THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY APRIL 1991

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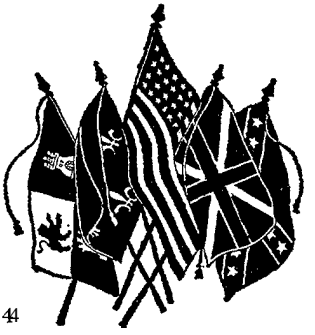
Shipping vegetables on the Florida East Coast Railway, Dania, c. 1910. *Photograph is from the collection of the Broward County Historical Commission.*

The Florida Historical Quarterly



Volume LXIX Number 4 April 1991

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

 The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620, and is printed by E. O. Painter Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, Florida. Second-class postage paid at Tampa and DeLeon Springs, Florida. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly,* Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604-2045.

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The *Quarterly* reviews books dealing with all aspects of Florida history. Books to be reviewed should be sent to the Editor together with price and information on how they may be ordered.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE FLORIDA, ATLANTIC AND GULF CENTRAL RAILROAD, 1851-1868

by CANTER BROWN, JR.

THE role of the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad (FA&GC) in Florida's development and politics, during the period beginning with the line's incorporation in 1851 and lasting until its initial forced sale in 1868, was substantial and controversial. While the sixty-mile line was smaller than either the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad (P&G) or the Florida Railroad (FRR), its eastern terminus was Jacksonville which, only a village in 1851, rapidly developed into the principal port on Florida's Atlantic coast. Equally propitious, its western end lay at Lake City on the edge of Florida's rich plantation belt. The FRR's terminus at Fernandina could not compare in potential to Jacksonville, and the P&G needed access to the latter port for the transshipment of cotton and other goods.

Knowledge of the roles of law and of public agencies as they impacted on Florida's railroads and, specifically, the FA&GC is slight. Sources for the history of Florida's railroads contain references to the passage of laws, court decisions, and administrative actions; they do little, however, to analyze or explain the dynamics and implications of those actions. An examination of the experience of the FA&GC offers a glimpse of those forces at play and casts light upon processes, events, and personalities key to any understanding of nineteenth-century Florida.

By the mid-1800s Florida's success at railroad building had been minimal. Though several lines had been projected, a dearth of capital, sparse settlement, and a lack of governmental support had combined to postpone construction. In 1850, only a single road in the state could be judged a success. That line, which ran

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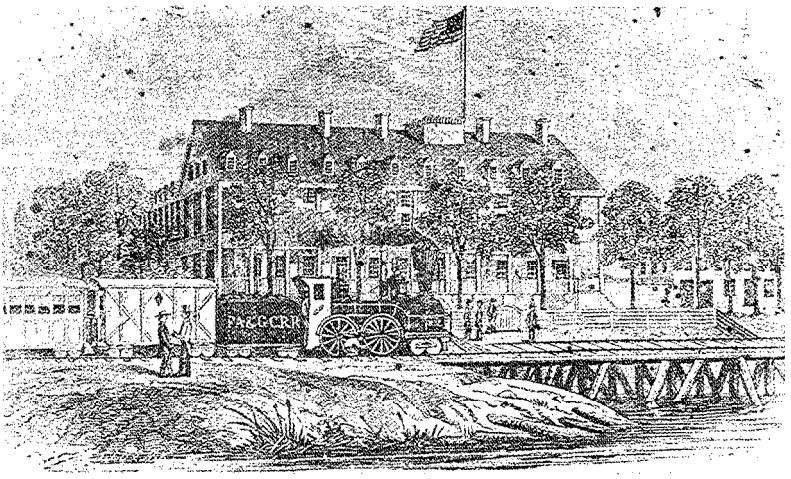
the twenty-three miles from Tallahassee to the Gulf port of St. Marks, was remote from the increasingly populous areas of the state and offered no possibility of a vital Atlantic Ocean-Gulf of Mexico connection.[1]

Such an Atlantic-Gulf railroad link was a subject of considerable interest to Floridians in the 1840s. Following statehood in 1845 that interest was expressed in a growing sentiment for legislative action to spur the construction of a transpeninsular line. United States Senator David Levy Yulee was the first to capitalize on the plan when, in 1849, he secured incorporation of the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad. Yulee's success was not hailed by everyone, and it quickly provoked others to action.[2]

Although Yulee in 1849 was Florida's most powerful Democrat, the elections of 1848 resulted in control of the state legislature by Whigs and the election of Thomas Brown, a Whig, as governor.[3] One center of Whig strength in the state was Jacksonville. Among its leaders were individuals determined that, if an Atlantic to Gulf railroad were to be built, it should be controlled by themselves and their allies. They also believed that the line's eastern terminus should be Jacksonville.[4]

Plans for a Jacksonville-based railroad developed slowly, and before they could be presented to the legislature elections in October 1850 resulted in Democratic control of that body by a narrow majority. Governor Brown remained in office, however, and opened the legislative session in November with a call for an overall state system of railroads and a board of internal improvement dominated by Whiggish public officials and appointees. Had that action not gotten the assembly's attention, Brown's next action certainly did. He vetoed a Yulee-backed bill aimed at increasing the capitalization and powers of the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad. His message of support for a Jacksonville-based, Whig-controlled line was clear. Within two weeks after the veto, the legislature passed and the governor signed the charter of the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad.[5]

1. George W. Pettengill, Jr., *The Story of Florida Railroads, 1834-1903* (Boston, 1952), 8.
2. Arthur W. Thompson, "The Railroad Background of the Florida Senatorial Election of 1851," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 31 (January 1953), 185.
3. Herbert J. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854* (Gainesville, 1959), 30-31.
4. Thompson, "Railroad Background," 187.
5. Ibid., 187-88.



Engraving of a Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad train passing in front of Jacksonville's Judson House hotel. The hotel was burned by Confederate forces in March 1862. Reproduced from *Jacksonville's Ordeal by Fire: A Civil War History,* by Richard A. Martin and Daniel Schafer.

One student of the actions of the 1850-1851 Florida legislature has emphasized that neither Whigs nor Democrats were opposed to internal improvements or railroad construction. "Rather," Arthur Thompson wrote, "differences seem to have been confined to determining which party would initiate and successfully complete the system, creating thereby not only political capital for the perpetuation of party power-so essential in the light of national events– but also private capital for the advancement of those concerned."[6]

The struggle for party advantage in the 1850-1851 legislative session did not end with the incorporation of the FA&GC; the assembly also took up the question of the re-election of Yulee to the United States Senate. Several disaffected Democrats, primarily from Monroe County where fears were prevalent that the development of Cedar Key as Yulee's railroad terminus on the Gulf would divert substantial business from Key West, combined to deny Yulee a majority vote. In turn, Whigs joined the disaffected Democrats to ensure the election of Key West Democrat Stephen R. Mallory as United States Senator.[7] Within a short while, Mallory began to repay the political debts he thus incurred.

6. Ibid., 188.
7. Ibid., 189-92; *New-York Daily Tribune,* April 15, 1853.

The FA&GC, as approved by Governor Brown on January 24, 1851, was an ambitious concern. It was authorized to construct a line stretching from a location on the east coast to "some suitable point on the Gulf of Mexico in West Florida." Its capital was set at $3,000,000, and the state promised to subscribe $1,000,000 of its stock after the first $2,000,000 had been raised from private sources. If that goal was not achieved within the six-month subscription period, the state still offered to purchase stock equal to one-third of the amount actually subscribed. The state also granted the company rights of eminent domain so long as the power was exercised as "necessary for completion of the work" and subject to the payment of "adequate compensation."[8] Concurrently, the legislature memorialized the Congress "for such grant of public land, in aid of the construction of 'the Atlantic and Gulf Central railroad,' as the great importance of said work may, in the wisdom of Congress, appear to justify."[9]

Despite the generous terms of the FA&GC charter, its organizers were unable to secure any substantial subscriptions of its stock. Within a short time they had returned to the legislature for amendments designed to make the offer more attractive. A compliant assembly, reflecting similar actions by the legislatures of other states, agreed to the proposals, and on January 7, 1853, they were approved by the governor. While numerous changes were made, the most important dealt with the terms of the state's support for the road. The state stock purchase provision was deleted and, in its stead, the state pledged public lands "necessary for the construction of the work," any acreage which Congress might grant to the state for construction of the road, and one-half of state-owned and railroad-reclaimed "swamp and overflowed lands" through which the line would pass. The eminent domain power again was extended, as well as a provision to exempt the road's property from taxes until five years after its completion. Provisions of the earlier charter reserving the right of taxation and to repeal the charter were eliminated.[10] All was not good

8. The concept of state ownership of railroad stock in Florida was not new in 1851. As early as 1837 the territorial council had authorized such purchases and, in the 1840s, Democrats including David Yulee had advocated public ownership of the lines. Thompson, "Railroad Background," 184; *Laws of Florida* (1850-51), 37-46.
9. "Resolutions and Memorial of the Legislature and Governor of Florida," House Misc. Dot. 11, 31st Cong., 2d sess., 1.
10. *Laws of Florida* (1852), 22-31.

news for the FA&GC, however, for on the following day the governor also approved the incorporation of the David Yulee-sponsored Florida Railroad, a successor to his Atlantic and Gulf Railroad.[11]

A contest thus was joined in the early months of 1853 between the FA&GC and the FRR. Their immediate goal was to secure Congressional favor and largess, a desire shared by many of their counterparts around the nation. The previous year the FA&GC had received encouragement when a House committee had endorsed a grant in its favor, but that measure had died without further action being taken.[12] In 1853 both lines again turned their attention to the Congress. Discussions with Senator Mallory led FA&GC officials in November to stress to the public that the news from Washington was of an "encouraging character."[13] At the same time Florida Congressman Augustus E. Maxwell, a Democrat, agreed to give David Yulee his support.[14]

The competition erupted early in 1854 into a major political squabble. Mallory introduced a bill granting alternate sections of public land between Jacksonville and Pensacola to the FA&GC. When the Senate considered the bill in March, however, Mallory was absent, and Yulee's friend, Senator A. C. Dodge, substituted provisions to the favor of the FRR. With Representative Maxwell's support assured in the House, Yulee's victory seemed certain. Within months, though, the bill died as a result of general opposition by eastern representatives to "the entire policy of the special-bill advocates" for public support of railroad construction.[15]

Backers of the FA&GC, though they did not give up their quest, were disheartened by the Congressional events of 1854. Their chagrin was heightened by a split among prominent Florida Whigs as to whether a railroad even was desirable. Under the leadership of Jacksonville's Isaiah D. Hart and Lake City's Silas Niblack, local businessmen as early as 1852 had incorporated the Jacksonville and Alligator Plank Road Company (until

11. Arthur W. Thompson, "David Yulee: A Study of Nineteenth Century American Thought and Enterprise," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954), 81.
12. House Report 135, 32d Cong., 1st sess., 1.
13. Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, November 10, 1853.
14. Thompson, "David Yulee," 83.
15. Ibid., 84-85.

1859 Lake City was known as Alligator).[16] By 1854 the plank road for vehicles and foot traffic, involving substantially less cost than a railroad, was under construction from Jacksonville.[17] Its length during the year reached ten miles.[18]

Congressional setbacks and the construction of a plank road by no means eliminated Jacksonville's need for a railroad. In the early 1850s Jacksonville began its first real period of sustained growth. By mid-decade its population had reached 1,800, up some 80 percent in five years.[19] More importantly, during the same period the town gained an important industry, lumbering. In 1855 several recently constructed saw mills were in operation about the town, and others were located in the vicinity.[20] As one resident recorded, "With the exception of the saw mills, there was no industry here."[21] As Jacksonville became a lumbering center, Columbia County, of which Lake City was the seat, embraced King Cotton. Though the local plantations were not huge, cotton became the county's dominant cash crop. Unlike some other areas, though, Columbia County's agricultural sector enjoyed a diversity with tobacco, livestock, and vegetables being produced in quantity.[22] Thus, at about the same time– in the mid-1850s– Jacksonville was in need of an efficient and inexpensive way to transport logs and lumber and Columbia County wanted a way to transport cotton and other agricultural commodities to market. A plank road might help, but a railroad was the best answer.

Subsequent events indicate that by the fall of 1854 the backers of Florida's proposed railroads had begun to understand the need for cooperation and, to some extent, scaled-down expectations. The realization of those facts publicly appeared first in the address of Democratic Governor James E. Broome to the General Assembly in November 1854. Broome wholeheartedly embraced the concept of state support for internal improvements

16. Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, January 13, 1852; Edward F. Keuchel, *A History of Columbia County, Florida* (Tallahassee, 1981), 75.
17. Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, February 2, 1854.
18. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Sun*, January 25, 1876.
19. Ibid., January 22, 1876.
20. Thomas Frederick Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville, Florida: Being an Authentic Record of Events from the Earliest Times to and Including the Civil War* (Jacksonville, 1911), 117.
21. Jacksonville *Tri- Weekly Florida Sun*, January 22, 1876.
22. Keuchel, *History of Columbia County*, 60.

and urged the development of a plan to encourage construction of such projects.[23]

Responding to Broome's lead the legislature enacted in January 1855 "An Act to provide for and encourage a liberal system of Internal Improvements in the State." The new law established an Internal Improvement Trust Fund (IITF), headed by prominent state officials acting in an ex-officio capacity, and it transferred title to all state lands to the fund. The measure then identified several routes for railroads which it determined to be "proper improvements to be aided from the Internal Improvement Fund," one of which was that proposed for the FA&GC. The promised aid was substantial. Alternate sections of state lands for six miles on both sides of each road were pledged, capital stock of the railroads was exempted from taxation in perpetuity, other railroad property similarly was exempted for thirty-five years after completion of the line, counties and municipalities were authorized to purchase railroad stock, and competitive roads were prohibited within twenty-five miles of an authorized line.[24]

The Internal Improvement Act contained additional provisions which, however attractive they may have seemed in 1855, were to haunt railroad companies and the state in years to come. Section 8 authorized the companies to issue thirty-five-year construction bonds at the rate of $8,000 per mile and, additionally, equipment bonds in the amount of $2,000 per mile. According to the law, the bonds were to "constitute and be a first lien or mortgage upon the road-bed, iron, equipment, workshops, depots and franchise."[25] The sweetener came in Section 13: "[T]he Internal Improvement Fund shall pay [any] deficiency due on account of interest, from time to time, as it may fall due."[26]

These seemingly desirable terms masked the dangers they held for Florida's railroad entrepreneurs. Specifically, the act also required payments by railroads to the IITF of 50 percent of net receipts each six months to be applied toward interest charges on the bonds. After completion of a road, its management additionally was required to pay to the trustees "at least one-half of one per cent. on the amount of indebtedness, or

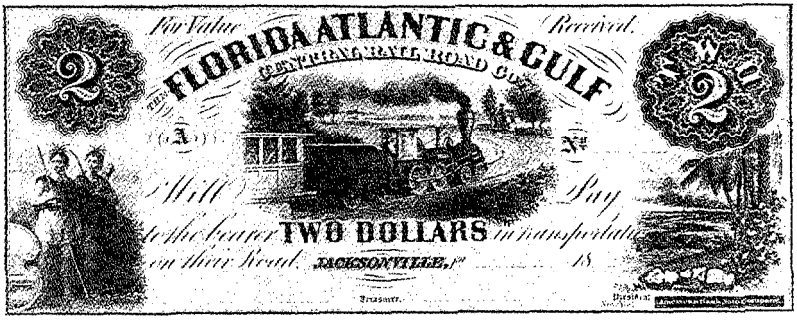
23. Thompson, "David Yulee," 86.
24. Ibid., 86-87; *Laws of Florida* (1854), 9-19.
25. *Laws of Florida* (1854), 13.
26. Ibid., 14.

bond account, every six months, as a sinking fund." In case a railroad failed to make a required payment the law mandated: "[I]t shall be the duty of the Trustees, after the expiration of thirty days from said default or refusal, to take possession of said railroad . . . and advertise the same for sale at public auction to the highest bidder . . . as they think most advantageous for the interest of the Internal Improvement Fund and the bondholders."[27] An 1861 attorney general's opinion offered some reassurance to railroad investors, however, by stressing that the board's duty was not absolute and that it had discretionary power not to act if the board felt inaction to be in the best interest of the fund.[28]

Whatever it might bode for the future, thoughts of default and forced sale were far from the minds of FA&GC backers in the opening weeks of 1855. Quite the contrary, enthusiasm marked their reaction to the successful passage of the Internal Improvement Act. The company's stock books were reopened on January 15, and, at about the same time, plans for the Jacksonville and Alligator Plank Road were abandoned. Many of the plank road backers– including Isaiah Hart and Silas Niblack– subscribed to FA&GC shares.[29]

Though increased public support at Jacksonville and Lake City portended well for the FA&GC, stock subscriptions proved insufficient. On April 24 the board ordered that the subscription books remain open.[30] The company also sought to exploit that portion of the Internal Improvement Act that authorized local governments to purchase stock. Dr. Abel Seymour Baldwin, the corporation's president, already had begun urging leaders of Duval, Columbia, and Hamilton counties to subscribe to its shares.[31] Baldwin's efforts came to fruition in May when Jacksonville's voters approved a bond issue for purchase of $50,000 in shares, and Columbia County the following month

27. Ibid., 11, 14.
28. John Melvin DeGrove, "The Administration of Internal Improvement Problems in Florida, 1845-1849" (master's thesis, Emory University, 1954), 149-51.
29. Jacksonville *Florida Republican,* January 18, 1855; Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Sun,* January 25, 1876; Jacksonville *Semi-Weekly Republican,* June 19, 1856.
30. Jacksonville *Florida Republican,* May 3, 1855.
31. Ibid., February 1, 15, 1855.



A $2.00 change bill issued c. 1859-1862 by the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad. Reproduced from *The Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money,* by Daniel G. Cassidy.

authorized the issuance of bonds for stock in the amount of $100,000.[32]

As the FA&GC's financial position brightened, its officers sought to assess pragmatically the scope of work the line was prepared to undertake. Economic conditions were right for a Jacksonville-to-Lake City road, while the company's ability to extend to Pensacola lay sometime in the future. Accordingly, in May 1855 the company appointed representatives to negotiate with a competing road, the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company. The lines agreed that the FA&GC would initiate construction at Jacksonville and that the P&G would do the same in Middle Florida. The two roads, it was understood, would meet at Lake City.[33]

On February 2, 1856, Dr. Baldwin notified the IITF of his line's acceptance of the terms of the Internal Improvement

32. The Jacksonville vote was held May 15, 1855, and the results were ninety-seven "yes" and sixty-five "no." The bonds– Jacksonville's first– were issued January 1, 1857, at 8 percent. One-half were due January 1, 1867, and the remainder January 1, 1872. Columbia County approved its bond issue on June 21, 1855. The margin of approval was "some 100 votes." The thirty-year bonds paid 8 percent interest. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (Jacksonville, 1925; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), 317; Keuchel, *Columbia County,* 71.

33. *Savannah Georgian & Journal,* December 29, 1856; *The Florida, Atlantic & Gulf Central R. R. Co. v. The Pensacola & Georgia R. R. Co.,* 10 Fla. Reports 145 (1862), 152.

Act.[34] The company's potential for success was enhanced two months later when the Congress– with the support of Senator Mallory, recently re-elected Senator Yulee, and Representative Maxwell– approved a law granting to certain Florida roads "every alternate section of [federally owned] land . . . for six sections in width on each side of each of said roads." Additionally, the law mandated that "the United States mail shall be transported over said roads" and authorized the postmaster general to determine an appropriate compensation.[35] After years of frustration, the building of the FA&GC line could commence.

The story of the actual construction of the Jacksonville-to-Lake City road has been related elsewhere.[36] For present purposes it is sufficient to note that problems beyond the control of FA&GC management constantly beset their attempts to complete the line. While the FA&GC struggled with those problems, the board of trustees of the IITF generally honored its commitments for land transfers and interest guarantees, but not without some confusion. The board for the most part lacked any definite overall policy during the period and decided most issues "on the spur of the moment."[37] In addition, occasionally the Democratic board's actions hinted, at best, that it was unwilling to support the FA&GC beyond the strict wording of the law or, at worst, of discrimination against it to the favor of roads such as Yulee's Florida Railroad (then under construction from Fernandina through Gainesville to Cedar Key).

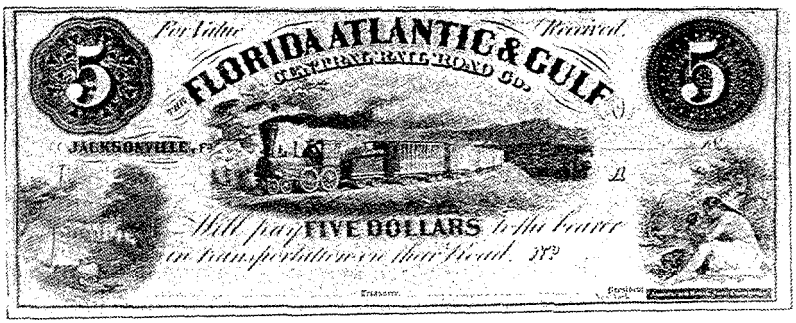
The first such incident occurred in July 1857 when new company president J. P. Sanderson requested assurance that the IITF would purchase FA&GC bonds in the same manner that it

34. A. S. Baldwin to Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida, February 2, 1856, rectangular file box "Pensacola and Georgia and Tallahassee Railroads," Land Records and Title Section, Florida Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee (hereafter, P&G file, DNR).
35. *U.S. Statutes at Large*, XI, 15-16; *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st sess., XXV, pt. 2, 1220-26.
36. Paul E. Fenlon, "The Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central R. R.: The First Railroad in Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32 (October 1953) 71-80.
37. *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Trust Fund of the State of Florida*, 39 vols. (Tallahassee, 1902-1974), I, 23-24, 53, 75, 90-92, 123-25, 148-49, 166-68, 177-79 (hereafter, *Minutes);* DeGrove, "The Administration of Internal Improvement Problems in Florida, 1845-1869," 138.

had purchased those of other lines. In response the board vacillated, simply notifying Sanderson that it had "[no] funds in hand for the purpose." Not until February of the following year did the board act, and then it authorized purchase of $45,000 of the cash-starved company's bonds at only ninety cents on the dollar.[38] The second instance involved approval of FA&GC bonds for the purchase of iron. The question arose in the summer of 1858 when the line was able to secure rails only at a lesser weight than hoped. When the road's agent, George L. Bryant, requested approval of bonds to pay for the iron, the board– perhaps with the acquiescence of Bryant and the company's management– approved only $7,323 in bonds for each mile, rather than the $8,000 authorized by law.[39] Clearly, however, the line's officers continued to believe it was entitled to the approval of the full $8,000 per mile.[40]

What appeared at the time as minor problems with the Internal Improvement Trust Fund were overshadowed for the FA&GC beginning in 1858 by a rupture in its cooperative arrangements with the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad. The two lines, at least in the understanding of FA&GC management, had agreed to a juncture at Lake City, the P&G running from that point westward to Pensacola. While the P&G proved willing to build a line from Quincy to Lake City, it soon turned its attention to the possibility of a link with Savannah through connections in southwest Georgia. The impact of such a decision on the FA&GC would have been substantial, as the far larger port of Savannah likely would have drained off a considerable amount of the business otherwise headed to and from Jacksonville.[41] After negotiations failed to resolve the dispute, the FA&GC in 1861 filed for injunctive relief in the circuit court for the Middle District of Florida.[42] Disappointed in that forum, the road appealed to the Florida Supreme Court, which refused in 1862 to grant the demanded relief. That the court's decision

38. Minutes, I, 53, 75
39. Ibid., 91-92.
40. Ibid., 279-80.
41. *Annual Report of the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Rail Road Company, With the Statement of the President and Directors, at Their Meeting, Held in Jacksonville, Fla., on the 17th day of July, 1860* (Jacksonville, 1860), 20-33 (hereafter, *Annual Report).*
42. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* July 14, 1866.



The Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad issued its third and final series of change bills in 1863. This $5.00 note is an example. Reproduced from *The Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money,* by Daniel G. Cassidy.

was based upon considerations other than a strict interpretation of the law is suggested in its closing remarks: "While our courts will sacredly guard the rights of private property, they will not forget that the community also have rights, and that the happiness and well being of every citizen depends on their faithful preservation."[43] The court acted most directly for the "faithful preservation" of the rights of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad, but its action soon was mooted. The onset of the Civil War temporarily caused P&G management to abandon its plans.

Despite the problems confronting them, the officers of the FA&GC pushed ahead with construction of the road. As track was laid and equipment arrived, trains were placed in operation on completed segments of the line. Though the entire road was not opened until March 1860, the company was able to show a small surplus of gross receipts over costs of transportation for the first six months of 1859.[44] Figures in its annual report dated July 1860 were even more promising. For the previous twelve months gross receipts (including freights, passage, and mail) came to $42,749.67. Expenses of transportation amounted for the same period to $27,122.14, leaving a surplus balance of

43. *Florida, Atlantic & Gulf Central R. R. Co. v. Pensacola & Georgia R. R. Co.,* 178; Robert B. Lewis, "Railroad Cases in the Florida Supreme Court 1845-1887," *Florida Supreme Court Historical Society Review* 1 (Winter 1985), 3-5, 10-12.

44. John P. Sanderson to Trustees of I. I. Fund, July 10, 1859, P&G file, DNR.

$15,627.53.[45] The company valued the excess of its assets over liabilities at the same time in the amount of $118,017. 13.[46]

One sidelight to company financial affairs during the period was the beginning issuance by the line of "change bills." These bills, though not legal tender, were utilized by railroads to make change. The bills circulated widely and were accepted readily in the state.[47] The first FA&GC issue came in 1859, followed by issues of 1859-1861 and 1863. Denominations included $1.00, $2.00, and $5.00.[48] As of June 30, 1860, the company carried $10,353 of these "transportation certificates" on its books.[49] Six and one-half years later over $4,000 worth remained outstanding.[50]

At the outbreak of the Civil War the affairs of the FA&GC generally were in an orderly and prosperous condition. Perhaps placing it at a disadvantage to other lines, however, were the avowedly Unionist sentiments of many of its officers and shareholders such as Isaiah D. Hart, his son Ossian B. Hart, and former line president A. S. Baldwin.[51] By contrast, it was believed by some individuals that FRR president Yulee supported secession as a method by which his line's indebtedness to northern investors might be canceled.[52] Most FA&GC bondholders of the time apparently were Floridans.[53]

The impact of the war hurt all of Florida's rail lines. The Union naval blockade interdicted commerce through the railhead ports of Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Marks, stopping the flow of transportable goods, spare parts, new rolling stock, and replacement iron. The efficiency of the lines suffered accordingly, and complaints of poor management that were to

45. *Annual Report*, 34-35.
46. Ibid., 14.
47. David Y. Thomas, "Florida Finance in the Civil War," *Yale Review* 16 (1907-1908), 312.
48. David G. Cassidy, *The Illustrated History of Florida Paper Money* (Jacksonville, 1980), 87, 103-04.
49. *Annual Report*, 13.
50. "Secretary & Treasurers Report," January 1, 1867, P&G file, DNR.
51. [Emma F. R. Campbell], *Biographical Sketch of Honorable Ossian B. Hart, Late Governor of Florida, 1873* (New York, 1901), 4, 7.
52. Pettengill, *Story of the Florida Railroads*, 28.
53. "Summary of Report filed by Martin July 1, 1874," rectangular file box "Papers and Documents Relating to the Suit of Francis Vose vs. Trustees I. I. Fund," Land Records and Title Section, DNR.

haunt them for years began to be heard.[54] The financial underpinnings of some roads, most notably the P&G, collapsed, and the state was forced in lieu of seizing the lines to extend financial assistance.[55]

The FA&GC avoided appeals for state aid other than that contractually obligated to it, but its finances remained precarious? As the fortunes of the Confederacy waned, the road's condition worsened. Bondholders refused to accept Confederate money as payment of interest on its obligations.[57] Union and Confederate depredations resulted in the destruction of its facilities at Jacksonville and Baldwin (the junction of the FA&GC and the FRR).[58] Both sides tore up portions of the tracks between the two towns, although Confederate authorities repaired some of the line with iron seized from the FRR.[59] By the end of the war the road was described as "two streaks of rust running through the wilderness."[60]

The experience of the FA&GC from the end of the Civil War in April 1865 to its forced sale in March 1868 was one of desperate struggle against an almost overwhelming economic tide and an increasingly hostile state government in the guise of the trustees of the IITF. That is not to say, however, that the road could not have survived had political and private interests not coincided to force its affairs to the crisis point.

As seen, the war had wrought devastation to the FA&GC. That its cars were running at all in July 1865 can be credited to the fact that, in the wake of the Confederate surrender, the line had been seized by Union military authorities who, on July 4, had turned it over for operation by the United States marshal.[61]

54. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963; reprint ed., Macclenny, 1989), 136-37.
55. Ibid.
56. Florida *House Journal* (1863), Appendix, 27.
57. S. L. Niblack to John Beard, April 12, 1866, P&G file, DNR.
58. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War,* 137.
59. Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida,* 342; R. D. Meader to Edward N. Dickerson, November 4, 1865, David Levy Yulee Papers, box 36, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
60. Pettengill, *Florida Railroads,* 21.
61. S. L. Niblack to Israel Vogdes, May 1865, record group 393, part 2, District of East Florida, National Archives, Washington, DC; J. L. Ranson to Vogdes, July 4, 1865, Letters Sent by the Department of Florida and Successor des, July 4, 1865, Letters Sent by the Department of Florida and Successor Commands, April 18, 1861-January 1869, record group 393, micropublication M-1906, roll 2, National Archives.

The Union authorities assisted in repairing the line and either placed at its disposal– or assisted in having placed at its disposal– rolling stock of the P&G and the FRR.[62] By July 20 through trains were running between Jacksonville and Lake City, and soon the road was returned to the control of its civilian management.[63]

The interest of Union military authorities in and support for the FA&GC stemmed from the need for efficient and dependable communications and transportation betweeen the port of Jacksonville and the state capital at Tallahassee. Once that link was assured and the line returned to civilian control, however, the road was left to its own devices in dealing with its pressing problems. Paramount among them was an almost absolute lack of available capital. The editor of the Jacksonville *Florida Times* summed the situation up quite well that summer when he wrote: "Let us have the capital, and by whom or however employed, it should be welcome, as without it, our prosperity as a people will be seriously damaged."[64]

Silas Niblack, who had become FA&GC president during the war, spent the summer and fall of 1865 trying to raise sufficient funds to replace rolling stock– it was said at the time that the line "[was] broken down in motive power"– and to establish steamer connections from Jacksonville to northern ports.[65] By February of the following year a frustrated Niblack, together with the road's other officers, had determined that the line's only hope lay in a consolidation with the P&G. Niblack's insistence that the P&G drop its long-held plans for a Georgia connection proved a stumbling block, however, and by March the P&G had retaliated by refusing to permit operation of its rolling stock on FA&GC tracks until a merger was effected on its– P&G's– terms.[66] Rapidly running out of options, Niblack turned

62. A.A.A.G. to Albert G. Broome, August 24, 1875, M-1906, roll 2, National Archives; R. D. Meader to David L. Yulee, September 12, 1865, Yulee Papers, box 36.
63. Jacksonville *Florida Union*, July 22, 1865.
64. Jacksonville *Florida Times*, July 19, 1866, quoted in Paul E. Fenlon, "The Notorious Swepson-Littlefield Fraud: Railroad Financing in Florida (1868-1871)," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32 (October 1953), 233-34.
65. Meader to Yulee, September 12, 1865, Yulee Papers, box 36; Thompson, "David Yulee," 17 1.
66. Jacksonville *Florida Union*, July 14, 1866; *Savannah Daily Herald*, March 9, 1866.

to the trustees of the Internal Improvement Trust Fund and asked that board to approve issuance of the $45,000 in authorized bonds that the board had declined to release in the summer of 1858.[67] The board– which had provided direct aid to troubled lines, particularly to the P&G, during the war– refused.[68] By July, Niblack had given up the fight and resigned as president of the road.[69]

To succeed Silas Niblack as president, the FA&GC shareholders turned to a man who appeared to have considerable clout with the state's conservative Democratic officials. Seven months previously, Florida's voters had elected Ferdinand McLeod as their representative in the Congress, although that body had refused to seat him.[70] With McLeod's assistance the road remained in operation, and by January 1867 the line's treasurer reported that efforts to improve its financial position "[have] been favorable to a certain extent."[71] Nonetheless, the shareholders understood the company's tenuous position and, under the leadership of their new chairman, Ossian B. Hart, demanded a rigid and ongoing investigation of the company's affairs.[72]

As the FA&GC struggled for its continued existence, other events soon impacted upon the line. First, in October and November 1866 the board of the IITF– which only months before had declined assistance to the FA&GC– agreed to a friendly seizure and reorganization of Yulee's Florida Railroad. The action released Yulee's line from many of its immediate financial pressures.[73] Early the following year, when president McLeod of the FA&GC requested that the board honor its commitment to pay interest on bonds due on and after September 1, 1866, the board transmitted $20,000 in state bonds for the purpose but prohibited their use "unless the interest due upon said Bonds which accrued prior to September, 1866, shall be paid by the Company in such a manner as to relieve the Internal

67. Niblack to Beard, April 12, 1866, P&G file, DNR.
68. *Minutes,* I, 279-80.
69. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian,* July 5, 1866.
70. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 46.
71. "Secretary & Treasurer's Report," January 1, 1867, P&G file, DNR.
72. *Savannah Daily Republican,* January 23, 1867.
73. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 115.

Improvement Fund from all further responsibility for the payment of the same."[74] Meanwhile the Congress enacted the First and Second Reconstruction Acts which sounded the eventual end of conservative Democratic control of state government and of the Internal Improvement Trust Fund. Thereafter, events moved quickly.[75]

On July 25, 1867, the stockholders of the FA&GC met at Jacksonville and ousted conservative Ferdinand McLeod as president. In his stead, and reflective of the Republican leanings of many of the stockholders, they installed Jacksonville banker Franklin Dibble who has been described as "a close associate of the post war 'conquerors' of the state."[76] Five days later the Democratic-controlled board of trustees of the IITF, noting that "the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad Company [has] failed to pay the Sinking Fund of one per cent. per annum on their bonded debt [a total of $20,000]," ordered the line seized and sold.[77] The position of the man directed by the board to manage the line prior to its sale provides a clue to the board's intentions. He was the superintendent of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad.[78]

FA&GC attorneys– most notably Wilkinson Call, a leading figure among the conservative Democratic establishment and a future United States Senator from Florida– were able to win a postponement of the sale until September 18.[79] A few days prior to the deadline, Democratic Governor David Walker, other officials of the IITF, P&G president Edward Houstoun, and FRR president David Yulee congregated at Jacksonville where, presumably, meetings were held with FA&GC's management.[80] Offers likely were made by FA&GC agents for a friendly "consolidation" with the P&G, but apparently they were spurned. On September 18 a bill of injunction was filed in the United States District Court requesting that the sale be further postponed, and a temporary injunction was granted.[81]

74. Receipt of F. A. McLeod, April 5, 1867, P&G file, DNR.
75. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 157-59.
76. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* August 10, 1867; Fenlon, "The Notorious Swepson-Littlefield Fraud," 234.
77. *Minutes,* I, 305.
78. Savannah *Daily News and Herald,* September 23, 1867.
79. *Minutes,* I, 306.
80. Savannah *Daily News and Herald,* September 23, 1867.
81. Jacksonville *Florida Union,* September 21, 1867; *Minutes,* I, 321.

During the remaining months of 1867 FA&GC officials sought, in the alternative, either to secure a fresh source of capital (only $20,000 was needed immediately) or to effect a friendly merger with the P&G. They failed in the first effort and were spurned in the second.[82] Eventually time simply ran out. By January 20, 1868, as Florida's Republican-dominated constitutional convention commenced its deliberations in Tallahassee, the United States District Court had dissolved its injunction and the still-Democratically controlled IITF board again ordered the road's seizure aand sale.[83] Last-minute and ill-fated attempts were made to arrange a consolidation with the P&C.[84] Another injunction was obtained a day before the scheduled sale but was dissolved a day later. On March 4, 1868, the road was sold for the amount of $111,000.[85] The interests of the line's shareholders, including the residents of Jacksonville and Columbia County, were wiped out.[86] Not long after the sale of the FA&GC, one motivation behind the IITF action became clear as the road's new owners leased the line to the Pensacola and Georgia for ninety-nine years. The first year's rent was free.[87]

The Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad was born, nurtered, and destroyed in the midst of a highly charged political environment suffused with personal interest. Party principle neither caused its creation nor its termination; rather, the pri-

82. Petition of Wikinson Call as attorney for the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad, August 31, 1867, P&G file, DNR.
83. *Minutes,* I, 314-15.
84. Jacksonville *Florida Union.,* February 8, 1868.
85. *Minutes,* I, 323-24.
86. The failure and sale of the FA&GC haunted Columbia County and Jacksonville taxpayers for years. In 1866 the legislature had authorized Jacksonville to issue $30,000 in new bonds to cover its railroad bonds coming due and interest on bonds maturing in 1872. Over time the city called in the remaining bonds, "little by little," and retired them; $12,400 worth remained outstanding in 1883 and were retired "in the three or four following years." By 1870 Baker, Bradford, and Suwannee counties had been created out of Columbia County. The four entities still had the entire issue of the old Columbia County bonds outstanding. In 1880 a total of $280,000 principal and interest was owed, and the bondholders were forced to obtain a United States Circuit Court order levying taxes of 3 to 5 percent on taxable property in Columbia County to redeem them. Eventually new bonds were issued after the FA&GC bondholders agreed to accept thirty cents on the dollar. Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida,* 317; Savannah *Morning News,* November 1, 1870; Keuchel, *History of Columbia County,* 140.
87. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 114.

vate interests of individuals allied under party banners provided the dynamic by which its fortunes were determined. Men on all sides of the issues related to the FA&GC likely believed they were acting for the public good. Still, their understanding of public interest hopelessly was entangled and confused with personal ambition and gain.

Interestingly, the decisions most crucial to the fate of the FA&GC were not made by the legislature or by the courts. Instead, an executive board composed of high-level administrative officers of the state became the focal point for the clash of public and private interests. In the end, everyone lost. The investments of the line's shareholders were wiped out; needed transportation was denied to the state; and county taxpayers were saddled for decades with taxes levied to pay off worthless shares. And, those tragedies were only prelude. Continuing struggles over control of the line developed within a short time into scandals involving allegations of corruption touching upon the careers of many of Florida's leading public officials, Democrat and Republican. The climate of public opinion that resulted from the turmoil helped to undermine Republican control of the state, as well as to hinder the development of internal improvements through the decade of the 1870s. A great price was paid for a promise left unfulfilled.

THE FOX GOES TO FRANCE: FLORIDA, SECRET CODES, AND THE ELECTION OF 1876

by JAMES C. CLARK

SAMUEL J. Tilden's defeat in the 1876 presidential election has long been the subject for contention and discussion. While many of the causes have received attention, the role played by the secret telegrams between New York and Florida has been overlooked. Confusion over the codes utilized for the telegrams prevented Tilden's operatives in Florida from purchasing the vote of a key state official. Had the attempt succeeded, the state's four electoral votes might have been awarded to Tilden, and the prize of the presidency would have gone to him and the Democratic party.

On election night, November 7, 1876, Tilden held an imposing 250,000 popular-vote lead over Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, and seemingly had won 184 electoral votes to Hayes's 166. Tilden needed just one more electoral vote to win, and the states of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana had not yet reported. South Carolina had seven electoral votes, Florida four, and Louisiana had eight. There also was a single unreported electoral vote from Oregon, but the Democrats did not plan to make a fight there, and the decision would go to Hayes almost by default.

Even Hayes thought he had lost the election. He noted in his diary that he went to bed early and "fell into a refreshing sleep and the affair seemed over."[1] In the early-morning hours, however, events began to unfold in New York that would put Hayes eventually in the White House.

Daniel E. Sickles, a Republican-party regular, controversial Union Army general, and former United States minister to

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1. Rutherford B. Hayes, *Hayes: The Diary of a President 1875-1881, Covering the Disputed Election, the End of Reconstruction, and the Beginning of Civil Service,* T. Harry Williams, ed. (New York, 1964), 47-48.

Spain, arrived at the party headquarters in New York that evening to find just one clerk on duty. Sickles examined the returns carefully and thought he saw a chance for victory. He immediately sent telegrams to Republican leaders in several states, notably South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, with the order: "With your state sure for Hayes, he is elected. Hold your state."[2]

Hayes also received support from John C. Reid, editor of the strongly Republican *New York Times.* Reid had believed Tilden was the winner until a telegram arrived from Daniel Magone, chairman of the New York state Democratic party: "Please give your estimate of elector votes for Tilden. Answer at once." Reid reasoned that if Magone was unsure of the election results, then perhaps there was reason for Republican optimism.[3] Reid rushed to the Republican headquarters where he found New Hampshire Senator William Chandler, a member of the Republican National Committee. Chandler telegraphed Republican officials in Florida: "The Presidential election depends on the vote of Florida, and the Democrats will try and wrest it from us. Watch it, and hasten returns."[4] Chandler also informed Hayes of the developments.[5]

The situation was confusing. Hayes was leading in South Carolina by 600 to 1,000 votes, and the question was whether the Democrats would try to change the results. In Louisiana, Tilden led by 6,300 votes. The Democrat also led in Florida, where his margin was a slim ninety-one votes with both sides claiming that fraud had been committed in every county.

Chandler left New York by train for Florida on November 8, but only after urging Hayes to send in other men of "high character" to assist him. Both parties dispatched what they called "visiting statesmen," and the City Hotel in Tallahassee was filled with the dignitaries. The Republicans included former General Francis C. Barlow, a New York attorney, designated by President Grant; General Lew Wallace of Indiana, later the author of the

2. Jerome L. Sternstein, ed., "The Sickles Memorandum: Another Look at the Hayes-Tilden Election-Night Conspiracy," *Journal of Southern History* 32 (May 1966), 342-57.
3. Ari Hoogenboom, *The Presidency of Rutherford B.* Hayes (Lawrence, 1988), 26.
4. Edward S. Holden, "The Cipher Dispatches," *International Review* 2 (April 1879), 405-24.
5. Keith Ian Polakoff, *Politics of Inertia; the Election of 1876 and the End of Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge, 1973), 202-04.

novel *Ben Hur;* Governor Edward F. Noyes of Ohio; and John K. Kasson of Iowa. Thomas J. Brady, second assistant postmaster general, arrived in the state with several postal employees.[6]

Prior to his arrival Chandler cabled Florida Republican leaders: "Render every possible assistance. Funds will be on hand to meet every requirement."[7] When the senator reached Tallahassee, he found that Democratic party representatives had preceded him.[8] They included Georgia Governor Joseph E. Brown and Pennsylvania-based Democratic officials C. W. Woolley and John F. Coyle. They were joined by Manton Marble, former editor and owner of the *New York World* and Tilden's personal friend. Before leaving New York, Marble had obtained a code, or cipher, from Colonel W. T. Pelton, Tilden's nephew and aide.[9] Marble assured Pelton, "We shall put Uncle Sammy through."[10] Woolley also had received a code before coming to Florida.

Florida Republican Governor Marcellus Stearns anticipated trouble and asked Grant to send troops to the state capital. General Thomas H. Ruger and twelve companies of soldiers left Georgia for Tallahassee on November 11, 1876.[11] Stearns had been elected lieutenant governor in 1872 and succeeded to the governor's office in 1874 upon the death of Ossian B. Hart. In 1876, the governor was a candidate for a full term against Democrat George F. Drew. Stearns, like Hayes, trailed his Democratic opponent, although by a wider margin.

Initial Florida electoral returns showed Tilden with 24,441 votes to 24,350 votes for Hayes, a lead of ninety-one votes.[12] The state's canvassing board was required by law to meet thirty-five days after the election and to tally the returns. The board could exclude returns that were "irregular, false or fraudulent" and

6. "Presidential Election Investigation, Testimony Taken by the Select Committee on Alleged Frauds in the Presidential Election of 1876," House Misc. Doc. 31, 45th Cong., 3rd sess., pt. I, 528.
7. Alexander Clarence Flick, *Samuel Jones Tilden: A Study in Political Sagacity* (New York, 1939), 344.
8. William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 714.
9. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. II, 54.
10. Ibid.
11. Jerrell Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974), 316: Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction,* 703n. Shortly before his service in Florida, Ruger had resigned as superintendent of West Point.
12. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. II, 54.

thus could accept or reject returns as it saw fit.[13] The three members of the board were Samuel B. McLin, the Republican secretary of state; Clayton A. Cowgill, Republican comptroller; and William Archer Cocke, Democratic attorney general. McLin, a native of Tennessee, had moved to Florida in 1854 and had served briefly in the Confederate Army from which he reportedly deserted. He was working as the editor of a small Lake City paper when he was appointed secretary of state in 1873. He also was editor of the *Tallahassee Sentinel,* one of the most influential, pro-Republican newspapers in the state. Cowgill was a Delaware physician and a Union Army veteran who moved to Florida following the Civil War. He was appointed state comptroller in 1873. Cocke was a Virginia native who had settled in the state during the war. Although he was a Democrat, he had been appointed to office by a Republican governor. McLin served as chairman of the canvassing board.

Prior to the board's meeting, Republicans and Democrats began examining returns from key counties to uncover evidence in support of their candidates. Noyes and Wallace, for example, used Federal troops in north Florida counties to solicit affidavits from blacks who claimed they had been intimidated by local Democrats.[14] Wallace later wrote: "Money and intimidation can obtain the oath of white man as well as black to any required statement. A ton of affidavits could be carted in . . . and not a word of truth in them, except the names of the parties, swearing."[15]

Senator Chandler was not overly optimistic about Republican chances in Florida. He predicted in a telegram to Hayes that the party likely would lose the state by about 150 votes.[16] Barlow also was convinced that the Democrats had carried the state and informed Grant and others of his findings. Understandably, Barlow's fellow Republicans insisted that he leave Florida before his opinions and activities created additional political problems.[17]

The board began its deliberations in Tallahassee on November 27, 1876. Every county had reported by that date

13. *Laws of Florida* (1872), 19.
14. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 317.
15. Lew Wallace, *Lew Wallace: An Autobiography,* 2 vols. (New York, 1906), II, 901-02.
16. W. E. Chandler to R. B. Hayes, November 18, 1876, Hayes Papers, Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Freemont, OH.
17. Flick, *Samuel Jones Tilden,* 346.

except Dade, which had only a few voters. Ten representatives of each party watched as the results were announced. As each county return was read, challenges were offered, either by the Democrats or the Republicans, and sometimes by both. On the first round the two Republicans on the board disallowed some Democratic ballots, and Hayes took a lead of forty-three votes.[18] The results were not final, but they provided Republicans with publicity as newspapers reported their lead.[19]

At the board's second meeting the numbers changed, and the Democratic electors took a ninety-four vote lead.[20] In all, seven sessions were held, and by the evening of December 5 the board had rejected enough Democratic votes to pronounce Hayes the winner. McLin testified later that he had regarded his position on the board primarily as a Republican partisan and that he had voted to sustain his party whenever possible.[21] On December 6, the Republican electors met to cast their votes for Hayes. The dissatisfied Democratic electors met, and Attorney General Cocke certified pro-Tilden results.[22] Both sets of returns were dispatched to Washington. On January 2, 1877, the newly inaugurated Florida legislature decided to intervene as well. It created a new canvassing board which certified Tilden the winner and forwarded on to Washington a third set of returns.[23]

South Carolina and Louisiana also sent multiple returns to Washington. President Grant appointed a fifteen-member commission to hold hearings and decide the case. The commission included eight Republican and seven Democratic members. On February 9, 1877, the commission voted eight to seven to award all nineteen disputed electoral votes to Hayes.[24] The way was paved for Hayes's presidency.

Although they had lost the presidency, the Democrats benefited from Tilden's defeat. They made Hayes's questionable elec-

18. "Report of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Election with the Testimony and Documentary Evidence on the Election in the State of Florida in 1876," Senate Report 611, 44th Cong., 2nd sess., pt. II, 11-12.
19. *New York Herald*, November 29, 1876.
20. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 321.
21. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. II, 98-100.
22. "Report of the Senate Committee," pt. IV, 14.
23. "Testimony Taken Before the Special Committee on Investigation of the Election in Florida," House Misc. Doc. 35, 44th Cong., 2nd sess., pt. I I I, 70-79.
24. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 338.

tion a continuing campaign theme during the next several years. The Republican party was labeled as corrupt, and the Democrats vowed to undo the great wrong in the 1880 election. Newspapers supporting the Democratic party labeled Hayes a "usurper" and claimed that he and the Republicans had stolen the election.[25] Tilden called the affair a "political crime."[26]

To aid in keeping the issue before the public, Democratic Congressman Clarkson N. Potter of New York introduced on May 13, 1878, a resolution to create a congressional committee to investigate the election. The resolution passed despite opposition from Republicans, and Potter became committee chairman. The panel began its hearings later the same year and discovered that almost everyone associated with helping the Republicans win in the South had received a federal appointment. Some disgruntled Republicans, nonetheless, testified against their party.[27] One was McLin, who had been named associate justice of the New Mexico Supreme Court as a reward for supporting Hayes but who became embittered when approval of his nomination was forestalled by Florida's Republican Senator Simon P. Conover. McLin testified that the Republicans had assured him he would be "taken care of" if he helped their cause.[28] He also reported Marble's assurance to him that, if Tilden won, McLin would not die poor.[29]

The Republicans needed an issue in 1878 to counter the Democratic strategy and to place that party on the defensive. The issue that ultimately satisfied the need arose from a very unusual source, the Western Union Company. Within days of the election, controversy over its outcome seemed certain, and James O. Green, a Western Union employee and son of a com-

25. Paul Leland Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876* (Cleveland, 1906) 306.
26. *New York Herald,* October 28, 1877.
27. For example, Edward H. Noyes was named minister to France, John A. Kasson minister to Austria, Lew Wallace governor of New Mexico, Marcellus L. Stearns federal commissioner at Hot Springs, Arkansas, and F. C. Humphreys collector of the port of Pensacola. Haworth, *Disputed Presidential Election,* 309; House Report 140. 45th Cong., 3d sess., 21-22.
28. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. IV, 98.
29. Ibid., 101. McLin returned to Florida after the failure of his Senate confirmation. Travels to and from New Mexico had undermined his health, and he died at his home near Orlando on September 17, 1879. *Tampa Guardian,* September 27, 1879.

pany vice president, thought his company might become involved. Green realized that if an investigation were undertaken telegrams involving the campaign might be subpoenaed and used as evidence. Western Union prided itself on protecting the confidentiality of its customers, and Green believed that telegrams in the company's possession could embarrass important clients if their contents were revealed.

Company rules required that telegrams be retained for three years in case a customer sued Western Union for sending incorrect information. In December 1876, James Green's father ordered all telegrams in the Washington files relating to politics collected and sent to New York. Each telegram transmitted during the fall of 1876 was examined. Some obviously were of a political nature, and, as was not unusual for businessmen and politicans at the time, many were in code. Some individuals had their own code books, and a standard code dictionary was also available. Accordingly, Western Union clerks examining coded telegrams were told to check for names of well-known politicians, or certain addresses, such as those of the New York headquarters of the two political parties.[30] In all, nearly 30,000 telegrams from the 1876 campaign were sent to New York.

Western Union officials feared that messages dealing with the election might be subpoenaed by one or more congressional committees, so the company turned them over to Clarence Gary, its New York attorney. When the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections eventually issued the subpoena, it specifically named Gary.[31] He shipped the telegrams to the committee in a large trunk.[32]

Company president William Orton understandably wanted the telegrams returned. He worried that they might become part of a permanent record and be opened to public examination. Leonard Whitney, manager of the Western Union office in Washington, warned Orton, "If the telegrams got into the hands of either the House or the Senate we would not be able to get them back; that the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate would have no authority to take them out of the files;

30. Ibid., 5.
31. Ibid.
32. Albert M. Gibson, *A Political Crime: The History of the Great Fraud* (New York, 1885), 75.

and . . . the best course would be to apply to the chairmen of the committees."[33] In March, Orton asked key senators to return the telegrams, and, through his influence and that of his company, he was successful. On March 17 the telegrams were returned to Western Union.

Company officials believed they had recovered all of the cables. When they arrived from Washington the younger Green secretly had the trunk and its contents burned.[34] However, more than 600 telegrams had been removed in Washington, apparently by George E. Bullock, a clerk on the Senate committee and a dutiful Republican. In May 1878, when Bullock was named consul to Cologne, he turned the telegrams over to another Republican, Representative J. L. Evans of Indiana. Evans gave them to Thomas Brady, the second assistant postmaster general, who had been active in Florida after the election. Brady's title did not indicate properly his powerful position as a leading Republican fundraiser.[35]

Meanwhile, Senator Chandler was continuing to search for a way to stop Democratic attacks on his party. He believed that the Western Union telegrams would have provided him with the ammunition that he needed and complained bitterly about their destruction. Republican Congressman Eugene Hale of Maine knew that Brady had some of the telegrams. He obtained the coded cables and had copies made of those most likely to embarrass the Democrats.[36]

Six hundred thirty-one of the original 30,000 telegrams remained, and nearly all of them involved the Democrats. An unknown person had removed most of the messages transmitted by Republicans. Floyd Grant, the Western Union employee who originally had counted the telegrams, testified later that Republican messages were as numerous as Democratic ones. As to the Florida election, he remembered more Republican than Democratic telegrams. Any one of several people could have removed the cables from the committee room where they had been stored for months.[37]

33. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. II, 25.
34. Ibid., 33.
35. Haworth, *Disputed Presidential Election,* 316.
36. *New York Tribune,* January 29, 1879.
37. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. II, 9. A complete set of the original telegrams can be found in the James A. Garfield Papers, Box 168, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

In the summer of 1878 Chandler gave a set of the telegrams to Congressman Benjamin Butler, a member of the Potter committee. Representative Frank Hiscock, another Republican member of the committee, also received copies. Chandler mailed about a dozen of the telegrams to Whitelaw Reid, editor of the pro-Republican *New York Tribune.* Later Chandler sent all of the telegrams relating to Florida to Reid, and eventually he forwarded the rest of the cables in his possession. Brady also gave Reid some of his copies.[38]

Reid was intrigued with the telegrams, but he was unsure what to do with them. He did not understand the secret codes, but since nearly all of the messages were addressed to Democratic party officials in New York from the contested states of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, he suspected they might contain information that could embarrass the Democrats.[39] Reid decided "to play about them for a little while." He later stated: "First, we threw a few of them out in editorials, trying to make a little fun out of them, and attract attention to them in the hope that somebody would supply a translation. Nobody came forward, however, and then we attacked them seriously."[40] The dispatches must have seemed very odd to *Tribune* readers. One printed November 13, 1876, was sent from Columbia, South Carolina:

> Very news says Copenhagen to from can Florida you count much in be give what Louisiana am placed in Returning Board (to) insure, what say you? Give news from Louisiana, Oregon, Florida.[41]

When no one volunteered to translate the codes, Reid gave separate sets to two members of the *Tribune* staff, William M. Grosvenor and John R. G. Hassard. A third set was transferred to a man Reid did not identify. The three worked independently to break the multiple Democratic codes and a single Republican code.[42] In August, Hassard and Grosvenor achieved a breakthrough. They noticed that the word "Warsaw" occurred fre-

38. *New York Tribune,* January 29, 1879.
39. "Presidential Election Investigation." pt. IV, III.
40. Ibid.
41. Holden, "The Cipher Dispatches," 408.
42. Haworth, *Disputed Presidential Election,* 316.

quently and often was used as "Warsawed." They guessed that it stood for telegraph or telegraphed.[43] It gave them a start in what became a tedious and time-consuming task. On October 7, 1878, the newspaper announced the existence of the codes and the following day began publication of the telegrams.[44]

The first telegrams to appear in print were from Florida, and their publication was designed to maximize embarrassment to the Democrats. The timing was good for the Republicans, coming just weeks before the fall 1878 congressional elections, and the cables helped to blunt the ethics issue the Democrats had hoped to use.[45] To keep the matter before the public the *Tribune* spaced out publication, printing the South Carolina dispatches eight days after the Florida telegrams, and the Louisiana wires followed. The telegrams captivated readers. Solving the coded messages seemed to them like a mystery out of Edgar Allen Poe's *Gold Bug*, and many Americans enjoyed using the *Tribune* codes to figure out the telegrams for themselves.[46]

Most of the telegrams were in a transposition cipher in which the words were rearranged according to a predetermined code. Identifying the code was difficult, and different arrangements applied based upon the length of the message. To solve the mystery, two telegrams of equal length were selected and written on a piece of paper. Individual words then were cut out and arranged until they made sense. The second message served as a check on the accuracy of the first.

43. *New York Tribune* (extra edition no. 44), November 12, 1879, 3 (hereafter, *Tribune* extra). This extra edition was entitled, "The Cipher Dispatches: Secret History of the Electoral Canvass in 1876."
44. Haworth, *Disputed Presidential Election*, 317.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 321.

The code actually contained ten separate keys:

Table of Keys

Key	10 words 1	15 words 3	20 words 5	25 words 7	30 words 9
	2	4	6	8	10
	9 4	8 3	6 12	6 18	17 4
	3 7	4 7	9 18	12 12	30 26
	6 2	1 12	3 3	23 6	26 23
	1 9	7 2	5 5	18 25	1 15
	10 6	13 6	4 4	10 14	11 8
	5 3	5 8	13 1	3 1	20 27
	2 8	2 4	14 20	17 16	25 16
	7 10	6 1	20 16	20 11	5 30
	4 1	11 11	19 2	15 21	10 24
	8 5	14 15	12 19	19 5	29 9
		9 9	17 13	8 15	27 5
		3 14	1 10	2 2	19 19
		15 5	11 6	24 17	28 17
		12 10	15 7	5 24	24 25
		10 13	18 14	11 9	4 22
			8 17	7 23	7 28
			16 11	13 7	13 1
			2 15	1 4	18 18
			10 9	25 10	12 12
			7 8	22 8	22 6
				9 23	21 21
				16 20	15 20
				21 3	3 29
				14 13	9 14
				4 19	14 7
					2 3
					6 11
					16 13
					23 10
					8 2

If the message included more than thirty words, a combination of codes was used. In a fifty-word message, the thirty- and twenty-word keys might be combined, although any combination was possible. Often the telegrams indicated which key was to be used.[47]

A typical telegram, for instance, was sent on December 3, 1876, from New York City to C. W. Woolley, one of the Democratic operatives in Tallahassee:

47. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. IV, 326.

[1]Perfect [2]you [3]want [4]power [5]we [6]could [7]and [8]answer [9]you [10]cannot [11]believe [12]delivered [13]all[[14]telegraphed [15]do [16]do [17]all [18]application [19]no [20]in [2l]and [22]stay [23]private [24]has [25]you [26]have [27]meddlers [28]other [29]prevent [30]here.W.

The message contained thirty words, and use of Key IX was required to obtain the solution. Once the words were numbered, the proper arrangement was simple:

All here have perfect belief in you. We cannot prevent meddlers. No other has power and all application declined. Stay and do what you telegraphed you could do.[48]

When a telegram contained a number of words not divisible by five, "nulls" or "dumb words" were added. These nulls included: Anna, captain, Charles, Daniel, Jane, Jones, lieutenant, Thomas, and William.[49]

The Democrats also had a substitution code that involved preselected words in place of key words. The substitution code either could stand on its own or be used with the transposition code:

Vocabulary Key

Code word	*Actual word*	*Code word*	*Actual word*
Africa	(Gov.)Chamberlain	America	Wade Hampton
Amsterdam	bills	Bolivia	proposal
Brazil	too high (?)	Bavaria	unknown
Bremen	commissioner (?)	Chicago	cost, draft
Chili	cautious (?)	Copenhagen	dollars
Denmark	Colonel Pelton	Europe	Louisiana
Fox	C. W. Woolley	France	Florida, Stearns
Greece	Hayes	Havana	Republicans
Ithaca	Democrats	Lima	accept
London	canvassing board	Louis	governor
Max	John F. Coyle	Monroe	county
Moses	Manton Marble	Paris	draw
Petersburg	deposit	Portugal	maybe Chandler
Rochester	votes	Russia	Tilden
Syracuse	majority	Utica	fraud
Vienna	payable	Warsaw	telegraph

48. Ibid., 364.
49. Ibid., 327.

To indicate numbers, the names of rivers and places were used:

Numbers Key

Code word	*Number*	*Code word*	*Number*
River	0	Potomac	6
Rhine	1	Scuylkill	7
Moselle	2	Mississippi	8
Thames	3	Missouri	9
Hudson	4	Glasgow	100
Danube	5	Edinburgh	1000

On November 27, 1876, Tilden's nephew, Colonel Pelton, received a telegram in New York that used the vocabulary code:

> Must Paris for Edinburgh Copenhagen, Lima Chicago. Please answer immediately. Manton Marble.

Utilizing the vocabulary code the telegram reads:

> Must draw for thousand dollars, accept cost. Please answer immediately. Manton Marble.[50]

The most difficult code was a number cipher that used numbers to represent words and words to indicate numbers.[51]

Number code

Code word	*Actual word*	*Code word*	*Actual word*
France	two	Sixteen	canvass board
Italy	three	Nineteen	received
Greece	four	Twenty	agree
England	five	Twenty one	telegraph
One	telegraphic credit	Twenty three	Edward Cooper
Two	will deposit	Twenty four	votes
Three	supply or provide	Twenty seven	John F. Coyle
Four	have you arranged	Thirty	Republicans
Five	will send or remit	Thirty two	canvassing
Seven	draw or draft	Thirty four	G. P. Raney
Nine	bank	Thirty five	requirements
Ten	dollars	Thirty seven	member
Eleven	thousand	Forty	expenses
Twelve	hundred	Forty one	paid, protected
Thirteen	necessary	Forty six	prompt, prudent

50. Ibid., 352.
51. Ibid., 327.

Coyle used both the transposition code and the number code on November 13 in a telegram to New York Democratic leader Henry Havemeyer:

> In nine one plyne of twelve ten thirty hold Italy sixteen thirteen eleven information will eight that three England first and go immediately seven twenty afternoon twenty situation one tomorrow. Sent two Tallahassee seven twenty four has meeting to thirty. Max.

To translate the telegram, Key VI first was used, then the number code:

> Necessary supply telegraphic credit of Plyne in First eight Bank five thousand three hundred dollars. Information that Board will hold canvassing meeting immediately. Coyle and Raney go to Tallahassee tomorrow afternoon. Coyle has sent dispatch situation. Coyle.

The reference to "plyne" in the telegram is to James H. Payne, president of the Florida Savings Bank of Jacksonville and treasurer of the Democratic State Committee. The error in misspelling Payne was corrected in a later telegram.[52]

Dictionary ciphers also were used. A dictionary was selected, usually a small volume that could be carried easily, and the sender and receiver agreed on a number of pages, usually one to four, forward or backward. If the sender wanted to use "money," he would find the word in the dictionary. If it was on page 100, ten words down from the top, the sender looked forward or backward the agreed number of pages and then counted ten words down to find the code word.

Finding the solution to a dictionary code was difficult for code breakers. The correct dictionary had to be ascertained (more than sixty different dictionaries were in print in 1876) and then the number of pages had to be determined. The task was frustrating for the *Tribune*'s editors and staff. They eventually solved the problem by looking for uncommon words that did not appear in all dictionaries. One such word was "geodesy."

52. *Tribune* extra, 13.

They also assumed that the dictionary would be small enough so that the Democratic agents sent South could carry it easily. Ultimately, *Webster's Pocket Dictionary* proved to be the correct one.[53]

The dictionary code was used in an unsigned December 5, 1876, telegram from Florida to one of the Democratic operatives in New York:

> Kneel lexicography bass lye leech conduit stevedore to taken descant and woe spermaceti aforesaid helm subjugate hovel of boon research leave terra-cotta forewarning wright unprejudiced seem ordinal metre shamble.

The translation is:

> Just left [General] Barlow. Latter concedes State [Florida] to Democrats and will so advise. Have strong hope of Board. Repeat last telegram.

The last four words, "seem, ordinal, metre, shamble," likely are nulls.[54]

The double cipher code was used rarely. Accurate transmissions were difficult to ensure, and the telegrams tended to be very long. Each letter was assigned a number. The word money in the code was "96-55-33-93-89."[55]

The final code was a letter substitution that could be as confusing as the number code. Only a few telegrams utilized this code because it was difficult to send. One of the messages was:

> Why not imnsss ityep iaan yianse nspnsi mpe?

First it was necessary to arrange the message:

> Why not im ns ss it ye pi aa ny ia ns en sp ns im pe?

Translated it read:

53. "Presidental Election Investigation," pt. IV, 329.
54. Ibid 379.
55. Ibid., 329.

Why not send from Key West?[56]

Three groups of Democrats had been involved on the Florida scene in 1876. The locals included four leading political figures, George P. Raney, William A. Bloxham, A. L. Randolph, and J. J. Daniel.[57] Democrats arriving from the North included Manton Marble (code name Moses); John F. Coyle, a Washington lobbyist and former Pennsylvanian (code name Max); and C. W. Woolley, a Pennsylvania politician (code name Fox or winning). The third group, W. T. Pelton (code name Denmark) and Henry Havemeyer, remained in New York City. Most of the telegrams were sent to Pelton and a few to Havemeyer.

The leading national Republican in Florida was Senator William Chandler, whose code name was Everett Chase. The Republican code name of the Democratic headquarters in New York was Everett House.[58] Tilden, who was referred to in the cables by his code name Russia, did not himself send or receive any of the telegrams examined by the Potter committee. Woolley communicated with Havemeyer, and Marble dispatched telegrams to Pelton.[59] Each operative used a different code.

The coded telegrams reveal the story of the desperate Democratic efforts to win Florida for their party. State Democrats moved quickly to save the state for Tilden and their own state candidates. The first telegram was sent November 9, two days after the election, and was from A. L. Randolph in Florida to Duke Gwinn, a Democratic leader in Philadelphia. It set the tone for what was to come:

We need money to resist Radical pranks. State is for Tilden.

The same day, J. J. Daniel sent telegrams from Jacksonville to Raney and Bloxham in Tallahassee:

56. Ibid., 416.
57. George P. Raney, William D. Bloxham, and A. L. Randolph were officers of Tallahassee's Democratic Reform Club. Raney served as state attorney general beginning in 1877; Bloxham, former lieutenant governor, later twice was elected governor. James Jaquelin Daniel was a Jacksonville attorney, newspaper publisher, and political leader.
58. *Tribune* extra, 9.
59. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. IV, 74.

> You will attend to everything east and north of Suwannee. You take middle and west in hand. Expenses will be paid. Draw on Payne if you need money.

Raney also dispatched a wire that day to a Democratic party official in New York:

> Our state has gone for Tilden and Democratic State ticket by at least 1,600. We learn that W. E. Chandler has left Washington for this place. Radicals intend fraud. We need material aid to check them. Can we get it?

His second telegram read:

> Send a good man here to represent your committee, with an understood cipher.

The first telegrams from Florida were not sent in code. The Florida Democrats had to wait for someone from New York who would bring a cipher.[60]

Marble arrived in Tallahassee by November 16 and telegraphed Pelton:

> Use hundred and forty cipher all to there advice some our must everything cordially necessary one coming remain our head received was absolutely driving no probably month was result this business to majority being evidence will truth but afoot Democratic establishing be that distances contriving but unquestionable clear nothing Democrats slow well followed preserve now be returns doubtless to may enormous claim county first board wrongly travel to be will move may canvassing purge and will our difficult Governor canvasser received Democrat three egregious action require returns able county of canvassing of already fraud one where state board being officers Republican with the immediate beginning legal other Georgia helpful very Governor while need Brown help questions counsel Sellers the arising no in we possible best also and Saltonstall remain

60. *Tribune* extra, 12

can be Moses along and here on general called on army road today officers attorney Governor.

The first words, "Use hundred and forty cipher," called for using Key VII four times and Key V twice:

> Use hundred and forty cipher. Our coming was absolutely necessary. There was no head driving everything to result. Some one must remain all this month. Cordially received; probably our advice will be followed. Clear Democratic majority unquestionable. Democrats contriving nothing but to preserve evidence establishing truth. That business now well afoot, but slow, distances being enormous, travel difficult. Canvassing Board doubtless may and will purge county returns. Governor [Stearns] may wrongly claim to be canvasser. Our first move will be to require of the board of three State officers, one being able Democrat, immediate action, canvassing returns already received, beginning with county where Republican fraud egregious. Governor Brown, Georgia very helpful. Sellers the best possible counsel in legal questions arising. We need no other help while he and Saltonstall can remain. Called on Governor, Attorney-General today; also on army officers along road and here. Marble.[61]

The Democrats realized that of the three southern states dispute their best hope for victory was Florida. Smith Weed, a Democrat assigned to look out for party interests in South Carolina, telegraphed Havemeyer on November 16:

> France Moselle over man greatest river with am Rhine exertions is there full in not here am power made state are chances but you where that be have should confident Rhine to morning in France be concert success is are Africa I the all this conditional working authority communications Europe for Warsawed on act and that close and in for.

The translation utilizes both the transposition and the substitution code:

61. Ibid., 13-14.

> Am confident that Florida is state where greatest exertions should be made. Have you man with full power there? Chances are not over one in twenty here; but am working for that one. [Republican Governors] Chamberlain [South Carolina], Kellogg [Louisiana], and Stearns [Florida] are in close communication and act in concert. The authority I telegraphed for this morning all to be conditioned on success.[62]

The Democratic operatives in Florida concluded that the two Republican members of the canvassing board would follow their party line. Marble considered the possibility of buying the vote of a Republican member of the canvassing board, but apparently he had a falling out with Woolley as to who had the responsibility for negotiating such an offer. The two men clearly were operating independently. Each reported to a different person in New York, and each had a different secret code. Both men considered themselves to be Tilden's chief representative in Florida. Woolley sent a telegram to Havemeyer on December 1:

> Making Jane said you to I William enemy privately Daniel propositions Moses last night to Captain from the stop to. Fox.

Based upon Key V, the telegram read:

> I privately said to you last night to stop Marble from making propositions to the enemy. Captain Jane Daniel William. Woolley.

The same day, Woolley sent his version of a possible deal to Havemeyer:

> Sixteen Fetch may make thirteen forty of half of a twelve eleven ten. Can you say two in nine immediately in twenty. Fox.

The translation is:

62. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. IV, 121-22.

> Board Fetch may make necessary expense of half of a hundred thousand dollars. Can you say will deposit in bank immediately if agreed?[63]

The meaning of "Fletch" is unknown but apparently refers to a member of the canvassing board whose vote was for sale. McLin most likely was the target of the bribe, although he did not specifically say that he had been offered anything.

Havemeyer immediately replied to Woolley:

> Twenty one nineteen two ten twenty cannot however seven before twenty four thirty seven nineteen reply forty six. H.

The translation using the number code is:

> Telegram received. Will deposit dollars agreed; [you] cannot, however, draw before vote member received. Reply promptly.[64]

Either because of instructions not to withdraw the money until after the vote or because Marble also was seeking to make a deal, Woolley sent an angry telegram to Havemeyer on December 2:

> More in select have whom some you in confidence one winning evidently than. Fox.

The Key IV translation is:

> Select some one in whom you have more confidence than you evidently have in Woolley.[65]

In reply, Wooley received a telegram assuring him of support in New York:

> Perfect you what power we could and answer you cannot belief declined all telegraphed do do all application no in and stay private has you have needless other prevent here.

63. *Tribune* extra, 20.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.

Utilizing Key IX, the translation is:

> All here have perfect belief in you. We cannot prevent needless [interference]. No other has power, and all application declined. Stay and do what you telegraphed you could do. Private. Answer. W.[66]

Meanwhile, Marble was working on his own– and a more expensive– bribe. He telegraphed Pelton on December 2:

> Certificate required to Moses decision have London hour for Bolivia of just and Edinburgh at Moselle hand a any over Glasgow France rec'd. Russia of Moses.[67]

The Key VII translation is:

> Have just received a proposition to hand over at any hour required Tilden decision of Board and certificate of Governor for 200,000. Marble.[68]

The following day, an unsigned reply was sent to Tallahassee:

> Warsaw here. Bolivia Brazil.

That telegram read:

> Dispatch here. Proposition too high.[69]

Faced with this rejection, Marble counteroffered to Pelton on December 3:

> Preventing Moses best Bolivia or from Glasgow vote London documents united Rochester states half giving [dropped word] concurrence electors his cast being court either of in received of action for Havana.

Using Key X, the translation read:

66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 19.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.

> Proposition received either giving vote of Republican of Board or his concurrence in Court action preventing electors' vote from being cast, for half hundred [$50,000] best United States documents. Marble.[70]

When he did not receive an immediate reply, Marble went to another of the visiting Democrats, E. L. Parris, for help. Parris was the only Democrat using a dictionary code. Since the resulting telegram was sent in that code, it seems likely that Parris sent it. The message was sent to Henry Havemeyer on December 4:

> Scarcity secured shear distances settee you advanced to husky heart affectioned with functionary sleeper sauce box exempt tidewater undertaker match school plinth settee you scarify nascent beehive admonish upon implacable overhung worry underbrush plinth unlandlocked to untransomed. Sixteen, twenty-one, twenty-three kneel preeminenced your lightning.

Using *Webster's Pocket Dictionary* and turning back one page, the translation is:

> Saturday secured. Several dispatches sent you addressed to house. Have advised with friend. Situation same; everything uncertain. Marble says plan sent you Saturday must be acted upon immediately; otherwise unavailing. Plan unknown to undersigned. Sixteen, twenty-one, twenty-three just presented your letter.[71]

The meaning of "Saturday secured" is unknown; perhaps it refers to McLin.

The same day Woolley cabled Havemeyer repeating his deal and asking what to do:

> Half twelve may less thirty eleven winning ten additional seven for give lieutenant sixteen Russia. Fox.

Combining Key IV with the number code produced the following translation:

70. Ibid., 20.
71. Ibid.

> May Winning give hundred thousand dollars less half for Tilden additional Board member? Lieutenant. Woolley.[72]

The conflict between Woolley and Marble was becoming frustrating for the Democratic party leaders in New York. The same day that Marble and Woolley sent their telegrams about offering a bribe, either Pelton or Havemeyer responded:

> Act divided time ruin him counsels each all important you in Warsaw other of you may see have or conjunction consult him lose will with and coincide you must Israel.

The Key IX translation is:

> See Israel [Moses] and act in conjunction with him. you must coincide, or you will ruin each other. Have telegraphed him consult you. Time important. Divided counsels may lose all.[73]

The key moment was at hand, but Tilden's managers in New York faltered. First, they received reports that the canvassing board would back Tilden and that a bribe was unnecessary. Woolley received a telegram from Pelton, but it was in Marble's code:

> Given Rochester that have London will not fully advise you use reported so need Lima, Rhine to here if us. W.

Utilizing Key VI, the translation is:

> Reported here that Board have given us one vote. If so you will not need to use acceptance. Advise fully.[74]

The information was incorrect, but there was a critical delay until Pelton and Havemeyer could be informed. A delay also ensued while Woolley found out what the telegram said because it was in Marble's code.

Time was running out, but finally Marble was authorized to purchase McLin's vote. A crucial mistake was made, however,

72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., 21.
74. Ibid.

as the telegrams from New York used incorrect codes. Marble received a message using Woolley's code, and Woolley received another using Marble's. On December 5, the day the board was to vote, Woolley telegraphed Havemeyer:

> No one here knows meaning of words Lima Rhine. Fox.[75]

Marble telegraphed Pelton:

> Tell Spain to repeat his message in my cipher. It is unintelligible.

Finally, the codes were straightened out, and the correct telegram was sent to Marble:

> Lima should important in once be concert council and better if trust you there very no Warsaw can Fox done time him divided act only Bolivia with an consult here.

Based upon Key IX and the substitution code, the translation is:

> Telegram here. Proposition accepted if done only once. Better consult with Wooley and act in concert. You can trust him. Time very important and there should be no divided councils.[76]

The confusion and delay nonetheless had cost the Democrats the opportunity to purchase the necessary vote on the canvassing board. Woolley wired Havemeyer:

> Saturday William if power joined forty further twenty have Charles necessary be Jane you late ten sixteen will with and six twenty too to against secured five from advise appear. Fox.

The Key X translation is:

> Power secured too late. Twenty-five ten appear to have joined with the Board against contract from Saturday. Will

75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.

be prompt and advise you further if necessary. Jane Charles William Woolley.[77]

Marble sent a similar telegram to Pelton:

Bolivia Laura. Finished yesterday afternoon responsibility Moses. Last night Fox found me and said he had nothing, I knew already. Tell Russia saddle Blackstone.

Using the substitution code, it read:

Proposition failed. Finished yesterday afternoon responsibility [as] Moses. Last night Woolley found me and said he had nothing, which I knew already. Tell Tilden to saddle Blackstone.[78]

The phrase "Tell Tilden to saddle Blackstone" is something of a mystery. Perhaps it meant that a legal challenge was all that was left to the Democrats.

The few Republican telegrams that have survived show the use of a simple code. On his way to Florida, William Chandler sent a telegram to his New York headquarters containing a secret code to be used in future cables. Chandler's code was short, and he admitted he had selected "feeble synonyms":

William = send	Rainy = things look favorable
Warm apples = majority	Cold fellows = Democrats
Oranges = Florida	Cotton = Louisiana
Robinson = $3,000	Jones = $2,000
Brown = $1,000	Smith = $250

Chandler ended by advising, "But don't telegraph unless necessary."[79]

The other Republican telegrams also are nonincriminating. Chandler telegraphed Louisiana Governor William P. Kellogg on November 16:

77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. "Presidential Election Investigation," pt. IV, 526.

> Pay no attention to cold reports. Telegrams here say cotton low and fever spreading.

The translation is:

> Vote favorable outlook in Florida. Pay no attention to Democratic reports. Telegrams here say Louisiana uncertain.[80]

The Republicans demanded that the Potter committee hearings be expanded to include the Western Union telegrams. At first the Democratic-controlled committee resisted, but the calls were persistent, and on January 21, 1879, the committee agreed to consider the telegrams in hearings in Washington and New York.[81] Even though they showed that a bribe was being negotiated, Marble denied that any offer was made. He testified in New York that the *Tribune* had not translated the telegrams correctly, but he never offered any corrections. Marble insisted that he was not trying to steal the election but merely to obtain what the Democrats had won fairly at the polls: "All the misrepresentations of the *Tribune* in its broadside of October last, and later in its pamphlet," he stated, "hinge upon the false representation that we were bereft of every honest hope, and therefore that we were obliged to resort to dishonest acts." He continued: "The proof is conclusive all through my dispatches that I believed we had carried the state, and I also gave proofs that we had carried the state. There is no doubt now that we carried the state."[82]

Pelton testified that a bribe had been offered. He related his role in the offer but insisted that Tilden knew nothing about the affair. Regardless, Tilden had been damaged by the revelations. Up until then he had enjoyed significant support in the Democratic press for the party's nomination in 1880. After the Potter committee hearings his standing in the party declined, and the Democrats at their national convention nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock.

Had Manton Marble been successful in buying Samuel McLin's vote, the Florida canvassing board would have supported

80. Gibson, *Political Crime*, 75-76.
81. Haworth, *Disputed Presidential Election*, 322.
82. Ibid.

Tilden in 1876. Had Governor Stearns certified the results, Florida's four electoral votes would have given Tilden a total of 188, three more than the number needed to win the presidency.

Florida's highly partisan electoral process thus provided the key to four, and perhaps eight, more years of uninterrupted Republican rule in the White House. The margin by which Florida's votes were determined was not the incorruptibility of her political leaders, but the failure to use the proper code in only one of the hundreds of secret telegrams sent in the aftermath of the election of 1876. Never before, or since, has Florida exercised such political power in the election of a president of the United States.

THE EAST BIG CYPRESS CASE, 1948-1987: ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS, LAW, AND FLORIDA SEMINOLE TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY

by HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

CONGRESSIONAL enactment of the Seminole Indian Land Claims Settlement Act of 1987 paved the way for resolution of a thirty-nine-year political and legal conflict between the Seminole Indians and the state of Florida over control of one of the most environmentally sensitive regions in the state.[1] The area, known as the East Big Cypress Reservation, was a 28,000-acre tract lying in western Broward and Palm Beach counties, and it formed a rectangle measuring approximately six miles north to south and eight miles east to west. On the west, the tract abutted the federal Big Cypress Indian Reservation, which was acquired for the tribe in the 1890s, expanded by Executive Order in 1911, and named formally during the 1930s.[2] Approximately 16,000 acres of the East Big Cypress preserve was included within Water Conservation Area No. 3A, a sawgrass-covered vestige of the original Everglades flowage pattern which is controlled by the South Florida Water Management District. To the north were privately held agricultural lands, while to the south lay the 76,000-acre Miccosukee Indian Reservation.[3]

The Miccosukee Reservation and the Seminole East Big Cypress Reservation were created in 1917 by an act of the Florida Legislature which set aside 99,000 acres as a State Indian Reservation. However, the land originally designated for this reservation was located in Monroe County in what presently is the Everglades National Park. Accordingly, when the Congress es-

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1. Public Law 100-228, 101 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 1556.
2. Executive Order No. 1379, June 28, 1911; Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal, 1933-1942* (Gainesville, 1989), 96.
3. Public Law 97-399, 96 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 2012.
4. Sections 285.01 and 205.02, *Florida Statutes Annotated* (1985).

tablished the park in 1934, it provided for relocation of the reservation.[5] In 1935 the state legislature authorized the exchange of the park lands for approximately equal acreage in Broward and Palm Beach counties. When the land transfers were approved the following year by the Florida Cabinet sitting as the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Trust Fund, the new reservation contained 104,800 acres, a net gain of approximately 5,000 acres for the Seminoles. The trustees conveyed the tract to the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions in 1937, and eventually the commissioners granted a flowage easement for flood control and water-management work within the reservation lands.[6]

In 1957 the Seminole Tribe of Florida was formally organized under provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.[7] The Seminoles established a tribal government with a federally approved constitution and bylaws; they also launched a reservation-based business corporation chartered by the federal government. Theoretically, this authorized the Seminole Tribe to exercise virtually unlimited control over its reservation lands. Not all of the Florida Indians accepted membership in the Seminole Tribe, however, especially those families who refused to move to the reservations and who retained camps scattered throughout the lower Everglades. In 1962 the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians received federal recognition as a separate tribal entity. The Miccosukees are linked closely to the Seminoles through culture, kinship, and language, but they have retained a more traditional way of life. Because all of the Florida Indians previously had been considered Seminoles, the new Miccosukee tribe began without a land base. The three federal preserves existing in Florida at that time and the State Indian Reservation were assumed to belong to the Seminoles. Both tribes requested in 1965 that the legislature address the status of the State Indian Reservation. At that time the tract was divided. The Miccosukees received the lower 76,000 acres, and the Seminoles retained the

5. 48 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 816 (1934).
6. Section 285.06, *Florida Statutes Annotated.* The Board of Commissioners of State Institutions was established by Article IV, Sec. 17, of the 1885 Florida Constitution and abolished by Article XII, Sec. 1, of the 1968 Florida Constitution. All of its functions were transferred to the Department of General Services pursuant to Chapter 69-106, *Laws of Florida* (1969).
7. 48 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 984.

28,000 acres adjacent to their existing federal reservation.[8] Thereafter, the Seminole portion was referred to as the East Big Cypress Reservation to differentiate it from the adjacent tribal land held in federal trust status.

The legislation that divided the state reservation also permitted federalization of the East Big Cypress at such time as the tribes and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) deemed it appropriate. The state approved the transfer in 1974, but the land was not accepted by federal authorities. The Miccosukee Tribe almost immediately initiated litigation and negotiations to have its holdings federalized and also to gain control over a much larger area of land in south Florida. These efforts were partially successful and led to passage of the Florida Indian Land Claims Settlement Act of 1982– but at a price. The Miccosukees agreed to a prohibition within the limits of the reservation of commercial activities that were at variance with state laws. Although some business activities were allowed, the law proscribed the sale of tax-free cigarettes and the operation of bingo games, both of which had been lucrative for the Seminoles. Miccosukee leaders initially insisted that they had no interest in such activities and that they preferred to restore traditional values and lifestyle on their own land. Ultimately, the Miccosukee council, faced with increasing economic needs and declining income from federal sources, obtained additional land closer to Miami upon which to operate a bingo hall.

The Seminole Tribe, too, sought to have its state reservation land placed in federal trust status as a protection against the vagaries of state politics. However, two problems stood in its way. First, federal authorities balked at considering such action as long as the state claimed control over 16,000 acres as a flowage easement within Water Conservation Area 3A. Secondly, the government would not take any action while the tribe and the state were litigating the status of the land. Accordingly, the federalization of the East Big Cypress Reservation was put on hold until these legal issues were resolved.

The question of legitimate control within the boundaries of the State Indian Reservation dated to 1948 when the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District (FCD), forerunner of the South Florida Water Management District (WMD), began

8. Section 285.061, *Florida Statutes Annotated.*

to plan a massive drainage project for the region. In December 1948 the superintendent of the Seminole agency, Kenneth A. Marmon, outlined to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs actions taken to ascertain the impact on the Seminole reservations of a flood control program proposed by the United States Corps of Engineers. He then met with the district engineer, Colonel W. E. Teale, and his assistant, H. A. Scott, and they assured him that every effort would be made to comply with the recommendations as submitted by the Indian Service through the Secretary of the Interior.[9] Marmon wrote: "I indicated to both Colonel Teale and Mr. Scott, that our Indian Service was in favor of the proposal whereby flooding would be reduced on the reservation lands, including the State Indian Reservation. I especially called their attention to our protest to the proposed construction of the canal and dyke running north and south along the Collier-Broward county line, which, if constructed and carried out according to present plans . . . would deprive the Indians of the use of the State Indian Reservation. The present proposed program would flood 104,800 acres of some of the best grazing lands now being used during the winter months by the Big Cypress Agricultural and Livestock Enterprise. This flooding would also deprive the Seminoles of the hunting area."[10]

Although Marmon had represented effectively the Indian Service views and concerns to the Corps of Engineers, he apparently did not intend to carry the issue to the Seminole people. Early in 1950, he was notified that a new alignment had been selected for the canal which would place it three miles east of the Hendry-Broward county line.[11] Again, there was no mention

9. Francis P. Prucha, *The Great Father, Volume II* (Lincoln, NE, 1984), 1128-29. Prucha notes that because the mounting criticism of federal Indian policies during the 1920s was aimed primarily at "the Bureau," the agency was unofficially referred to as the Indian Service or Office of Indian Affairs in federal records. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was officially adopted as the name of the agency in 1947. Since some of the correspondence cited in this study was initiated during the transition period, the terms are used interchangeably.
10. Kenneth A. Marmon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 28, 1948. Unless otherwise noted, copies of all correspondence, unpublished documents, and court records cited are located in the files of Hobbes, Straus, Dean & Wilder law offices, 1819 H Street, NW, Washington, DC. Some copies also are available at the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Hollywood, Florida.
11. R. W. Pearson to Marmon, February 16, 1950.

of consultation with the Indians nor their involvement in the final determination of the project. Evidently the Indian Service accepted the proposal by letter dated in March 1950, and the matter seemed settled as far as the Corps of Engineers was concerned.[12] Plans for the project were finalized, and in August the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions dedicated a flowage easement in the East Big Cypress to the FCD including "the right to permanently or intermittently flood" all or any part of the land.[13]

By 1953 Marmon's view on the location of Levee L-28 changed, and he solicited the support of various officials to have the Corps of Engineers revise the plans. The board of governors of the FCD was confounded by the change. Its secretary, W. Turner Wallis, responding to an inquiry on the matter from United States Senator Spessard L. Holland, wrote: "We are not able to understand . . . Mr. Marmon's present position. . . . The matter was long ago agreeably settled by the Corps of Engineers with the approval of Mr. Marmon's superior. . . . Mr. Marmon now wants to further realign the levee so as to establish it along the extreme east boundary of the Reservation some several miles east of the alignment that was amicably determined three years ago."[14]

Here, for the first time, a Seminole position was introduced into the decision-making process concerning the East Big Cypress. Wallis continued: "The resolution which Mr. Marmon had the Seminoles adopt on January 7, 1953 . . . does not appear to reflect the independent thinking, judgement or wishes of the Seminoles themselves. It speaks of the lands being 'diverted from the trust imposed in flagrant violation of the Acts creating this State Indian Reservation.' Such statements not only do not bespeak the truth, but might well serve to inflame a proud tribe that has long debated the advisability of concluding a treaty of peace with the Government. What motivates such action at this time when the matter has long been amicably settled, we have not yet been able to determine. Further . . . Mr. Marmon knows

12. W. Turner Wallis to Spessard Holland, January 30, 1953; H. W. Schull to George Smathers, January 27, 1953.
13. Broward County Deed Records, Book 704, p. 457.
14. Wallis to Holland, January 30, 1953.

that Levee L-28 is not even in the authorized first phase of the program, so that any actual threat of construction is years away."[15]

How Wallis could intimate that Marmon had coerced or somehow convinced the Seminoles to adopt this resolution and that the resolution did not truly represent the wishes of the Indian people is unclear. One implication, however, was that the Seminoles were easily duped and did not truly know their own minds in the matter. The letter at the very least impugns Marmon's integrity and, at worst, suggests a possible conflict of interest. That Marmon, himself an Indian, just might have reassessed the situation and brought his views to the attention of the Seminole leaders nowhere is considered.

The Seminole resolution noted that, if the plan was implemented, more than half of their lands suitable for grazing cattle during the dry seasons and for hunting during the balance of the year would soon become part of a huge reservoir for surplus waters. Such an action, they held, would result in great loss to the Seminole people and was a flagrant violation of the laws creating the State Indian Reservation. The document concluded: "[W]e, the Tribal Trustees, and we the Cattle Trustees, of the Seminole Indians of Florida, in meeting assembled, protest in all earnestness the discrimination against our people in the preparation of the said Flood Control Project and . . . we call upon . . . the Secretary of the Interior of our Federal Government and the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions of our State Government, to use their every effort to bring about such revisions of the plans for said Project as will move that section of the Levee known as L-28, which as now proposed would run through the State Indian Reservation from north to south, easterly to become the eastern boundary of the said Reservation."[16]

Although Marmon or some other non-Seminole likely drafted the resolution, one element among the reservation-dwelling Seminoles, speaking through the only organizational structure available to them, vigorously had opposed an apparently illegal intrusion into the State Indian Reservation. No federally recognized Seminole tribal government existed at that time, al-

15. Ibid.
16. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Seminole Tribe, "History of Involvement with the Central and South Florida Project," prepared by Leland Black, February 4, 1976 (typescript).

though the Cattle Trustees selected by the people at Brighton and Big Cypress Reservations had functioned since 1939. The Tribal Trustees likely originated during the late 1940s, for, in 1950, Marmon reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "[W]e now operate through *TRUSTEES* elected by members of the two large reservations. The Brighton Reservation comprised of Cow Creeks is represented by three trustees . . . also the Big Cypress Reservation Seminoles comprised of Miccosukees. The Seminole Tribe Trustees . . . are elected as follows: One each by Brighton and Big Cypress Reservation of the Agency. The Seminole Tribe Trustees serve a term of two years."[17]

Marmon dealt with the trustees in a limited governmental capacity as legitimate representatives of the Seminole people concerning tribal business matters. One elderly Seminole recalls this effort to organize a tribal governing body: "Superintendent, who was about to retire tried to help us, by dealing with people who really didn't have the authority to speak for the whole tribe but [he] had to deal with someone. He formed the Business Committee on all three reservations, by appointing them himself."[18] Perhaps because of their function the Tribal Trustees also were called the Business Committee by many Seminoles. Furthermore, other groups claiming to speak for the tribe appear in federal documents from this period. In 1955 a delegation identifying itself as the "Board of Directors of the Seminole Tribe" presented testimony before the joint Senate-House Committees on Indian Affairs.[19] The existence of several groups with various names underscores the difficulty in identifying the true locus of Seminole political power during the late pre-organizational period.

Prior to the formation of the Seminole Tribe of Florida in 1957, several ad hoc organizations, constituted primarily of non-

17. Marmon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 8, 1950. This appears as Exhibit 23 in the Indian Law Resource Center's "Report to Congress: Seminole Land Rights in Florida and the award of the Indian Claims Commission," May 9, 1978. See: United States Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, Ninety-fifth Congress, *Hearings on S. 2000 and S. 2188, Distribution of Seminole Judgment Funds* (Washington, 1978), 209.
18. Seminole Tribe of Florida, Inc., *Seminole Tribe of Florida 20th Anniversary of Tribal Organization, 1957-1977, Saturday, August 20, 1977* (Hollywood, FL, 1977), 20.
19. United States Congress, House. Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Eighty-fourth Congress, *Hearings Pursuant to H. Res. 30, April 6 and 7, 1955* (Washington, 1955), 5-6.

Indian membership, ostensibly represented the interests of the Florida Indians. The Seminole Indian Association (SIA), which could trace its founding to 1914 but effectively had been reorganized in 1933 to provide assistance to Seminoles throughout the Great Depression, was the most active.[20] The association, through its president, Robert D. Mitchell of Orlando, and executive secretary, Bertram Scott of Winter Haven, was involved in the controversy over Levee L-28. In November 1954 the SIA brought together in Orlando some twenty-five persons representing all of the major governmental agencies involved with the project, as well as six Seminole Indians, to consider the alignment of Level L-28 and its effects on the Indians and the state reservation. Oscar D. Rawls, assistant chief of the Planning and Reports Branch, Corps of Engineers, later reported: "I was called upon to explain why the present alinement was chosen and any reasons why it should not be moved to the eastern edge near the reservation. I explained that originally the alinement had been along the County line, knowing that some refinement would be necessary in later studies. At a later date, field reconnaissance and office studies, with maps and aerial photographs, were made. . . . It was found that the edge of the Everglades virtually bisected the State Reservation from north to south. East of the line was the level sawgrass of the Everglades; West of the line was the sloping soils with maiden cane growth. The former was worthless as cattle feed; the latter quite good and water tolerant. [United States Soil Conservation Service] maps showed that this was the line of demarcation between worthless soils good only for conservation purposes on the east, and valuable soil suitable for agricultural use on the west. Thus the choice of alinement was primarily dictated by soil characteristics. There were engineering reasons why eastward realinement would be undesirable. . . . The plan of presentation was persuasive and factual rather than controversial in any way."[21]

Testimony of BIA soil and cattle experts supported Rawls's argument, and that apparently won the support of the SIA lead-

20. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., "Private Societies and the Maintenance of Seminole Tribal Integrity, 1899-1957," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (January 1978), 297-316.
21. Oscar D. Rawls, "Meeting with Seminole Indian Association, Orlando, Fla., 24 November 54," November 29, 1954.

ers. As for the Seminoles, Rawls noted: "The Indians present spoke English poorly and apparently understood it in the same manner. They were not empowered to make individual decisions, having to refer all action back to their tribal council. They stated certain platitudes such as: Land once given to the Indians should not be taken from them; that they had voted against having the alinements run through their reservation and wanted it moved to the eastern boundary; they said that their council would never change in this attitude. They apparently object to the trespassing of white men, including surveyors."[22] To avoid such resentments in the future, it was suggested that Marmon be informed of intrusions into Indian land and that he explain to the Indians the purpose of the surveys.

Interestingly, Rawls detected some ambivalence in Marmon's position. "Mr. Marmon, evidently in favor of the present alinement all along, appears to be unable to persuade the tribal council that this is best for them, since they look with misgivings on most actions of the white man. Mssrs. Mitchell, Scott, and Marmon and all other Indian representatives are fully persuaded of the desirability of the present alinement and state that they will take this to the tribal council for full explanation and persuasion. They expressed confidence in the success of the outcome. Mr. Turner Wallis believes that the meeting was quite successful and will result in the acceptance of the present alinement."[23] As an inducement, all parties reportedly agreed that the Seminoles could continue their previous uses of all the conservation area lands, including the grazing of cattle during the dry season.

Marmon and others eventually persuaded the Seminole element that was most directly impacted to change its position and accept the new L-28 alignment.[24] Marmon informed Wallis early in 1955, "I am pleased to transmit herewith a copy of the original resolution signed by the leaders of the Big Cypress Reservation, Hendry County, Florida, approving the present proposed location of Levee L-28, approximately three miles east of the Hendry-

22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Interview with Robert Mitchell by the author, July 13, 1985. Mitchell, a long-time confidant and friend of the Seminole and Miccosukee people, confirmed that the Indians were not happy with the WMD intrusion into their lands but reluctantly accepted the compromise location of the L-28 three miles east of the western boundary of the reservation.

Broward County line."[25] The resolution, dated November 30, 1954, stated: "A meeting of all adults living on this reservation was called by Frank Billie, acting as tribal trustee, to discuss the proposed Flood Control Project . . . on the State Reservation. A total of 96 residents attended. It was decided that the Flood Control Project could be built on the State Reservation land. The decision was approved by a show of hands. This approves the present proposed location of L-28 (levee). The undersigned are authorized by the Seminole Indians living on the Big Cypress Reservation to represent their interests in this matter."[26] The document was signed by Frank Billie and Morgan Smith, trustees; Henry Cypress, representative; and Jimmie Osceola, secretary. The state of Florida later contended that this document constituted Seminole consent to the granting of a flowage easement in the East Big Cypress. However, a question remained as to whether the actions of a group from the Big Cypress Reservation was legally binding on the entire Seminole Tribe since the group did not constitute a tribal government as defined by the Indian Reorganization Act.

Despite Seminole concerns about the alignment of Levee L-28, the project was completed by the Corps of Engineers in 1965. The controversial work roughly bisected the preserve. Canals and levees were constructed through the tract for approximately eleven miles. These varied in width from 600 to 750 feet and covered an area of 900 acres. The western 12,000 acres of Seminole land ostensibly was "recovered" and made usable for agricultural purposes, primarily cattle grazing. The 16,000 acres lying eastward of the Levee L-28 remained in a wild state as part of the water impoundment area.

During the 1970s the Seminole Tribe of Florida, headed by aggressive leaders and encouraged by the new national emphasis on Indian self-determination, moved to regain control of its land in the East Big Cypress. In 1974 a civil action was brought in the Broward County circuit court.[27] However, because of the nature of the case it soon was moved to the United States District

25. Marmon to Wallis, January 19, 1955.
26. Ibid.
27. *Seminole Tribe of Indians of Florida v. State of Florida et al.* Complaint, case no. 78-4430, Circuit Court of the Seventeenth Judicial Circuit, Broward County, Florida, 1974.

Court for the Southern District of Florida.[28] The lawsuit was prepared with assistance from the Native American Rights Fund and was supported in part by a grant from the Ford Foundation. Tribal attorney Stephen H. Whilden argued that the action was "to establish the rights of the Seminole Tribe of Indians of the State of Florida in 16,000 acres of reservation land in the State of Florida, which are lands subject to the protection of the Indian Non-Intercourse Act [and state law]."[29]

This action began thirteen years of litigation and negotiation between the Seminole Tribe, the state of Florida, and the WMD. The Seminoles outlined three causes for action. First, the reservation land in the East Big Cypress was subject to the protection of Article VI, Clause 2, of the United States Constitution, as well as the 1790 Indian Non-Intercourse Act. The United States never had consented to, or approved of, any dedication of these lands to another party, and thus the Seminoles retained title and right of possession to the land. Second, the dedication of the land and construction upon and use of it by the state and its agencies constituted a taking of Indian land for public purposes without payment of just compensation in violation of Article 10, Section 6, of the Florida Constitution. And third, the state and its agencies, as trustees for the reservation lands, had breached their fiduciary duties to the Seminoles by converting the property to their own use and profit. Specifically, the state had reserved and retained income from mineral leases on the East Big Cypress that should have gone to the Seminoles.

The Seminoles asked the court to declare that they were the owners free and clear of the 16,000 acres and that the state had no right, title, or interest in the property or, as an alternative, to award just compensation, including interest, for the wrongful taking of the land. They also requested the court to order the state to provide the tribe with an accurate accounting for East Big Cypress for the period December 23, 1936, to March 19, 1974. Thirdly, damages were demanded for the wrongful receipt and retention of income by the state, as well as other reasonable and proper relief including interests, costs, and attorneys' fees.

28. *Seminole Tribe of Indians of Florida v. State of Florida et al.,* Complaint, case no. 78-6116-Civ-NCR, United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida (cited hereafter as SDF), March 17, 1978.
29. Amended Complaint, case no. 78-6116-Civ-NCR, SDF, July 11, 1978.

The state's defense rested primarily on a claim to immunity from suit under the Eleventh Amendment of the United States Constitution, which prohibits suit in federal courts against a state by citizens of another state or a foreign nation.[30] If the Seminole Tribe was held to be a separate sovereign nation, then the case would be moved from the federal court back to the state court. The Seminole case hinged on whether, at the time of the 1950 deed conveyance, the East Big Cypress was Seminole tribal land within the meaning of the Non-Intercourse Act. If it was, even though the state held legal title to the East Big Cypress, the tribe's right to full beneficial use of the land was unlimited. Furthermore, the tribe argued that the federal government had not consented to dedication of the land to the WMD. Although the Non-Intercourse Act argument was the tribe's strongest position, it temporarily was put aside in hopes of reaching a negotiated settlement with the state and WMD.

Despite acrimony between the attorneys representing the state and the Seminoles, negotiations were pursued from 1980 to 1983. They proved, however, to be of no avail. One point of contention was the tribe's decision to grow sugar cane in Conservation Area 3A, where the WMD held sugar production to be an incompatible use of the land. The Seminoles also clashed with the state as to who held jurisdiction on Indian lands in Florida. The tribe wanted to police the land without interference; the state insisted that it retain civil and criminal jurisdiction on the state reservation area. The "Save Our Everglades" program promoted by Governor Robert Graham as part of his environmental protection project to restore Florida wetlands also became entangled with the Indian negotiations. Pursuant to the program, Seminole lands in Palm Beach County (known as the Rotenberger Tract) were to be used to reestablish a natural sheet flowage of

30. In 1976 the Indian Claims Commission awarded the Seminole people of Florida and Oklahoma compensation for lands taken from them in the 1820s and 1830s. However, the Florida Seminoles had raised the issue of a possible new claim to some 5,000,000 acres of land in south Florida. This was based primarily on a presidential order of 1839 setting aside a tract for Indians– the result of the so-called Macomb Treaty during the Second Seminole War. Although the "Macomb Claim" never was formally filed, the threat of such action played a significant role in subsequent negotiations over the East Big Cypress Reservation. *Seminole Indians of the State of Florida and the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma v. The United States,* 38 Ind. Cl. Comm. 62 (1976), docket nos. 73 and 151 consolidated.

water into the conservation area and, eventually, to Everglades National Park. A state-initiated land exchange proposal by which some 14,000 acres of land east of the L-28 canal would be swapped for an equal amount of land outside the reservation boundaries was almost accepted by the Seminoles, but it foundered on the state's inability to devise a value-for-value exchange mechanism. Thus, after almost eight years of litigation and negotiation the issue remained stalemated.

On March 30, 1984, the state moved to dismiss the Seminole suit with prejudice on jurisdictional, as well as substantive, grounds.[31] The WMD filed a similar motion. However, by the early 1980s several landmark Indian rights cases were before the United States Supreme Court which would have great bearing on the Seminole suit; therefore, the attorneys representing the tribe sought to stay proceedings pending the outcome of those cases. Federal Judge Norman C. Rottenger, Jr., issued the appropriate order in May 1984.[32]

Shortly after Judge Rottenger's action, the Supreme Court strengthened the Seminole position by finding that tribal lands could not be conveyed under the Non-Intercourse Act. The court's 1985 decision in *County of Oneida, New York, et al. v. Oneida Indian Nation (Oneida II)* affirmed an award to the Oneida tribe based on 1795 violations of its federal rights by the state of New York.[33] The court also held, in a related case, for the Oneidas who had sued the state of New York for unlawfully obtaining possession of their large aboriginal territory in violation of the 1790 Non-Intercourse Act.[34]

In April 1985 tribe attorneys filed a memorandum opposing the defendants' motion to dismiss. Drawing on the recent Supreme Court precedents, they argued that there was no "relevant legal basis" for holding that Indian claims against the state were barred by the Eleventh Amendment and that the Seminoles, like the Oneidas, had a valid claim under the Non-Intercourse Act.

31. "Memorandum Of Law In Support Of Motion To Dismiss Of State Of Florida, Florida Board Of Commissioners Of State Institutions, Florida Board Of Trustees Of The Internal Improvement Trust Fund, And Florida Department Of Natural Resources, Division Of State Lands," case no. 78-6116-Civ-NCR, SDF, March 30, 1984.
32. Stay Order, case no. 78-6116-Civ-NCR, SDF, May 30, 1984.
33. 53 *United States Law Week* 4225, March 4, 1985.
34. *Oneida Indian Nation of New York v. State of New York,* 691 F. 2d 1070 (2d Cir. 1982).

Seminole attorneys contended that the language of the modern act had been construed broadly to cover not only consensual transactions with Indian tribes, such as the attempted purchase considered in *Oneida II,* but also unilateral transactions designed to accomplish divestiture or alienation of tribal title. Therefore, they urged, "the inescapable meaning of this statutory scheme requires that the Nonintercourse Act be applied."[35] Lastly, they insisted that the court held jurisdiction over the plaintiffs related state law claims, since both the federal and state claims arose out of a common nucleus of operative facts.

The focus of the action then shifted from establishing Seminole rights under federal law to an attack based on Florida state law. The tribe moved for a partial summary judgment on the state's occupation and control over approximately 16,000 acres of land in the East Big Cypress Reservation.[36] The state countered, asserting that before the court could consider judgment on the state-law-taking issue, it first must find that it (the court) had jurisdiction to hear the claim and that the reservations contained in the 1937 deed were invalid. A federal court's assumption of jurisdiction, the state argued, precluded judgment for the plaintiff. Judge Rottenger withheld any decision, and the case again was deadlocked. A second round of negotiations then ensued.[37]

The case now took an important turn as the state split with the WMD over the East Big Cypress.[38] The state, as trustee for the Seminoles and as the party holding title to the state reservation, threatened to file a cross claim against the WMD alleging that the agency had exceeded its authority for the use of Indian lands. Further, it contended that the WMD was limited to the

35. "Plaintiffs Memorandum In Opposition To Defendant's Motions To Dismiss," case no. 78-6116-Civ, SDF, April 5, 1985, 5.
36. "Plaintiffs Memorandum Of Law In Support Of Motion For Partial Summary Judgment," case no. 78-6116-Civ-NCR, SDF, April 4, 1985, 19-20.
37. Gay M. Biery-Hamilton, *Draft Study of the 1987 Seminole Settlement* (typescript, 1989). This document, prepared for the South Florida Water Management District, presents a chronology and thorough analysis of the negotiation process. The general outline of events and conclusions in the study reportedly were verified through interviews with the Seminole and WMD negotiators. The author has replicated a number of those interviews.
38. Interview with Jerry C. Straus by author, November 1, 1990. Straus contends that the split between the state and WMD eventually opened the way for a settlement by allowing the tribe to negotiate with the parties separately.

terms of the 1950 dedication which conveyed rights for a flowage easement and an easement to construct and maintain canals, levees, and associated water control structures, and the district had no authority to require the tribe to apply for permits to make any other use of these lands such as cattle grazing. The state demanded that the WMD acknowledge that it had a flowage easement only, provide grazing access to the conservation area, and pay a fee for the rights they sought on the land in Conservation Area 3A.

In response, the WMD denied owing any money and insisted that cattle grazing or other agricultural use within the conservation area would require water management systems contrary to the purposes of their project. According to the WMD argument, such use would impede the sheet flow of water and the purification of surface waters before they entered the ground and surface water systems. The district conceded that the Seminoles could use the conservation area as "natural range," but it would not allow planting grasses or digging drainage ditches. Nevertheless, the state held that the WMD could not deny the tribe access to the property in question. The district also questioned why the state was choosing to represent the Seminoles who had their own counsel and claimed that this conflict would damage the interests of both parties. It denied that it had flooded the land or denied Indian access for grazing purposes. The WMD warned that the entire easement might be invalidated if the state pursued its argument that the district's interest in Indian lands was in violation of the Non-Intercourse Act.

The necessity of a judicial determination of the validity of the 1937 deed reservations, the subsequent 1950 easement, and any violation of the Non-Intercourse Act appeared necessary. The tribe wanted the issue decided by a federal court; the state and WMD insisted that it be determined in a state court. In the fall of 1985 a partial legal compromise was reached to avoid the state's cross claim against the WMD. The two parties then filed a document with the court which purported to clarify remaining tribal rights and access to the land.

The Seminoles responded to this agreement by threatening to block implementation of the Modified Hendry County Plan. This was a $20,000,000 project for flood control and drainage which the WMD was about to initiate after years of planning and heavy expenditure of funds. The plan was of paramount

concern to agricultural interests in south Florida. It would drain potential citrus lands to the west of the existing WMD drainage system and impound the excess water in Conservation Area 3A. Seminole lands were crucial to its implementation. Much of the project was to be constructed on the Big Cypress reservation in Hendry County and would bring additional runoff into the disputed conservation area site. The tribe had protested against the plan since the 1970s, but the district had moved ahead with construction. Unaccountably, though, the WMD had neglected to notify the Seminoles about public hearings on the matter as they had done with other area landowners. Therefore, the tribe requested a public hearing on the project, and all parties understood that tribal objections could block progress indefinitely. This action brought the WMD and the state to the negotiating table. Seminole general counsel Jim Shore recalled it as "the first time that we got their attention."[39]

The district already was seeking a resolution of the East Big Cypress impasse. In February 1986, $3,000,000 had become available to settle the Seminole suit, but the state and the WMD could not agree on how much each agency would pay, and the offer was withdrawn. The case was headed back to court, and the tribe still was threatening to thwart the Modified Hendry County Plan. At that juncture, though, the district decided to negotiate directly with the Seminoles. A member of the district's board of managers, Timer Powers, stepped forward and took a leading role in resolving the issues. Powers had been working with the Seminoles for several months and had gained their respect. He contacted tribal counsel and requested a meeting. Tribal attorneys were suspicious of the WMD and expected more delaying tactics, but they accepted the offer.[40] Shore especially was skeptical but maintained that the tribe had wanted to negotiate all along because it was the realistic thing to do.

The first meeting was held in February 1986 and began with emotionally charged exchanges between tribal chairman James Billie and the district's executive director, John Wodraska. Timer Powers quickly assumed the role of facilitator, however, and implored both sides to seek common ground; Jerry Straus, one

39. Interview with Jim Shore by author, November 20, 1990. Shore is a member of the Seminole Tribe of Florida and the tribe's general counsel.
40. Ibid.

of the tribe's lawyers, played a similar role on the Seminole side of the table. The first question considered was whether the WMD would pay for the six sections of Indian land in Palm Beach County that was considered integral to the governor's "Save Our Everglades" scheme. Wodraska said yes, but Chairman Billie was reluctant to commit the tribe to selling land without approval of the tribal council. The point also was made that under a permitting system, both the district and the Seminoles could use lands that were not wetlands. Both the tribe and the WMD thus expressed interest in protecting environmentally sensitive land. In addition, the negotiators began to develop a rapport, and the stage was set for positive meetings in the future.

Throughout 1986 the WMD and the Seminole tribe continued to negotiate as to the Modified Hendry County Plan, and the district decided that an operable weir, rather than a fixed facility, would be constructed to control water flow. The district would not, however, divulge the operating plan for the project. Tribal leaders' concerns about maintaining a sufficient flow of water to their lands in times of drought also continued, and they requested a public hearing. Then, in July, the Seminoles outlined the terms of a settlement to Timer Powers.[41] The tribe offered to settle the federal suit, as well as the land claim based upon the 1839 Executive Order (Macomb Claim), for the sum of $6,800,000. Once again state negotiators balked, but the WMD leadership was more sympathetic. Wodraska informed Florida's attorney general, Jim Smith, that the six sections of the Rotenberger Tract could not be acquired without a monetary settlement for the Indians and that the Modified Hendry County Plan likely would remain stalled indefinitely. The attorney general, who was running for governor, saw political advantage in inheriting the popular "Save Our Everglades" program and in gaining support from agricultural interests. The governor also was pushing for a settlement before the end of his term and while funds were available. And so, the attorney general ended his resistance.

On September 5, 1986, a final agreement was entered into at Tallahassee. Governor Graham facilitated the process by providing his conference rooms prior to a scheduled meeting of the state cabinet. Approximately forty people including Wodraska, Powers, and representatives of other state agencies met in one

41. Jim Shore to Timer Powers, July 29, 1986.

room, while the Seminole contingent including Chairman Billie and the tribe's attorneys conferred in another. After hours of indirect, but intense, negotiating a deal was struck. It called for $7,000,000 in compensation for past projects in Water Conservation Area 3A and for purchase of Indian land. Specifically, the agreement provided: (1) the lawsuit would be dismissed with prejudice; (2) the Seminoles would receive $4,500,000 for the fee-simple title and easement in 14,720 acres of their land in Conservation Area 3A, and the WMD would release its easement in three sections of Indian land lying west of Levee L-28 and contribute $500,000 of in-kind services toward the development of Seminole lands lying west of Levee L-28 or at the Brighton Reservation; (3) the tribe would sell its six sections in Palm Beach County north of Conservation Area 3A (the Rotenberger Tract) to the state for $2,000,000; (4) the tribe would waive any aboriginal right that it had to 5,000,000 acres of land in Florida based on the presidential order of 1839 (Macomb Claim); (5) the Seminole tribe would formally withdraw its opposition to the Modified Hendry County Plan; (6) perhaps most significantly, a Water Rights Compact the details of which were to be finalized later assured the tribe's right to withdraw as much water on a per-acre basis as the highest priority users in the district, in return for which the Seminoles agreed to be bound by the substantive requirements of a regulatory system concerning water use, surface water management, and other environmental requirements; and (7) at such time as all parties were bound by such a regulatory system, the state would transfer remaining lands within the state reservation to the United States to be held in trust for the tribe.[42] It was further stipulated that the transferred lands never would be used for bingo or tax-free cigarette sales by the tribe. Three days later, according to a news report, "Gov. Bob Graham and the Cabinet granted conceptual approval to what Graham called a 'historic' agreement reached by the state, the tribe and the South Florida Water management district."[43]

All parties seemed pleased with the agreement. John Wodraska insisted: "This will be a great savings for the taxpayers of Florida. It is critical to important components of the Save Our

42. Jim Shore and Jerry C. Straus, "The Seminole Water Rights Compact and the Seminole Indian Land Claims Settlement Act of 1987" (publication forthcoming in *The Journal of Environmental Law).*

43. *Palm Beach Post,* October 8, 1986.

Everglades program."[44] Powers commented: "[It] will last into centuries to come. It has the potential to do that."[45] Only Shore expressed reluctance. "The tribe," he stated, "does not like giving up its land base, no matter how big or small. The $7 million sounds good, but the tribe would rather keep all the land that it has. Money comes last."[46]

The months immediately following approval of the agreement were spent in considering how the money was going to be obtained and informing federal agencies about the impending water rights compact. Although some objections were raised within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Department of the Interior, they ultimately concurred. In November the Seminole Tribal Council unanimously approved the general terms and conditions of the settlement. However, Tribal Council Resolution C-01-88, adopted August 4, 1987, actually ended the tribe's claims against the state of Florida and the South Florida Water Management District.

After approval of the agreement, the creation of a Water Rights Compact between the Seminole Tribe and the district became the next matter of concern. In February 1987 a major stumbling block appeared when Lykes Brothers, Inc., a large Florida agribusiness conglomerate with land holdings adjacent to the Brighton Reservation, became involved in the negotiations. The company challenged the compact under the assumption that the Seminoles were receiving special water rights that might threaten the firm's interests, and it unsuccessfully pushed for legislation that would have wrecked the carefully crafted agreement. Actually, Lykes Brothers had little choice but to negotiate. They had little chance of killing the Seminole settlement bill then moving through the legislature because other agricultural interests, primarily the powerful Land Council, wanted the Modified Hendry County Plan approved. Also, it soon became clear that the Seminoles would come under the same water management system as other landowners. Following three months of negotiations, in May 1987, an arrangement was reached with all parties, including adjacent landowners such as Lykes Brothers

44. *Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel,* September 11, 1986.
45. *Palm Beach Post,* October *6,* 1986.
46. Ibid.

and the United States Sugar Corporation.[47] The Florida Legislature also acted, and on July 4 Governor Bob Martinez signed the Seminole settlement bill into law.[48] A "settlement agreement" was filed with the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida in October.[49] Only congressional action remained before the agreement with its water rights compact became a reality.

United States Senators Bob Graham and Lawton Chiles introduced in the Senate legislation entitled "Seminole Land Claims Settlement Act of 1987" (S. 1684); a companion measure was sponsored in the House of Representatives by Congressman Tom Lewis. Hearings were held before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. In December a group of independent Seminoles who were not affiliated with either the Seminole or Miccosukee tribes objected to the compact fearing that it might jeopardize the aboriginal title which they claimed as Seminoles. This issue, however, was settled by a slight alteration in the wording. The legislation passed the Congress and was signed into law by President Ronald R. Reagan on December 31, 1987.[50]

Seminole Chairman Billie earlier had noted to the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs: "We hope this settlement . . . truly will signal the beginning of a better relationship that will allow us and our neighbors to live in peace while we proceed to develop our reservations. We know that we must develop our lands and use their resources to make them economically and socially viable homelands for our people. It is too soon to tell whether the new relationship with the State and Water District called for by this settlement will in fact materialize. The beginnings have been good, but centuries of mistrust and difficulty cannot be erased overnight. We are prepared to do all that is necessary to protect our rights. But we are also prepared to

47. "Water Rights Compact Among The Seminole Tribe of Florida, The State of Florida, And The South Florida Water Management District," reproduced in *Seminole Water Claims Settlement Act; Hearings on S. 1684 before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, November 5, 1987.* 100th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC, 1988), 83-122.
48. Chapter 87-292, *Laws of Florida* (1987).
49. Settlement Agreement, case no. 78-6116-Civ-NCR, SDF, October 29, 1987. The federal district court issued its approval order on July 21, 1988.
50. Public Law 100-288, 101 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 1556.

pursue a course of conciliation and cooperation with hope and present expectation that it will produce a greater good for all."[51]

The agreement hammered out by the Seminole Tribal Council, Governor Graham, the state cabinet, the legislature, and the South Florida Water Management District– and ultimately approved by the Congress– appears to be one of those rare instances in which all parties to a dispute came away to some degree winners, while the public interest was also served. The state gained control over vital wetlands and could move forward with its extensive plans for water management and flood control, while assuring an unrestricted flow of water to the Everglades National Park. The public will benefit from a stable environmental policy in the region. The settlement guaranteed the South Florida Water Management District control over a major source of fresh water for coastal population and an end to jurisdictional disputes over the use of Water Conservation Area 3A. The Seminole tribe gained $7,000,000 in compensation for lands already taken by the state and for their acreage in Palm Beach County, plus a WMD commitment through the Water Rights Compact to provide sufficient water flow and flood control systems on their agricultural lands at the Brighton and Big Cypress Reservations. Also, the way was opened to place the remaining Seminole lands under the protection of federal trust status. In return the tribe dropped the federal court suit, renounced its aboriginal rights to 5,000,000 acres of land in Florida under the Macomb Claim, and allowed the Modified Hendry County Plan to become a reality. However, perhaps most importantly from an Indian perspective, the principal of Seminole tribal sovereignty within its own lands once again had been tested and conclusively reaffirmed.

51. *Hearings on S. I684,* 50.

FLORIDA MANUSCRIPT ACQUISITIONS AND ACCESSIONS

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

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, has acquired the following manuscript collections: National Organization for Women (twenty-five boxes); Missouri, Committee on the Florida Campaign (1838-1839); Altamirano, Rev. Frey, Pastorial Visits to Florida (1606); Huerta, Testimony of Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (1578); and two letters from Governor Thomas Brown (1853). Maps acquired include: P. Van der AA, *La Florida suivant les Nouvelles Observation* (1729); Robert Dudley, *Carta particolare della Baia di Messico* (1646-1647); G. DeBrahn, *Province of East Florida (St. Mary's River south to the Halifax River)* (1775 P.R.P. CO 700/53 photostat); and G. W. Colton, *Map of Western and Southern Parts of Florida* (1886). The following microfilm were added: United States Treasury Department, Marine Hospital Services, selected letters (1834-1851); and United States Census, Georgia mortality, agricultural, and social statistics schedules (1850-1880).

The Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, acquired the following maps: Rand, McNally and Company's *Florida* (1882); *St. Augustine* (bird's-eye view of Francis Drake's attack on Saint Augustine, Florida, c. 1570, photostat); *State of Florida showing the Progress of the Surveys Accompanying the Annual Report of the Surveyor General for 1860; Florida by the Century Company* (Matthews-Northrup Co., 1897); and *A New Sectional Map of Florida,* United States Department of Agricuture.

The Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, added the following to its manuscript collection: David H. Wiggins diaries (1838-1841); Elizabeth Ann Love Wilson diary (1848-1892); Anna Hahn diaries (1897-1925); William D. Rogers letters (1862-1865); Robert Henry Tate letters (1864); Zabud Fletcher family papers

(1835-1870); Robert White Williams papers (1849-1855); records of Bobbie M. James, Republican historian (1923-1978); Barbara Frye press files (c. 1940-1980); microfilm copy of the minute book of the Union Bank (c. 1840-1852); Florida Reserve letterbook (1864-1865); the Religious Heritage Council records (1975-1982); and the Florida State Genealogical Society's 1989 Pioneer Certificates. Photostatic copies from the Department of Military Affairs include Seminole, Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American war muster rolls, Florida Naval Militia administrative files (1897-1941), Florida National Guard unit personnel records (1924-1940, 1946-1953), and Florida Air National Guard unit personnel records (1947-1954). The state Division of Elections transferred administrative code master files (1961-1979), county ordinances (1986-1989), and original laws (1986-1989). Public records accessioned include: Senate floor debate tapes (1974-1979); House floor debate tapes (1979-1985); Supreme Court case files (1986-1989); Cabinet records (1989); Lieutenant Governor Wayne Mixon's administrative files (1979-1986); the Governor's Commission on Hispanic Affairs administrative files (1977-1989); Board of Regents' Equal Opportunity Task Force minutes and agenda (1983-1986); Florida State University President James Stanley Marshall's administrative files (1970-1976); WFSU-TV's motion picture film (1960-1989); Florida Public Broadcasting's "Today in the Legislature" (1987-1988); United States Constitution Bicentennial Commission of Florida records (1986-1989); Board of Business Regulation minutes (1969-1978); Pari-Mutuel Commission minutes (1931-1974, 1978-1983); Economic Growth and International Development Commission records (1986-1990); a microfilm copy of the Armed Occupation Act permit files (1842-1843); and a microfiche copy of the annual driver licenses master file (1980-1988). Microfilm from the National Archives and Records Administration include: case files of applications from former Confederates for presidential pardons (1865-1867); compiled service records of volunteer soldiers who served in the Florida infantry during the Spanish American War (1898-1899); and the organization index to pension files of veterans who served between 1881 and 1900. Other microfilm include Tallahassee cemetery records (1835-1989); Leon County circuit court law case files (1825-1927); and Leon County circuit court chancery case files (1842-1945). Additions to the photographic collection included a movie of Spessard Holland's inau-

guration; copies of photographs from the Mosaic Project, documenting Jewish life in Florida; and copies of photographs of quilts and quilters for the Heritage Quilt Project.

The St. Augustine Historical Society has accessioned the records of the Florida East Coast Railway, St. Augustine (1874-1983); Clarissa Anderson Gibbs collection; records of the Senior Social Club of St. Augustine (1965-1990); materials collected by Mr. M. Leslie Stephens, St. Augustine lawyer, dealing with people and events in St. Augustine (1818-1932); "Archaeological Excavations at the Florida National Guard Headquarters (Site SA-42A), St. Augustine, Florida," by Kathleen Hoffman (1990); "Men without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784-1790," by Susan R. Parker; and "Franklin W. Smith, St. Augustine's Concrete Pioneer," by Susan L. Clark. Added also were a scrapbook of the Speissegger family and friends (turn of the century to the 1960s); copies of drawings of a bridge built across St. Sebastian Creek by Lieutenant James Moncrief in 1767 (originals in the British Public Records Office, London); and microfilm of *The Hastings Herald,* December 23, 1927-December 13, 1929. Added to the photographic collection were R. S. Clunan II's photographs and postcards depicting tourist attractions in St. Augustine during the Flagler era, World War I, and the 1920s; and 100 photographs of St. Augustine's black community (1922-1927), made by Richard Aloyicious Twine, a black photographer.

The Pensacola Historical Society acquired a map of New Warrington (1932); Samuel G. French's scrapbook (late 1800s); and USGS maps of Milton and Muscogee quadrangles (1941). The manuscripts include: "My Gulf Breeze Story," by Betty Ann Johnson; Riera's 1930 manuscript material; and "The Royal Spanish Presidio of San Miguel de Panzacola 1753-1763," by Wendell Lamar Griffith (master's thesis, University of West Florida, 1988).

The Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville, accessioned the *Abstract of title to Oakdale* (Florida? 1926?); *Constitution and by-laws of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America for the State of Florida* (n.d.); The Grand Lodge of Florida, Free and Accepted Masons, *History— Volume Three: Past Grand Masters,* by J. Roy Crowther (1990); *A Report on Big Talbot Island, Duval*

County, Florida, by William M. Jones (1988); "Albert J. Russell: His Life and Contributions to Florida Public Education," by Fred C. Reynolds (Ph.D., University of Florida, 1989); "The home-seeker's greatest opportunity– Florida land– First grand opening," Sutherland, McConnel & Company, Colonization Department, Jacksonville, Florida (c. 1911, poster); and *War report [thirteenth and fourteenth annual reports] of the Board of Trustees, Free Public Library, Jacksonville Florida for the years ending December 31, 1917 and December 31, 1918.*

The Miami-Dade Public Library's acquistions include microfilm of the entire *Miami News* morgue (May 15, 1896-December 31, 1988) and the *Illustrated Daily Tab* and index (May 1, 1925-February 28, 1926); and the Research Publications' collection of city directories of the United States (1785-1901). Only those for Jacksonville (1902-1935) are available at the present. Miami directories are being microfilmed.

The Manatee County Library acquired approximately 600 local plats and maps from the Lowery Realty Company, Bradenton (1920 through 1970); and notebooks of the history of the Bradenton Chapter of the Military Order of the World Wars (1940-1990 and the Massing of the Colors Ceremonies).

The Monroe County May Hill Russell Library, Key West, added the following microfilm: First Congregational Church records (1892-1969); Marine Hospital Register of Patients (1858-1865, National Archives); and History of Miami Air Station World War I and Report of Naval Air Station Key West for 1919 (National Archives).

The Tampa Historical Society acquired miscellaneous family papers of Kate Jackson, most of which were Catholic memorabilia.

The Tampa Hillsborough County Public Library accessioned the collection of the Florida Genealogical Society, which includes approximately 500 monographic titles, over 200 periodicals and newsletters, and nearly 400 vertical packets of family history research notes.

The Otto G. Richter Library, University of Miami, has added the following manuscripts to its collections: Francis Arnou, St.

Augustine (February 20, 1834); F. Arnou's heirs to Henry Ferris, deed of conveyance; T. R. Betton to Drury Fairbanks, Tallahassee (January 21, 1837); supplies for the Cape Florida Lighthouse (December 1854); Benjamin Chaires to Sullivan and Barbour, Tallahassee (December 2, 1835); Andrew Jackson with initials as president (Washington, May 1836), James Gadsden to Jackson; Lloyd Mintam to L. Mintam about the Seminole War with mention of the Dade Massacre (January 25, 1836); Kirk Munroe to Ford T. Moss (March 27, 1899); Taylor and Brooks Nourse to Sullivan and Barbour, Apalachicola (April 6, 1835). Added also were 102 photographs of Miami, Miami Beach, and Coral Gables (1920-1930); seven stereographs of St. Augustine, Florida (1910); thirty-two photographs of the 1926 hurricane in Miami; and Randy Lieberman's collection of Pan American World Airways (1920s). Also acquired were two maps: *Commercial Subdivision of Harbor Terminal* (Miami Peninsular Terminal Co., 1926); and N. de Fer's *Le Golfe de Mexicue et les Province et isles cui l'environe comme sont La Florida* . . . (Paris, 1717).

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill accessioned Southern Growth Policies Board records (1971-1989), and the Laura (Riding) Jackson Papers (1974-1989).

BOOK REVIEWS

Los Sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition. By Ignacio Avellaneda. (Gainesville: P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida Libraries, 1990. ii, 104 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, tables, notes, index. $18.50.)

Ignacio Avellaneda has provided scholars with a detailed portrayal of the survivors of the Hernando de Soto expedition through the present southeastern United States. His list of survivors is the most complete assembled to date, adding sixty-three names to the list of 194 previously assembled by John R. Swanton. But this work is much more than a mere listing of survivors. Avellaneda has added details about the lives of the participants in the expedition, including such biographical data as their places of birth, ages, occupations, and education.

While Swanton relied on the four narrative accounts of the expedition by Ranjel, Biedma, Elvas, and Garcilaso, Avellaneda built on this earlier work using microfilms and photostats of many previously unpublished documents on file at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida. The subsequent biographical data were analyzed with interesting results. Avellaneda concludes (p. 74) that the typical conqueror was a twenty-four-year-old male Spaniard born either in Extremadura or Castilla. He was literate or at least knew how to sign his name. While most were commoners by birth, a few were hidalgos. Those who were not a military leader or an administrator had their chances of survival reduced to roughly 50 percent. Most of the survivors lived in Mexico or continued on to Peru.

There are all kinds of small gems of information. For example, several of the survivors mention (apparently in answer to a question) that de Soto had a fine tent made of Peruvian wool. Also of interest, at least two free blacks were members of the expedition.

The details mentioned in the short biographical sketches of the survivors suggest that there may be considerably more infor-

mation on the de Soto expedition in the documents that Avellaneda used. For example, in his sketch of Hernan Suarez de Maruelas (p. 54), Avellaneda notes that a probanza made by Suarez contains "interesting descriptions of some of the actions that took place in Florida during the de Soto expedition, especially around Mobila, Chicasa, and Tascalusa." Other bibliographic sketches suggest that further treasures of information lie in the documents. There is also the suggestion of a sixth chronicle of the de Soto expedition by Alvaro de la Torre (p. 56). If an additional account of the expedition could be found, it might assist scholars in unravelling a number of problems about the route and the native societies encountered.

My only disappointment with the book was the lack of references to the members of the de Soto expedition who later returned to the Southeast as members of the Tristan de Luna expedition of 1559. Perhaps this information simply is not available in Avellaneda's sources, or perhaps he did not consider it important in a book about the survivors of the de Soto expedition, certainly an understandable position.

This book is carefully researched and is an important contribution to our knowledge of early Spanish exploration of the New World. It is highly recommended.

University of South Alabama MARVIN T. SMITH

Charles H. Jones, Journalist and Politician of the Gilded Age. By Thomas Graham. (Tallahassee: Florida A & M University Press, 1990. x, 207 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

Charles Henry Jones– journalist, editor, publisher, and politician– made his mark among the second echelon of public figures in Gilded Age America. Born in Talbot County, Georgia, in 1848, Jones moved to New York following the Civil War to seek a career. He became, in his own words, a "hack literary writer" (p. 14). He moved to Florida in the winter of 1880-1881. Failing in an attempt to buy the *Daily Florida Union* in Jacksonville, Jones established the *Florida Daily Times.* In 1883, following the death of the former paper's owner, he merged the two into the *Florida Times-Union.*

The 1880s were years of great entrepreneurial opportunity in Florida for men like Hamilton Disston, Henry Flagler, and Henry Plant. In Jacksonville, William Barnett already had opened his bank, Wellington Cummer built his first saw mill, and Duncan Fletcher began his law practice. Jones provided the newspaper to celebrate growth in both the city and the state. By the time of his departure in 1887, Jones had become Florida's leading editor and political meddler. For the newspaper, he introduced wire-service coverage of national and international events, and he recruited correspondents from across the state to send him local news. On the editorial side, Jones followed the example of the *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, seeking to become "outspoken, fearless and independent" (p. 23) in support of good government and civic improvement.

Yet despite his good intentions to become an independent force in governmental affairs, Jones became deeply embroiled in politics. He helped select candidates for political office and too frequently provoked factional fights which enhanced partisan conflict, making the issues secondary. On the issues, Jones was a southern Democrat supporting low tariffs, limited government, and white supremacy. In Florida he advocated funding for public schools, a railroad regulatory commission, and the poll tax. He opposed lynching. By regional standards, Jones was a racial moderate who encouraged schooling and economic opportunities for blacks. James Weldon Johnson worked briefly for Jones at the *Times-Union* and remembered him favorably.

Jones's efforts to overturn Democratic party leadership in Duval County and to direct the state party prompted his critics to start a rival newspaper challenging his authority in Jacksonville and Florida. About this time, Jones became involved in organizing the American Newspaper Publishers Association nationally which led to an offer to become editor of the *Missouri Republican*, a once-prominent, but faltering, St. Louis newspaper. Jones sold the *Times-Union* to his Jacksonville antagonists and moved to the bigger arena. In Missouri, Jones again combined aggressive journalism with political machinations on the local, state, and national levels. He increasingly supported the West-South axis of protest politics against the gold standard, monopolists, and financial barons of the East. His major achievement was drafting the 1896 Democratic party platform in support of William Jennings Bryan. Ill health forced Jones

into semi-retirement the following year, and he remained in retirement until his death in 1913.

Jones was a workaholic, very bright, aggressive, egotistical, seemingly humorless, physically short, and bewhiskered. Besides his passion for journalism and politics, there seemed few interests in his life. Certainly he neglected his family. Culture, travel, religion, and other diversions of the era rarely are mentioned in connection with Jones's life, at least until Jones's health failed. Like many other Gilded Age entrepreneurs, Jones lived to work.

Professor Graham has produced a solid, scholarly, well-written biography. Periodically one gets bogged down in the political infighting in Florida or Missouri. Historians of American journalism may wish for greater attention to Jones's impact upon the major transformations taking place in that profession during the Gilded Age. Floridians will enjoy the three chapters on the Jones years in this state and wish for more, especially relating to the other major figures working here during his brief six years in Jacksonville. Jones's career, if not his full life, is well covered. Graham has brought us one "of the lesser-known figures . . . who did indeed help to shape the history of the late nineteenth century" (p. 162).

University of North Florida JAMES B. CROOKS

Florida Portrait: A Pictorial History of Florida. By Jerrell Shofner. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1990. 255 pp. Prologue, illustrations, photographs, epilogue, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

The subtitle of a book which includes the words, "A Pictorial History," usually brings to mind a paste-up volume of tired, old pictures and a nondescript text, with a slick, enticing cover intended to lure a prospective holiday purchaser into a quick means of crossing off the list the name of a hard-to-please gift recipient who "likes history." This work, a reentry into the book-publishing field by the Florida Historical Society, happily does not fit that description.

This book does have the attractive visual appeal to be expected, but there is more. The time-worn photographs are

there, of necessity, but there are many "rarely or never before published." And the text is carefully and accurately written by a leading, award-winning Florida historian, Jerrell Shofner, who possesses that too-frequently absent talent of being able to combine good writing with good history. Aside from a somewhat redundant tendency to overwork the participial phrases in beginning his sentences, the book reads well. It would be carping and petty to argue minor lapses, but one easily may conclude that Professor Shofner is a better historian than mathematician when he writes that, after Ponce de León sailed from Puerto Rico to present-day Florida "in early 1513," he returned in 1521 after "nine years elapsed."

A wide range of time is detailed in this single volume, from first Floridians through Spanish and English occupation, the American Civil War, politics, growth, World Wars, Space Age, tourism, and the outlook for the future. An adequate bibliography and index are included.

Special notice should be taken of the advertisers, *sine qua non,* whose advertisements in the back of the book were low-key, following historical themes concerning their business endeavors. The Pineapple Press, Inc., has performed a creditable task in the manufacture of this book, which also deserves mention.

Even though Christmas, 1990, will have passed before publication of this review, *Florida Portrait* would be a good purchase for future gifts and for the reader of this review, who has proved by now that he or she, too, "likes history."

Florida Museum of Natural History WILLIAM M. GOZA

Thrills, Chills, & Spills - A Photographic History of Early Aviation on the World's Most Bizarre Airport - The Beach at Daytona Beach, Florida. By Dick and Yvonne Punnett. (New Smyrna Beach: Luthers, 1990. xv, 110 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, biographical references, index. $17.95, paper.) Note: Mail distribution handled by Mrs. Yvonne Punnett, 115 Coquina Avenue, Ormond Beach, FL 32174-3303. Add $2.00 for S & H. Fla. residents also add $1.08 state sales tax.

Daytona Beach's long, wide beach, composed of hard-packed sand, made it a mecca for automobile and motorcycle

racing for many years. But few, except the most ancient locals or aviators, know that as one of the world's best natural airports it was used heavily by pioneeer aviators. *Thrills, Chills, & Spills* revives those memories and, in the process, transcends the usual scope of a local aviation history, for this book also should appeal to anyone interested in aviation history nationwide. There is another appeal considering the odd nature of a beach airport. It was used by automobiles, bathers, bicycles, and airplanes all at the same time, and the results of this strange jumble forms the basis of colorful anecdotes. The beach airport was indeed "bizarre"!

Dick Punnett wrote the text. He is the author of eight fiction books for children, but in *Thrills, Chills, & Spills* he demonstrates that he also has a knack for non-fiction creativity. By informalizing and humanizing the traits of his subjects, he entertains and captures his readers, at the same time delivering to them in an interesting manner the history he has to relate.

The Punnetts are meticulous researchers. They have studiously uncovered the early Daytona Beach story from both area and national sources, including interviews with early pilots and their descendents located all over the eastern United States. They also have located remarkably clear photographs of virtually every action, most of which will be completely new to present-day viewers. They will see what are probably the earliest surviving aerial photographs taken in Florida. The intriguing series of crash photographs clearly buttresses the choice of the title *Thrills, Chills, & Spills.* Every page contains a photograph or illustration. The eleven-inch wide pages allow the photographs to be of generous size, and they are well captioned.

The book also reveals that the beach was used by early aircraft designers as an ideal proving ground for aircraft testing. The world's first twin-engine airplane, flight-tested on the beach in 1910, is pictured in a photograph published for the first time. Several flying records also were set on this beach. Additionally, there is extensive coverage of the first woman to fly in Florida, Ruth Bancroft Law, the fifth woman to receive a pilot's license in the United States. She made her first flight from Daytona Beach in January 1913, and she also was the first woman to loop an airplane, performing the feat above the beach December 17, 1915. Other nationally famous pilots who flew from this beach were J. A. D. McCurdy, Clarence Chamberlin, Charles K.

Hamilton, Glenn Messer, William Brock, C. B. D. Collyer, and Daytona's own Ervin Ballough. The admired and respected Bill Lindley was based there from 1919 to 1930 and was in the midst of most of the action.

Thrills, Chills, & Spills breaks new ground in Florida aviation history. In my opinion, no other Florida city has produced a local aviation pictorial history that can match this one. The book's excellent physical layout, lively and informal text, and snappy captions make it an ideal model for anyone contemplating the production of a local photographic aviation history.

Jacksonville, Florida JOHN P. INGLE, JR.

Florida Lighthouses. By Kevin M. McCarthy. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1990. 134 pp. Introduction, maps, table, illustrations, index. $19.95 cloth, $9.95 paper.)

Great American Lighthouses. By F. Ross Holland, Jr. (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1989. 346 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, photographic sources, index. $16.95 paper.)

These two books on lighthouses cover the coastlines about as comprehensively as a casual reader with a special interest in Florida might desire.

Dr. McCarthy focuses on beacons in Florida individually, from Fernandina to Pensacola, providing historical background, sidelights on keepers and their families, literary references, and even ghost tales. His incisive text is enhanced by William L. Trotter's full-color paintings of each structure at its prime. And those wishing to visit any of the thirty sites in Florida will find detailed maps as well as written directions on how to reach them.

For a broader context on lighthouses generally, F. Ross Holland, Jr., traces development back to 300 B.C., when an open flame on the Tower at Pharos guided ships. It was fueled by wood, coal, bales of okum, and pitch. By the time Boston harbor beamed the first permanent light in the New World in 1716, oil lamps gave off the glow.

While Holland's volume delineates background on individual lighthouses coast to coast– and in Hawaii and Alaska as well– he concentrates only on those on, or eligible for, the Na-

tional Register of Historic Places. Thus, only twenty-two of Florida's sites are included, alphabetically, and they are split because of his sectional divisions into the Southeast and the Gulf of Mexico.

In his Florida book, McCarthy follows the coastline geographically from the Georgia line to the Keys, then northwestward to Pensacola. He personally visited every beacon he could reach, and he plumbed the National Archives for logbooks on all of them.

Some of the historical incidents relating to Florida's lighthouses are well known, such as the harrowing Second Seminole War ordeals of keepers besieged by Indians at Carysfort Reef and at Cape Florida; the role of Colonel Robert E. Lee in surveying Egmont Key at the mouth of Tampa Bay; and Lieutenant George E. Meade's activities in building innovative, storm-resistant structures in the Florida Keys. McCarthy also relates how the lights weathered or toppled in storms, sometimes aided rum-runners, and provided beams of hope to Cuban refugees. And he details how the presence of German submarines off the Florida coasts affected operations at several lighthouses during World War II.

McCarthy cites a number of literary references to Florida lighthouses– most numerous in Ernest Hemingway's 1947 novel, *To Have and Have Not*, and in his short story, "After the Storm" (1932). He apprises us also of James Fenimore Cooper's setting in his 1848 novel, *Jack Tier*, at Garden Key Lighthouse, and reminds us that Stephen Crane's *Open Boat* has a tie to the Ponce de Leon Inlet Lighthouse, then known as Mosquito Inlet. Lastly, Alexander Key's *Island Light* (1950) concerns Cape St. George Lighthouse at Apalachicola. *Florida Lighthouses* also tells of reputed ghosts at Key Largo's Carysfort Key Lighthouse and at Seahorse Key Lighthouse near Cedar Key.

With most lighthouses automated today, Ross Holland, Jr., asserts that the picturesque structures of the past serve little practical purpose. Smaller, lighter modern lights can beam just as well from a pole or a skeleton tower. Since *Great American Lighthouses* was published by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Holland devotes a chapter to "Keeping the Lights" through restoration, conversion to other uses, and preserving them historically.

Tampa Tribune LELAND M. HAWES, JR.

The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568. By Charles Hudson. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990. xii, 342 pp. Preface, photographs, illustrations, maps, notes, documents. $39.95.)

Charles Hudson's study of the Juan Pardo expeditions will stand for many years as the premier scholarly account of an important episode in southern history. More than this, it is a model of a new genre of highly productive collaborations among cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, and linguists, focused upon current issues springing from the commemoration of the New World encounter.

This book's subject is the effort of Captain Juan Pardo to explore and pacify the interior of North America, starting from the Atlantic port town of Santa Elena in present-day South Carolina. Under orders from Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Pardo led two similar expeditions inland between 1566 and 1568. The first reached the foot of the Appalachians at the Indian town of Joara, where Pardo built and garrisoned a small fort. On the second expedition, Pardo retraced his steps and crossed the Appalachians into the Tennessee Valley, reaching territory controlled by the paramount chief of Coosa. Upon his return to Santa Elena, Pardo had built and garrisoned six small forts meant to defend the conquered territory.

As Hudson explains, the entire effort was a failure– yet another ill-conceived episode in a long string of Spanish misfortunes in La Florida beginning with Juan Ponce de León. Pardo's forts soon were overwhelmed by hostile Indians. From our vantage the mission seems quite absurd: he and his small force were instructed, among other duties, to establish a road to the silver mines in Zacatecas, in northwest Mexico. Such was the Spaniard's faulty geographical knowledge of the North American continent six decades after Columbus's discovery.

But to the modern student of Spanish-Indian encounters in southeastern North America, the documentary record left by the Pardo expeditions has great significance. This is largely due to the retrieval from obscurity of the so-called "Long Bandera" relation, which chronicles in obsessive detail the events of the second expedition. Nearly one-half of this book presents this and the other most pertinent documents in Spanish transcription, with carefully crafted English translations and annotations by Paul E. Hoffman. With the publication of this material the

Pardo expeditions take their rightful place alongside the better-known exploits of Narváez, de Soto, Luna, and Menéndez in the same region.

Among the fruits of Hudson's study are these: for the first time it is possible to map Pardo's itinerary onto the landscape of the Carolinas and Tennessee with some degree of confidence. Already this exercise has led to a reassessment of the passage of de Soto, who visited some of the same towns. Importantly, Hudson uses this material to reconstruct political dynamics within two of the most important complex societies in the native Southeast: Cofitachequi and Coosa. Here, too, are found clues to the early history of the Cherokees and Catawbas and to the ethnic identity of peoples heretofore known only through archaeology. For example, a persistent archaeological debate over the ethnic affinities of Dallas culture in the Tennessee Valley seemingly is settled by this evidence. The Dallas people in the sixteenth century largely were Koasati speakers and were not the ancestors of the later Cherokee in the same localities. Such grist for the mill of archaeological reconstruction is a major contribution.

The book introduces us to such phenomena as the female chiefs of Guatari, reminiscent of the Lade of Cofitachequi in de Soto's time. Concerning the behavior of the native nobility, Hudson constructs a series of "sociograms" showing patterns of visitation and tribute payment among native chiefs of the Piedmont. We observe long-distance alliances in action as the paramount chief of Coosa rallies his allies to oust Pardo in a coordinated ambush. Hudson is quite thorough in wringing from these documents every item of ethnographic importance they contain.

Historians interested in the Spanish colonization of North America will not be less well rewarded. These adventures yield important insights into the truly continental ambitions of Menéndez.

This book will attract critics, as it purveys a "route" to be debated, but there will be no doubt about its overall success. For the historian, for the cultural anthropologist, and for the archaeologist, seldom have the boundaries between our disciplines been so engagingly transgressed. Would that we all had such facility with the purview of our scholarly brethren.

University of Alabama VERNON JAMES KNIGHT, JR.

A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800. By Timothy Silver. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. xii, 204 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, notes, index. $39.50 cloth; $10.95 paper.)

In 1983, William Cronon published a remarkable book, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, which traced the environmental history of colonial New England. Synthesizing a variety of sources from humanistic and scientific disciplines, Cronon examined the environmental impact of Native Americans and Anglo-Americans on the northeastern forests. Now, seven years later, Timothy Silver has produced a companion volume that examines the environmental impact of Native Americans, Anglo-Americans, and Afro-Americans on the southeastern forests.

Silver's and Cronon's books are examples of the exciting work that is taking place within the new subfield of environmental history. This field has become the meeting ground of historians, ecologists, archaeologists, geographers, agronomists, and even epidemiologists, who reconstruct past environments and who trace the changes that human activities produced in these environments. Given the recent awareness of ecological problems in today's world, environmental history promises to become one of the most popular and sophisticated interdisciplinary fields in American history.

Continuing the interdisciplinary approach of environmental history, Silver drew on publications from such disciplines as ecology, geology, climatology, pedology, forestry, agronomy, geography, ethnohistory, and archaeology, as well as such historical subfields as economic, social, and medical history to trace the evolution of the southeastern forests over a three-century period. After describing the natural setting of the Southeast, he treats the Native American cultural adaptations to the land and demonstrated their impact on the forests through periodic burning. When the first English settlers arrived in the seventeenth century, they found an open woodland that had been created and maintained by fire. Silver considers the environmental impact of the English colonists who attempted unsuccessfully to reproduce their Old World agricultural practices in the southeastern woodlands. Adopting Native American land-clear-

ing techniques and crops, the English settlers succeeded in adapting to the new land. In addition to learning from Native Americans, the Anglo-Americans also adapted the agricultural techniques of their West African slaves to the new environment. Although Anglo-Americans and their African slaves finally created successful economic adaptations, they also had a deleterious impact on the environment, deforesting the land, promoting soil erosion, and introducing European and African diseases to the southeastern woodlands.

Synthesizing primary and secondary sources to create a readable, analytical narrative, Silver makes a worthy contribution to the growing bibliography on environmental history. Yet, he overlooked many recent publications on southeastern agricultural history which would have strengthened his work. In addition, he ignored Florida, which was an English colony from 1763 to 1783, and which attracted Anglo-American settlers during the Spanish colonial interlude in the late eighteenth century. Despite these flaws, however, Silver's text should prove useful to historians and other scholars who are researching southeastern environmental and cultural history.

Washington, DC JOHN S. OTTO

The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal. By James H. Merrell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. xv, 381 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, photographs, notes, *ac*knowledgments, index. $32.50.)

James Merrell's examination of Catawba survival against overwhelming odds reconstructs a lost world, tracing Catawba patterns of existence during the three centuries after their encounter with Spanish Europeans. That these Piedmont residents survived testifies to their amazing resilience. That Professor Merrell has been able to recapture their universe from the documents, reflects not only his scholarly ability, but also his patience, diligence, and creativity. He has reexamined the sources, reading between the lines to find and delineate the Catawbas' expanded universe. Most assuredly, he has succeeded in adopting the "actors' point of view" (xi).

Faced with European intrusion, the Catawbas had several choices: resistance, relocation, submission, or coexistence. Largely eschewing confrontation, the Catawba peoples combined variations of coexistence and relocation. At first, argues the author, the Catawbas successfully manipulated the newcomers' desire for profit. Ultimately, whether trade was a "bond of peace" (as Merrell suggests in a 1989 essay) or a shackle of war, the Catawbas became dependent on manufactured goods. Despite their dependencies and the catastrophic impact of both disease and "demon rum," somehow the Catawbas SURVIVED, defying repeated predictions of their ruin.

Through Merrell's efforts, we meet not only Catawbas in general, but also memorable individuals such as Enoe Will, King Hagler, Peter Harris, and Sally New River. Their names alone suggest the powerful forces reshaping Catawba life. Enoe Will's dilemma comments as powerfully about marginality as Logan's plight; while Logan's peers only mocked, Will's threatened to poison him. In microcosm Enoe Will's problems plagued his nation throughout its existence. Trying to remain untouched by European culture seemed shortsighted, while accommodation might bring condemnation from neighboring traditionalists. Unfortunately, the Catawba always would be denied full admission to the society from which they borrowed. Evidently their own color blindness did not prepare them for the ethnocentrism of their neighbors, who would always look down on them, no matter how much the Catawbas acculturated.

Thanks to the author's retelling of the story, the Catawbas no longer appear as pawns, but have become active participants who pattern the trade according to their own wishes, demanding the alcohol which they desire. So described as conscious decision makers, they cease to be victims. Perhaps their most fortunate choice, which may have been more necessity than decision, was to back South Carolina's rebellion against Great Britain. No single act could have established their credibility or prolonged their survival. Native peoples who chose the British side were forever condemned, stripped of pride and place by the syllogism of victory: the losers lose spoils; the spoils are land; therefore, the losers lose their lands.

Truly, Merrell's prizewinning volume complements the earlier works of Douglas Brown, Stephen Baker, and Charles Hudson. Of course he draws from their combined achievements in

the fields of history, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnohistory. Thus armed, he adds his own creative vision to portray the Catawbas new world, not simply recounting the recorded past from literary or physical evidence but re-creating how the Catawbas chose to act in the face of the choices presented them.

Students of Florida history will be interested in Merrell's model study because of the clear similarities between the experiences of the Catawbas and the Seminoles. The relocations and cultural adaptations of the Seminoles, so aptly described by Charles Fairbanks and others, parallel in many ways the resilience and persistence of the Catawbas.

It is not a truism to describe this study as a scholarly paradigm. At the same time that we anticipate future works from James Merrell, other researchers should adopt his chart for exploring additional new worlds of the native American universe.

Marietta College JAMES H. O'DONNELL III

Creek Indian History: A Historical Narrative of the Genealogy, Traditions and Downfall of the Ispocoga or Creek Indian Tribe of Indians. By George Stiggins. Introduction and notes by William Stokes Wyman. Edited by Virginia Pounds Brown. (Birmingham: Birmingham Public Library Press, 1989. 176 pp. Editor's introduction, Wyman's introduction, Wyman's and editor's notes, works cited in Wyman's notes, index. $24.95.)

Two introductions take up twenty pages of this handsome small volume, followed by 113 pages of George Stiggins's *Historical Narrative,* followed by thirty-three pages of notes on Stiggins's narrative prepared by William Stokes Wyman. Stiggins (1788-1845), half white and half Natchez, one of the tribe, wrote his history sometime in the 1830s. Although never published before, his work has been used by scholars. The manuscript which they used is in the Draper Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

William Stokes Wyman was important at the University of Alabama for fifty-six years, more than once in that time its president. He prepared his notes, included here, for a printing of Stiggins's *History* early in this century, but it never appeared.

Dates and other particulars which Stiggins left out have been added. Wyman concludes that Stiggins had little understanding of Creek beliefs, having himself lived mostly in white society. Stiggins's penchant clearly is white. He finds commendable Benjamin Hawkins's strategy to tame the "wild savage" and make of him a farmer. Tecumseh's attempt to draw all the Indians into a coalition to expel the white man from their land came from "mad motives." Stiggins was part of the white force expecting to defend Fort Mims, but he was absent on August 31, 1813, when hostile Creeks slaughtered the defenders.

Stiggins identifies seven tribes, speaking several different languages, that make up the Creek amalgam. Later scholars list as many as eleven tribes. He starts his history with the tribal myths of their origins. Long after these origins, prophets like Paddy Walsh (Welch), Josiah Francis, and Captain Isaacs lured the Creeks away from reason, and brought on a civil war, the Creek War of 1813-1814. At that event, Stiggins ends his narrative. His figures on numbers involved and casualties are the most reliable of all. Wars among Indians, he writes, were wars of extermination; it was honorable to kill and scalp women and children.

Stiggins describes the Creek government as a tyrannical oligarchy. James Adair, and later scholars, have modified this interpretation. Also, Stiggins's description of the place of women and the role of marriage differs from some other competent observers. His is the romantic view of William Weatherford, the Red Eagle, who was his brother-in-law. It is useful to have this contemporary account of the Creeks accessible in print.

University of Florida JOHN K. MAHON

Slave Law in the Americas. By Alan Watson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. xv, 179 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, index. $25.00.)

Alan Watson, professor of law at the University of Georgia, is editor and chief translator of the *Digest of Justinian* and author of significant books, especially *The Making of the Civil Law* (1981),

Roman Slave Law (1987), and *Failure of the Legal Imagination* (1988). This study of comparative slave law in the Americas continues his record of distinguished scholarship. The book is brief and rather summary, almost abrupt, in its presentation, but is unique, overcoming formidable problems of language mastery, and highly valuable.

Watson shows the impact of legal traditions– Roman, English, French, Iberian– upon the forms of slavery in the English, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies of the New World. The significance of the differences between racist and non-racist slave societies is elucidated. He believes: "Just as greed, not sadism or racism, is the main cause of enslavement, so the main cause of systematic ill-treatment is greed, not sadism or racism" (p. 136). This is, I think, true. Still the racism that characterized New World slavery intensified the cruelty of its slavery as compared with that of ancient Roman slavery. It is likely, too, that the compulsions of a global, capitalist market serviced by the more recent slavery also intensified its antihuman features, though consideration of such questions is not within Watson's purpose.

He rejects, correctly, I believe, notions of the milder quality of South American slavery as compared with that in the Caribbean and North America. The paradox present in human beings considered as property in law and yet being in fact human– and its impact upon that law– forms a considerable part of the book. In that connection, Robert Cover's *Justice Accused* (1975), which elucidates that paradox and shows its impact upon jurisprudence in the United States, might well have been noticed. Historians, as well as those interested in the sources and administration of law, will not want to miss this book.

University of California, Berkeley HERBERT APTHEKER

The Formation of a Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier. By Alan Gallay. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. xx, 282 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

This is the story of an eighteenth-century man who rose in the world by his ability as a planter and business man in South

Carolina and Georgia. Many others made a similar success, but perhaps not as great as Jonathan Bryan.

Bryan was born in 1708 at Port Royal, South Carolina, to a father who was a planter and Indian trader. As a youth Bryan was a scout and soldier under Oglethorpe and helped his father in the Indian trade. He early became well acquainted with the South Carolina-Georgia area and showed his ability to pick good land. He and his surveyor brother, Hugh, became rice planters in the 1730s.

Hugh and Jonathan came under George Whitefield's religious influence in the 1740s especially his ideas about Christianizing slaves. The First African Baptist Church was founded in Savannah in 1791 by Andrew Bryan, a Bryan slave. The author states incorrectly that this was the first Baptist church in Georgia.

Bryan began his political service in the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly in 1740. By the 1740s the Bryans had diversified their economic activities by engaging in planting, cattle raising, lumbering, transportation, and filling government contracts. Hugh died in 1753.

Jonathan received his first Georgia land grant in 1750, the year slavery was legalized in the colony, and moved there with his family and many slaves in 1752. He was appointed to its original royal council in 1754, not 1755 as Gallay states. Bryan, says Gallay, served best in political affairs under Governor Henry Ellis but ignores his relations with Governor James Wright who came in 1760. Bryan helped in Indian relations, as apparently the Creek Indians trusted him.

Bryan eventually owned some 32,000 acres in Georgia and South Carolina and some 250 slaves. Most of his operating plantations were along the Savannah River in both colonies. He took advantage of his position on the council to get grants of good land. He frequently bought and sold land, usually with excellent profits. Bryan's political activities declined as he concentrated more on planting and land dealings in the 1760s.

Bryan made no public announcement about the Stamp Act of 1765, but he presided over a Savannah meeting objecting to the Townshend Acts in 1769. For this he was suspended from the council by London authorities and presented with a piece of plate by the Union Society, a Savannah organization.

Bryan was elected to the Georgia Commons House of Assembly in 1770, not 1771 as Gallay says, and served until July 1773, when he was expelled for nonattendance. In the Commons House he usually voted with the American-Rights group.

In 1773 Bryan secured a ninety-nine year lease from the Creek Indians for 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 acres of land in East Florida. This land, the Apalachee Old Fields, was secured at a small rent, apparently because of what Bryan promised the Creeks he would do there. The outbreak of war in 1775 prevented Bryan from doing anything with the Florida land.

Bryan held office in Georgia's early state government and was captured by the British soon after the fall of Savannah in 1778. He was detained on a prison ship off Long Island, New York, until November 1780. Back in Georgia in August 1781, he was made a member of the Executive Council, worked to reestablish himself, and died in March 1788.

The book gives considerable space to general happenings in South Carolina and Georgia, but it shows little connection of Bryan with these events. Several errors in dates and facts have been pointed out above. Gallay attributes to this reviewer's *The American Revolution in Georgia* a statement which the book does not make. This reviewer feels that some of his opinions are doubtful, certainly not proven in the book.

This is the fullest treatment of Bryan thus far written and gives a good picture of his rise economically and politically. Unfortunately, it is marred by too many errors.

University of Georgia KENNETH COLEMAN

A Rebel Came Home: The Diary and Letters of Floride Clemson, 1863-66. Edited by Ernest Lander and Charles McGee. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961; revised edition, 1989. xvi, 189 pp. Family tree, preface, prologue, photographs, illustrations, maps, notes, index. $22.95.)

This revised edition contains an updated prologue, but its primary importance is the addition of a section of letters from the diarist Floride Clemson (1842-1871), written in 1863 and covering her visit to her father's northern relatives. The book's epilogue remains essentially unchanged, as are the appendices.

The old index, however, is more thorough and reliable. In all the reset pages typesetting errors are common, a fact perhaps explained by the large increase of titles from the South Carolina Press. After a decade of lean years, it is once again making welcome contributions; its titles are among the most interesting to be issued from an American press today. This reviewer, however, would advise more care in maintaining printing quality through attention to proofreading. To find this expensive undertaking carelessly marred in the last stage truly must be disheartening to everyone involved.

As to the importance of the diary itself, one will be impressed by its author's intelligence, toughness, and sensibleness. She was Calhoun's favorite granddaughter. Though she spent much of her youth in Europe and Washington, her sentiments are strongly southern. Though her northern-born father keeps her in Maryland during the war, she follows the southern news as best she can. She praises the Confederate soldiers' behavior in Pennsylvania. Her brother, to whom she is very close, becomes a Confederate enlistee. When at last back in Carolina in January 1865, she can write, "Today I heard for the first time, with joy, the prayers for the President, soldiers and people of the Confederacy." She is now twenty-three.

The diarist is devoted to her mother. She and her father, who often is absent on one ill-fated adventure or another, usually are at odds. She grieves over his displeasure with her, but carries on. She exhibits the Calhoun strength and seriousness. (When seven, she had taken Calhoun's motto for her own: "The Duties of Life Are Greater Than Life Itself.") Throughout the diary, there are many references to her grandfather, an ennobling, brooding spiritual presence in this young life. When Floride returns to Carolina, she joins her people in their darkest hour. "Charleston and Savannah are ground to the dust," she writes. "I pray God may have mercy on us, for they have none." In April, she notes, "We may expect raids now any day and God only knows how we are to bear it, for the country is starving now. . . . I suppose we will die of starvation." On May 1, 1865, she writes, "I had a good cry . . . on hearing that peace had been declared." Then come the Yankee bummers with their "knapsacks full of watches, trinkets, and rings," picking the starving country clean. She does not sleep for three nights at a time, with Yankees pilfering Pendleton as late as May 21, taking "much

silver." It is eye-opening that even so far off Sherman's path and over a month after Appomattox, the countryside in as remote an area as Pendleton was being combed and victimized. Of the half-starved ex-Confederate veterans she writes, "I feel so sorry for these exiles . . . in a conquered country, for such this is." She withstands her privations with a cool and grim ironic stance. Her pattern for behavior obviously is her aged grandmother Calhoun, dying of cancer, who takes the pillagings "very coolly, and I think improved under the excitement."

Into midsummer 1865 she reveals life on the homefront– off the path beaten by the historian. Of the new wave of Yankee conquerors she writes, "They say this is the worst secession hole they have seen, as they were not only treated with contempt but abuse, and swear vengeance against the whole community." She reports her brother's accounts of his years of imprisonment on "half-rations" at Johnson's Island, Sandusky, Ohio; of how "many died of starvation" there; and of how many Confederates actually were killed in cold blood by Yankee sentinels. But her brother continues that "the loss of hope was the most terrible thing" and that now, even worse, he "had no longer a country to defend."

In late July her church is forced to pray for the president and for the conquering government and "everyone has to take the oath. We are crushed indeed and humiliated." General Hampton visits them and declares, "Nothing kept him in this country but a desire to pay his debts." Then in October, in the teeth of adversity, the Charleston refugees in Pendleton manage to organize a great tournament of knights as in the old plantation days. Floride, as a "lady fair," wears red, white, and black, "the Confederate colors in mourning."

By late 1865 the country has become "unsafe" with theft and murder, and Floride is more angry and unvanquished than ever: "I had rather be kept as a territory than so disgraced" as to be "reconstructed" and forced back into the Union. By 1866 she increasingly tires of the privation and gloom and longs for her old friends, the glitter of Europe, and the social life of cities. She feels she is too young for her life to be over. She leaves Pendleton October 24, 1866– the day she writes her last diary entry– to make the rounds of her friends. She contracts pneumonia in the North in 1868, the illness from which she never recovers. She dies at the age of twenty-nine.

This diary is important for its details of domestic life during 1865 and 1866, for how it was to be a southern sympathizer outside one's country, and for its record of the Calhoun legacy as passed to his children and grandchildren. It is yet another indication of the southern woman's unvanquished spirit in the war, a story that lends credence to Sherman's famous quotation that he would bring all proud Carolina ladies to the washtub because it was they who kept the war going and most fiercely supported it. Floride Clemson clearly exemplifies this trait.

The misogyny of the Federal troops disturbingly shows in the overwhelming number of eyewitness accounts of the burning of the dwelling houses in Carolina, where women were singled out for verbal and physical abuse, especially black women who, on several documented occasions, were raped and murdered. At the least, gold earrings were torn from ears, clothes spoiled, beds and bedding if not burned, then urinated upon. It is a sad, little-told story of the war on civilians; and Floride's account, while not so sensational, runs parallel to the more tragic events of these years. A root-source of the legacy of southern bitterness clearly is pinpointed in this valuable diary from the homefront of a world that was indeed "being kicked to pieces" before civilian eyes.

University of Georgia JAMES E. KIBLER, JR.

Civil War Soldiers. By Reid Mitchell. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989. xii, 274 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. $8.95 paper.)

To the people of nineteenth-century America, the elephant was such an awesome sight that it evoked in those who saw it for the first time a wide spectrum of reaction, from abject terror to obsessive fascination. This phenomenon easily was transferred into the phrase "going to see the elephant" to sum up the effect of the impact of war upon the lives of private citizens caught up in the holocaust that was the American Civil War. Reid Mitchell, in a well-researched analysis of unpublished letters, diaries, and other primary sources, traces the impact of combat on the lives of ordinary soldiers, giving the reader an

insight into their experiences, motives, fears, concerns, and expectations; why they enlisted; how they saw their enemies; what they fought for; why they continued fighting; how they viewed slavery and blacks; and how they justified the damage they did.

Mitchell starts with the thesis that while both Union and Confederate soldiers shared common values, culture, and heritage, and had common reactions to events such as drill, discipline, and death, they did not share a common ideology. Both sides went to war in order to preserve their way of life against what they saw as an enemy that somehow was un-American, foreign, and savage. Some, by actually meeting the enemy in battle, hospitals, or prisoner-of-war camps, reevaluated their basic beliefs. The Union soldier invading the South expected to find a corrupt and foreign society and, seeing what they wanted to see, found "a region untidy and unindustrious, a white population untrustworthy, and a black population unworthy of freedom." They burned and pillaged at will. Southerners, handicapped by a host of disruptive internal problems such as states' rights, official inefficiency, incompetence, and corruption, nevertheless continued to fight because of loyalty to each other and their units, their distinctive world view, racial solidarity, and the fear of Yankee rule.

At the war's end, although one-tenth of the Union Army was black and while some Northerners were impressed with the fighting ability of such black units as the 54th Massachusetts, in general few accepted black equality and Northerners shirked their responsibility to ensure effective black citizenship. The South, at war's end, it appears, was ready to receive a more revolutionary reconstruction than eventually was imposed by northern leadership. The bitterness of defeat, however, gave rise to the consoling myth of the Lost Cause.

Civil War Soldiers offers further insight into the day-to-day experiences of the common soldier as portrayed by Bell Wiley's works, *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *The Life of Billy Yank.* Mitchell has done extensive research, utilizing the major collections of primary sources, and presents his findings in a lucidly written work that explores the human dimensions of war within the historical parameters of nineteenth-century America. Having "seen the elephant" at a different time and place, I can appreciate how well the author has captured the essence of the soldier's view of war.

Orange Park, Florida WILLIAM NULTY

Bloody Roads South: The Wilderness to Cold Harbor, May-June, 1864. By Noah Andre Trudeau. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989. viii, 354 pp. Preface, author's note, illustrations, maps, prologue, epilogue, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, casualties, index. $19.95.)

Noah Andre Trudeau begins his new book by recognizing the basic truth that the American Civil War was not decided in 1863. Not at the Pennsylvania crossroads of Gettysburg, not at the Mississippi River fortress of Vicksburg, not even at the Tennessee rail hub of Chattanooga was the war's outcome determined. "At the beginning of 1864, North and South stood in weary stalemate," writes Trudeau. "For the North to end the war, it had to cut even more deeply into the South's resources, both material and psychological. For the South to end the war, it had to stymie the North's plans and count upon a war-weary Northern home front to force the conflict to the peace table" (p. vii). Thus the war in 1864 resulted in two great campaigns, one in Virginia and the other in Georgia; campaigns designed to keep continuous and unrelenting pressure on the South– pressure which finally broke the Confederacy. Trudeau has selected the former, the bloody, dramatic Virginia campaign as the subject of his impressive and very readable study.

The prologue begins, not surprisingly, by setting Grant against Lee– the two generals usually touted as the war's greatest– contrasting their marked differences of appearance and style and making the most of the inherent drama of the situation. From this introduction the author proceeds quickly to the confusion and horror of the Battle of the Wilderness. The strength of his account is the human stories about soldiers on each side and of various ranks. Trudeau does achieve, as the dust-jacket blurb asserts, "a suspenseful, episodic you-are-there narrative," which is based upon reminiscences, letters, and diaries. Some of these are published here for the first time while others are recognizable immediately to those familiar with the literature on this part of the war. But whether well known or new, the author weaves the sources into a satisfying narrative of the bloody and burning Wilderness engagement.

The same quality of narrative is sustained as Trudeau moves on to the fighting that swirled for some ten days about the little known (until then) crossroads at Spotsylvania. Appropriately,

he gives special attention to Emory Upton's famous assault and, of course, to the even better-known (perhaps legendary is a more fitting term) Bloody Angle. Then the fighting again moves southeastward to the North Anna River and, finally, to the regretable and tragic Union assault at Cold Harbor. Altogether, the author is dealing with some forty days of the bloodiest fighting of the Civil War.

The dramatic events recounted, whether involving the famous or the unknown, should be sufficient to satisfy any appetite, however demanding. There is, for example, General James Longstreet being seriously wounded by Confederate fire very close to the same location where, a year earlier, General Stonewall Jackson was mortally wounded, also by Confederate fire. There are the varying but familiar "Lee to the rear" stories, as the Rebel soldiers attempt to prevent their commander from recklessly exposing himself to enemy fire. There are, too, the strange, even weird, occurrences that always touch a few of the common soldiers in battle, like Union Sergeant William Chambers who, early on the morning of June 3 at Cold Harbor, announced to whatever comrades were within hearing that "This is my birthday. I wonder what kind of present I will receive?" About five minutes later a Confederate rifle ball hit him in the arm, hardly the type of present for which he had hoped. Later, on that same day, a Federal regiment, advancing toward an Alabama unit, simply faded away except for its color-bearer who, unaware that no one followed him, steadily moved forward toward the Rebel line. Finally, some of the Alabamians shouted, "Go back! Go back! We'll kill you!" At last, seeing his predicament, the color-bearer turned and began to walk back, deliberately, in the direction from which he had come, the Confederates cheering him as he proceeded.

Clearly, this book has many fine qualities. Its major weakness, in the eyes of this reviewer, is the lack of sufficient tactical analysis. In this respect, perhaps Trudeau did his best work with Emory Upton's May 10 assault. The description of the massive assault at Cold Harbor, on the other hand, is somewhat disappointing because of the lack of detailed and critical analysis. The same is true of the "Mule Shoe" salient and others. This book also needed more and better maps.

Nevertheless, the positive aspects of *Bloody Roads South* assure that it will take its place as one of the significant works on the

Virginia fighting in May and early June 1864. It deserves to be placed alongside Catton's *A Stillness at Appomattox,* Dowdey's *Lee's Last Campaign,* Foote's third volume of *The Civil War,* Scott's book on the Wilderness, and Matter's on Spotsylvania as one of the half dozen or so best books available on the bloody Eastern theater in the spring of 1864.

Auburn University JAMES L. MCDONOUGH

Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism. By George C. Rable. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989. xv, 39 1 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography of manuscript collections, index. $29.95.)

What is the place of war in American history? How did it affect soldiers or the average Americans on the homefront? Did gender make a difference? Were the changes it induced permanent or temporary, evolutionary or revolutionary? These are the profound questions that social and cultural historians have begun to ask about American wars. Professor Rable breaks important new ground with this major study of the attitudes, actions, and consequences of southern white women's roles. While focused on the war years, he has useful material on the antebellum and Reconstruction eras and includes a wide range of material dealing with plantation mistresses, yeoman farm wives, and poor white women.

Rable shows the South had not been especially backward regarding married women's property rights laws; they were passed in almost all states after 1812. In the chapter "Defenders of the Faith," he chides historians who exaggerated the extent of antislavery sentiment among southern women; there was precious little. The war for control of cities, towns, and farmlands hit the civilian women close to home. Many could testify to the effects of artillery fire upon their neighborhoods. Emma Holmes of Charleston told of "the sharp scream or whiz through the air, and they [the shells] sounded exactly as if coming over the houses." Holmes recalled her emotions during the first minutes of the battle, "I was startled and much excited, but not frightened, but it produced a very solemn feeling" (p. 163).

Gender did make a difference. Rable finds that, from the beginning, women were more likely than men to understand how disunion would affect their families. Women doubted that secession could take place without a war or that the ensuing conflict would be short or relatively painless (p. 46). Rable examines the petitions women sent to state governments seeking discharges for their menfolk. Of 536 cases, 404 women pleaded economic reasons, 193 warned about the soldiers' health, and 117 sought protection for the family. The Yankee invasion affected women most directly. Defensively banding together in the absence of most of the men, they sought to help each other feed their families after the farms and plantations had been pillaged and plundered. After the war, white women found it even harder than men to give up slavery and the benefits that the peculiar institution had brought to them.

Whatever political, social, and economic upheavals were caused by the war, there was no domestic revolution. In the emergency women assumed many "male" roles. Yet at all times they were clear that this aberration was produced out of necessity and would last only "for the duration."

This book reflects extensive research in all southern states, including Florida, and relies on previously unused archival sources. It is both a gripping narrative and an analytical investigation which weaves together the complexities of gender, class, and race in the South. It will become the standard resource on the status and roles of mid-nineteenth-century southern women.

United States Military Academy D'ANN CAMPBELL

The Disappearing South? Studies in Regional Change and Continuity. Edited by Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. xii, 224 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, tables, postscript, notes, selected bibliography, contributors, index. $29.95.)

There are two axes of debate in this volume: change and continuity and distinctiveness and convergence. Using the work of V. O. Key, and thus the political South of mid-century, as the

benchmark, the contributors to this volume find varying degrees of change and continuity in the contemporary South's political institutions and behavior. The theme of distinctiveness vs. convergence is addressed less openly but is implicit in the continuity-change dichotomy. Thus, to the extent that southern politics retain older patterns, they would seem to continue to diverge from the national mainstream; and, to the extent that they have been changing, they would seem thus to be entering into that mainstream. This collection of essays, most of them based on papers presented in 1986, concludes with the sensible observation that change and continuity cannot be separated and that patterns of both tendencies are intertwined. The book is less clear on the question of distinctiveness-convergence since some of the evidence presented suggests that persistent divergence in southern politics is associated with patterns of behavioral and institutional change.

Part I, "Southern-National Political Convergence," contains essays by political scientists that examine specific areas in which drastic change has propelled southern politics into the national mainstream. Thus, for example, Merle and Earl Black show that southern representation, which once was concentrated in a few Congressional committees, now is distributed more widely, reflecting the more diverse economic and social realities of the contemporary South. Essays on the behavior of political elites and grass roots activists show that movement into the Republican party in the South by these groups has been following the patterns of national party membership. Stephen H. Wainscott's discussion of the aftermath of school desegregation suggests an increasing convergence of southern white attitudes toward race and civil rights with those of northern whites.

The limits of the change-continuity dichotomy crop up in a contribution on the ideology of southern politics. An essay by Edward G. Carmines and Harold W. Stanley depicts an increasingly polarized South, as old-line Democrats join the GOP. This shift, the authors note, provides further evidence that the South has at long last achieved a coherent two-party system. In the South, however, the weakness of the labor-liberal "left" so skews the ideological spectrum that the rightward alignment of the South's two-party system remains distinctive.

The essays in Part II focus on continuity in southern politics. Douglas G. Feig and Lyman A. Kellstedt, in separate essays,

stress the continuing importance of evangelical religion. John Theilmann and Allen Wilhite emphasize labor leaders' belief in the continuingly conservative character of southern politics as a key factor in their unwillingness to commit substantial resources to southern organizing and political action. Essays by Robert P. Steed and Laurence W. Moreland on public opinion and race, and Thomas F. Eamon on North Carolina electoral behavior in the 1970s and 1980s demonstrate the enduring salience of race in the attitudes and voting behavior of white Southerners.

Most of the essays present detailed statistical data drawn from original research and from regional and national survey centers. All of the essays exhibit an implicitly functionalist perspective and largely ignore substantive questions relating to class. Gender is nowhere considered. Race, of course, cannot be avoided, but African Americans appear only as objects and not as an integral part of the political South. An eleven-page Selected Bibliography provides useful citations, particularly helpful for historians seeking entry into the political science literature.

University of Florida ROBERT H. ZIEGER

Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture, 1940 to the Present. By David R. Goldfield. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990. xviii, 32 1 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, map, bibliographical essay, index. $24.95.)

Even though race has ceased to be the central theme of southern history, it has remained a preoccupation of southern historians, who must now wrestle with the discontinuities of the regional experience that the dramatic eclipse of racism exposed two decades ago. Could Ulrich B. Phillips have been wrong all along? Or, despite the recalcitrance of geography, is there no longer any distinctiveness to the Dixieland in which generations took their stand to live and die? David R. Goldfield's exploration of the past half-century suggests one resolution of this dilemma. He acknowledges the historic hegemony and orthodoxy of white racism, but he also stresses the communitarian and religious resources within southern culture that not only enable black

activists to resist bigotry but also sanctioned the reconciliation that both races accomplished after the legal victories of egalitarianism. The sense of a common heritage and terrain eased the shock of this tectonic shift from the Bible Belt to the Sunbelt, as a rambunctious, beleaguered, put-up-your-dukes order became a modernized and urbanized society bifurcated as much by class as by race.

Consider as a final tableau the spectacle of George Wallace, after winning a third of the black vote in the final Democratic primary of his career, sipping tea and eating cakes with Jesse Jackson on the balcony of the governor's mansion. In any saga in which the ending is so wildly unpredictable, its historian is tempted to make the beginning more coherent and unchanging than actually it was. To this temptation Goldfield does not yield. His early chapters show how the ancien régime already was cracking, though wider fissures in the system of Jim Crow seemed scarcely imaginable even after the New Deal had reduced black rural dependency and the Second World War had opened Southerners to a cosmopolitanism that stigmatized the primitive dogmas of race. The emergence of the civil rights movement, of course, is central to this account of regional transformation and constitutes material that is most familiar to scholars (which may be why Goldfield devotes only about three of his eleven chapters to it). Though drawing on Christian dreams of redemption and "the beloved community," the movement also deliberately provoked some white violence to draw national attention to injustice; the interest of the mass media and the intervention of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations rightly are emphasized in *Black, White, and Southern.* The importance of the Nobel laureate who directed the most famous campaigns is acknowledged, but Martin Luther King, Jr., by no means dominates these pages, which give good weight to those states (Mississippi and the Carolinas, though not Florida) where his direct influence was slight. The final third of the book treats the paradox of the contemporary polity, in which the achievements of "black power" have not included the erosion of black poverty, which in rural areas has remained tenacious.

Goldfield claims that he wrote this book after realizing how little the undergraduates at UNC-Charlotte, where he teaches, knew about the traditional cruelties and irrationalities of white supremacy that once defined their own parents' lives. Drawing

upon the vast scholarly literature on southern race relations over the past five decades, *Black, White, and Southern* deserves to be appreciated as an introduction to the subject rather than as a fresh interpretation of it. This overview is better as an analysis of the events that shattered the etiquette of Jim Crow than as an anatomy of "southern culture," which mostly is described in the form of obiter dicta. Both the progeny and the students of that culture should find appealing the author's attitude, which resembles J. J. Gittes's in the film *The Two Jakes:* "I don't want to live in the past. I just don't want to lose it."

Brandeis University STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

Carnival, American Style: Mardi Gras at New Orleans and Mobile. By Samuel Kinser. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. xxi, 415 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, photographs, illustrations, afterword, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95.)

Gulf coast carnivals have been written about by authors ranging from taxicab drivers to social scientists, and accounts have spanned forms from informal and impressionistic articles, through Arthur Hardy's annual official *Mardi Gras Guide,* to scholarly monographs. Samuel Kinser, a professor of history at Northern Illinois University, brings to the subject special perspectives and reaches fresh insights. A specialist in Renaissance and early-modern French history, Kinser is familiar with European versions of carnival and the conceptual approaches of different disciplines. He takes his readers beyond the paradigms provided by anthropologists Max Gluckman and Edmund Leach and sociologist Robert Da Matta, which view carnival as "a set of rituals of 'reversal' or 'inversion' which turn the everyday world upside down," to the more inclusive model provided by Mikhail Bakhtin in his work on medieval society, which emphasizes "the engulfing quality of the carnivalesque no less than its inversion character" (p. xv). A firm believer in primary research, Kinser has participated in carnivals on different continents and uses his personal experiences to read carnivals' symbols and gestures. Putting on the robe of the semiotician, Kinser discerns "neighborly, popular, elite, and official" cultural codes

and deciphers the signals sent out in masking, body painting, and throwing flour and trinkets, among other practices.

Kinser explores the impact of five crosscurrents on the origins, trends, and functions of Mardi Gras in Mobile and New Orleans. One, white society's winter festivities extending from Christmas to Lent. During the more clement season, and the lighter agricultural labor period of winter, planter and mercantile elites celebrated with banquets and balls. Masking and costuming provided contact between the sexes, races, and classes that otherwise would have been prohibited or restricted. Until the 1840s Mardi Gras was just one of many occasions, and Christmas and the Twelve Days were just as important as Carnival. Two, black society's adapting of African customs in order to preserve them. While white elites may have been motivated by Christian religious beliefs and seasonal business cycles in providing times and places for recreation, blacks utilized opportunities, like Sundays in Congo Square, to sing and dance, and maintain and adjust African traditions. Three, the Gulf Coast's proximity to and influence by Caribbean festivals. Slaves, free blacks, and whites brought ceremonial activities from Haiti, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Cuba to the Gulf Coast, where they were mixed and synthesized, and produced carnival figures such as the half-comic, half-threatening John Canoe. Fourth, the festive practices of Anglo-Americans migrating westward. Settlers to Alabama and Louisiana brought with them games and follies which acted as pressure valves for their tensions and fantasies. And finally, the commercialization of leisure time. Business and professional elites discovered that they could manage the pursuit of pleasure just as they administered their pursuit of profit. New Orleans began promoting itself in the early nineteenth century as The City That Care Forgot. In 1977 the Crescent City spent $963,000 for advertising, police, sanitation, and other services as Carnival generated in two weeks $50,000,000 in tourist business.

Carnival, American Style is based on a thorough excursion through secondary literature and contains copious illustrations of Mardi Gras invitations, advertisements, costumes, floats, parades, and balls from the nineteenth century through the twentieth. Kinser has culled his images, which include drawings done by Toan Le, from carnival bulletins and guidebooks, magazines and newspapers (primarily *Scribner's Monthly* and the

Mobile Weekly Register), and private collectors. Kinser filled in the visual gaps with commissioned work. Norman Magden's custom photographs from Mardi Gas in New Orleans in 1987 grace this volume.

There are other routes to learning about Carnival, besides trips through literature. Mardi Gras Indian tribes, such as the Wild Magnolias and Wild Tchoupitoulas, have joined with popular performers like "Willie Lee" Turbinton and the Neville Brothers to release on records chants, songs, and music. These popular records actually are audio resources which add to the tapes made earlier by Jelly Roll Morton and conserved in the Library of Congress. Filmmakers have captured constituencies and festivities in such movies as Maurice Martinez's *Black Indians of New Orleans* (1976), Les Blank's *Always For Pleasure* (1979), and Armand Ruhlman's *Fat Tuesday* (1981). And even Samuel Kinser acknowledges that nothing can duplicate the experience of actually being there. *Carnival, American Style* points the way for studies of other civic, ethnic, and commodity-based carnivals in Florida such as Tampa's La Verbena del Tabaco and Gasparilla Festival.

University of South Florida ROBERT E. SNYDER

BOOK NOTES

Zora! Zora Neale Hurston: A Woman and Her Community was compiled and edited by N. Y. Nathiri, who has strong ties to Eatonville, Hurston's hometown. Nathiri, granddaughter of one of the community's early mayors, works closely with The Association to Preserve the Eatonville Community. This volume includes both previously published and new material on the community and Zora Neale Hurston. It provides information on the Hurston family and excerpts from a group interview with relatives– nieces and nephews– discussing their famous aunt. It traces the early history of Eatonville, believed to be the first incorporated town in the United States founded by blacks, and includes an essay by Alice Walker, the author of *The Color Purple,* who attended the first annual Zora Neale Hurston Festival of the Arts in January 1990. Many of the Hurston family pictures are printed here for the first time. *Zora!* was published by the Sentinel Communications Company, an affiliate of the *Orlando Sentinel.* It sells for $24.95.

Annie, 1856-1928: A Lifetime of Letters is a collection of personal letters that trace the life of Annie Slade Brett of North Carolina and the lives of members of her family. She attended college in Murfreesboro and in 1881 married Dr. Benjamin Franklin Camp from Southhampton County, Virginia. The previous year Dr. Camp had moved with his two brothers to central Florida and established the community of Campville, fifteen miles east of Gainesville. They commenced a lumber manufacturing business, planted a citrus grove, and soon expanded their operations to include a brick plant, truck farming, and phosphate mining. The family moved to White Springs in 1896 where they erected a lumbering manufacturing plant and later established operations at Crystal River, Dunnellon, and Carrabelle. The earliest letter in the collection was written in 1856, and the last is one from Dr. Camp to his sister shortly after Annie's death in 1928. Most of the letters were written by Annie and her husband, father, sisters, and children. They describe their daily lives, activities, and views of the times in which they lived. A narrative connects the letters which further are amplified by notes at the end of

each chapter. The volume was compiled by Franklin Camp Bacon in collaboration with John Council Camp. Photographs include one of the Camps' first home in Campville and near their place in White Springs. These houses remain in use as residences. Still active also is the Missionary Baptist Church that Dr. Camp built in White Springs. This book may be ordered from Frank Bacon, Publishing, 299 W. Lakeview Drive, N.E., Milledgeville, GA 31061. The price is $22.50.

Tales of Old Brevard, by Georgiana Kjerulff, originally was published in 1970 and is volume two in the Local History Series of the Kellersberger Fund of the South Brevard Historical Society. It was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* October 1973, p. 186. The photographs are from the historical collection of Sterling Hawks, and the volume is illustrated by Katherine McLamb. The sketches are drawn from interviews, letters, journals, and unpublished manuscripts. This new edition sells for $7.95, plus $1.00 for postage. Order from the South Brevard Historical Society, Box 5847 FIT, Melbourne, FL 32901. The Society also will provide information about other available volumes in the Local History Series.

The Complete Guide to Life in Florida was compiled by Barbara Brumm LaFreniere and Edward F. LaFreniere. It provides information on environment, taxes, transportation, health care, major attractions, industries, education, weather, leisure activities, housing, population, and the cost of living in Florida. The information is presented for visitors and new and old-time residents. The *Guide* was published by Pineapple Press of Sarasota, and it sells for $14.95.

Patchwork & Palmettos: Seminole-Miccosukee Folk Art Since 1820, by David M. Blackard, resulted from a 1990 exhibition sponsored by the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. The book examines the Seminole artistic tradition, past and present, and focuses on basketry, beework, silverwork, dollmaking, fingerweaving, appliquework, and patchwork. It lists and briefly describes the ninety-two objects included in the exhibition. There are many color and black and white photographs in the volume. It may be ordered from the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, P. O. Box 14043, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301; the price, $13.95.

Colcorton was written in 1944 by Edith Pope of St. Augustine. Mrs. Pope's husband, State Senator Verle A. Pope, was an influential politician in Florida, and her father also was a state senator. Mrs. Pope, a friend of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, also wrote about rural Florida. Her book has been reprinted, with an introduction by Rita Mae Brown, by Penguin Books, New York, in its Plume American Women Writers series. The paperback sells for $8.95.

Lakeland: A Pictorial History is by Hampton Dunn, president of the Florida Historical Society. It is a revised edition of Mr. Dunn's *Yesterday's Lakeland* which was published by the city of Lakeland in 1976 to celebrate the National Bicentennial. The narrative describes the history and growth of Lakeland from its nineteenth century origins to the present. The photographs also portray the changes in Lakeland from the 1880s, when the community looked like a western town with two-story buildings, wooden sidewalks, and unpaved streets. Lakeland is described as one of Florida's most beautiful cities. Mr. Dunn's original narrative is reprinted, and he has revised and expanded the pictorial section. *Lakeland* is published by the Donning Company and sells for $25.00.

Miami Beach: Photographs of an American Dream presents photographs taken in 1970 by David Scheinbaum who teaches art at the College of Santa Fe, New Mexico. At the time the photographs were taken, the 1970s, the south Miami Beach area comprised one of the largest Jewish communities in the world. Constituting a majority of the population in the area, these individuals mainly were Jewish emigres from northern cities. Mr. Scheinbaum's camera captures their daily lives in Miami– praying, sunning themselves, playing cards, drinking coffee, snoozing, talking to their friends, and perhaps dreaming of days when they were younger, healthier, and more independent. Introducing the volume is an insightful essay, "Images of Miami Beach," by Stephen M. Fain, professor of education at Florida International University. *Miami Beach* was published by Florida International University Press, Miami. The clothback sells for $26.95; the paper, $15.95.

Cruisin', The Dry Tortugas Archives is a collection of descriptions of the Tortugas, "the eleven rocky islets," sighted by Ponce de León as he and his crew sailed past the southeastern tip of Florida in May 1513. He named the islands Les Tortugas, according to the records, because his sailors were able to capture many sea turtles there. The islands were later called the Dry Tortugas because of the scarcity of fresh water. They are located approximately seventy miles west of Key West and are home for thousands of migratory birds and turtles. *Cruisin'* is by Jon and Susan M. Holtzworth, and it may be ordered from them at Pirates Cove #24, 1375 Pinellas Bayway, Tierra Verde, FL 33715. It sells for $9.95.

Florida Folktales was edited by J. Russell Reaver. He divides this paperback volume into five sections: international folktales (animal tales and ordinary folktales); legends; tall tales and trickster stories; ghost tales and horror stories; and urban-belief tales. Mr. Reaver listened to many of the stories as told by older Floridians, who themselves had been told the narratives. He notes in his introduction, "[the folktales] form part of the remembered past in many sections of the state; many are directly quoted." A few people, like E. L. Rayes, had written down recollections, but mostly they are oral tales and legends. In his introduction, Reaver describes people that he met and explains how he came to hear their stories and tales. *Florida Folktales* was published by University of Florida Press, Gainesville, and it sells for $19.50.

Colonel Grover Criswell's *1991 Compendium!* is much more than a catalogue that lists for sale antique paper money, old stocks and bonds, and autographs. With photographs of currency, state bonds, railroad bonds, exchange drafts, plantation tokens, scrip, and dozens of other items, and descriptions, Colonel Criswell presents a rich and colorful history. The items listed in his compendium are for sale, and some are handsomely priced. However, the majority are within the reach of small collectors with limited budgets, and Criswell is available to guide and counsel anyone who is starting a collection or adding to one. His *Compendium* includes postal history, army-navy-marine items (Revolutionary War through World War II); slavery materials; customs items; reference works (covering money, bonds, guns, stamps, history, ghosts, and cooking); and CSA coins, medals,

seals, and papers. The volume includes an article about Colonel Criswell reprinted from *Banknote Reporter* and *Numismatic News.* Order the *Compendium* from Criswell's Publications, Fort McCoy, FL 32637. It is free with an order for $25.00.

Story of DeLand and Lake Helen Florida, by Helen Parce DeLand, was reprinted by the West Volusia Historical Society to commemorate the opening of the restored and refurbished Henry DeLand House, the Society's headquarters in DeLand. The author was the daughter of the city's founder, and she writes of her memories of the area. *Story of DeLand* was published in 1928. The reprint sells for $20.00 and may be ordered from the West Volusia Historical Society, P. O. Box 733, DeLand, FL 32721.

The Volusia County Historical Commission has reprinted *Volusia County Past and Present* by T. E. Fitzgerald, prominent Daytona Beach newspaper editor and civic leader. *Volusia County* was first published in 1937. The reprint sells for $25.00. It may be ordered from the Volusia County Historical Commission, 252 South Beach Street, Daytona Beach, FL 32214.

Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for establishing Colonys in America, by James Edward Oglethorpe, was edited by Rodney M. Baine and Phinizy Spalding. It was published by University of Georgia Press, Athens. This manuscript, which was written around 1731 as a pamphlet for potential donors to and settlers in Georgia, never was published. The manuscript was discovered in the Tampa-Hillsborough Library, where it incorrectly was ascribed to Benjamin Nartyn, first secretary to the Georgia Trustees. The manuscript is a quarto of 110 pages. The editors have left the preface, comprising nineteen manuscript pages, virtually untouched. However, the text, ninety-one manuscript pages, earlier had been revised considerably as though it were intended for publication. Two authors apparently contributed to the manuscript: the original work is in ink, and most of the revisions are in pencil. According to the evidence examined by the present editors, there is no reason to doubt Oglethorpe's original authorship. Professors Baine and Spalding detail their investigation in the introduction to this edition. *Some Account* is a blueprint of Oglethorpe's plans for Georgia. He was determined to avoid the

sort of corruption and speculation found in South Carolina and proposed innovations related to land use, slavery, Indian population, and other matters. *Some Account* sells for $25.00.

A New Perspective: Southern Women's Cultural History from the Civil War to Civil Rights contains the papers delivered at a conference held in May 1988 at the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC. The purpose of the conference was to examine contributions to the South in the 100-year period since 1860 and to plan future humanities programs for out-of-school adult audiences based on new research. Support for the symposium came from the southern state humanities councils. Ann Henderson, executive director of the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, played a leading role in the planning for the Washington conference. The Jessie Ball duPont Religious, Charitable, and Educational Fund also supported the symposium and publication. The papers were edited by Priscilla Cortelyou Little and Robert C. Vaughan. Nancy A. Hewitt of the University of South Florida presented a paper entitled, "Southern Women and Work," in which she examined the role that women played as mothers and wives of tobacco cigar workers in Ybor City and as workers themselves. Other paper presenters included Elizabeth Janeway, Nancy F. Cott, Jacqueline Jones, Jessie J. Poesch, Thadious M. Davis, Judith Lang Zaimont, Mary Brown Hinely, and Ann Firor Scott. *A New Perspective* was published by the Foundation for the Humanities, Charlottesville, Virginia; it sells for $10.00.

The Creation of Modern Georgia, A Sociopolitical History of the State first was published in 1983. Numan V. Bartley, Coulter Professor of History at the University of Georgia, has enlarged and updated the book with two additional chapters. The revised edition places greater emphasis on the urbanization, industrialization, and diversification of twentieth-century Georgia. The paperback edition sells for $12.95.

King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925, by Harold D. Woodman, has been reprinted by the University of South Carolina Press in its Southern Classics Series. It is a study of the cotton factorage

system of the antebellum era and of the post-Civil War crop-lien system. The South continued to depend upon cotton after the Civil War, although the crop-lien system and the furnishing merchant had displaced the factorage system. Professor Woodman is in the Department of History at Purdue University. This book sells for $29.95, hardback; $24.95, paper.

Another reprint volume by the University of South Carolina Press is *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861, A Study in Political Thought* by Jesse T. Carpenter. This reprint volume carries a new introduction by John McCardell. It is also a volume in the Southern Classic Series for which John G. Sproat serves as general editor. The hardback volume is priced at $29.95; the paper, $14.95.

Note

Professor Alan Gallay, Harvard University, reviewed *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* in the January 1991 issue of the *Quarterly* (pp. 369-70). A typesetter's error resulted in a transposition. The second sentence of the lead paragraph correctly should read: "The Revolution in the southern backcountry was largely a story of atrocities– murders, rape, and pillage."

Jesse Walter Dees, Jr., and Vivian Flannery Dees are the authors of *"Off the Beaten Path," The History of Cedar Key, Florida, 1843-1990.* Their names inadvertently were omitted from the review that appeared in the July 1990 issue of the *Quarterly* (pp. 124-25).

HISTORY NEWS

Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society's eighty-ninth convention will be held in Orlando May 9-11, 1991. The Florida Historical Confederation also will hold its annual meeting and workshops at this time. The convention hotel is the Harley Hotel, 151 East Washington Street, Orlando (407-841-3220). Three sessions make up the Confederation program. The first, "Grants, Gifts, and Funding," will involve Michael Brothers, Museum of Florida History; Joan Bragginton, Florida Endowment for the Humanities; Karen Tyson, Target-Point Marketing, Gainesville; and Sara Van Arsdel, Orange County Historical Society. Nick Wynne of the Florida Historical Society will serve as moderator for this session. Debbie Scott, Citrus County Historical Society, will moderate the second session, "Promotions, Publicity, and Membership Recruitment." Participating are Patti Bartlett, Fort Myers Historical Museum, and Page L. Edwards, Jr., St. Augustine Historical Society. The third session will be held at the Orange County Historical Society and Museum where John DePetrillo will discuss exhibit construction. Patricia Michaels, executive director for the American Association of State and Local History, Nashville, will be the luncheon speaker.

Seventeen sessions are scheduled for the Florida Historical Society program. Chairpersons, moderators, and those presenting papers include: Ronald Haase, University of Florida; Sandra L. Norman, Florida Atlantic University; Emily Perry Dieterich, Dade County Historic Preservation Division; Donald W. Curl, Florida Atlantic University; Jack C. Lane, Rollins College; John Moran, *Gainesville Sun;* Patricia C. Griffin, St. Augustine Historical Society; Patsy West, Seminole Miccosukee Photographic Archive; Pete Cowdrey, Museum of Florida History; Paul S. George, University of Miami; Samuel Proctor, University of Florida; Henry Green, University of Miami; Marcia Zerovitz, Florida Mosaic Exhibit; James Covington, University of Tampa; J. Paul Hartman, University of Central Florida; Roy Jackson, Florida Department of Transportation; Joseph E. King, Texas Tech University; Jerrell H. Shofner, University of Central Florida;

Margaret J. King, University of Maryland-Baltimore; Eliot Kleinberg, *Palm Beach Post;* Robert E. Snyder, University of South Florida; Karen Davis, Florida Atlantic University; Hampton Dunn, Tampa; Jan F. Godown, Ormond Beach; Cecil Tucker, Seminole County Agricultural Agent; Joe Knetsch, Florida Department of Natural Resources; Brenda J. Elliot, Orange County Historical Museum; Ann Gometz, Florida State University; Maxine D. Jones, Florida State University; Sudye Cauthen, University of Mississippi; Elaine M. Smith, Alabama State University; Walda Metcalf, University Presses of Florida; Donna Dickerson, University of South Florida; Paul C. Tash, *Florida Trend;* Graham Gloss, *South Florida Magazine;* Michael Candelaria, *Orlando Magazine;* John Paul Jones, *Florida Living;* William S. Coker, University of West Florida; Tracey Revels, Georgia Southern University; Holly Simpson-Walker, University of South Florida; Wilburn A. Cockrell, Florida State University; Joe M. Richardson, Florida State University; Jack E. Davis, Brandeis University; Robert Self, *Florida Times-Union;* Diana Edwards, St. Augustine Historical Society; James C. Clark, *Orlando Sentinel;* Wayne Wallace, University of South Florida; Stephen E. Branch, University of Florida; Leland M. Hawes, Jr., *Tampa Tribune;* Canter Brown, Jr., University of Florida; James M. Denham, Limestone College, Gaffney, SC; Mark Rose, Florida International University; Robert Kerstein, University of Tampa; Richard Foglesong, Rollins College; James E. Crooks, University of North Florida; David H. Bennett, Syracuse University; Michael Gannon, University of Florida; Gary R. Mormino, University of South Florida; Bailey Thompson, *Orlando Sentinel;* Heather Sellers, Florida State University; Mary Jane Royal, Florida State University; Carol Able, Florida State University; Ann Turkle, Florida State University; Raymond O. Arsenault, University of South Florida; Ellen Babb, University of South Florida; David McCally, University of South Florida; and James Schnur, University of South Florida.

George W. Garrett, University of Virginia, will present the keynote address at the banquet on Friday evening. The winners of the Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize, Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award, Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History, LeRoy Collins Prize, Caroline M. Brevard Prize, Cubberly Prize, and Golden Quill Awards will be presented at the banquet. The president's reception will follow the banquet.

History Fair projects will be displayed in the Harley Hotel's Grand Ballroom, and prizes will be awarded at 4:30 p.m., Friday afternoon. Pete Cowdrey is coordinating the History Fair exhibits and the judging.

The annual J. Leitch Wright Memorial Run, Walk, and Crawl will be held on Saturday morning at Lake Eola Park. There will be a picnic at the Orange County Historical Museum following the final sessions. Bus service will be available. The board of directors will hold its annual meeting in the Harley Hotel's board suite on Thursday afternoon from 2:00-5:00 p.m. The business meeting will be convened at 9:00 a.m. on Saturday in the Eola Ballroom West. Sara Van Arsdel is chair of the local arrangements committee and is assisted by Elizabeth Smith and James C. Clark.

National Register of Historic Places

The Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, reports the following Florida properties were added to the National Register of Historic Places during the year 1990: *Alachua County* – Melrose Historic District, and the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School (now Norman Hall), University of Florida. *Brevard County* – Titusville: Pritchard House, Judge George Robbins House, Spell House, Commercial District, and Wager House. Courtenay: St. Luke's Episcopal Church and Cemetery. *Broward County* – Deerfield Beach: Seaboard Airline Railway Station and Deerfield School. Lighthouse Point: Cap's Place. *Charlotte County* – Placida vicinity: Big Mound Key-Boggess Ridge Archaeological District. Punta Gorda: Villa Bianca, Charlotte County High School, Atlantic Coast Line Depot, and Punta Gorda Ice Plant. *Clay County* – Fleming Island vicinity: Bubba Midden. Green Cove Springs vicinity: Princess Mound. Middleburg: Frosard W. Buddington House, George A. Chalker House, George Randolph Frisbee, Jr., House, Haskell-Long House, Methodist Episcopal Church at Black Creek, and Historic District. *Dade County* – Coral Gables Woman's Club. *Duval County* – Jacksonville: Title & Trust Company of Florida building. *Hendry County* – LaBelle: Hendry County Courthouse. *Highlands County* – Sebring: Seaboard Air Line Depot, Harder Hall, and Downtown Historic District. Avon Park: Historic District. *Hillsborough County* – Tampa: House at 131 W. Davis Blvd. *Indian River County* – Sebastian: Bamma Vickers Lawson House. *Lee*

County – Fort Myers: Downtown Commercial District. Madison *County* – Greenville: Bishop-Andrews Hotel. *Marion County*– Ocala: E. C. Smith House. *Monroe County* – Pigeon Key Historic District. *Nassau County* – Fernandina: Original Town Historic Site. Orange *County* – Apopka: Waite-Davis House. *Palm Beach County* – West Palm Beach: Norton House. *Pinellas County* – Tarpon Springs: City Hall, sponge diving boats *(Duchess, George M. Cretekos, N. K. Symi, St. Nicholas III,* and *St. Nicholas VI),* High School, and the Historic District. St. Petersburg: First Methodist Church. *Polk County* – Lake Wales: Commercial Historic District, Chalet Suzanne, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Depot, B. K. Bullard House, Church of the Holy Spirit, Dixie Walesbilt Hotel, First Baptist Church, City Hall, and G. V. Tillman House. *St. Lucie County* – White City: Captain Hammond House. *Seminole County* – Longwood: Historic District. *Volusia County* – New Smyrna Beach: Historic District. Port Orange vicinity: Spruce Creek Mound Complex. *Wakulla County* – Sopchoppy: High School Gymnasium.

Fort Mose Exhibit

In 1738 more than 100 African-born slaves from British-owned plantations in South Carolina fled to East Florida where Spanish officials were offering sanctuary to all runaways. The fort and the town of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose near St. Augustine was the first legally sanctioned free-black community in what is now the United States. The Fort Mose traveling exhibit at the Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville, brings to life the story of these blacks. Based upon five years of historical and archaeological research in Florida and in Spain, the exhibit, with artifacts, drawings, photographs, and maps, describes the rich and previously neglected history of African-Americans in the Spanish colonies from the time of Columbus to the American Revolution. The exhibit, "Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom," will remain at the Museum until August 15, 1991. The Museum is open Tuesday-Saturday from 10:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m., and I:00 p.m.-4:00 p.m. on Sunday. Admission is free.

Florida Agricultural Museum

Doyle Conner, former Florida Commissioner of Agriculture, helped to establish the Florida Agricultural Museum to preserve

and conserve the state's agricultural history. In 1983 a group of volunteers began collecting artifacts representative of Florida agriculture. The first storage and exhibit space was the basement of the Conner Building in Tallahassee. In 1987 the legislature provided funds for a small professional staff. Working with the Florida Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services, an archive was assembled for the use by scholars and others interested in the history of Florida and southern agriculture. A building, donated by the Caldwell/McCord family, was moved to the area and restored for use as a conservation shop. A "Family Friends" support group was organized, and it provides money through membership dues and donations to the Museum. Rob Blount is the executive director of the Museum.

Announcements and Activities

By agreement with the Florida State Archives, the Genealogical Society of Utah will microfilm several series of Florida historical records: homestead application files, Indian War Claims Commission records, census of school age youth, statehood election returns, voter registration rolls, and general election returns. Copies will be available at the Florida State Archives and at the Family History Center in Salt Lake City and its branch centers throughout the country.

Marriage licenses for Alachua County, 1837-1849, were published in *The Florida Genealogist* (Spring 1989). Marriages in Putnam County, Florida, 1892-1899, are listed, together with an alphabetical index for both brides and grooms, in the January 1990 issue (#16) of the *Journal,* the quarterly publication of the Putnam County Genealogical Society. For Putnam County information, write the Society, P. O. Box 2354, Palatka, FL 32178-2354.

Julius J. Gordon (215 West Grand Central Avenue, #708, Tampa, FL 33606) and John Baxley (1909 West Hanna Avenue, Tampa, FL 33604) are compiling biographical information on persons buried in historic Oaklawn Cemetery in Tampa. They are seeking all pertinent data: the names of parents and spouses, dates of birth/marriage/death, occupations, residence while living in Tampa, honors/awards, club memberships, children, and military records.

Allene Archibald is researching the life and work of William Alexander Sharp (1864-1944), an artist who lived in DeLand and taught at Stetson University until 1903. He later worked in southern California until 1944. Sharp was a renderer for an architect in Los Angeles, a painter in oil and watercolor, and an etcher. He also worked in leaded glass. Contact Allene Archibald, c/o Mission Inn Foundation, 3739 Sixth Street, Riverside, CA 92501.

The Southern Jewish Historical Society's annual conference will be held in Alexandria, VA, October 26-28, 1991. Proposals for papers, panel discussions, and workshops on any aspect of the Southern Jewish Experience should be sent to Dr. Sheldon Hanft, Department of History, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608 (704-262-2854 or 264-4576) by May 1, 1991.

The Oral History Association will hold its 1992 annual meeting October 15-18, 1992, at the Stouffer Tower City Hotel in Cleveland, Ohio. Proposals for papers, panels, media presentations, or entire sessions should be sent by December 1, 1991, to Dr. Donna M. DeBlasio, program chair, Youngstown Historical Center of Industry and Labor, P. O. Box 533, Youngstown, OH 44501 (216-743-5943).

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

December 15, 1990

The semi-annual meeting of the officers and board of directors of the Florida Historical Society was convened at 10:00 a.m. in the board room of the WTVT building, Tampa, December 15, 1990, by Hampton Dunn, president. Attending were Kathleen H. Arsenault, David R. Colburn, William S. Coker, Sam Davis, Rodney E. Dillon, Henry Green, Russell Hughes, Marinus H. Latour, Lester N. May, Stuart B. McIver, Raymond A. Mohl, John W. Partin, Samuel Proctor, Eugene W. Roach, Niles F. Schuh, Rebecca A. Smith, and executive director Lewis N. Wynne. Also present were Gary R. Mormino, Pat Riggins, and J. Michael Smith. President Dunn introduced new board members Russell Hughes (appointed to succeed Ivan Rodriguez who resigned), Lester May, and Sam Davis.

The minutes for the May 1990 board of directors meeting and the business meeting, as published in the October 1990 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, were approved. Dr. Proctor reported that the treasurer's report for 1989, will be published in the April 1991 issue of the journal.

President Dunn introduced Mike Smith of the CPA firm, Smith & Pirolozzi, who reviewed the 1989 treasurer's report. It was noted that the new format will be easier both to compile and to comprehend. The 1990 treasurer's report should be completed by about March 1 and will be circulated to the board. Henry Green suggested that "student services" (page 1) be changed to "USF stipend" to clarify the source of this revenue. Dr. Green also asked that grants income (page 2) be broken down to make it easier to relate income from specific grants with expenditures. The $21,000 deficit for 1989 resulted from the delay in reimbursements for expenditures related to grants; repayment of the debt to the University of South Florida; and the delay in the receipt of the University of South Florida stipend.

Dr. Proctor and Dr. Wynne noted that the state has mandated that universities reduce their 1991- 1992 budgets, and they raised the question of whether this could begin to reduce the support

by these institutions of Society activities. Dr. Wynne noted that this may affect the University of South Florida's annual stipend. Members discussed the Society's financial relationship with the University of South Florida. The debt owed to the University is being reduced by $500 monthly. The debt was originally $26,000; it is now $18,000. The Society expends approximately $400-$700 monthly for operating expenses, including telephone, bulk mail, and office supplies. The Society's major contribution to the University is making its collections available for scholarly research by faculty and students. It was recommended that the annual contract be reviewed in June. Mr. Smith suggested that in the negotiations with the University of South Florida, the Society attempt to extend the agreement from one year to three or five years.

Ms. Arsenault, representing the finance committee, presented the proposed 1991 budget for review and discussion. This "bare bones" budget was developed based on 1990 expenditures. Projected membership revenues include retroactive renewals for institutions and reflect current membership records. The funds to be transferred from the main account represent interest from restricted funds to be used for prizes and awards. Postal expenditures reflect the anticipated increase in charges. The balance between 1990 revenues and expenditures was discussed. Dr. Green projected a deficit. Dr. Wynne and Dr. Colburn anticipated that it will be nearly balanced for the year.

Membership renewals in 1990 and 1991 were also discussed. Dr. Wynne reported that a number of non-renewing members have been dropped as part of the effort to up-date the Society's records. The 1991 budget reflects this development and is based on minimum estimated renewals.

Dr. Colburn thanked Ms. Arsenault and Larry Durrance for their work on the budget. He suggested that projections to the end of each year be included in future reports, and that restricted funds (e.g. the endowments), be included in the budget and financial reports.

Dr. Colburn moved, and Mr. May seconded, that the proposed budget for 1991 be approved. Dr. Colburn recommended that all future financial reports include all activity and projections to the end of each fiscal year (December). He also asked that income and expenditures for restricted and endowment funds be shown, and he recommended that future budgets match ex-

penditures with revenues so that there will be no deficit. The motion was approved.

Dr. Proctor reported that the *Florida Historical Quarterly* index project is temporarily on hold. Volumes 54-65 have been indexed, and he suggested that volume 66 also be indexed. The manuscript is not on a computer disk. Dr. Wynne suggested that it be placed on microfiche; Dr. Proctor felt that, even if on microfiche, libraries and scholars need printed copies. Dr. Proctor moved, and Dr. Colburn seconded, the motion that the decision for publication be deferred to the May 1991 meeting. The motion was approved.

Dr. Proctor reported that the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has a newly designed cover. Beginning with July 1991 issue there will also be a redesigned frontispiece. The board applauded his work. Dr. Proctor asked for pictures appropriate for the cover. He also noted the need for articles and review copies of books relating to Florida history.

Stuart McIver distributed a poll for historians to rate the presidents of the United States. He asked that completed surveys be returned to him.

Dr. Wynne asked the board to authorize a committee, to be appointed by the president, to approach the appropriate members of the legislature to sponsor a bill to provide relief of the Society's debt to the University of South Florida and to provide an annual subsidy of about $50,000 for the Society. After discussion, the consensus was to form a committee to seek sponsorship of a bill to provide debt relief only.

Dr. Wynne reported that he recently attended a national meeting of executive directors of state historical societies in Charleston, South Carolina. The meeting focused on membership recruitment and retention and increasing membership and involvement of minorities in state and local historical organizations. He invited the organization to meet in Tampa in 1992. The proposed meeting site is under consideration and would entail no cost to the Society.

Dr. Wynne and the board discussed ways to increase minority involvement in the Florida Historical Society. During 1991, Dr. Wynne plans to focus his membership recruitment efforts on blacks and other minorities. Dr. Colburn moved, and Dr. Coker seconded, a motion to form a committee to look into the recruitment of minority members.

Mr. Dunn reported that he spoke before the Manatee Historical Society recently. Their members expressed an interest in a joint membership with the Florida Historical Society. Board members discussed the concept of joint memberships between local societies and the Florida Historical Society. Mr. McIver noted that the Historical Association of Southern Florida has a program whereby several local groups distribute copies of the *South Florida History Magazine* to their members as an added benefit of membership in the local society. Dr. Wynne sees a need for a popular history magazine, similar to the *South Florida History Magazine.* He also mentioned that the Society's newsletter may be reduced from six to four issues annually. Mr. Dunn referred these suggestions and ideas to the membership committee for a recommendation at the May board meeting.

Dr. Wynne reported that Jim Gray, a member of the Society, has asked for the passage of a resolution expressing the Society's opposition to the efforts of KellyCo, a manufacturer of metal detectors, to encourage the indiscriminant use of metal detectors at historic sites. The request was deferred to the annual business meeting in May 1991.

Dr. Coker recommended that the Society give Pat Riggins a bonus of $500 from the contingency fund in recognition of her "crisis management" work reorganizing and updating the Society's records. The motion was approved.

It was reported that *Florida Portrait* has been published. Bookstores throughout the state including Waldenbooks and B. Dalton Bookseller are carrying the book, and copies are also available from the Society's office. The Society will net approximately $15,000 when the edition sells out. As an incentive, new members to the Society are being offered a 20 percent discount.

Dr. Wynne reported on the status of the prizes. A brochure for the Frederick Cubberley Prize has been prepared, and brochures announcing the Golden Quill awards have been distributed. Approximately 100 responses are expected.

The board discussed the plans for a retreat at which time the long-range goals and objectives of the Society will be discussed. It was voted to make it part of the December 1991 board meeting at Chinsegut Hill, Hernando County; December 6-7 tentatively was set as the dates for the retreat, with a board meeting following on December 7.

Pat Riggins asked those attending to supply mailing lists for use in membership recruitment. Ms. Arsenault urged board members to contribute to the annual appeal; the Society needs board support to make the appeal a success.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:10 p.m.

TREASURERS REPORT

January 1, 1989-December 31, 1989

Current Assets:		
University State Bank (Tampa, FHS checking)	$ 884.00	
University State Bank (Florida Historical Confederation checking)	771.39	
Petty Cash	50.00	
Shearson Lehman Hutton Government Money Market	33,782.73	
Shearson Lehman Hutton Government Securities Fund	30,198.25	
Shearson Lehman Hutton Money Market	23,956.29	
Membership Receivable	2,625.00	
Dean Witter Reynolds	10,149.29	
Entergy Corp. (6 shares), formerly known as Middle South Utilities	139.50	
Total Assets		$102,556.45
Receipts :		
Memberships:		
Annual	$19,340.00	
Family	6,625.00	
Contributing	2,350.00	
Library	14,908.33	
Historical Societies	610.00	
Student	810.00	
Corporate	950.00	$45,593.33
Contributions:		
General	$ 8,200.00	$ 8,200.00

Other Receipts:		
Quarterly Sales	$ 116.92	
Index Sales	25.00	
Student Services	17,500.00	
Labels Sales	45.00	
Photographs	463.96	
Miscellaneous Income	491.46	
Directory Sales	5.00	
Annual Meeting Registration	7,907.00	
Grants	14,907.0	
Bequests	100.00	
Gain on Sale of Securities	14.01	$ 41,575.35
Interest Income:		
Shearson Lehman Hutton Company		
Patrick	$ 103.52	
Tebeau	879.92	
Thompson	1,035.21	
Wentworth	2,070.40	
Jerome	1,086.96	$ 5,176.01
Dividends Income:		
Shearson Lehman Hutton	$ 2,453.70	
Entergy Corporation (formerly known as Middle South Utilities)	5.40	
Dean Witter Reynolds	846.06	$ 3,305.16
Total Receipts		$103,849.85
Disbursements:		
Florida Historical Quarterly		
Indexing	$ 5,574.00	
Printing and Mailing	12,932.06	
Acquisitions	1,172.27	
Post Office Box Rental	39.00	
Editor	1,000.00	
University of Florida Teaching Resources Center (photographs)	61.52	$20,778.85
Annual Meeting:		
Expenses	$ 7,104.04	
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize	200.00	
Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prize	200.00	
Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award	200.00	
President's Awards	1,000.00	$ 8,704.04

Other Expenses:		
Florida Historical Society Newsletter	$ 325.00	
Postage	85.00	
Telephone	4,988.65	
Duplicating, printing, and labels	12,584.92	
Depreciation	1,642.15	
Books	137.46	
Supplies	11,270.52	
Travel	4,152.20	
Author Expenses	3,000.00	
Accounting Services	2,848.32	
Grant Expenses	4,822.00	
Honoraria	2,200.00	
Licenses	35.00	
History Fair	804.75	
Dues and Subscriptions	1,100.00	
Advertising	180.00	
Annual Appeal	1,030.00	
Interest Expense	436.15	
Penalties	20.00	
Repairs and Maintenance	825.00	
President's Expenses	682.83	
Office Expense	5,250.93	
Executive Committee Expense	642.08	
Facility Rental	100.00	
Executive Director's Expenses	2,706.31	
Student Intern Costs	1,110.40	
Bank Charges	211.39	
Executive Director's *Salary*	30,000.00	
Payroll Taxes	2,442.00	
Miscellaneous Expenses	130.70	$ 95,763.76
Total Disbursements		$125,246.65
Net Income		$(21,396.80)
Balance, December 31, 1989		$102,556.45

The *Florida Historical Quarterly*

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GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1991

May9-11	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 89th MEETING	Orlando, FL
May 9	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Orlando, FL
June 16-Sept. 29	"Mosaic: Jewish Life in Florida" (traveling exhibit)	Pensacola, FL
Aug. 26-29	American Association for State and Local History	Dearborn, MI
Sept. 25-29	Society of American Archivists	Philadelphia, PA
Oct. 3-5	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
Oct. 10-1 3	Oral History Association	Salt Lake City, UT
Oct. 16-20	National Trust for Historic Preservation	San Francisco, CA
Oct. 25-27	Southern Jewish Historical Society	Alexandria, VA
Nov. 13-16	Southern Historical Association	Fort Worth, TX
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	Chicago, IL

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $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, Post Office Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; FAX: 813-932-9332. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.