paul S. George (faculty)— "Surging in New Directions: Fort Lauderdale, 1911-1945"; "A Guide to the History of Florida" (publications forthcoming); "History of Fort Lauderdale, 1945-present: Volume Three"; "Port of Miami and Cubans in Early Florida"; "Settlers in Dade County under the Terms of the Armed Occupation Act" (continuing studies); "History of Tourism in South Florida" (exhibition forthcoming); "Little Havana"; "Early Fort Lauderdale" (films in progress).
- Patricia R. Wickman— "Florida as Latin America: Contact and Early Settlement" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

# University of North Florida

- George E. Buker (faculty emeritus)— "Spanish-American War Fortifications, St. Johns Bluff, Florida" (completed study); "Jacksonville: The Janus Port, A Maritime History, 1562-1989" (publication forthcoming).
- George E. Buker and David Coles— "Union Blockcade of Florida, 1861-1865" (continuing study).
- James Crooks (faculty)— "After the Fire: Jacksonville Becomes a New South City" (publication forthcoming).

Philip Miller— "Greater Jacksonville's Response to the Florida Land Boom of the 1920s" (master's thesis in progress).

Daniel L. Schafer (faculty)— "A West Point Graduate in the Second Seminole War: William Warren Chapman and the View from Fort Foster"; "'A Class of People Neither Freeman nor Slaves': From Spanish to American Race Relations in Florida, 1821-1861" (publications forthcoming); "Slavery in Northeast Florida"; "A History of British East Florida" (continuing studies).

### University of South Alabama

Amy Turner Bushnell (faculty)— "The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: Supporting and Supplying the Seventeenth-Century Doctrina"; "A Guide to the History of Florida"; "Archaeology and History of the Spanish Borderlands East" (publications forthcoming); "A Land Reknowned for War: The Indian Provinces of the Captaincy General of Florida" (continuing study).

## University of South Florida

Mary Claire Crake— "Women's Clubs in Tampa, 1900-1930" (master's thesis completed).

Jack E. Davis— "Shades of Justice: The Lynching of Jesse James Payne and its Aftermath" (master's thesis completed).

Nancy A. Hewitt (faculty)— "Working Women in Tampa, 1885-1945" (continuing study).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)— "A Social History of Florida, 1492-1992" (continuing study).

## University of West Florida

Mary Dawkins— "Roman Catholic Church in Pensacola, 1820-1910" (continuing study).

Jane Dysart (faculty)— "Creek Mixed Bloods"; "Antebellum Pensacola" (continuing studies).

# Valdosta State College

Fred Lamar Pearson (faculty)- "Spanish-Indian Relations

in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Florida"; "The Guale Rebellion" (continuing studies).

### Consulting and/or Research Historians

- Anthony Q. Devereux— "Juan Ponce de Léon, the Discoverer of Florida" (continuing study).
- John W. Griffin- "The History of Florida Archaeology" (continuing study).
- Patricia C. Griffin— "An African Slave in St. Augustine" (continuing study).
- Patricia R. Wickman— "Osceola's Legacy" (publication forth-coming); "Mosaic: The Jewish Experience in Florida" (exhibit forthcoming); "Stephen C. O'Connell Biographical Report" (continuing study).
- Patricia R. Wickman, Miguel Bretos, and Fernando Garcia-Chacon, eds.— "Florida and the Gulf Territories in the Age of Charles III" (publication forthcoming).

### University Presses of Florida, Forthcoming Publications

- Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley *The Life and Travels of John Bartram* (reprint).
- Arch Frederic Blakey Confederate Warden: Brigadier General John Henry Winder, C.S.A.
- Arthur S. Evans and David Lee Pearl City Remembers: A Florida Black Community in the 1930s and 1940s.
- Robin F. A. Fabel Shipwreck and Adventures of M. Pierre Viaud.
- Thomas Graham Bryan's Brains, Pulitzer's Headache: C. H. Jones, A Political Journalist.
- J. Arthur Heise, Hugh Gladwin, and Douglas McLaughen– 1989 F I U Florida Poll.
- Larry K. Jackson Citrus Growing in Florida.
- Stetson Kennedy *The Klan Unmasked; Jim Crow Guide: The Way It Was* (reprint).
- Alton C. Morris Folksongs of Florida (reprint).
- Kevin McCarthy Nine Florida Stories by Marjory Stoneman Douglas; Florida Lighthouses.
- R. L. Myers and J. J. Ewel Ecosystems of Florida.
- David Scheinbaum Miami Beach.

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

*Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936.* By Robert P. Ingalls. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988. xx, 286 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, maps, photographs, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

In the 1930s, Tampa had a reputation as a tough city. The American Civil Liberties Union even included it on a list of nine centers of repression. That was not surprising in view of several recent lynchings that had acquired national notoriety. After police had cleared Robert Johnson, a black man, on the charge of having assaulted a white woman in 1934, vigilantes shot and killed him. The following year, vigilantes beat Joseph Shoemaker, a white man, so brutally that subsequently he died.

The lynchings of Johnson and Shoemaker were part of a vigilante tradition that had started in the middle of the nineteenth century when Tampa was a frontier outpost. Long after it had joined the ranks of the New South's rapidly growing cities, the tradition persisted. Tampa's vigilantism had the support of the leading business and professional men who viewed it as a legitimate means to uphold law and order and to promote the community's best interest. Until the 1930s, they rarely tried to hide their identities. Because Joseph B. Wall openly participated in a lynching in 1882, for example, a northern-born federal judge barred him from practicing before his court in the southern district of Florida. But that did not damage Wall's standing in the community, for he later won a seat in the state senate and became the first president of the Florida Bar Association.

Class, more than race, prompted most of Tampa's collective violence. Only three of the nine men lynched there between the 1880s and 1930s were black, each of whom the vigilantes suspected of having made improper advances toward white women. The remaining six victims were whites who had actively worked to promote the interest of cigar workers or who had supported the Socialist or Communist parties. Beginning in the

1880s, Tampa became a major center for hand-rolled Havana cigars. Over the next half century, labor disputes frequently pitted Spanish and Cuban factory owners against cigar workers, many of whom had immigrated to the United States from Cuba and Sicily. Tampa's native-white, southern elite consistently sided with the owners. When owners threatened to move to other cities rather than contend with a strike, the Tampa Board of Trade would organize a vigilance committee. If attempts to arbitrate the strike failed, as they usually did, vigilantes attacked people whom they identified as labor leaders. Not until the Johnson and Shoemaker murders in the 1930s generated a great deal of unfavorable national publicity did the elite decide that violence could discourage outside capitalists from investing in Tampa. By that time, the city's economy had become more diversified, and hand-rolled cigars no longer played a major role.

Robert P. Ingalls had done an excellent job of reconstructing the story of Tampa's vigilante history. In his impressive research for this study, he made use of newspapers, a wide assortment of manuscript collections, court records, and government documents. While always keeping the focus on collective violence, he incorporated into his study important aspects of Tampa's political and labor history. He is probably correct in believing that Tampa has the most sustained vigilante record of any American community.

The main problem derives from the author's interpretation. He argues that "Tampa's vigilante tradition was a product of southern culture and politics which restricted formal law and defined community justice to include lynch law" (p. 206). In developing that interpretation, he traces the origins of Tampa's violence to a southern sense of honor that prevailed in the antebellum era and to a southern view of republicanism that gave people the right to make and unmake laws in their communities. But Tampa's violent past does not seem to manifest distinct southern traits. There is little evidenced that either honor or republicanism prompted the lynchings that occurred between 1882 and 1935. At that time, when lynching became the South's most distinct form of violence, the overwhelming majority of victims in the region consisted of blacks who were killed in sparsely settled areas. But Tampa's vigilantes operated in an urban setting and attacked mostly white men whom they suspected of promoting organized labor. Thus, it seems that Tampa's history had more in common with western states like Colorado and Idaho where vigilantes attacked labor activists. If Tampa manifested regional characteristics, the author might have demonstrated that by actually comparing it with a western community and pointing out specifically how southern vigilantism differed from its western counterpart. In short, Ingalls has not offered an interpretation that effectively places Tampa's history in a broader regional framework.

This criticism should not obscure Ingalls's impressive contribution. He wrote a valuable study that will prove useful to students of Florida history, as well as to those who study collective violence in American history.

University of Georgia

WILLIAM F. HOLMES

The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal, 1933-1942. By Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University Press, 1989. xv, 214 pp. Map, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.00.)

Harry A. Kersey, a professor of history at Florida Atlantic University, has written an important book that describes the impact of New Deal Indian policies on the Florida Seminoles. Topics discussed by Kersey include the disintegration of the Seminole hunting and trapping economy, conditions at Indian tourist camps, efforts to acquire state and federal land for reservations, and the activities of agent James L. Glenn. The author also evaluates the New Deal relief, recovery, and educational programs for the Florida Seminoles, the cattle tick controversy on the Big Cypress Reservation, and Commissioner John Collier's special interest in this small group of approximately 600 people.

Kersey argues convincingly that New Deal reform had mixed results for the Florida Seminoles. The CCC Indian Division, for example, provided the Seminoles with a welcome source of cash income, made improvements on their land, and led to the formation of a cattle herd on the Brighton Reservation. Unfortunately, the CCC-ID did not effectively prepare the Seminoles to participate successfully in an expanding off-reservation market economy.

More serious problems occurred in the area of education. The government provided only limited educational programs on the Dania, Brighton, and Big Cypress Reservations because of the Seminole indifference to attending school. Commissioner Collier was evasive about improving this situation because he wanted to preserve for posterity traditional Seminole culture. Kersey also indicates that the Indian Bureau's progressive education curriculum failed to live up to its promise of Indian control over the content and method of instruction.

Because the Florida Seminole did not have a unified tribal organization, they showed very little enthusiasm for the Indian Reorganization Act. The Seminoles approved of this legislation by a vote of twenty-one to zero, but they did not bother to draft a constitution or charter of incorporation. Kersey notes, however, that the Seminoles in the 1950s organized under IRA to stop Congress from terminating its federal guardianship responsibility.

The author provides a thoughtful analysis of the long-term impact of the New Deal on the Seminoles. The progressive Cow Creek Seminoles north of Lake Okeechobee and the Mikasuki Seminoles on the Big Cypress Reservation underwent significant culture change when they moved to reservations, accepted government social programs, and converted to Christianity during the 1940s. A minority of religious tradiationalist Mikasuki Seminoles, however, were interested in cultural continuity. They remained in isolated trail camps and clung to their time-honored customs.

Kersey provides a generally favorable portrayal of Commissioner John Collier. Nevertheless, he indicates that Collier romanticized the Seminoles as noble primitives. More analysis of the problems associated with Collier's backward-looking policy of cultural encapsulation would have strengthened the narrative.

This book is a significant contribution to recent Indian historiography. It is a model study based on extensive archival research, oral interviews with Indians, and the fieldwork of anthropologists. The result is a balanced and sensitive portrayal of Seminole history that will be of interest to both scholars and the general public.

Like Beads on a String: A Culture History of the Seminole Indians of Northern Peninsular Florida. By Brent Richards Weisman. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. xv, 198 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, maps, tables, notes, references, index. \$15.95.)

Archaeological research is a much romanticized endeavor, but the published results make typically dull reading for anyone outside of the discipline. Weisman's book on the development of Seminole culture is a welcome exception. Because the Seminoles originated as a distinct tribe in the eighteenth century, pertinent data come from documents as well as the ground. The author has very skillfully drawn together these different sources to produce an informative and thought-provoking account of the Seminoles' part in the early history of Florida. Much original material is contributed, including archaeological data collected by the author and his creative use of the recently discovered diary of Henry Prince who served in the army in Florida during the Second Seminole War. In sleuthlike fashion, the documents supply clues about where to dig, and the products of excavation supply clues for interpreting documents.

In addition to producing a more rounded account, Weisman's method also appears to condition a more idealist perspective on the development of native American culture. Materialist interpretations of culture change are somewhat inherent in the work of archaeology because things rather than ideas are what survive in excavation pits. Environmental change and intrusions of alien cultures are the conventional explanations for variations observed in site strata, not the self-inspired motives of the individuals and communities who occupied them. Weisman departs deliberately from this approach, assigning considerable importance to the Creek world view and the proactive process by which traditions were transformed and preserved by the emergent Florida Seminoles.

In that same vein, Indian entrepreneurism is a major recurring theme. The Seminoles and their predecessors are portrayed as partners in, rather that victims of, the colonization process. Even before the Europeans, their ancestors had been subjugated by tributary chiefdoms that were stratified systems driven mainly by wealth and power. European trade goods were highly prized because they provided new sources of wealth by

which to achieve rank. Weisman directly challenges "lo the poor Indian" perspectives on the contact experience, which he evidently finds undignified and patronizing, and also out of date. Osceola resembles Lee Iacocca more than Geronimo in this account. This Reaganesque vision of the Seminole past oversteps the data available to support it, and seems contradicted by the persisting impoverishment of the descendants (bingo notwithstanding). Although archaeologists are frequently too reticent to speculate about sociopolitical implications, Weisman goes a bit far in the other direction.

The title of the book is a metaphor, somewhat overworked, signifying flexible resilience. Ancient Creek traditions are the string that draws together the autonomous sociopolitical units (band/clan/talwa) that collectively have comprised the tribe. Substantively, the book begins with a review of the evidence regarding prehistoric cultural patterns of the southeastern Indians and Mississippian survivals in the emergent Creek confederacy. The period between contact and the end of the Second Seminole War is divided into three intervals: Colonization, 1716-1767; Enterprise, 1767-1821; Revitalization, 1821-1841. Marshaling diverse evidence, and frequently ingenious deduction, Weisman develops his argument that the ancient Creek cosmos was an enduring touchstone in Seminole responses to both adversity and opportunity. In considering the Second Seminole War, Weisman devotes a chapter to his quest for Powell's town, Osceola's last encampment. This is the best chapter in the book. It conveys a clear sense of how historic archaeology is done, as well as providing valuable information. The final chapter, prior to the conclusions, is a review and recapitulation of the Seminole world view, focussing primarily on the busk and the ball game. In sum, this is a very carefully researched and well-written book that makes a valuable contribution to the ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature on Seminoles in Florida.

University of South Florida

SUSAN GREENBAUM

Key Marco's Buried Treasure: Archaeology and Adventure in the Nineteenth Century. By Marion Spjut Gilliland. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989. xi, 138 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, photographs, references, index. \$25.00.)

Marion Gilliland has skillfully chronicled one of the most important and spectacular archaeological odysseys ever conducted in the United States: the remarkable collection of wooden and other organic artifacts recovered by Frank Hamilton Cushing from the "Court of the Pile Dwellers" on Key Marco, collected as a result of the Pepper-Hearst archaeological expedition to southwest Florida. This book, however, is not about archaeology and the artifacts recovered from the excavations, but instead it is about the individuals, institutions, and circumstances involved in the expedition, its organization, the recovery of a remarkable collection, and the controversy surrounding its authenticity and ultimate ownership. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of American archaeology, Florida archaeology, and more importantly nineteenth-century Florida history, particularly southwest Florida.

At the start, the reader is provided with a brief overview of the history of the expedition, including a list of the numerous individuals involved in this story. They are grouped into categories based on the roles they played. This serves as a useful reference when one examines the text. In the next two chapters. Gilliland provides a brief general description of Marco Island and an ethnographic sketch of its aboriginal inhabitants, the Calusa. Chapter 4 provides a history of American settlement of Marco Island, most notably the history of the Collier family. These chapters provide an excellent setting for the characters and events of the expedition that follows. In the next chapter, the main character, Frank Cushing, is introduced. This section highlights Cushing's early life, his introduction to anthropology, his exploits among the Zuni, and other aspects of his life that occurred prior to his involvement with Florida. Gilliland utilizes extensive important documentary sources, primarily personal letters, to portray Cushing's character and personality. She discusses the early finds of organic artifacts made at Key Marco and the involvement of the various institutions and individuals. including Cushing, in an initial expedition to investigate more

fully these findings. The next episode chronicles the actual expedition, its organization, and its personnel, most notably Wells Sawyer, the project artist.

The excavation is re-created in Chapter 8 through the use of the diaries of Mrs. Collier, Sawyer, and George Gause, the excavation foreman, together with Cushing's letters to the Bureau of American Ethnology and the University of Pennsylvania. Gilliland discusses the problems that Cushing's finds created: his diminished health, the authenticity of the finds, Cushing's failure to publish, and the final disposition of the artifacts to the two sponsoring institutions. A postscript discusses the site and collection today with some of the controversies that still surround it. The work is beautifully illustrated with Sawyer's watercolors and the numerous photos of the expedition. These illustrations will be useful for historians and archaeologists, and alone are worth the price of the book.

Gilliland's real contribution is the exposition of the controversy surrounding the Key Marco finds and finally laying to rest the accusations of fraud leveled against Cushing. This is masterfully accomplished through exhaustive use of letters and diaries that provide independent and corroborative first-hand accounts of the excavation and its authenticity. Gilliland convincingly makes her case that Cushing's finds are authentic. My only criticism of the work is stylistic and actually arises from its strength. The extensive use of lengthy quoted documents are so skillfully integrated into the narrative that it is often difficult to discern them from Gilliland's writings. While this is not a problem for the casual reader, historians or archaeologists might find it frustrating. Perhaps the use of a different font for the quoted material would have been appropriate. A hint to the reader: the quoted material is not right justified while narration is. This is an excellent, well-researched and well-written work that exposes and clears up the controversy of the Key Marco material.

University of Houston

RANDOLPH J. WIDMER

Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840. By Larry E. Tise. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987. xix, 501 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, preface, illustrations and tables, notes, bibliography, illustration credits, index. \$40.00.)

In a startling reappraisal of proslavery thought, Larry E. Tise performs the ulikely feat of relocating the source of defense of slavery in the United States from the antebellum South to New England. In the process, he takes issue with countless historians who have written on race, class, and region. His evidence is so wide ranging and impressive, and the book is so tightly conceptualized and well written, that his argument may well refocus the debate on many central issues in southern and American history.

Tise insists that North America had a pronounced proslavery heritage, centered in the defense of conservative social values, that dated at least as far back as a pamphlet published in 1701 by a Massachusetts provincial court justice. The era of the American Revolution introduced a new ideology of freedom and equality, but in Tise's view, this rhetoric was atypical of social thought extending from the colonial era to the Civil War. In the post-Revolutionary years, and especially in the "neglected era" of 1808-1832, conservative ministers, again mostly from New England, led a conservative reaction to Jeffersonian democracy and against the heritage of natural rights philosophy. Northern ministers who moved south brought with them the hierarchical republicanism that was at the heart of American proslavery thought. The South, then, was late in adopting a formal defense of slavery, but when the region's intellectual leaders embraced it after 1835, they were not out of the American mainstream but a part of it. Tise concludes that there was a "near national acquiescence with slavery as a morally acceptible institution" and that only events of the Civil War prevented the nation from "losing its liberating and liberalizing tendencies" (xiv).

As one would expect with such a sweeping reassessment, Tise's interpretation is not without problems. He defines proslavery broadly as "a mode of thinking, a concatenation of ideas, and a system of symbols" (xv), stressing especially that it was a shared belief system of those favoring an orderly, hierarchical

society. Critics of the southern version of racial slavery still could be classified as proslavery if they refused to disturb the stability of society by acting against slavery. Tise blurs the crucial distinctions between a northern Congregational minister and a southern planter, both of whom might indeed favor a hierarchical society but with very different meanings as to principles and self-interest on the specific issue of racial slavery in the South. The book is geared to the American political context rather than to the dynamics of southern society, so that one comes away without adequate understanding of those clearly most involved in the realities of slavery. The recent work of Eugene Genovese, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Michael O'Brien, and others reevaluating the intellectual history of the antebellum South contradicts Tise's views on the derivative nature of that thought.

This book is, nonetheless, an important achievement. Its documentation is thorough. Tise has combed relevant manuscript collections and read hundreds of proslavery documents. His "Proslavery Ideography," a computer compilation of biographical information on proslavery writers and of their ideas and arguments that appear from close textual analysis, enabled him to see a broad movement. Tise has argued his case well, but others must test his too-often sweeping interpretations.

University of Mississippi

CHARLES REAGAN WILSON

Evangelicals and Conservatives in the Early South, 1740-1861. By Robert M. Calhoon. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. xiii, 242 pp. Preface, notes, index to biblical references, index. \$24.95.)

What first strikes the reader of Robert Calhoon's book is its sophistication. Evidence of extensive research abounds, much of it concerning political theory in both England and America. As a result of such depth and scope, Calhoon makes unusually perceptive connections that lie well beyond the time and place of the primary task as conventional historiography might pursue it. For instance, he probes Luther and Calvin, Augustan conservatism, and John Witherspoon and James Madison, in addition to central actors on the southern stage.

Knowing this much enables one to infer that the real subject of *Evangelicals and Conservatives* is authority. The winds of liberty were stirring in the South between 1740 and 1861, many of them generated within the region itself. The issue was what to do with liberty by way of directing and harnessing it; in other words, how to define authority and where to locate it.

Directing and harnessing liberty is an activity any republican government must take upon itself. In the American South, government had a partner, namely, evangelical Protestant thought and people. Having emerged in the 1740s the teaching about God's blueprint for a righteous society developed and achieved influential status. In the hands of the leaders of the late antebellum period (a heavily Presbyterian-minded contingent), it made a biblical case for slavery and created the view that the South was "set . . . apart from the rest of the sinful world," meaning superior, of course. But evangelical teaching went beyond those specific positions; it proposed an entire "moral economy."

The alliance between political thought and evangelical thought had not always been so cerebral or systematic— or conservative, however. Early, the mood had been adversarial: colonial evangelicals were disturbers of custom, critics of society and culture. On this subject Calhoon reinforces the research of Rhys Isaac in Virginia. From 1776 to 1815, they collaborated with the government by inculcating discipline, seeking adherents, and infusing piety. For this period, and especially the late antebellum decades, Calhoon supports Donald Mathews's conclusions that they partly accommodated their views to those of government.

Despite this book's similarities to Isaac's and Mathews's work, it charts its own course. Calhoon is clearly the intellectual historian. The other two are investigating social process, the ways in which evangelical teachings and values made impact on family, gender identity, community, and personal conduct. Calhoon goes to work most seriously on ideas—ideas in the minds of leading thinkers. We learn, of course, about ordinary citizens who think or who follow these thoughts, but mostly about the concepts themselves. The title of the book would be more accurate if it were "Evangelicalism and Conservatism." Repeating, we do learn about people and events. But these are recessive in favor of the author's excitement over ideas, the interpreting and correlating of which are his passion.

One can only praise the erudition, and the skill, of this notable achievement by Robert Calhoon. Yet the book lacks an inviting clarity. Never deficient or confused, its prose somehow fails to lure or excite. It is "good stuff," but it may not receive the wide reading and serious discussion it deserves. If this proves true, it will be in spite of the creativity shown in concluding each of the three Parts with an Excursus that recapitulates and interprets, and the book with an Epilogue that projects to the present.

This reader testifies to learning a great deal, to profound stimulation. One may conclude that it is a better study than book. But the rewards are great for the persistent.

University of Flroida

SAMUEL S. HILL

John C. Calhoun and the Price of Union: A Biography. By John Niven. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. xvi, 367 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, note on the sources, index. \$24.95.)

John Niven has given us the first biography in twenty-five years of the "Sage of Fort Hill" and certainly the finest effort since Charles Wiltse's trilogy in the late 1940s. Although a one-volume biography of a major figure such as Calhoun is a bold proposition, Niven succeeds. His work is well written, solidly researched, and even handed. Niven approaches the Carolinian with both respect and caution.

The author takes few interpretive risks in this biography. While Niven tells us that he will not engage in psychic analysis of his subject, he frequently reminds the reader of Calhoun's insecurities. Niven's Calhoun emerges as "a driven man and a tragic figure."

Calhoun's quixotic quest for the presidency, begun in the 1820s, dominated his political life. Despite exceptional and lengthy public service in the War and State Departments, as well as the House and Senate, the Democracy repeatedly ignored him, creating for Calhoun an almost perpetual malaise. Calhoun, with his razor-sharp mind and caustic tongue, suffered fools lightly, but found himself surrounded by them. He branded Henry Clay an unfit opportunist, Thomas Hart Benton

"a humbug," Andrew Jackson "weak, suspicious and ignorant," and Martin Van Buren (whose political talents he respected) the Prince of Darkness. Calhoun distrusted military men, like William Henry Harrison, who made easy targets for manipulation by wiley politicos. Only Daniel Webster's keen intellect and oratorical skills commanded Calhoun's respect. These political rivals who succeeded especially vexed Calhoun who remained the perennial outsider. His ill-advised efforts to form a southern-based party in the 1840s were little more than a chimera.

The Carolinian as political philosopher poses another challenge for Niven. Calhoun's views on government seemed to change dramatically after 1824. Vulnerable to charges of intellectual perfidity, Calhoun steadfastly claimed that he had always supported his region, state, and the planter class. He explained that the rise of new and threatening forces—manufacturers and abolitionists—compelled him to rise to the defense of the South. While remnants of the old nationalist remained—his support for internal improvement projects, for example—Calhoun increasingly became obsessed with the antislave and free soil threats to the Union. His profound "Disquisition on Government" and "Discourse on the Constitution" reflect for the author both the "unequaled" level of Calhoun's thinking, as well as his passionate efforts to reconcile slavery and freedom.

Calhoun appears as an ambitious and talented politician, administrator, diplomat, and philosopher. At one level, the book becomes a depressing litany of Calhoun's personal problems and professional frustrations. Plagued by ill health and ongoing family problems and bested politically by lesser men, he cries out for compassion. Alas, he is a man of little warmth and even less understanding of the "common man" of Jacksonian America. Stiff, arrogant, and unaccommodating, Calhoun became most articulate in his opposition to measures—the tariff, antislavery, the Mexican War, and free soil. Desperately seeking solutions that would preserve the southern way of life, he grew increasingly pessimistic about their existence.

On March 4, 1850, John C. Calhoun, his body consumed by tuberculosis, sat silently in the United States Senate as compatriot James Murray Mason read the Carolinian's last speech—a calculated plea for union and a veiled threat of secession. Ultimately, Calhoun could not compromise his vision of a slave re-

public, even as he witnessed the frayed bonds of nationhood coming apart. For Calhoun, "The Price of Union" was too high.

University of South Florida

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

The Papers of John C. Calhoun: Volume XVIII, 1844. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. xxviii, 798 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

John C. Calhoun served as secretary of state during the presidency of John Tyler for a period of about one year. This volume and two which are to follow will contain the record of that year. Despite the decision to devote three volumes to the period, only about one-third of the available documents will be published.

During Calhoun's brief tenure in the Department of State, "the most important issues in American foreign policy between the War of 1812 and the Spanish-American War" came to a head. These were developments relating to the acquisition of Texas and Oregon. It was also a time in which important contacts were made with China and Hawaii, as well as a number of the German states. It was an era of growing American presence in far corners of the world. Calhoun's appointment was confirmed unanimously by the United States Senate before he had even known that he was to be appointed. He reluctantly accepted and assumed his duties on April 1, 1844.

Calhoun came to a department that had been leaderless for more than a month and which was busily engaged in the demands of a congressional session with appointments, appropriations, "and other controversial matters." The beleaguered administration that he had joined could not count on support from either the Democrats or the Whigs, and the president regularly faced defeat in the Congress. Though he had not been a part of the executive branch of government since he had left the War Department almost two decades earlier, Calhoun had a reputation as a first-rate administrator, and he immediately and enthusiastically immersed himself in the business of the State Department.

While the rich documentation in this volume mostly centers on the events in Texas, Oregon, China, and the German states. there is more material dealing with Florida than has been the case in earlier volumes in this series. The index lists twenty specific page references to "Florida Territory," three to "Pensacola," three to "St. Augustine," four to "William P. Duval," and five to "Richard K. Call," among others. For the most part, however, the references are to inconsequential or routine matters. One humorous item was Governor Call's defense of charges brought against him by the United States District Attorney in Tallahassee. A bridge over the St. Marks River built by Call's Tallahassee Railroad Company had been blown away by the hurricane of September 1843 and lodged partially in the stream and partially on its bank. Charles S. Sibley, the district attorney, charged that Call did maliciously "put and set a certain [w]reck of a bridge in the St. Marks River, a navigable stream, by which the navigation is obstructed." Exuding the fiery indignation that was his characteristic, Call charged Sibley with having prostituted his office for "unwarranted and malicious purposes," and declared "it was well-known to the said District Attorney, that the bridge was removed and placed where it now is, by the will of God." Call presented counterchanges of corruption against Sibley and asked that Calhoun investigate them. Calhoun later decided Call's charges against Sibley were unfounded, and Sibley was reappointed to another term as district attorney. Call's term as governor was not renewed.

The editors and the University of South Carolina Press have maintained the high standards we have come to expect of this series.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY

Abraham Lincoln: Public Speaker. By Waldo W. Braden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. vii, 119 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. \$19.95.)

Many scholars, and certainly his admirers, credit Lincoln with being the most talented writer among American statesmen. Skill with the pen, however, does not necessarily translate into a first-rate public speaker, and seldom has Lincoln been praised

for his oratorical abilities. In *Abraham Lincoln: Public Speaker*, Waldo W. Braden examines Lincoln's oratory practices from 1854 through 1865. Although not a Daniel Webster, Lincoln's style demonstrated his common sense and proper moral character.

The opening chapters treat the public image of Lincoln, his speeches before 1860, and his preparation of those addresses. Braden reminds the reader that Lincoln did not reach the oval office by pen alone; "Lincoln first won attention on the platform, where he was principally concerned with persuading the common citizen." His time was spent arguing that "this government cannot endure, permanently half-slave and half-free," not coining "notable phrases to impress a reading public" (p. 2). Between 1830 and 1860, Lincoln established his credibility by deliberately projecting "the persona of a poor man's son, an underdog" (p. 4), but "Lincoln found it wise to alter his publilc image as president; he never during those years overtly played upon his simple beginnings" (pp. 13-14). In describing Lincoln's preparation of a speech, Braden adds "logical" to an earlier evaluator's appraisal of "slow, calculating, methodical and accurate" (p. 65).

Separate chapters detail Lincoln's most famous speeches. The First Inagural Address reflected Lincoln's "strategy of delay, indirection, and caution" (p. 80). His words in the Gettysburg Address live on because of "their dramatic origin, their quotability, and their expression of the theme of freedom" (p. 87). Rather than resort to the "hard sell" or seek to "exploit bitter emotions," Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address "was a persuasion that sought identification with simple, God-fearing citizens of his time and of the future" (p. 95).

Braden concludes with an analysis of Lincoln's voice, appearance, and delivery. The author "suggests that little of a dependable nature remains concerning Lincoln's voice" (p. 102), and that contemporary testimony suggests that Lincoln gave a "negative first impression" (p. 106). Many derogatory adjectives were used to describe Lincoln throughout his life, particularly by the press. Lincoln barely lived to see this trend reversed. It was not until 1865 that the New York *Herald* described him as "a most remarkable man. . . . He has proved himself, in his quiet way, the keenest of politicians" (p. 12).

Braden amply demonstrates his talents in *Abraham Lincoln: Public Speak.* He substantiates Lincoln's refinement of his preparations for writing a speech. The book is appropriately documented, but lacks a bibliography. Those individuals interested in public speaking might improve their own abilities by following some of Lincoln's habits which Braden has so skillfully described, and anyone interested in Lincoln will enjoy this fresh insight into a seldom-studied aspect of his life.

Southeastern Louisiana University

LAWRENCE L. HEWITT

Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877. By Eric Foner. (New York: Harper and Row, 1988. xxvii, 690 pp. Introduction, preface, illustrations, epilogue, acknowledgments, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Eric Foner's Reconstruction is a valuable addition to the New American Nation Series and will undoubtedly be the standard single-volume study of that enigmatic period for some time to come. Using a traditional organizational method- except for his emphasis on the impact of the Emancipation Proclamation after 1863, and a brief foray into the New South after 1877- Foner has gone far toward incorporating into this single volume the voluminous literature on Reconstruction that has emerged during the last three decades or so. The many books, monographs, and articles that have virtually rewritten Reconstruction history since the 1950s are part of a general trend toward atomization in historical research and writing. As more and more authors studied and wrote about more and more aspects of the human behavior of the post-1865 period, there emerged a general understanding among historians that the period was vastly different from the way it had been depicted by the Dunning school historians and their progeny. At the same time, there was no easily available source to which the general reader might go to find a consensus of analysis of that massive literature.

Foner has provided that source. With specific reference to his belief that we need to combine our detailed analytical work with broader efforts to put it all together, he has written an interesting narrative history of the Reconstruction period that carries with it abundant analysis— as good narrative can and

should. This reviewer applauds him for proving that—contrary to what many of our colleagues have conceded in recent years—narrative history is not dead.

There is simply not enough space available in a review to recount what Foner has done. Suffice it to say that with the two exceptions mentioned above- and perhaps one more- he has treated the period in a traditional and, for many of us, familiar organizational framework, but with fresh material and insight throughout. From the chaotic ending of the Civil War, through Andrew Johnson's emergence and decline, the executive-legislative stand-off, the quasi-implementation of Congressional Reconstruction and the southern response, to the economic depression of the mid-1870s, and to the uncertain resolution of the Haves-Tilden election in 1876-1877, it is all there. Readers will find the entire book refreshing and interesting, but special attention should be called to Chapter 1, "The World the War Made," and Chapter 12, "Redemption and After." Also worth special notice is his tenth chapter, "The Reconstruction of the North," which deals exceptionally well with the social change in that region as modern America emerged after the war.

Forner's work is riding the crest of the social values of the generation of which he is a part just as the Dunning school historians did in theirs. While historical interpretation is not cyclical—if only because it occurs in linear time—it does change according to the perspective from which it is written. It would be interesting if one had the privilege to look back from the middle of the next century to see how his book fared over time.

University of Central Florida

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

The Men and the Mills: A History of the Southern Textile Industry. By Mildred Gwin Andrews. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987. xvi, 367 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, photographs, epilogue, glossary, leavers glossary, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

A reading of the dust jacket of *The Men and the Mills* will tell most readers whether or not they wish to proceed with a reading of the work. On the front is a photograph of a black sharecropper in the midst of a field of cotton. In an industry historically noted

for its lily-white attitudes, that ironic choice was the first of many instances of either the biased or ill-informed nature of the book. On the back are blurbs from industry leaders, the heads of Cone Mills and West Point-Pepperell, for example. This book is definitely history from the inside and from the top.

Mildred Gwin Andrews was a textile insider; her whole life was intricately intertwined with the rise of the southern textile industry. Born in the Mississippi Delta in 1903, she died in 1984 after spending her adult life as a public relations representative of the textile machinery industry. Her book is obviously a labor of love. She has given the reader a bird's-eye view of the industry she served for over fifty years.

A book such as this is difficult for the historian to review. On the one hand, it seems to be another public relations piece for the industry. There is no doubt where Andrew's passions and biases are. She is bound and determined to put forward the best case for the textile industry. To her credit, she does mention the problems of child labor and other unflattering aspects of the industry. But those pale beside the numerous studio portraits of industry leaders liberally distributed throughout the book.

Having said this, are there any redeeming qualities to this tome? Yes. Andrews provides her readers with a good bibliography of published sources, and the book has an excellent nineteen-page glossary of terms unique to the textile industry. She brings to life some of the most prominent leaders of the industry.

What Andrews has presented to the reader is an overview of the southern textile industry from its beginning to the 1980s. This gives the reader a perspective that other works do not. Until someone comes along with more depth and perspective, *The Men and the Mills* must serve as our general introduction to the southern textile industry.

Mississippi College

EDWARD N. AKIN

Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit. By Robert Bogdan. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988. xiii, 322 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, notes, references, index, \$29.95.)

The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America. By Robert Jay. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987. 112 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

Mathew Brady and Charles Eisenmann photographed them. P. T. Barnum and the Ringling brothers made fortunes displaying them. Millions of Americans flocked to the Hall of Human Curiosities, Odditorium, Congress of Oddities, and Museum of Nature's Mistakes in dime museums, fairs, carnivals, circuses, and amusement parks to gawk at them. Referred to by barkers as "curiosities," "rarities," "oddities," "wonders," "marvels," and "monsters," freaks- people with physical, mental, and behavioral anomalies- were a popular form of entertainment during the heydey (1840-1940) of the sideshow. At the heart of the midway for a century, public and professional opinion in recent decades has changed from viewing human oddities as marvels to seeing them in a pathological light, and made the freak show nearly extinct. "Seen by many as crude, rude, and exploitive, the freak show is despicable, a practice on the margin, limited to a class with poor taste, representing, as one disability rights activist put it, the 'pornography of disability'" (p. 2).

Robert Bogdan, a professor of special education and sociology at Syracuse University, provides a compelling, interdisciplinary account of the practice of exhibiting human disfigurement and disability for amusement and profit. He covers the whole range of the offbeat from the novelty acts of sword swallowers, fire eaters, and snake charmers, through the man-made curiosities of tattooed people, to the born-freak of physical and mental deformity. He discerns that freak shows relied on two basic modes of exhibition: "the exotic," which pandered to the culturally strange, the primitive, the bestial, and the mysterious; and "the aggrandized," which endowed the freak with a variety of status-enhancing characteristics (p. 97).

Virtually every freak was misrepresented in some way to the public. Purposeful distortions and exaggerations abounded. Inches and pounds were added or subtracted to the heights and weights of giants and midgets, skinny and fat people; the Wild Man from Borneo was actually a short and retarded person born in New York: and the Connecticut-born Sherwood Stratton became the English-born General Tom Thumb. While freaks were indeed exploited, degraded, and mistreated, Bogdan also learned of contentment, fame, and fortune, "Outside the boundaries of the freak show, many so-called human oddities had neighbors and family; they loved and were loved, were accommodating and accommodated, were respectful and respected" (p. 269). Freaks were not born, but manufactured by promoters, managers, and audiences. "'Freak' is not a quality that belongs to the person on display. It is something we created; a perspective, a set of practices—a social condition" (pp. x-xi). To write this insightful and sensitive account, Bogdan has gone beyond the traditional memoirs and accounts on amusements and curiosities to research in primary documents and memorabilia in entertainment archives. Photographs, postcards, handbills, and pamphlets from the Circus World Museum in Baraboo, Wisconsin; the Becker Collection at Syracuse University; and the Ringling Museum of the Circus in Sarasota, Florida, among other depositories, enhance and illuminate this story.

The controversies implicit in the freak show burned anew in Florida recently when saloons in Gainesville and other communities staged contests where patrons tossed a dwarf outfitted in a harness and helmet. Little People of America protested that the latest recreational rage was dehumanizing and degrading. The dwarf, however, insisted on his right to earn a living and to be a showman and celebrity, while bar patrons called for freedom of choice in entertainment. This kind of bizarre activity is as much a part of Florida's popular culture as more traditional pursuits, yet it remains a neglected area of research in the state.

Another national study providing a prism for approaching local and regional culture is Robert Jay's book on the trade card. Advertising by means of the engraved tradesman's card emerged in Europe around 1700. With opportunities for advertising limited in terms of content, space, and place, manufacturers turned to the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  x 3-inch trade cards that could be either included in a package or distributed by local shopkeepers. On one side the cards carried rich imagery to catch the consumer's eye, and on the other side delivered detailed product informa-

tion, educational, moral, or humorous messages. Engravers and printers migrating to America brought the skills of woodcut illustration, letterpress printing, and copperplate engraving necessary for trade card production. With the introduction of lithography and the steam press, trade cards could be printed in great quantity and variety inexpensively and quickly. The multi-colored chrome cards carried the advertising card to the peak of its popularity in the 1880s and 1890s.

Printed for as little as \$3.25 per thousand, the trade card became a vital form of mass advertising. The cards were used to reach remote communities, promote products—including alcohol, tobacco, and cosmetics—restricted elsewhere, break down suspicions of products such as canned meats, and establish recognition of packaging, trademarks, and brand names. Manufacturers printed messages in three or more different languages to reach a broad base, and encouraged consumers to save the cards by printing them in series and with calendars and holiday greetings.

Since trade cards avoided the constraints imposed by editors in public forms of advertising, manufacturers could make extravagant claims and exploit popular prejudices. Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound professed to cure and prevent cancer. The 20 percent alcohol content was probably more addictive than curative. Advertisements for corsets claimed to relieve body organs from injurious pressure when, in fact, reports indicated that they damaged the anatomy. Likewise, companies exploited race, gender, and ethnicity in promoting products. Happy darkies, hook-nose Jews, nubile females, and heathen Chinese were common. The trade card began to decline before the turn of the century as postal regulations reduced the cost of second-class mailings, subscription-based periodicals opened up more pages to advertising, the federal government authorized the privately printed postal cards, and selling by lavishly illustrated catalogues became popular.

For this first in-depth treatment of the trade card, Robert Jay, professor of art history at the University of Hawaii, has culled his specimens from eminent national collections—the British Museum, American Antiquarian Society, Winterthur Museum, New York Historical Society, New York Public Library, and the Smithsonian Institution, among other. The University of Missouri Press should be commended for reproducing

seventy-five black-and-white cards, and nearly 100 full-color cards, and interfacing the cards in the text, so that the reader can follow the story without interruption. As consumers of national brands, Floridians were also exposed to these advertising images and spiels, and archives in the state should pay more attention to collecting these artifacts so valuable in studies of material culture.

University of South Florida

ROBERT E. SNYDER

The American Indian Experience: A Profile, 1524 to the Present. Edited by Philip Weeks. (Arlington Heights, IL: Forum Press, 1988. xv, 320 pp. Foreword, the authors, index. \$14.95 paper.)

This work is a brief history of Indian-white relations in what became the United States. The chapters are each written by a different author, including one by Weeks himself. Books "written by committee" often suffer from disjointed or overlapping subject matter and uneven writing. But in this volume, Weeks has successfully managed these problems by skillful editing. The chapters are clustered into three groups: "From Contact to Removal," "The Climactic Ordeals," and "Visions of a New Order." The latter group deals with the plight of Indians since their final defeat and with the conflict over federal Indian policy between those who seek to assimilate Indians into the American mainstream and those who want to retain a measure of Indian local government and some of their traditional culture.

A joint project, such as this work, is especially appropriate for writing Indian history because Indians were even more ethnically diverse than were the peoples of Europe. They were even further diversified, moreover, by the challenge of white conquest as particular groups adopted a wide variety of, and often contradictory, strategies of survival.

As Theda Perdue's chapter on the Indians of the lower South shows, this complexity of Indian history is apparent even when one focuses upon a given region and period. In the lower South, beginning in the eighteenth century, previously united peoples became divided by the particular features of European culture that they adopted or rejected. Indian fought Indian, furthermore, in the various wars between white nations for the control of North America. Thus, the Creek nation became polarized between a pro-British party that practiced indigenous religions and favored traditional government by local town councils and a pro-American, Christian party that favored a stronger centralized government by elected officials. The pro-British, traditional Creeks, following their defeat in the War of 1812, migrated to Florida and joined forces with the remnants of some local tribes as well as some settlements of escaped African slaves to form the Seminole nation. It was the efforts of the federal government to force the Seminoles to rejoin the Creeks, who meanwhile had been deported to Oklahoma, that caused the Second Seminole War. The federal government committed 40,000 troops in this war, more than were committed in combat in either the Mexican or the Spanish American wars.

American history is often told from the point of view of the winners as a tale of success. Yet in any scramble for wealth and power, there are both winners and losers. As the Weeks collection demonstrates, the Indian experience is not only fascinating in itself but also contributes a sobering perspective to American history in general.

California State Polytechnic University

WILLIAM EVANS

Depression Post Office Murals and Southern Culture: A Gentle Reconstruction. By Sue Bridwell Beckham. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. xx, 338 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, coda, appendex, index. \$32.50.)

The years between 1936 and 1943 were a unique period of development in American art. The federal government undertook to commission and install artwork in public buildings as one of its national recovery projects. Under the patronage of the Treasury Section of Fine Arts, some 1,118 murals were installed in federal buildings throughout the United States. Of that number, about 300 were commissioned and installed in southern buildings, primarily post offices. A number appeared in post offices in Florida.

For many years these murals have largely been ignored or regarded as less than worthy of consideration. Against this formidable obstacle, Sue Bridwell Beckham undertook her exploration of post office murals in the South and their relation to southern culture.

Through the use of correspondence in the National Archives and extensive travels throughout the South, Beckham discusses the development and sociological implications of southern murals. According to Beckham, from a southern point of view, the patronage of murals placed in post offices was perceived as an on-going program of reconstruction by the federal government. While many conservatives in the South wished to be rid of such outside interference, they were nonetheless grateful when their wishes and ideas in regard to appropriate subject matter were acknowledged by those in Washington.

It is within this context that Beckham discusses southern murals based upon such ideas as the concept of the South, the artists chosen to paint about the South, the division of labor, race and sex perceptions, and the image the South had of itself. By using specific examples, the author thoroughly explores each concept.

In the final chapter dealing with the South's hopes for its future, Beckham briefly discusses the particular commission for a mural to be placed in the Starke, Florida, post office. The process of choosing the appropriate subject for the Starke mural on the eve of World War II and the final solution that was selected illustrates the decision-making process involved. Most of the other commissions discussed within the book are outside Florida and range from Virginia through the deep South and west as far as Texas.

Beckham's writing is clear, detailed, and well organized. The use of illustrations is, however, disappointing. The paper used in the book does not reproduce photographs very well, and all of the photos are too small to show adequate detail. In dealing with any discussion of works of art, as these murals must be considered, it is important that they be as well illustrated as possible.

In total, the book is an important document of a subject that has too long been neglected but is certainly worthy of further exploration. Sue Bridwell Beckham and Louisiana State University Press are to be commended for their effort.

Talmadge: A Political Legacy, A Politician's Life: A Memoir. By Herman E. Talmadge, with Mark Royden Winchell. (Atlanta: Peachtree Publishers, 1988. 371 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, illustrations, epilogue, index. \$17.95.)

Herman Talmadge is the Rodney Dangerfield of American politics. As the scion of Eugene Talmadge, the gallus-snapping political boss who ruled Georgia politics with an iron hand during the 1930s and 1940s, Herman has been an easy mark for political pundits. When the journalist Robert Sherrill devoted a chapter of his 1968 book, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South*, to Talmadge, he used the acerbic subtitle "How a Demagogue Adapts." To Sherrill, Talmadge was a tragicomic figure, a political lightweight who lacked the magnetism and the substance, though not the cunning, of his famous father. Understandably, such judgments have rankled Talmadge. Now, with the help of Mark Royden Winchell, an associate professor of English at Clemson University, he has written an autobiography that attempts to set the record straght.

Whatever else might be said of him, Herman Talmadge has lived an unusually full and dramatic life. Born and raised on his parents' farm in McRae, Georgia, he moved to Atlanta as a teenager in 1930. Admitted to the Georgia bar in 1936, he enjoyed a long political apprenticeship under his father who was elected governor four times between 1932 and 1946. During these years, "Young Hummon" was often dismissed as a frivolous playboy; his first marriage, to a beautiful New York model, ended in divorce in 1941. But his public image improved after he saw action as a naval officer in the Pacific. Upon his father's death in 1946, the Georgia legislature selected him to fill the governor's unexpired term. The legality of the Talmadge dynasty was promptly challenged in court, and two months after Herman took office a Georgia Supreme Court ruling forced him to resign. Undaunted, he won the governorship in a special election in September 1948. Reelected in 1950, he served as governor until 1955. The following year, he won election to the United States Senate, defeating the longtime incumbent Walter George in a bitter primary battle. He went on to serve four terms (1957-1981) in the Senate, gaining considerable notoriety as an outspoken advocate of white supremacy and state rights. As the powerful chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and as a member of the Watergate investigative committee, he was a highly visible member of the Senate establishment. However,

everything began to unravel in the mid- and late-1970s when he suffered a series of personal and political disasters: the 1975 drowning death of his son, a long struggle with severe depression and alcoholism, a highly publicized and scandal-ridden 1977 divorce trial, and a 1979 Senate Ethics Committee invest-gation of campaign fund fraud. Formally censured by his Senate colleagues, Talmadge sought vindication from the Georgia electorate in the 1980 Senate race. Mobilizing the remnants of the fifty-four-year-old Talmadge organization, he managed to win the Democratic primary. But he lost the general election to the Republican upstart Mack Mattingly. Now in retirement, the exsenator awaits the verdict of history.

Considering the evidence at hand—especially Talmadge's unenviable record in the area of race relations—that verdict is bound to be unfavorable. Even so, there is more than enough careful reflection in Talmadge's apologetics to warrant a careful reading of his words. His extraordinary life commands our attention, if not always our respect.

University of South Florida

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

Nancy Hanks, an Intimate Portrait: The Creation of a National Commitment to the Arts. By Michael Straight. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988. xiii, 429 pp. Preface, photographs, sources and references, index. \$22.50.)

"For most of us, she lived for eight years, the years from October 1969, to October 1977, when she was chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts." This introductory sentence characterizes the book: although the title tells us this will be an intimate portrait, the opening sentence declares it is the public face, not the private face, that will be the focus. This is a study of a complicated, demanding individual by her equally complex demanding but analytical colleague.

Consider how this book came to be. When Ronald Reagan designated the cluster of buildings at Constitution Avenue and 12th Street in Washington as the Nancy Hanks Center, the Friends of the Nancy Hanks Center was organized. The principal activity of the Center was the establishment of an archive of written and oral reminiscences relating to Nancy Hanks. Letters

were written to 1,200 friends and colleagues; 295 written recollections, seventy-four transcribed interviews, and Hanks's personal papers were donated to Duke University. This is history on the level we usually reserve for presidents.

Who was Nancy Hanks who demanded the archives of a president? Who was the woman who was so assured of her place in history that she hired oral historians to record her thoughts and compiled a staggering number of journals and diaries?

Born in Miami, Florida, on December 30, 1927, Hanks joked that "I'm the oldest person you'll ever meet who was born there." Although she lived in Miami until she was eighteen, Cashiers, near Asheville, North Carolina, was her spiritual, as well as her summer, home. She attended Duke University where she was elected president of the student government and May Queen. But this May Queen was uninterested in marriage.

Her bewildered parents watched as their daughter moved to Washington where she went to work as a typist in the Office of Defense Mobilization. Boredom led her down the hall to the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization and to its dynamic chair, Nelson Rockefeller. From 1953 to Rockefeller's early years as governor of New York, Hanks's life was Nelson Rockefeller's. As one of her friends explained, "Nelson was committed to principles; Nancy was committed to Rockefeller." Hanks followed Rockefeller to HEW (assistant secretary), Geneva (special assistant Cold War Strategy), New York City (Special Projects Study– Rockefeller Brothers Fund), and to Albany (governor). During the course of their ten-year affair, Hanks met Henry Kissinger and several presidents and became a very wealthy woman.

Nelson Rockefeller's legacy to Hanks was a belief in the possibility and necessity of the expansion of the arts. It was Rockefeller who created the New York Council on the Arts, the first permanent source of public support for the arts. But it was Nelson's brother John who, in 1963, turned the resources of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to a study of the arts. The product of that study, *The Performing Arts: Problems & Projects* (1965), reflected John's and Hanks's views at the time that the arts should be looked at as public policy and that the federal government should not support but rather study our cultural growth.

From the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and chair of the Associated Councils of Arts (whose coffers she filled with Rockefel-

ler money), she moved to chair of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) after the job had been turned down by an embarrassing number of people. When she became NEA chair in 1969, Hanks, who Straight explains, "always lived in the present," became almost obsessed with expansion of the arts.

Much, far too much, of this portrait is devoted to tracking the truly stupendous increases in funding in various categories of the arts (dance, theater, education) achieved under Hanks's direction. Though the author states he is relying on oral histories and personal papers, in this long, central section, it is almost as if he was thumbing through a telephone directory of NEA in the Hanks era.

I came away thinking that this was the wrong biographer for Nancy Hanks. First, there is the gender question. Straight sensitively recounts Hanks's long and finally unsuccessful fight against cancer—an early mastectomy was followed at age thirty-six by a hysterectomy. Straight then concludes, "The mastectomy inhibited Nancy's longing for a happy marriage. . . . [She] dedicated her entire consciousness to her work. . . . [She] took on many characteristics identified in the past with men as she climbed the executive ladder." The book lacks footnotes, so the reader must guess whether these comments are based on her own writings and interviews or are they the conclusions of a sensitive man from another generation.

Straight, the analytical thinker, exhibits far more interest in the concept of the role of government in relation to the arts than his subject. He never forgives Hanks (or her successors) for her unthinking drive to expand governmental subsidies for the arts and centralize patronage. Straight seems to favor the original purpose of the British Arts Council, although not its subsequent activites, to create an environment in which the arts can flourish.

In *The Artist in American Society,* Neil Harris wrote that "in the deepest sense arts' ultimate legitimation [is] its ability to exist without one." Art has become a part of our national life, but it has also become "one of many agents on an errand of moralizing." Art, some would agree "culture," improves our quality of life, reminds us of our humanity, and searches for fundamental principles. To do all these things, it is not surprising we invented an agency to report on it and legitimize it. Straight, who can quote Yeats and edit magazines — *The New Republic* — can be a

graceful fellow when he stops trying to convince us that he, a Democrat, was loyal to Hanks, a Republican. He relates the history of the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, DC, which are fundamentally engaged in an experiment: how can the federal government in a democracy support the intellectual and artistic work of scholars and artists?

Florida Endowment for the Humanities

ANN HENDERSON

The Prevailing South: Life and Politics in a Changing Culture. Edited by Dudley Clendinen. (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1988. 246 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, acknowledgments. \$16.95.)

In 1988, as Atlanta and Houston geared up to receive the presidential conventions of both major parties, Bill Kovach, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, asked a group of prominent intellectuals to relate their sense of the South at that time. The book under review is a collection of seventeen short essays drawn from that endeavor, including the works of Elizabeth Fox-Genovese: C. Vann Woodward: Tina McElroy Ansa: Eliot Wigginton; Louis Rubin, Jr.; Pat Conroy; Alex Haley; and Louis D. Rubin, Jr. Their responses are "often disconnected strokes," as Kovach admits, although they clearly underscore the eroding regional power of the Democratic party. By focusing on such topics as the myths of southern womanhood, the role of blacks in southern society, and changing political tradition, many of these authors manifest a sadness towards the standardization besetting the region. Wigginton states this concern well. "What I care about is that the best of such traditions not get bludgeoned into oblivion by an outside world invading with its sights set on a piece of ground and a house as good investment possibilities, surrounded by a chain-link fence."

Yet as David Halberstam writes in relation to race relations, "people do change, and they learn to live with each other"; the South is a "more vibrant, more optimistic society." Halberstam notes the huge impact of Gunnar Myrdahl on his own thinking about the South when he first went to Mississippi as a reporter in the 1950s and the important role played by early black

baseball players in changing racial perceptions of southern whites. Roy Reed's perspective is more akin to Wigginton's when he notes disapprovingly: "We want our politicians now to dress at Brooks Brothers and act like Episcopalians. We are ashamed of our origins." For his part, Woodward asserts, near the end of his concise historical overview, that "the blend of old and new political cultures staves off homogenization and helps preserve a jealously cherished distinctiveness." Writer Josephine Humphreys fears that a lost sense of place is harming the literary imagination in the development-oriented South, while Rubin, citing the work of Jill McCorkle, believes the "contrasts within the Southern experience remain vivid." Thus distinct differences of opinion and subtle historical insight permiate this book, although there are no direct confrontations.

The issue of race pervades this volume, although with curiously little bitterness. Ansa notes the overlooked role played by black women in the civil rights movement and underscores what she sees as the myth of the matriarchal black society, while James Alan McPherson seeks to induce young black and white intellectuals to return to their small towns.

Dreamers and feisty older women are the book's heroic characters. Pat Conroy writes touchingly of his mother's obsession with *Gone With the Wind*. Emily Ellison writes of her ninety-year-old grandmother, for example, a fervent Democrat who "likes to tell you that Nancy Reagan is so skinny she'd get sucked into the updraft of one of those presidential helicopters if it weren't for that dog at the end of the leash holding her down." Yet, it is only the very oldest members of Ellison's family, we are told, that unquestioningly support the Democratic party anymore.

As the title suggests, the book concentrates on what prevails from the traditional South; it does not concentrate on analyzing the impact of new wealth, Republicans, television evangelists, or the standardized institutions that have made so much of the South indistinguishable from other parts of the country. An essay about Atlanta's "Club," the movers and shakers of that city's revival in the 1960s is one of the weakest in the book. Ferrol Sams, Jr., however, wonders whether, to the sleek and smiley TV evangelists, and by extension to so many other Southerners, "God has not finally become inextricably confused in the Southern mind with Mammon."

By and large these authors try to identify and preserve the texture of southern culture and the memories of numberless struggles for freedom that animated an increasingly distant past. The subtext of many pieces seems aimed at building an alternative intellectual vision or political force in the face of the resurgent Republicans. There is little explicitly addressing Florida history in this volume; most of the book's focus, not surprizingly, is on Georgia. The *Atlanta Constitution* should be commended for promoting the examination of southern culture with such insight, although not for its subsequent dismissal of the editor who made it all happen.

University of Miami

GREGORY BUSH

The South's New Politics: Realignment and Dealignment. Edited by Robert H. Swansbrough and David M. Brodsky. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988. 330 pp. Tables, graphs, references, contributors. \$34.95.)

The late V. O. Key continues to cast a long shadow over students of southern politics. *The South's New Politics*, like other of the genre (Havard, Peirce, Bass and de Vries, Lamis), maintains the state-by-state survey of southern politics that Key began. It is an update of Key's monumental study and his prognostication of the region's political future.

This is not to suggest that the texts written in the Key mold are not significant in their own right. Quite the contrary. Political development and transformation and the movement towards two-party politics in the South have been uneven and often difficult to interpret. Each of these books documents and illuminates the process.

The South's New Politics is no exception. It is a welcome addition to the literature, not only because of the rigor and sophistication of its scholarship, but because it seeks, if only modestly, to go beyond the Key mold. Much of the material in the chapters is based on recent, original research. Each of the contributors is a noted expert on his/her state, and southern politics generally. Each provides a timely account of party politics in twelve states (Kentucky has been added to the Confederacy).

But this text does a better job of providing a useful framework and synoptic, interpretive chapters than do the earlier post-Key works. After an introductory section on political dynamism in the region, states are categorized into Sunbelt (Florida and Texas), the rim South (Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky, Arkansas), and the Deep South (Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana). A section entitled "Recent Trends" provides four valuable, if sequentially disjointed, chapters on historical context, recent developments, the role of ideology and issues, and methodological considerations. A concluding chapter looks at possible future scenarios.

Is there an overall theme to the text? Perhaps it is that party realignment and dealignment in the South are scholarly concepts whose applicability to the convoluted, dynamic, real world of modern southern politics is often marginal. Moreover, the search for "causes" of an emergent two-party South remains elusive. As Suzanne Parker concludes in her superb chapter on Florida (although her remark applies elsewhere as well), Ronald Reagan, and other presidential Republicans, have influenced, but not determined, the course of party politics in the region.

The reader not versed in modern political science methods and jargon may find the reading rough at times. Even with the helpful interpretive chapters and a marvelous editorial job, the state-by-state approach by different authors inevitably makes true comparison and contrast difficult. Most crucially, the continuing scholarly focus on party politics means other political developments are overlooked (for example, gubernatorial leadership, which Key stressed, was also worthy of investigation).

Although these are not trivial flaws, they should not obscure the fact that this is an eminently worthy book. It demands the careful attention of all students of southern politics.

University of Florida

RICHARD K. SCHER

The New South Faces the World: Foreign Affairs and the Southern Sense of Self, 1877-1950. By Tennant S. McWilliams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988. viii, 165 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, essay on sources, index. \$22.50.)

The "New South" has been the frequent subject of historical study. What is distinctive about this thoroughly researched and highly readable book by Tennant S. McWilliams, history department chairman at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, is its fresh focus.

Simply put, the loose and recurring movement for a New South from the 1830s to the present has consisted of the "advocates of progressive Southern change." Their domestic agenda (industrial development, governmental efficiency, and only in recent years, racial desegregation) has received considerable attention. McWilliams takes up the attitudes of New South advocates in foreign policy.

He begins with an intriguing point of departure: an introductory essay on the grand old man of southern history, C. Vann Woodward, who has struggled for years to explore "the burden of southern history." The South has had a battered past of "failure, poverty, guilt, defeat, and ridicule," as McWilliams phrases it, along with "Yankee domination."

Woodward wondered why Southerners on the whole did not draw on their sobering experience to develop sensitivity, understanding, and realism in world affairs. Instead, beginning his inquiry in the Cold War 1950s, the distinguished Yale historian found that Southerners too often have exhibited a strident posture of imperial expansionism and an attitude of uncritical super-patriotism. Acknowledging the elusiveness of the concept of a distinctive southern identity, Woodward concluded, says McWilliams, that the South developed a "specious nationalism" as a result of its own insecurity and that it had denied its stark past out of a determination "to be part of the story of American progress, innocence, and invincibility."

Has this failure to draw realistically from the burden of its history always been so? That is the question McWilliams pursues. He does so by examining five case studies of New South leadership in action from the 1890s to the 1940s: (1) Georgia Congressman James H. Blount's fact-finding mission to Hawaii in 1893 which resulted in a remarkably candid and anti-im-

perialist judgment; (2) editor Erwin Craighead's ambivalent positions in the Mobile *Register* as war with Spain loomed in 1898; (3) Charlotte textile baron Daniel Augustus Tompkins's embrace of the Open Door in China at the turn of the century through a rapprochement with Republican businessmen from the Northeast; (4) Ambassador John W. Davis from the Confederate section of West Virginia, who lobbied for an Anglo-American partnership to "civilize" the world in his tenure at the Court of St. James from 1918 to 1921; and (5) the University of North Carolina-based Southern Council on International Relations which kept alive the flame of Wilsonian internationalism before and after World War II.

McWilliams concludes that the New South leadership did try to learn from its "burden" and contribute something positive to the nation's foreign affairs, despite the undercutting impact of its attitudes of racial superiority. He extends and illuminates Woodward's basic thesis without challenging it. While this study does not directly touch on Florida, readers interested in the history of the region will find this an engaging and thoughtful book.

Saint Leo College

JAMES J. HORGAN

Hervey Allen, 1889-1949: A Literary Historian in America. By Stuart E. Knee. (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1988. xiii, 496 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$69.95.)

For a writer to excel in more than one literary field is quite unusual, but that is what Hervey Allen did, writing poetry, fiction, and nonfiction that made him famous in his day. Although neglected since that time, he clearly made an important impact on the masses and in certain literary circles.

Allen is probably best known for *Anthony Adverse*, a historical novel about a picaro of the Napoleonic era. He also achieved fame for his poetry and a two-volume, very detailed biography of Edgar Allan Poe entitled *Israfel* (1926). Allen helped found the Poetry Society of South Carolina with DuBose Heyward, and he taught writing and literature at Columbia University, Vassar, and the Bread Loaf Writer's Conference.

Florida played an important role in Allen's life and career. He spent many of his last years in Miami and became a trustee at the University of Miami. He looked on his Coconut Grove home as more of a winter retreat from his work elsewhere.

What has to be disappointing to those interested in Florida history, however, is Professor Knee's failure to mention the role that Allen played in one of the state's most famous books, *The Everglades*, by Marjory Stoneman Douglas. As editor of Rinehart and Company's Rivers of America series, which Knee mentions only once (and that time in terms of money), Allen sought writers for books about the country's major rivers. He suggested to Douglas that she write about the Miami River, but she noted that the river was really part of the Everglades and that the story of the latter would make a much better book. Allen agreed, and Mrs. Douglas produced the work that would determine the rest of her career and influence much of south Florida's environmental concerns. But there is no mention of this in Knee's volume.

More annoying than this omission is the poor editing of Knee's work. The misuse of punctuation, especially quotation marks and the apostrophe, the use of page-long paragraphs, and the lack of transition between paragraphs can mislead and annoy the reader. Also important are the inaccuracies. For example, Paul McNutt was never governor of Florida (p. 387).

One valuable part of this literary biography deals with Allen's conception of the kind of research needed for a historical novel. Such a novel needs a factual outline, but it is more than just an accumulation of facts. While not changing facts, the historical novelist will stress certain points over others in order to emphasize his own subjective treatment of characters and plot. A historical novel is not a history book.

The other valuable part of this book lies in the treatment of the subject of popularity. Allen was clearly an author popular with the reading public, but he was disparaged by literary critics. How an author is able to wrestle with his literary conscience and maintain his integrity is a subject of interest today. A discussion of this matter as it related to Allen might have been of more value than a rehashing of the facts of his life. This is an expensive book that has some nuggets buried in the midst of much chaff.

## **BOOK NOTES**

Floridians At Work, Yesterday and Today is by Margaret Gibbons Wilson of the Center for Labor Research and Studies, Florida International University. As the title of this book indicates, the volume consists of a collection of interesting and valuable photographs of Floridians at work. Chapters are designated agriculture, fishing, forestry and mining, construction, transportation, trade, tourism, real estate, banking and finance, manufacturing, utilities, mass communication services (domestic, personal, and professional), protective services, and artistic and creative. The graphics are from the Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives; the files of the *Miami Herald*; the Florida Department of Commerce, Division of Tourism; and other Miami and Dade County agencies. The photographs show men and women working in a wide variety of jobs all over Florida and cover the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Mercer University Press, Macon, Georgia, published Floridians at Work. The price is \$17.95 for the paperback and \$24.95 for the hardback.

Mary McLeod Bethune: A Great American Educator, by Patricia C. McKissack, was written for an audience of children, but it will be a delight to anyone. It is the story of one of America's outstanding twentieth-century women. Mary McLeod was one of fifteen children and the first free-born child of former slaves. Born in South Carolina, Mary learned to read in a one-room schoolhouse organized by the Presbyterian Mission Board. Later, she was a scholarship student at Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina, and at Moody Bible College in Chicago. It was her plan to do missionary work in Africa, but her marriage in 1898 to Albertus Bethune and a move to Savannah, Georgia, changed all of that. Their next move was to Palatka where Mrs. Bethune built a mission school. She opened her Daytona Educational and Industrial School for Negro Girls in a little cottage on Oak Street in Daytona, October 3, 1904. Five girls, ages eight to twelve, came to her that first day. The tuition was fifty cents a week, and she sold sweet potato pies for a quarter to help raise money to pay the rent. Mrs. Bethune was an excellent fund raiser, and she solicited support from John D.

Rockefeller and later Henry J. Kaiser. James G. Gamble of Procter and Gamble became one of her best patrons. Eventually, Cookman College in Jacksonville, run by the Methodist Episcopal Church North, was merged into the Daytona Beach facility, and Bethune-Cookman became, over the years, one of the country's best-known colleges for black students. Mrs. Bethune's reputation also continued to grow. Franklin Roosevelt appointed her first to the advisory committee for the National Youth Administration, and then as the first administrator of the federal Office of Minority Affairs. Mrs. Bethune and Eleanor Roosevelt became life-long friends, and it was due to Mrs. Roosevelt's insistence that Mrs. Bethune was named as a consultant to the San Francisco conference that, in 1945, wrote the charter for the United Nations. When she died in 1945 of a heart attack. Mrs. Bethune had achieved international fame. Mary McLeod Bethune: A Great American Educator was published by Children's Press, Inc., Chicago, IL, and it sells for \$15.95.

Sheriff Willis V. McCall of Lake County has long been regarded as one of the most colorful and controversial officials in the state. He was often described as a "racist" and "bigot." He states that he has been "accused of everything except of taking a bath and called everything but a child of God." A native Floridian, McCall was born in Lake County where he resides today. In the first chapter of his Autobiography by Willis V. McCall, he describes his parents, his schooling, and his various jobs which included running a small restaurant in Umatilla, working in a citrus grove, establishing a milk route that evolved into a small dairy, and working as a fresh fruit and vegetable inspector for the state of Florida and for the United States Department of Agriculture. McCall was a popular sheriff; he was elected for seven terms and served for twenty-eight years. McCall describes several of the much publicized events and activities in which he was involved. They include the Groveland rape case, the June Ritter murder, the Fruitland Park rape case, and the Tommy Vickers case. McCall also discusses local civil rights demonstrations and the controversy that developed in the community over flying the United Nations flag. Included are pictures and copies of newspaper clippings, letters, and telegrams. Some endorse his actions: others fiercely berate him. Mr. McCall published his

own *Autobiography*. It may be ordered from Raintree Books, 432 North Eustis, Eustis, FL 32726. The price is \$7.95, plus \$2.90 for postage and handling.

Heart of the City: History of the First Presbyterian Church, Orlando, Florida, 1876-1987 is by Nancy Hardy Abberger. When Orlando was incorporated in 1875, it was only a village of some eightyfive inhabitants, twenty-five of whom were qualified voters. These included Presbyterians who organized the First Presbyterian Church in 1876. Presbyterian history in the area began in the 1850s when Frank L. Galloway, a former ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, settled near Sanford. The earliest services that he and others organized were held in private homes. The Union Free Church building, erected in downtown Orlando in 1872, was already being utilized by the Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians each Sunday on a rotating basis when the Presbyterian congregation was invited to join in the rotation. In 1880, the Presbyterians purchased land and began raising money to construct a church. The women of the congregation formed a "Ladies Aid Society" to help finance the building and its operation. The forty-by-sixty foot sanctuary was completed in 1882, and the Reverend Mr. S. V. McCorkle of Maitland preached the dedicatory sermon. This structure was destroyed by fire in 1887, but a new sanctuary was completed two years later. Heart of the City is more than just a recording of the growth and development of the church. The chapters are arranged in chronological order, and in each one, world, national, and local events are noted. This history also makes clear the position taken by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., on such controversial issues as alcohol, premarital sex, public school prayer and Bible reading, human rights, businesses operating on the Sabbath, and abortion. The appendices list the church's ministers, elders, deacons, Sunday school superintendents, and presidents of the women's and young people's organizations. Included are many photographs, including several in color of the church's famed chancel windows. The book may be ordered from First Presbyterian Church, Room 337, 106 East Church Street, Orlando, FL 32801. The price is \$15.00, plus \$2.00 for postage and wrapping.

The Catholic Colony of San Antonio, Florida. Contemporary Voices: Letters from Founder Edmund F. Dunne, Viewpoints from Colonists, and Perspectives from Travelers and Observers, 1877-1889 was compiled by James J. Horgan, professor of history and chairman of the Division of Social Science at Saint Leo College, San Antonio, Florida. It was published under the auspices of the Pasco County Historical Society. In his intoduction, Dr. Horgan describes Edmund Dunne's background. In 1881, Hamilton Disston, head of the Philadelphia saw-making firm, entered into an agreement with Florida Governor William D. Bloxham. For \$1,000,000. Disston received 4,000,000 acres of Florida land. Dunne handled the selection of land and the legal arrangements for the Disston purchase, and that is what brought him to Florida. He had long been interested in establishing a Catholic colony, and this is what he set out to do in Pinellas County. Together with his cousin, Captain Hugh Dunne, a Civil War veteran, a site was located in 1882. At first, land sales were restricted to Catholics. but that practice did not continue; by 1889, a Tampa paper noted that there were many Protestant settlers in the area. Prices initially averaged \$2.50 an acre, and the colony was advertised as the "Sicily of America" with the proper soil and climate conditions for citrus culture. A sawmill, a necessity for the colony, was shipped to Wildwood- the end of the railroad line- and hauled sixty miles by wagon to San Antonio. A post office opened there in 1883, and the colony received its first resident priest the following year. Over the years, San Antonio grew into a major community and educational center. For information on the availability of this volume, contact Dr. Horgan at Saint Leo's College or the Pasco County Historical Society, Dade City, Florida.

The Best Small Towns Under the Sun, by Robert J. Howard, former executive editor of the Orlando Sentinel, provides information on thirty-five Florida communities. These towns range from Gulf Breeze, Marianna, and Milton in the Panahandle, through Live Oak, Madison, Monticello, east to Fernandina Beach, and then through central Florida (Eustis, Lake Wales, Mount Dora, Tavares, Brooksville, Crystal River, Dunnellon, Avon Park, Sebring), to the southwest and the North Port and Ponte Gorda communities. All of the towns have a population under 15,000; three have less than 1,000 inhabitants. Informa-

tion is provided on recreational facilities, history, shopping availability, cultural activities, hospitals, libraries, real estate prices, cost of living, senior services, industries, educational facilities, employment opportunities, and plans for the future. There is a map so that one can easily locate the communities described by the author. Order from E. P. M. Publications, Box 490, McLean, VA 22101; the price is \$9.95.

Richard J. Ferry Publishers has reprinted two important Florida history volumes. Originally published by the University of Florida Press, they were out-of-print until now. The author of An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838 was Jacob Rhett Motte. Journey into Wilderness is the edited account by James F. Sunderman. In 1836, Motte, Harvard educated and trained as a surgeon, arrived in Florida from South Carolina. His journal provides important information on the military and social history of Florida during the early years of the Second Seminole War. It includes an eye-witness account of the capture of Osceola, the Battle of Jupiter Inlet, and a number of military expeditions. The book may be ordered from Ferry Publishing Co., P. O. Box 446, Macclenny, FL 32063; the price is \$22.50.

Florida During the Civil War, by John E. Johns, was the publication of his doctoral dissertation written at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill under the direction of the renowned southern historian Fletcher Green. Its publication in 1963 was supported by the Florida Civil War Centennial Committee. Dr. Johns's volume provides an excellent short account of the military, economic, political, and social history of Florida during this crucial period of the nation. This reprint volume also includes the illustrations that appeared in the original publication. It may also be ordered from Ferry Publishing Co.; the price is \$22.50.

The Biscayne Bay Yacht Club evolved from the friendship of two Munroes who were not in any way related to each other. Ralph Middleton Munroe, originally from Staten Island, first came to south Florida in 1877. His guide was William B. Brickell who operated a trading post on the Miami River. Kirk Munroe was a popular author of magazine articles and books for boys.

Both Munroes loved sailing. It was in Kirk Munroe's home that the first Biscayne Bay Yacht Club meeting was held, in February 1887, to plan the first regatta. They assembled six dinghies in the small-boat class, six yachts under thirty-live feet in length in the second class, and three vachts thirty-five feet and over in the first class. Big boat owners included Frederick S. Morse, a descendant of Samuel Morse. After the race, there was a party on the open porch of Bayview House, a structure built from driftwood by Charles and Isabella Peacock. They had purchased thirty-one acres for \$100, and their home later became south Florida's first mainland hotel. Ralph Munroe was the yacht clubs first commodore and Kirk Monroe the first secretary. There were fourteen charter members. The organization's annual regattas and Washington's Birthday chowder parties became Dade County traditions. The history of the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club has been written by Stuart McIver in One Hundred Years on Biscayne Bay, 1887-1987. It may be ordered from the Historical Association of Southern Florida, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL 33130, and the price is \$32.95.

Event of the Decade was compiled by Paul George to honor the fiftieth anniversary of Temple Emanu-El of Miami Beach and the forty-five years of service of its rabbi, Dr. Irving Lehrman. A gala banquet was held at the Fontainebleau Hilton Hotel in Miami, December 17, 1988, to celebrate these events. Organized Jewish religious life began in Miami in 1912 when B'nai Zion was established. This congregation later changed its name to Beth David. A few years later, a Reform congregation was established as Temple Israel. While there were Jews living in Miami as early as 1896, even before Flagler's railroad arrived, the Jewish population in Miami Beach was very small. This was partly because Carl Fisher and other developers placed restrictive covenants in their land deeds prohibiting the sale of lots to Jews. Moreover, many hotels would not accept Jews as guests. In 1927, a few Miami Beach residents organized Beth Jacob and built a synagogue. In 1940, when the congregation was incorporated, it listed 200 members. The institution changed its name to the Miami Beach Jewish Community Center, and the synagogue became Temple Emanu-El. During World War II, when the United States military took over most of the Miami Beach hotels and turned the resort into a huge training center

for the members of the armed services, the Miami Beach Jewish Center provided for the religious and social needs of the many Jewish servicemen stationed there. Irving Lehrman, who came with his parents to the United States from Poland at age six, represents the tenth generation in an unbroken chain of rabbis within his family. Although he originally planned a career in law, Lehrman decided that his true calling was the rabbinet, and he was ordained and received a degree in Hebrew literature in 1943. In 1958, Rabbi Lehrman received his doctorate in Hebrew literature from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Under Dr. Lehrman's leadership, Temple Emanu-El has become one of the largest and most important congregations in the United States. This volume includes many photographs documenting the history of the synagogue and Dr. Lehrman's career. Event of the Decade may be ordered from Gerald Taub, Temple Emanu-El, 1701 Washington Avenue, Miami, FL 33139, and the price is \$24.95.

Philip Weidling, coauthor of Checkered Sunshine: The Story of Fort Lauderdale, arrived in that community as a lad of seven in 1912, just one year after the city was incorporated. His book, Dreams My Bartender Taught Me and Other Stories of Old Fort Lauderdale, is a collection of his reminiscences of people and events to just before World War II. Weidling has watched his part of Florida develop from a group of isolated, small farming communities into a major American urban center. Two of his bartender friends were Captain Manuel Cervantes, who left Cuba when Batista took over, and James Otis "Doc" Crandall. the former baseball star who had pitched for the Giants, Cardinals, Browns, and Braves. Among his many other friends and acquaintances were Frank Stranahan, who operated an Indian trading post; his wife, Ivy Cromartie, Fort Lauderdale's first school teacher and an active advocate for women's suffrage and prohibition; fishermen; politicians (his father was a prominent Fort Lauderdale attorney and a member of the Florida legislature); Dr. Marston Dates, the famed research scientist; gamblers; sportsmen; and local entrepeneurs and businessmen. The illustrations in Dreams My Barternder Taught Me are by Patricia Weiss Stansell. The book sells for \$5.95, and it may be ordered from the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, 219 S. W. 2d Avenue. Fort Lauderdale. FL 33301.

Helen Hornbeck Tanner's Zéspedes in East Florida, 1784-1790 has long been considered a definitive history of this period. The University of North Florida Press, with support from the St. Augustine Historical Society, has reprinted a paperback edition of the book. In her preface to the reprint volume, Dr. Tanner notes some of the corrections and comments that are needed as the result of new materials or revised interpretations that have emerged in recent years. Patricia C. Griffin has provided an introduction in which she notes the scholarly research that has been done following Dr. Tanner's 1963 publication. These include Rogers C. Harlan's military history of Governor Enrique White, L. David Norris's examination of Governor José Coppinger, and Janice Borton Miller's volume on Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada. Dr. Griffin also notes the calendering being done in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, of the East Florida Papers and other important documents of the era and the first full-length treatment of the period by Ramón Romero Cabot at the University of Seville. Zéspedes in East Florida sells for \$14.95.

Shades of the Sunbelt, Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South, edited by Randall M. Miller and George E. Pozzetta, was reviewed in the Florida Historical Quarterly (October 1989, pp. 248-49), by James B. Crooks of the University of North Florida. The paperback reprint of this volume has been published by Florida Atlantic University Press, Boca Raton, and the price is \$16.95.

A Court for Owls, by Richard Adicks, tells the story of Lewis Powell (a.k.a. Lewis Payne), the Suwannee County farmboy associated with John Wilkes Booth in the Lincoln assassination plot. This absorbing and well-written novel is considerably kinder and gentler to Powell than was the fully documented factual version by Leon O. Prior titled "Lewis Payne, Pawn of John Wilkes Booth," published in the Florida Historical Quarterly, July 1964. Adicks's deviation is not from the physical circumstances; rather, he interprets Powell's motives and reactions so as to make them consistent with his own background and limited point of view. Adicks grew up in Suwannee's neighboring Columbia County, and his familiarity with north Florida rural life gives color and depth to the opening and closing chapters. A Court of Owls is available from Pineapple Press, and it costs \$17.95. [Reviewed by Eloise G. Allen, Madison, FL]

### HISTORY NEWS

## Dena Snodgrass

Ms. Dena Snodgrass, the first woman president of the Florida Historical Society, has retired as editor of the Jackson-ville Historical Society's *Newsletter* (renamed *The Quarterly* in 1985). She served forty-one years as editor of this widely circulated publication. The Society's board of directors has designated Ms. Snodgrass as editor-emeritus of *The Quarterly*. Ms. Snodgrass, who served as treasurer and president of the Jacksonville Historical Society, was also editor and chairperson of the editorial committee. She supervised the publication of five of the Society's six books, including one that she wrote. For many years, Ms. Snodgrass was Director of Economic Research for the Florida State Chamber of Commerce in Jacksonville. She also served as correspondent for the Florida Kiplinger Letter. Ms. Snodgrass is often described by the media and by her friends and colleagues as "The First Lady of Jacksonville History."

#### Zora Neale Hurston Festival

Pulitzer Prize winning author Alice Walker will be the keynote speaker for the first annual Zora Neale Hurston Festival of Arts to be held in Hurston's hometown of Eatonville, Florida, January 25-28, 1990. A conference will be held in conjunction with the festival. Topics of papers to be presented will cover the use of folklore by Hurston, her professional and scholarly career, her role in the rise of indigenous scholarship, and her blending of literary style and anthropological methodology. For further information, write the Association to Preserve the Eatonville Community, Inc., P. O. Box 2589, Eatonville, FL 32751, or call N. Y. Nathira at 407-628-2308 or Nancy Nusz at 904-397-2192.

# Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Conference

The Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society invites papers relating to Rawlings's life and work, her time and region, and her affinities with other southern women writers for the Third Annual Rawlings Conference to be held in Ocala, Florida, March

29-31, 1990. The Society, which sponsors the conference, was founded in 1987 and invites new members. The proceedings of the conferences are published in *The Rawlings Journal*, which is available with membership or by subscription. Send papers or abstracts for the 1990 conference and a curriculum vitae to Professor Anne Goodwyn Jones, Department of English, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. The Editorial Review Committee will make final decisions. Membership information is available through the Rawlings Society at the same address.

# Florida Anthropological Society

Dr. William H. Marquardt, curator in the Department of Anthropology, Florida Museum of Natural History, will be banquet speaker at the annual meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society in Naples, Florida, April 27-29, 1990. His topic will be southwest Florida's pre-history, which he has been researching as part of a University of Florida project. The conference's plenary sessions and workshops will be held at the Conservancy Nature Center, Merrihue Drive. The Holiday Inn on Ninth Street will be the convention hotel. For information contact the Southwest Florida Archaeological Society, P. O. Box 9965, Naples, FL 33941.

#### Announcements and Activities

The trustees of the St. Augustine Historical Society, serving also as trustees of the Free Public Library and Historical Association of St. Augustine, Inc., have undertaken the restoration and administration of the historic Segui-Kirby Smith House on Aviles Street in St. Augustine. They will operate it as a historical reference library. The facilities will be free and open to the public under the terms of the 1896 deed of grant from John L. and Frances L. Wilson.

The Lakeland Public Library announces the approval of a grant by the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. The library will develop a photographic exhibit entitled "Pilots in the Sun: Civilian Pilot Training Schools, 1940-1945, Lakeland and Avon Park, Florida," that will open September 1990. The project will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Lodwick School of Aeronautics in Lakeland. The Lake-

land school evolved from one of the nine original schools in the Civilian Army Air Force Pilot Training Program. The program was a significant force in building this country's air strength. The school trained more than 10,000 pilots, 1,200 of whom were British, For further information, contact Hal Hubener, Lakeland Public Library, 100 Lake Morton Drive, Lakeland, FL 33801.

A volume of value to genealogists and research scholars is *Redbook*, edited by Alice Eichholz. Each state is covered in it. The Florida portion was prepared by Brian E. Michaels of Palatka. It includes a brief history of the state and a listing and description of the vital and census records; local history; maps; and land, probate, court, tax, cemetery, church, and military records. It notes their location in the state. *Redbook* is available from Ancestory, Inc., Department RV, P. O. Box 308, Salt Lake City, UT 84110.

The Florida Genealogical Society, Inc., installed the following officers at a meeting in Tampa, December 14: Ceta R. Armitage, president; Roberta D. Jordan, vice-president; Eugene Straley, corresponding secretary; Mabrey S. Cline, recording secretary; Jeanne M. Beuer, treasurer; and Jean McCullough Jones, director.

The Oral History Association announces its annual meeting to be held November 8-11, 1990, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Papers, panel discussions, media presentations, and workshop sessions will be offered. For information on the meeting or membership in the Oral History Association, write Richard Candida Smith, Oral History Association, 1093 Broxton Avenue, #720, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

The twenty-fourth annual Georgia Archives Institute, to be held in Atlanta, June 11-22, 1990, is designed for beginning archivists, librarians, and manuscript curators. It will offer general instruction and basic concepts and practices of archival administration and management in traditional and modern documentary materials. The two-week program will provide lectures and demonstrations, a supervised practicum, and field trips to local archives. Topics will include records appraisal, ar-

rangement and description of official and private papers, conservation, legal issues, and reference service. Tuition is \$400. Enrollment is limited, and the deadline for the receipt of application and resume is April 1, 1990. For more information and an application, write Dr. Patrice McDermott, School of Library and Information Studies, Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA 30314.

The Forest History Society recently announced the winners of its four publication awards. Steven Nash, University of Richmond, won the John M. Collier Forest History Journalism Award for his article, "The Blighted Chesnut," that was published in the July/August 1988 issue of National Parks. Curt Nemine, University of Wisconsin at Madison, received the Society's book award for Aldo Leopold: His Life and Work, published by the University of Wisconsin Press. Benay Blend, University of Georgia, won the Theodore C. Blegen Award for his article, "Mary Austin and the Western Conservation Movement, 1900-1927," that was published in the spring 1988 issue of the Journal of the Southwest. Richard Judd, University of Maine at Orono, won the Ralph W. Hidy Award for the essay, "Reshaping Maine's Landscape: Rural Culture, Tourism, and Conservation, 1890-1929," that appeared in the October 1988 issue of the Journal of Forest History.

A Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Reader has been edited by Dorothy Abbott for the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. The 143-page paperback book contains selections from Rawlings's writings and selected essays and comments about her. There are also a number of photographs. The color illustration, The Dance of the Whooping Cranes, by N. C. Wyeth, was taken from the Pulitzer-Prize edition of Mrs. Rawlings's The Yearling. The Rawlings Reader is available from the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, 1718 East Seventh Avenue, Suite 301, Tampa, FL 33605.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, has selected Evelyn Fortune Bartlett as one of the recipients of the National Preservation Honor Award in recognition for her gift of the Bonnet House to the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation. The Bonnet House was built in the 1920s at Fort

Lauderdale as the family's summer retreat. The thirty-room plantation-style estate is surrounded by thirty-five acres of natural foliage and is Fort Lauderdale's last remaining undeveloped piece of oceanfront property. The estate, valued at \$40,000,000, along with a \$1,000,000 endowment, was donated in 1983. Barbara Keith, managing director of the Bonnet House, has been named the first recipient of the Carl Reinhardt Award from the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation for her work on behalf of the preservation of Bonnet House. The award, a memorial to Carl Reinhardt, the Florida Trust's first director, is presented annually to individuals who promote the preservation of historic properties in Florida. Guided tours of Bonnet House are available May through November by reservation only. For tour information, call 305-563-5393.

The Historic New Orleans Collection's documents on microfilm include a collection from Spanish archives concerning the history of what are now the states of Louisiana and Florida. The Santo Domingo and Cuban Series from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville contain 346 files of documents. The microfilm collection also contains the Military Service Papers of Florida and Louisiana from the General Archives of Simancas. For a detailed guide to the holdings, write the Historic New Orleans Collection, 533 Royal Street, New Orleans, LA 70130.

The National Endowment for the Humanities and the United States Department of Education have granted six research libraries in the United States funding for a major project to convert their card catalogues of citations for their Latin American library materials into national bibliographical on-line data basis. The project has been endorsed as an official Quincentennial project by the United States National Commission, and it is hoped that it will be completed by 1992. Stanford University Libraries is coordinating the project which also includes the University of Florida, the University of California at Berkeley, Indiana University, the University of Texas at Austin, and Yale University.

The Southern Association for Women Historians invites proposals for the Second Southern Conference on Women's History to be held June 7-8, 1991, at the Duke-UNC-Chapel Hill Center for Research on Women (UNC campus). The conference will provide a forum for the delivery of scholarly presentations and the exchange of ideas relating to all aspects of women's history. It seeks to reflect the best in recent scholarship and to recognize the creative use of primary and secondary source materials, especially by young scholars and graduate students. It also seeks to reflect the diversity of women's experiences and to document the history of women from a wide variety of racial, class, and ethnic backgrounds. The call for papers includes proposals for individual papers and complete sessions. as well as panel discussions, round tables, and media presentations. Each proposal should include a two- to three-page synopsis and a brief curriculum vitae for each participant. Those interested in chairing sessions or commenting on papers are also invited to apply. Proposals should be submitted to Sally McMillen, Department of History, Davidson College, Davidson, NC 28036. Proposal deadline is June 1, 1990.

Dunedin Thru the Years, 1850-1978, was reviewed in the July 1989 issue of the Florida Historical Quarterly. The question of who first settled Dunedin and when was raised. Mrs. Vivien S. Grant, first vice-president of the Dunedin Historical Society, Inc., has responded to the review, and notes that there is a listing in the book (p. 209) of eighty-five early residents extracted from church records. The dates of most of their church memberships are from the 1860s and 1870s. Richard LeRoy Garrison and his wife, Emily Sutton, are listed as 1848. There is also a record of seventy-four people (p. 210) who were among the first landowners and homesteaders in the Dunedin area. This information came from a deed map on record in the Hillsborough County Courthouse. The listing of the first twelve recorded deeds indicated that Richard Garrison received the first grant in 1852. It was provided under the Bounty Lands Act of 1850 for service in the Florida Indian Wars, Mrs. Grant further provides the information that the Reverend Mr. William Frederick Nigels arrived from Hidelburg in 1855, and that the Reverend Mr. Joseph Brown arrived from Virginia in 1868. The report that James Somerville, Hugh Somerville, W. Y. Douglas, and J. O. Douglas were the first settlers was in error. George L. Jones put up a general store about 1870, before Douglas and Somerville had arrived on the scene

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Mar. 14-16	Society of Florida Archivists	St. Augustine, FL					
Mar. 22-25	Organization of American Historians	Washington, DC					
Mar. 23-26	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Charleston, SC					
Mar. 29-31	Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Society Conference	Ocala, FL					
Apr. 6-7	Florida College Teachers of History Conference	Lakeland, FL					
Apr. 7	Phi Alpha Theta State Conference	Tallahassee, FL					
Apr. 27-29	Florida Anthropological Society	Naples, FL					
May 10-12	FLORIDA HISTORICAL Society– 88th Meeting	Tampa, FL					
May 10	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Tampa, FL					
Oct. 17-21	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Charleston, SC					
Oct. 31- Nov. 3	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, LA					
Nov. 8- 11 1991	Oral History Association	Cambridge, MA					
Oct. 3-5	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL					

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$25; family membership is \$30; library membership is \$35; a contributing membership is \$50 and above; and a corporate membership is \$100. In addition, a student membership is \$15, but proof of current status must be furnished.

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

