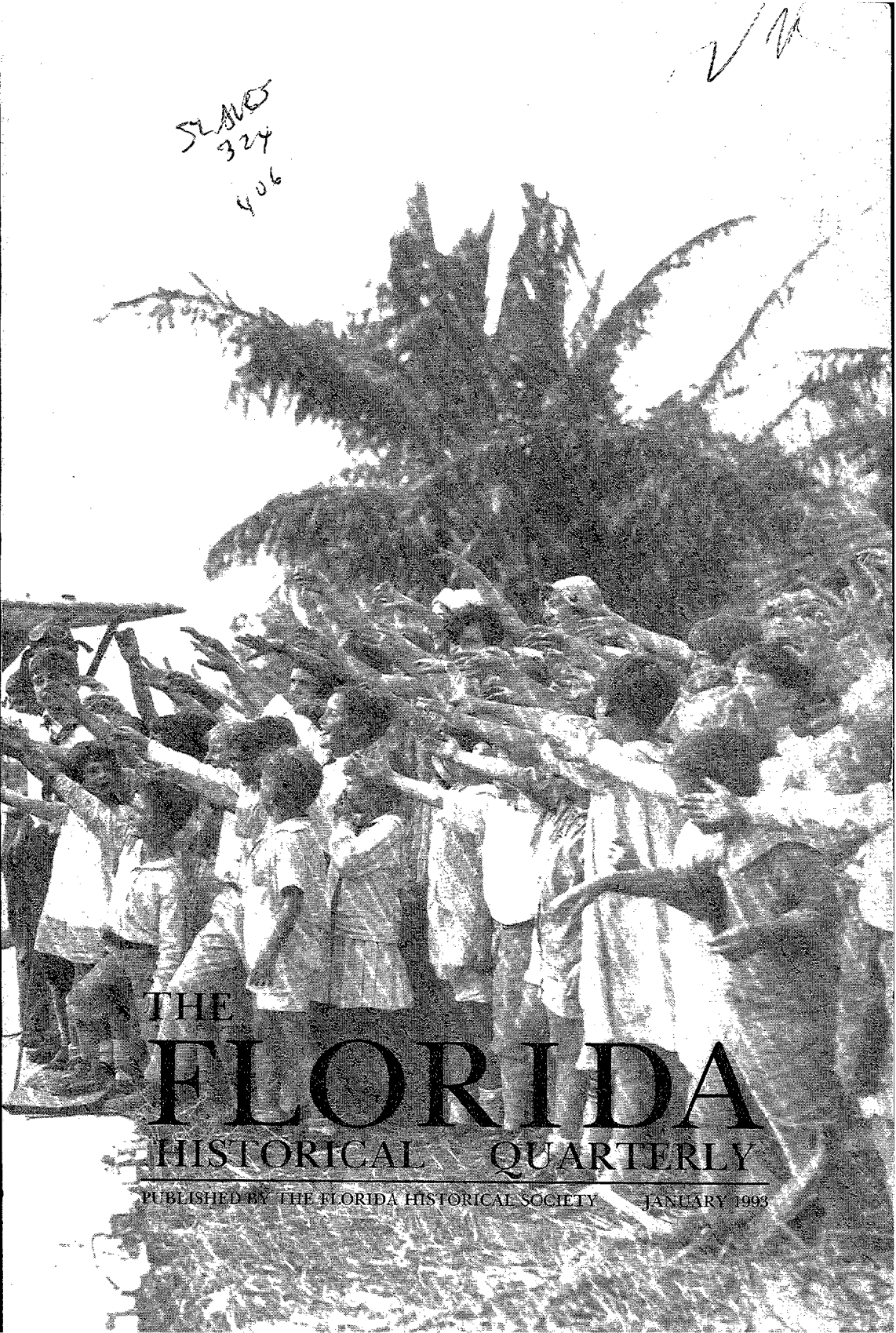

# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

Having arrived by seaplane, Santa Claus greets a crowd of adoring children in circa 1920s Miami. *Photograph courtesy Claude Matlock Collection, Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami.*

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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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# CHLOE MERRICK REED: FREEDOM'S FIRST LADY

*by* SARAH WHITMER FOSTER AND JOHN T. FOSTER, JR.

DURING the past three decades Florida's Civil War and Reconstruction-era history has been the subject of careful reconsideration. Beginning with the 1963 publication of John E. Johns's *Florida During the Civil War* and continuing with Joe M. Richardson's *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* and Jerrell H. Shofner's *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*, the complexities of the period have been vividly revealed.[1] New and far more positive perspectives upon the lives and careers of black leaders, carpetbaggers, and southern loyalists can be credited among the results of this revisionist scholarship.[2]

While our understanding of the state's past has been enhanced by recent work, the contributions of women to our ex-

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1. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963; reprint ed., Macclenny, 1989); Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, 1965; reprint ed., Tampa, 1973); Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet, Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974).
2. See, for example, James C. Clark, "John Wallace and the Writing of Reconstruction History," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (April 1989), 409-27; Canter Brown, Jr., "'Where are now the hopes I cherished?' The Life and Times of Robert Meacham," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (July 1990), 1-36; Richard Nelson Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers* (New York, 1988), 24-29, 84-90, 148-52, 236-40, 389-91; John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster, "The Last Shall Be First: Northern Methodists in Reconstruction Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70 (January 1992), 265-80; David Coles, "Floridians in Blue: Militant Unionism in Florida During the Civil War" (unpublished paper presented at Florida Historical Society annual meeting, Gainesville, 1989); Canter Brown, Jr., "Justice Ossian Bingley Hart," *Florida Supreme Court Historical Society Review* (publication forthcoming).

perience unfortunately have been neglected. As a result, little is known about numerous individuals who significantly affected the course of Florida's history and whose work touched the lives of countless of the state's residents. Among the most prominent and most important of these remarkable women was teacher, missionary, administrator, suffragist, and First Lady Chloe Merrick Reed.

Chloe Merrick was born April 18, 1832, to Sylvanus and Achsah Pollard Merrick. The family lived near Syracuse, New York, and at Chloe's birth also included older brothers Montgomery, aged twenty, and Charles, aged seventeen, and a sister, Emma, aged three. Her mother, Achsah, died during Chloe's early childhood, and about 1837 the family moved into Syracuse.[3]

The Merrick clan prospered in their new urban home. Commerce along the Erie Canal propelled Syracuse's growth, and opportunities abounded. Aside from Achsah, the family members were rugged in body, and, having a disposition for independent thought, they could see and were not loathe to seize opportunities. Montgomery chose a career as brick mason and contractor; Charles became a brick maker; and, eventually, Emma followed a career as teacher.[4]

Along with economic opportunity, the Erie Canal also brought to Syracuse new ideas and new residents who espoused them. By the early 1840s, for example, a small community of abolitionists had coalesced in the town, and its membership included the Merricks. During the period abolitionists throughout New England and the middle west demanded that Methodist Episcopal churches reject slavery in line with the teachings of founder John Wesley. In 1843 Montgomery and Charles joined seven other men to confront the local Methodist congregation, and, when their efforts failed, they helped organize a separate "Wesleyan" church.[5]

The breakaway Wesleyan congregation based its creed upon "no slavery" and "no rum."[6] In line with this commitment, the church became a center for abolitionist agitation in Syracuse

3. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 6, 1897; Syracuse *Daily Standard,* April 19, 1884, December 28, 1891, April 27, 1895.
4. Syracuse *Daily Standard,* December 28, 1891, April 27, 1895.
5. Syracuse *Post Standard,* June 16, 1957, August 23, 1967.
6. *Syracuse Journal,* August 2, 1856.

Chloe Merrick Reed. *Photograph courtesy of the Iconographic Collections, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.*

and a stopover point on the "underground railroad" that assisted runaway slaves to freedom. While espousing freedom for black slaves, members also found that freedom could and should be promoted in other fields, most prominently in the area of women's rights. In 1852 Susan B. Anthony visited the church and "[demanded] for her sex all of the rights enjoyed by men,

even to the ballot box."[7] Two years later its pastor ordained a woman, Antoinette L. Brown, as minister and encouraged the enunciation of her controversial views.[8]

The Wesleyan church was not alone in offering Syracuse's residents access to new ideas. The city enjoyed a good public school system, and its men and women attended public lectures by individuals such as Gerrit Smith, William Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and Horace Mann. Chloe is known to have attended at least one speech by Mann and likely listened to many other of the period's leading intellectuals. Particularly important to Chloe was the influence of the Reverend Samuel J. May, an uncle of Louisa May Alcott. May not only championed abolitionism, but he also preached women's rights and a ban on capital punishment.[9]

Chloe thus was raised in an environment that encouraged controversial opinions and critical debate, as well as one that equated action with conviction. That her closest relations continued to embrace activism is clear. In October 1851, for instance, Sylvanus, Montgomery, and Charles were key figures in the escape of a black man arrested for fleeing slavery. When the man was recaptured, they joined with an antislavery crowd that smashed windows, chopped up casings, and battered down the jail's door. Although marshals fired into the mob, its members persevered and liberated the fugitive. As a result, the Fugitive Slave Law had been successfully defied. Since the mob included women, Chloe not only may have witnessed the action but may have helped to instigate it. Sylvanus and Montgomery later were indicted for their part, and Chloe's father was forced to flee "[to] Illinois until the excitement blew over."[10]

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7. Miriam Gurko, *The Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Women's Rights Movement* (New York, 1974), 100; Syracuse *Daily Standard,* September 6, 1852.
8. Luther Lee, *Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel* (Syracuse, *NY,* 1853); Syracuse *Daily Standard,* July 11, 1854.
9. Syracuse *Daily Standard,* April 17, 1851, January 12, 1863, December 8, 1864; James M. Smith, "The 'Separate But Equal' Doctrine: An Abolitionist Discusses Racial Segregation and Educational Policy During the Civil War," *Journal of Negro History* 41 (AprIl 1956), 138-47; *New York Tribune,* July 25, 1851.
10. *New York Tribune,* July 25, October 4, 1851; Earl E. Sperry, *The Jerry Rescue* (Syracuse, NY, 1924), 22-28; *Syracuse Journal,* November 17, 1893; Syracuse *Daily Standard,* April 19, 1884.

By the time of the fugitive slave episode Chloe was nearing adulthood and was about to launch herself upon a career. She was considered beautiful, and, like so many other young women in Syracuse, she easily could have chosen marriage. Instead, she elected to become a teacher, setting a pattern of independent thought that was to follow her through life. At the time, she was living with her sister Emma and Emma's husband, Ansel Eddy Kinne, a local educator and school principal. Kinne, who was known for the "keen interest" he took in students' welfare and for showing them a "deeper sympathy" than other teachers of his generation, enhanced Chloe's interest in ideas and books, increased her knowledge of pedagogy, and guided her career.[11]

Emma and Ansel Kinne's interest in Chloe's career presaged a continuing professional interrelationship between the three teachers. As did Ansel, Chloe taught in Syracuse's public schools during 1854-1856 and 1860-1862. When Ansel served during the early 1860s as principal of the Prescott School, Chloe worked as one of his teachers. In Florida after the Civil War their relationship continued to be close. Ansel became superintendent of the state's Freedmen's Bureau schools, and Emma taught in Fernandina. By then, of course, Chloe also was very involved in Florida affairs.[12]

Chloe's path to Florida began in South Carolina's Sea Islands. The Union army had seized the area early in the Civil War, leaving United States authorities in control of fertile lands but with responsibility for thousands of slaves who had fled to Union lines. As Federal forces extended their gains down the coast into northeast Florida, Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, commander of the region, was faced with the increasingly enormous task of fighting hunger, malnutrition, and disease among blacks coming within his jurisdiction. With few resources at hand, he asked Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton for assistance. Stanton, in turn, appealed to northern abolitionists including Samuel J. May. In the fall of 1862 May organized a "Freedmen's Relief Association" in Syracuse and secured funding to

11. Jonathan Daniels, *Prince of Carpetbaggers* (New York, 1958), 83; Syracuse *Herald*, November 19, 1922.
12. Edward Smith, *A History of the Schools of Syracuse From Its Early Settlement to January, 1, 1893* (Syracuse, NY, 1893), 282; *Syracuse Journal City Directory for 1862-63* (Syracuse, NY, 1862), 38.

support two teachers in Fernandina and to pay them a small salary. Chloe, along with Cornelia Smith, volunteered for service. By early November "these heroic ladies [had] packed their wardrobes" and "quietly" left for Port Royal, South Carolina.[13]

The trip south, though a difficult one, provided important lessons for the two teachers. After a stormy sea journey they landed at Hilton Head and moved on to Beaufort. There they visited freedmen's schools. "Yesterday, had some visitors in school– Miss T. and her brother and Miss Merrick from Syracuse," reported teacher Charlotte Forten, later the wife of Francis Grimké. "I liked the latter's face," she continued. "She looks like an earnest worker."[14] At Beaufort, Chloe heard reports that confirmed the "great success" that many missionary teachers were having with blacks. "Most of them . . .," one account read, "speak of the earnestness and aptitude of the people in acquiring knowledge."[15] The point was clearly made. Success was possible in spite of the disadvantages under which both teachers and students labored.

When Chloe and Cornelia arrived at Fernandina several weeks later, they found "twelve hundred" black and "two hundred white people" living on Amelia Island. Of the black population, about 200 men had joined United States service and "left their families here to be provided for." An account noted as well, "Two hundred and fifty women and four hundred and sixteen children were receiving rations." It added that another forty men were "aged and infirm, wholly dependent on the government." The remainder of the island's population either fished or found work at the Union-occupied fort.[16]

Room for a school was provided in Fernandina's Episcopal church, and, by December 18, Chloe had been teaching there for two weeks. Some educational opportunities had been available for blacks in the town for five months, but the first teacher, Union soldier Leander Cram, had been reassigned to active duty. One successor, freedwoman Susan, had been poorly prepared, and another, the Reverend Shields, a Presbyterian minis-

13. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 61-69; Syracuse *Daily Standard*, December 23, 1862.
14. Boston *Liberator*, December 12, 1862.
15. Syracuse *Daily Standard*, January 12, 1863.
16. Ibid, January 12, March 4, 1863.

ter, had shown little interest.[17] Despite the unsettled conditions, Chloe found that "about seventy or eighty pupils [of all ages] had learned the alphabet, and some were able to read quite understandingly."[18]

Merrick and Smith organized their school by dividing hold-over students into three groups based upon their abilities. About thirteen of them "read well in the Bible Reader," another fifteen or sixteen "read easy sentences," and the remainder "read words of three or four letters." A fourth group, of new students, comprised eighty or so pupils who were just starting to learn their alphabet. To encourage parental support, the two teachers visited black homes and also held a meeting of mothers once each week. They learned firsthand of the tragedies and the resentments of slavery, but they found as well a spirit of determination and cooperation.[19] "While many are . . . destitute . . .," the teachers noted, "they cling to each other by bonds of heart-sympathy, making the worst ills endurable."[20] Further, they discovered that the educational process was reciprocal. "[We are] teaching them various things," one report observed, "and having them teach us, as they can do, some things that will be very useful to us."[21]

Determination and cooperation of parents provided strong support for Merrick and Smith, but problems of environment and black poverty constantly commanded their attention. Particularly, the availability of proper clothing posed immediate problems. "In calling among the people," Chloe recorded, "we find many suffering from colds, rheumatism and fevers, consequences of these changes in temperature and [inadequate] clothing." Each morning their schoolroom was crowded with "shivering bare-footed children." The teachers quickly distributed the limited supplies of clothing available, and Chloe appealed to Syracuse residents for "articles that can be made useful."[22]

17. Ibid., March 4, 1863. "Susan" may have been Susie King Taylor. As the young wife of a Union soldier, she taught other blacks to read and write. Her travels as a nurse and "laundress" brought her to Florida not later than 1863. See Susie King Taylor, *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops, Late 1st South Carolina Volunteers* (New York, 1988).
18. Syracuse *Daily Standard*, March 4, 1863.
19. Ibid.
20. *Syracuse Journal*, April 15, 1864.
21. Ibid., April 1, 1863.
22. Syracuse *Daily Standard*, January 12, 1863.

The talents of the teachers and the eagerness of the pupils soon began to show results. "One hundred and seven . . . have mastered the alphabet and are now reading," Chloe observed in March 1863. She optimistically concluded from the progress, "[The] colored children are capable of improvement equally with white children."[23] Their success attracted new pupils, resulting in the formation of two separate schools. Merrick taught one with 130 students, and Smith supervised 200, of whom approximately 125 attended in any one day. The two women also were able to share their burdens with new assistants– Miss Harris who aided Cornelia and Lizzie Smith who worked with Chloe.[24]

The freedmen's schools celebrated the end of their terms in May, and a graduation ceremony was held for sixteen children "for the encouragement of the rest of the school." Each graduate received a book and a slate as rewards for performance, as well as the congratulations of local civilians, Federal army officials, and United States government agents. One member of the audience, United States Tax Commissioner Harrison Reed, especially was impressed with the occasion. He later was quoted as describing the schools as "the best . . . in all of the military district."[25]

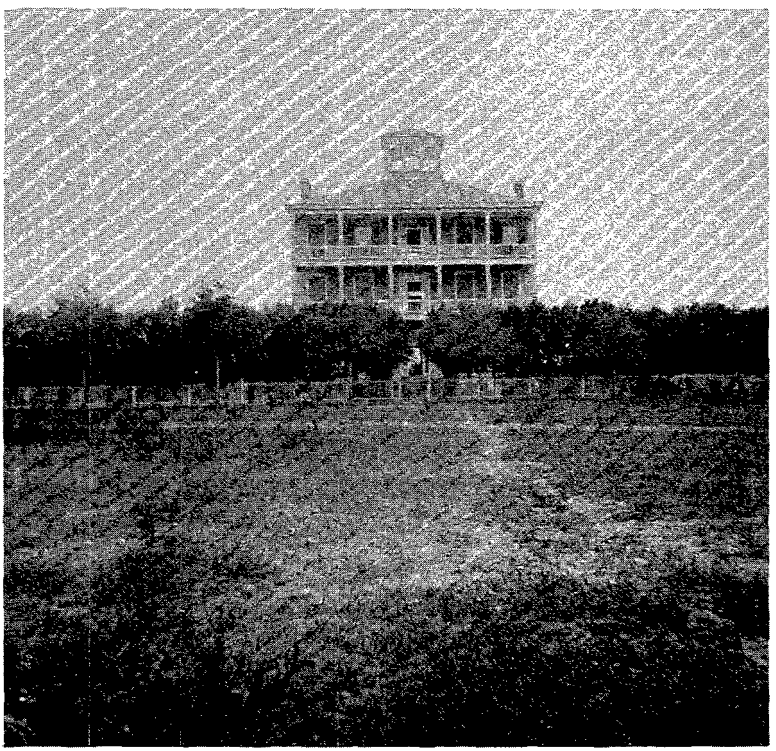
The poverty that had so affected the students soon prompted Chloe to venture beyond teaching and into the general care of needy children. During travels around Amelia Island she was struck by the numbers of "utterly destitute, parentless, orphans" of both races.[26] Once, she found a group of three white children, aged ten, twelve, and fourteen, living with an older sister and suffering from the lingering effects of smallpox. "In a jail-like place . . .," Merrick informed residents of Syracuse, "they had spent the winter." She added sadly, "More destitution this side of nakedness and starvation one could not find." On another occasion she discovered an orphaned black child being used as a slave by an elderly freedwoman who looked upon orphans "as having a market value." To Chloe, the woman was as "spiritually low as her [former] masters and mistresses." The mistreatment

23. *Syracuse Journal,* May 20, 1863.
24. Ibid.; Syracuse *Daily Standard,* July 22, 1863.
25. *Syracuse Journal,* May 20, July 14, 1863; Syracuse *Daily Standard,* July 22, 1863.
26. *Syracuse Journal,* September 4, 1863.

Governor Harrison M. Reed. *Photograph courtesy of the Iconographic Collections State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.*

of these and all other children, white and black, southern and northern, offended her. "There have to be laws," she asserted, "to govern . . . unreasonable parents in their treatment of their own children."[27]

27. Ibid., April 15, 1864.



General Joseph Finegan's House. *Photograph courtesy of the Massachusetts Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion and the United States Army Military History Institute.*

The immediate solution to the needs of Amelia Island's parentless children was the opening of an orphanage, and by September 1863 Merrick had proposed a plan to General Saxton. In June, Harrison Reed had helped her to purchase at a tax sale the Fernandina home of Confederate General Joseph Finegan, and, with financial assistance from Samuel May, she intended to use the property to provide shelter for the children. Saxton approved, and Chloe set out to ensure the orphanage's success.[28] According to Harrison Reed's description, the house stood in a grove at the center of eighteen acres of land. "It is about sixty feet square, three stories high, containing four large rooms and

28. Ibid., September 4, 1863; Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers,* 26-27.

a wide hall on each floor; a large attic and observatory; and a fine kitchen and out buildings."[29]

Assuring sufficient financial support for her project was Chloe's principal concern. Both May and Reed solicited aid in letters to Syracuse newspapers, thus permitting her not to appear "too conspicuous before the public."[30] Discussing the plan, though, Reed expressed his admiration by noting that "Miss Merrick of your city . . . first suggested the idea" and insisted that her "executive and administrative ability" would "guarantee its success."[31]

A few letters to newspapers, however laudatory, did not attract sufficient funds for the project, and Chloe was forced to place herself at the forefront of the campaign, traveling to Syracuse by way of Beaufort and New York City. At Beaufort she appealed personally to Saxton who provided $300 in cash, "sixty pairs of shoes, thirty blankets and clothing," as well as "axes, rakes, hoes, hatchets, saws, hammers and other useful articles."[32] When she arrived at Syracuse, she spoke to public and private gatherings organized by May and also sought, with his help, an endorsement and support from the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York. A highlight of the visit involved a dinner excursion for 300 people to Fulton, New York. As diners feasted under a large tent, they listened while Chloe and Ansel Kinne described the dire needs of Florida's blacks and orphans. "Miss Merrick's remarks were of an interesting character," a correspondent related, "giving an account of her labors among the refugees in Florida."[33]

The fundraising efforts proved successful, and Merrick returned through Port Royal to Fernandina in late October. With her came goods for the orphanage and new teachers to work in the freedmen's schools. By the following spring she was collecting needy children while supervising preparation of the Finegan home. The large structure, standing in a grove at the center of eighteen acres of land, required substantial time and effort to repair and maintain.[34] The magnitude of her work served only

29. Syracuse *Daily Standard,* July 14, 1863.
30. Ibid., September 16, 1863.
31. Ibid.; *Syracuse Journal,* September 4, 1863.
32. *Syracuse Journal,* November 12, 1863.
33. Ibid., August 28, September 4, 1863.
34. Syracuse *Daily Standard,* July 14, 1863.

to reinforce Chloe's commitment to the cause. "Mr. May," she wrote in April 1864, "I am satisfied that the mission upon which I have entered with your benediction . . . is more important than I had even at first supposed." The task was so great, though, that she felt compelled to depend upon the worldly support of others and her own faith. Her letter to Samuel May continued: "I am not sufficient, alone, to meet and bring order out of the chaotic elements surrounding me. I need the earnest sympathy, aid, wise council and prayers of all those whose hearts are with me in this. It seems to me that a kind Providence had led hitherto, and I assure you I still earnestly desire to have this work so directed that it shall meet the approval of our Common Father."[35]

Though Merrick at times questioned whether she could meet the enormous responsibilities placed upon her, she persevered, and, just as had been the case with her school, she succeeded. Numerous references, appearing in publications such as the *National Freedman* and in letters, diaries, and reminiscences, document the work of the orphanage and the well-being of the children placed there. "I found the boys and girls in excellent condition," one man recorded, "and a more healthy and happy lot of children I have rarely seen."[36] Similarly, medical doctor Esther Hill Hawks found the orphanage a "beehive" of activity near Christmas 1864. "The house is comfortably furnished," she noted, "and now has 18 little orphan children residents– they all looked neatly dressed and contented."[37]

Success did not come for Chloe without added burdens. As months passed the number of children in her care gradually increased. In February 1865 there were twenty-six; thirty were present the following July; and a total of fifty were boarded one year later. The larger the number of children, however, the greater the need for food and shelter. In both these areas the problems, at times, became critical. Sufficient food presented immediate concerns. The children planted gardens, but the orphanage remained dependent upon military rations. When that source temporarily was suspended in February 1865, the fortuitous arrival of a small grant forestalled disaster. "I must tell you

35. Ibid., April 15, 1864.
36. *National Freedman*, June 1866, 173.
37. Gerald Schwartz, *A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawk's Diary* (Columbia, SC, 1984), 173.

how opportune your appropriation of forty dollars for the Asylum provision came," Merrick informed the donor organization. She continued, "An order has just been received that no more rations be issued to the destitute; this, of course, cut off the orphan children's supplies on which we had depended mainly, but we have about twenty bushels of corn left which was raised on the place and forty dollars to go on with." Her sense of relief was expressed as she added, *"Did it not seem providential?"*[38]

The added demands of her responsibilities placed Chloe's health at increased risk. She was accustomed to spending at least some of the summer– the malaria season– outside the state, but running the orphanage kept her in Florida. The threat of disease was not an idle one. Sarah Slocum, a colleague from Syracuse, died at Fernandina in the fall of 1864. After Emma and Ansel Kinne came to the town, Emma, who taught at the orphanage, "had a long and dangerous illness."[39] In the summer of 1866 Chloe followed her sister with a malady that required her to leave Florida.[40]

Illness and hunger were not the only threats to Merrick and her orphans. Persistent questions arose about the legality of the tax sales that had permitted Chloe's purchase of the Finegan house. After the Civil War's end, the former Confederate general himself initiated proceedings to recover his property. Also with war's end, Confederate loyalists returned to coastal communities, and some subjected northern teachers, including Chloe, to abuse that ranged from ostracism to profanity. More alarming were the goals these individuals had in mind for freed blacks. The former slaves were told that they "[would] still be slaves in some way."[41] To frustrated teachers such as Chloe, the actions proved that many Southerners had not really changed. As she put it, "Slavery is not yet dead."[42]

Even the supposed protectors of the freedmen– Union military men– sometimes constituted more of a problem than a part

38. *National Freedman,* April 1, 1865, 98, June 1866, 173.
39. *Syracuse Journal,* April 22, 1865; *National Freedman,* January 1866, 4.
40. *American Freedman,* May 1867; John Swaim diary, January 4, 1867, collection of the authors. The nature of Chloe's illness is not described.
41. George W. Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida, 1862-68," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (January 1949), 269-71; *National Freedman,* June 15, 1865, 182.
42. *National Freedman,* June 15, 1865, 182.

of the solution. Soldiers seduced young black women and abandoned them after they became pregnant. "Sarah, a young ebony girl, formerly a pupil in our schools, but now the mother of a white infant, whose Anglo-Saxon father has left for the North, comes to us for aid," Merrick reported in June 1865. "[A]s one of the many instances of this kind," she continued, "the mother [was] left to bear alone the burden of caring for the off-spring whose natural guardians have left the South, and these helpless ones to wear away a weary life, looking in vain for their seducer's promised return. We help such– and the class is not small– with the 'Go and sin no more' upon our lips, while indignation, pity, and all the emotions such outrages awaken, rankle in our hearts, and we cry out from the depths of our soul, 'God, what lessons art thou teaching the nation in this scourge thou art permitting thus to visit this oppressed people?'"[43]

As southern hostility and other problems mounted, support for the orphanage from northern sources waned. Of critical importance, the National Freedmen's Relief Association (NFRA), which had provided much-needed funds, experienced an institutional decline. During the war it had switched its affiliations from religious to secular organizations, and, as aid organizations competed for funds, secular groups lost the struggle for membership and funding. The decline came at the same time as the Florida head of the Freedmen's Bureau, Thomas W. Osborn, pushed for return of tax sale property to former Confederate owners. A weakened NFRA could not sway Osborn's determination, despite a personal appeal from President Francis G. Shaw. On July 6, 1866, the Bureau ordered the orphanage moved to Magnolia, on the St. Johns River south of Jacksonville. In the fall of the following year the NFRA terminated its funding, and by December military authorities recommended that it be closed. The children were to be apprenticed or sent to orphanages in the Carolinas. "To all observers," Chloe wrote of her work, "[my children] have shown great capability for improvement. Whatever be the future of this enterprise, one thing has been proven; that these products of slavery's degradation . . . have quickened into a new life."[44]

43. Ibid., 181.
44. Francis G. Shaw to O. O. Howard, April 18, 1866, and Thomas W. Osborn to Chloe Merrick, July 6, 1866, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Florida, record group 105, National Archives, Washington, DC; *National Freedman,* March 1866, 115.

Merrick supervised relocation of the orphanage, but soon thereafter she was taken ill. By January 1867 she had recovered enough to travel and returned to Syracuse. Once her recuperation was complete, she was reassigned to schools at Columbia, South Carolina, and then New Bern, North Carolina. Despite the trials through which she had suffered, she remained as determined as ever. In that spirit she wrote the old abolitionist Gerrit Smith in November 1868. "The time has not come for the old heroes of the anti-slavery revolution to lay their armor by," she declared. "The longer I remain in the South . . . the more I see remains to be done."[45]

The service work that was so important to Chloe occupied her attentions to the apparent exclusion of a social life. One historian has suggested, "There is a possibility that Chloe was more concerned with her mission than with men."[46] While Merrick may not have paid much romantic attention to men, she had her male admirers, and she used their attention to the benefit of her work. On one occasion, for instance, she capitalized on the friendly dispositions of the gunboat *Mohawk*'s officers to collect $10 for her school and to secure a promise of protection "in case of an attack upon Fernandina."[47] Union General Milton Littlefield likewise was impressed when Chloe presented him with "[a] fine flag upon which 'Liberty' was emblazoned."[48]

The most ardent of Merrick's admirers was not a soldier. Rather, when Harrison Reed and Chloe met in early 1863 he was a widowed fifty-year-old former Wisconsin newspaper editor then serving in Florida as United States tax commissioner.[49] Described by one critic as a "fussy old granny," Reed apparently was smitten by Merrick's charms. When later that year he was forced to resign his position in a dispute with fellow commissioners, Reed pleaded for an opportunity to return to Florida in words that suggest a desire to remain close to her. "I have embarked in schemes for the benefit of the freedmen," he declared, "& I want to live in Florida to assist in bringing it in as a free state & in regenerating the slavery cursed territory."

45. Merrick to Gerrit Smith, November 20, 1868, Gerrit Smith Papers, Syracuse University Library, Syracuse, NY.
46. Daniels, *Prince of Carpetbaggers,* 84.
47. *Syracuse Journal,* April 1, 1863.
48. Daniels, *Prince of Carpetbaggers,* 236.
49. Reed's first wife, Anna Louisa Turner, died September 1862. They had two sons, Edwin R. and Henry Wadsworth, and one daughter, Georgiana.

Thanks to the intercession of old Wisconsin acquaintances, he eventually was designated President Andrew Johnson's postal agent for the state of Florida.[50]

Little evidence can be found that Chloe's interest in Reed during and just after the Civil War was other than professional. Once back in Florida he increasingly allied himself with President Johnson's conservative policies, as well as those of Provisional Governor William Marvin of Key West and his popularly elected successor David S. Walker of Tallahassee. Presumably, these actions disappointed Chloe, who retained her "anti-slavery revolution" zeal. The matter was mooted, in any event, when Chloe left the state in January 1867.[51]

Two months after Merrick's departure the political world was turned upside down by passage of the First and Second Reconstruction acts, and from their implementation Chloe's life again was set upon a path for Florida. These laws ushered in military Reconstruction and paved the way for black suffrage, new constitutions, and Republican rule in the South. Reed emerged from the political revolution in June 1868 as the state's first Republican governor, at about the same time that Chloe in New Bern, North Carolina, was seeking a way to complete all that remained to be done of her life's work.[52]

The nature of continuing contacts between Reed and Merrick once she was away from Florida is uncertain. One biographer has argued that only "the dignity of the governorship" finally emboldened Reed to propose marriage.[53] First, though, he established a personal relationship within her family by employing Chloe's nephew Charles Kinne as his personal secretary. He also encouraged a friendship with Chloe's Civil War admirer Milton Littlefield. The former Union general, who by then was a North Carolina and Florida railroad speculator, seems to have maintained his own close acquaintance with Merrick, and perhaps Reed believed that Littlefield might exert positive influence on the governor's behalf.[54]

While Reed's interest in ties with Chloe seems apparent, her attitudes are not so clear. Arguably, Reed's affection had en-

50. Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers,* 27.
51. Ibid., 27-29: *Tallahassee Sentinel,* June 18, 1868.
52. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet,* 157-94.
53. Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers,* 90.
54. Daniels, *Prince of Carpetbaggers, 236.*

deared the much older man to her. More probably, however, while she appreciated his attentions, she was as conscious of the possibilities for extending her social agenda through his influence as governor. When Reed did propose marriage in 1869, her acceptance may well have been based upon an understanding that she would be meaningfully involved in educational and social issues in the state, just as she earlier had been in Fernandina.

Whatever the basis of their agreement, Chloe and Harrison Reed were married at Ansel Kinne's Syracuse home on August 10, 1869. "The ceremony," a local newspaper reported, "was performed in the pleasant grove on Mr. Kinne's premises, by the Rev. Samuel J. May, in the presence of a small party of the friends and family of the bride."[55] Suffragists of the time modified traditional marriage vows by dropping promises by wives to "obey" their husbands, and Chloe likely did so as well. After a short honeymoon, the couple returned to Florida.[56]

Once in Tallahassee, Chloe Merrick Reed's influence with her new husband quickly was apparent. Where the governor prior to his marriage had catered to conservative social beliefs, he soon proposed or supported far-reaching legislation to address social problems, particularly in the fields of education and relief for the poor. The state's public school system had been created by the legislature only months before the marriage, but by 1871 he urged a system that "would reach every portion of the state," as well as a home or farm for the infirm and dependent in every county.[57] A year later he sought a "State University" to teach both the classics and "mechanics, modern languages, the physical sciences and practical agriculture."[58] The initiatives met with real success. Between 1870 and September 1872 the number of public schools grew from 250 to 444, and enrollment jumped from 7,500 to 16,258. By the latter year, the state superintendent of public instruction believed that schools were reaching 25 percent of all school-age youth and that, if the

55. *Syracuse Journal,* August 11, 1869.
56. Ibid.
57. Florida *House Journal* (1871), 27.
58. Ibid., (1872), 43. In 1870 Florida had received 90,000 acres of federal land to be used to promote the teaching of agriculture and the vocational arts.

rate of increase could be maintained, in twenty years Florida would have "enrolled every child in the state."[59]

Reed's initiatives, which one student of the subject referred to as "the good works Chloe planned in the state over which her husband ruled," represented how personal experiences had caused a substantial change in her thinking.[60] With the decline of the NFRA and the subsequent closing of her orphanage, she no longer believed that philanthropy alone could answer the needs of blacks. As Reed later put it, philanthropy was "inadequate as a permanent system." Even as a "temporary expedient," charity harmed blacks when it treated them "as dependent children." Ultimately, they were not "wards" but citizens– citizens with both "rights" and "responsibilities."[61]

During their residence in Tallahassee, the Reeds lived in a "very pleasant house across the street from the capital." Chloe presided over the household with "dignity," keeping it with "Yankee neatness." It was noted that she "endeared herself to many who visited her home."[62]

Chloe's presence in the governor's life and her influence with him became sources of strength for Reed as his administration grew increasingly tumultuous. Repeated attempts to remove him from office were beaten back with the votes of black legislators who knew of Chloe's unchanging goodwill toward their race. Even when many black leaders finally abandoned Reed in 1872, Chloe's commitment remained unchanged. "I learned in the beginning," she once said, "never to compromise with those whose true interest in the cause is not fully known."[63]

In 1873, following expiration of the governor's term of office, the Reeds and their small son, Harrison Merrick, moved to Jacksonville. They settled on a farm in an area that would become South Jacksonville, living– many believed– in a very reduced financial state. One account insisted that the governor

59. "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida," Florida *House Journal,* Appendix (1871), 56-61, and Florida *House Journal,* Appendix (1872), 15-17.
60. Daniels, *Prince of Carpetbaggers,* 252.
61. Jacksonville *Semi-Tropical,* August 1877.
62. Daniels, *Prince of Carpetbaggers,* 240-41; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union,* August 6, 1897.
63. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida,* 88, 99, 124, 210; *National Freedman,* April 1, 1865, 98.

had been duped of his savings by their old friend Milton Littlefield.[64] Subsequently, Reed involved himself in several business ventures, including an orange grove and as editor of the monthly magazine *Semi-Tropical,* without major success. He and Chloe remained prominent among the city's residents and were active in civic and social affairs. Reed later represented Duval County in the 1879 state legislature. Together, they helped organize for their neighborhood a northern Methodist church.[65]

Although his business ventures did not prosper, Reed retained hopes for financial security through his family connections, and these efforts eventually placed Chloe in a compromising situation. The relation was Harrison's sister, Martha Reed Mitchell, wife of wealthy railway financier Alexander Mitchell of Wisconsin. She had begun spending the winter season at Jacksonville in the early 1870s and built a palatial estate a short distance from the Reeds. Mitchell shared Chloe's concerns for the destitute and focused her energies upon the condition of poor Northerners who had moved to Jacksonville to recover their health. In 1873 she joined local women to organize St. Luke's Hospital Association. The organization and its hospital grew in spite of the "primitive state of medical care in Florida" and "developed along modern lines," becoming "one of the oldest" hospitals in the nation.[66] Likely with Mitchell's encouragement, Chloe joined the association in 1882 and served it in a number of capacities. During 1882-1884 she acted as vice president and, from 1885 to 1886, as treasurer.[67]

64. According to an article in the *Syracuse Courier,* one of Harrison Reed's older sons had mismanaged the post office in Jacksonville, losing perhaps $10,000. Neither the son nor Reed could make up the deficit. Littlefield offered to pay the shortage for protection from the state of North Carolina. Once Littlefield got some type of guaranty from Florida, he asked Reed for a personal note for the money advanced for the governor's son. Then, without Reed's knowledge, Littlefield went to the state treasurer and seized Reed's salary. "As a result," the article noted. "Governor Reed is today a poor man." *Syracuse Courier,* March 30, 1875.

65. Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers,* 390-91; *Jacksonville Journal,* September 23, 1976. From 1889 to 1893 Reed was postmaster at Tallahassee.

66. "Villa Alexandria," *Papers of the Jacksonville Historical Society* 3 (1954), 68-73; Webster Merritt, *A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County* (Gainesville, 1949), 94.

67. Merritt, *Century of Medicine,* 94, 236.

The problems that developed for Chloe out of her husband's financial needs and the proximity of his sister's wealth arose in 1888, soon after the death of Martha's husband. Martha was very ill, but not so incapacitated that she could not shut off funding for a failed business deal. Without making Martha aware, Reed wrote to her son, United States Senator John L. Mitchell, urging him in light of his mother's illness to place her care in Chloe's hands and to entrust Martha's affairs to himself. Reed mentioned nothing of the failed business arrangement. When Martha unexpectedly recovered her health, Reed's duplicity became evident, and Chloe appeared to have been helping her husband take advantage of a sick relative.[68]

Reed finally confessed his actions in a series of letters to John Mitchell, and he admitted that Chloe had not been told the entire truth. "I do not even now," he declared, "let my good wife know all of the necessities of this dreadful case."[69] A furious and unforgiving Martha nonetheless terminated any interaction between herself and the Reeds, except through her attorney. Given the strife, Chloe felt she had no alternative but to leave the hospital association. As Reed informed Senator Mitchell, "She has been compelled to resign to protect its interests."[70] Some years later, perhaps as an act of compassion, Chloe was appointed one of St. Luke's "Honorary Directors."[71]

The Reeds' depressing finances were bolstered somewhat in 1889 when the former governor was appointed Tallahassee's postmaster for the duration of Benjamin Harrison's administration. As the years passed, however, sad news far outstripped the good. In 1890 Ansel Kinne died. Montgomery Merrick followed the next year, as did brother Charles in 1895. On August 5, 1897, Chloe Merrick Reed joined them. She died at St. Luke's Hospital in Jacksonville after a long illness resulting from a stroke. Services were conducted at Grace Methodist Episcopal

68. Richard N. Current, *Three Carpetbag Governors* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 53; Harrison Reed to John L. Mitchell, November 13, 1888, Mitchell Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison (hereinafter, Mitchell Papers).
69. Reed to Mitchell, April 7, 1889, Mitchell Papers.
70. Ibid., May 17, 24, 1889.
71. Merritt, *Century of Medicine,* 236.

church in South Jacksonville. Her remains were buried in nearby St. Nicholas Cemetery.[72]

The difficulties of Chloe Merrick Reed's later years in no way diminish her lifetime of accomplishment and sacrifice. Her achievements remain a standard by which the lives of all nineteenth-century Floridians– men and women– can be measured. When hundreds of children needed education, she gave of herself; when needy orphans required care, she offered relief against great odds; and, by planning many of the good works of her husbands administration, she helped create the foundation of the state's public schools and social services. Her courage and her contributions can be celebrated in any age.

72. *The National Cyclopdia of American Biography* (New York, 1921), XI, 380; Syracuse *Daily Standard*, January 17, 1890, December 28, 1891, April 27, 1895; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 6, 1897. Harrison Reed lived until May 25, 1899. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 26, 1899. Martha Reed Mitchell died February 14, 1902. She was one of the founders of the Ladies Association, which acquired and restored Mt. Vernon, the home of George Washington. Her son, Senator John L. Mitchell, was the father of army general, William "Billy" Mitchell. Mitchell earned fame in World War I as an Air Corp commander. See "Villa Alexandria," 68-73.

# COMMUNISTS, KLANSMEN, AND THE CIO IN THE FLORIDA CITRUS INDUSTRY

*by* JERRELL H. SHOFNER

WHEN the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America, with its CIO affiliation, its inter-racial membership policy, and its alleged and subsequently proven communist leadership began sending organizers into central Florida in 1937, citrus owners and operators reacted swiftly with anger and vigor. The UCAPAWA-CIO confirmed their suspicions that organized labor, communism, socialism, and what the American Legion called "the other isms" were essentially alike– un-American and things to be treated as any other disease. As Frank McCallister, a socialist member of the Workers Defense League, put it in 1938 when a legionnaire called him a "dangerous communist," "it really is libellous and slanderous to call a man a communist in the south because you do irreparable damage to his reputation. The ideas these people have of a communist would give them complete justification for running anyone out of town who was so classed."[1]

Although the oldest permanent European settlement in North America– St. Augustine– lies within its boundaries, Florida was not far removed from frontier conditions in the 1930s. Without the ameliorating influences of an established society with common institutions, traditions, and beliefs, it was vulnerable to the many real and fancied threats that confounded rural America in the years between the world wars. Despite tremendous growth during the boom of the 1920s, Florida was still rural, agrarian, and southern in the 1930s. Northern Florida had been settled just before the Civil War by cotton-planting, slave-owning people from the older southern states. Central

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1. Frank McCallister to D. L Clendenin, August 23, 1938, Box 26, Workers Defense League Collection, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI (hereinafter, WDL Collection).

Florida– the citrus district– was settled only in the last third of the nineteenth century by Northerners seeking winter homes in a warm climate and Southerners wishing to escape what they called "Negro rule" after the Civil War. It became a bastion of defense for traditional American ideas of property rights, freedom of contract, and labor as a commodity to be purchased by employers from individual workers. Racial segregation and the belief that blacks were a natural laboring class were also widely accepted– and defended– ideas. The concepts of a minimum wage and full-time employment were also virtually unknown in a region where work was seasonal. Citrus workers and small farmers lived on a credit system, settling their debts when they could, but rarely having money in their pockets. Like their counterparts elsewhere, Floridians reacted with a vengeance to the changes that were transforming America from a people with rural, agrarian, individualistic values to one with urban, industrial, collective conditions whose value system had not yet emerged. When the so-called "Red Scare" erupted after World War I, Floridians launched a series of campaigns against alleged black radicalism, non-Protestant religions, and "un-American" conduct. The Ku Klux Klan was extremely aggressive in Florida in defending "Americanism" against communism, socialism, and "the other isms." Outside the port cities, Tampa cigar factories, and phosphate mines of Polk and Hillsborough counties, organized labor was practically non-existent except for a few weak craft unions, but it was lumped with the other radical ideas in the lexicon of unacceptable things. Although the Klan declined in Florida, as in the rest of the nation, in the late 1920s it continued to exist and revived dramatically in the mid 1930s to do battle as before.

The indigenous United Citrus Workers began organizing activity in the early 1930s. By 1934 the Florida Klan, allegedly the largest in the nation at the time, had suppressed it swiftly and fiercely.[2] Night-riders in Orange and Polk counties beat several organizers, and at least one disappeared permanently. Frank Norman left his Lakeland home in early 1934 to attend a meeting and was never seen again.[3]

2. David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1981), 311.
3. George Clifton Edwards Memorandum, February 28, 1936, Box 142, and Frank McCallister, "Revival of the Ku Klux Klan," undated manuscript, Box 246, WDL Collection.

The state and nation were aroused in 1935 when Joseph Shoemaker, a mild-mannered socialist residing in Tampa, began receiving attention for organizing a dissident political group called the Modern Democrats. Klansmen, with the apparent complicity of the Tampa police department, abducted and beat him and two of his associates. Castrated and tarred and feathered, Shoemaker died in a hospital after nearly two weeks of suffering, and his ordeal was depicted widely throughout the national press.[4] The formation of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties in Tampa and the Workers Defense League– both national groups– and the attendant publicity that they gave the Shoemaker incident put some Floridians on the defensive and raised the ire of the Ku Klux Klan. It was while that unsavory episode was in the headlines that the sensational secession of the United Mine Workers from the American Federation of Labor occurred. When John L. Lewis then set about forming the Congress of Industrial Organizations, many Americans regarded the new union as tainted and the American Federation of Labor as within the national mainstream. This belief was reinforced as it became clear that the CIO allowed membership to several communist-led unions.

From the 1880s until 1936 the AFL had been the recognized spokesman for American workers, but it only represented skilled craftsmen. By the latter date far more working people were employed in semi-skilled industrial jobs than were represented by the craft unions. Refusal of the AFL to extend membership to such workers had caused the 1936 break. Although the CIO organization was not perfected until 1938, a flurry of activity under its auspices began earlier. By July 1937 Donald Henderson's UCAPAWA was affiliated with the CIO and had allotted $40 a week to support one organizer in central Florida. Because local workers were so hard-pressed, they were able to employ four organizers and divided the salary between them.[5] Spurred by their new rival, the AFL also sent five organizers into the citrus district with a budget of about $2,000 per month.[6]

4. Norman Thomas to Fred Cone, October 15, 1937, Box 144, WDL Collection; Robert P. Ingalls, "The Tampa Flogging Case, Urban Vigilantism," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (July 1977), 13-27.
5. Apopka *Orange County Chief,* February 1, 1938; H. L. Mitchell, *Mean Things Happening in This Land* (Montclair, NJ, 1979), 220-22.
6. McCallister to Aron Gilmartin, February 16, 1938, Box 26, WDL Collection.

During the two years following Shoemaker's murder, six Tampa policemen and several Orlando Klansmen were tried for murder and kidnapping. Five policemen were convicted of the first charge, only to have the verdict overturned by the Florida Supreme Court. All were eventually acquitted of all charges, but the episode underscored Florida's intolerance of dissident ideas and its conviction that the CIO was a serious threat. Public pronouncements by several prominent Floridians emphasized the popular association of labor organizers, agitators, and disloyal persons. The Committee for Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa interviewed Governor Fred P. Cone who was in New York to launch a multi-million-dollar advertising campaign for Florida citrus in cooperation with Emily Post, the arbiter of social etiquette. When asked about the Shoemaker affair, Governor Cone replied, "A man ought to be hung on a tree if he advocates overthrow of the government."[7] Addressing the national convention of Exchange Clubs in Tampa about the same time, Thomas Imeson of Jacksonville branded the CIO a "communistic organization seeking power for the Marxian government." He further declared that the organization would not be permitted in Florida.[8] Orlando's sixty-eight-year-old mayor-elect, Samuel Way, was even more explicit. He would not tolerate "agitators and radicals," he said, "and CIO leadership . . . is radical." He added that "the AFL, which is sensible, reasonable, and patriotic, will be made welcome."[9] Even the delegates to a Florida labor convention in 1938 applauded speakers as they condemned the CIO, "communism, fascism, and nazism," as if they were one and the same.[10]

In this charged atmosphere, Edward Norman, an impetuous twenty-three-year-old Polk County native, and a handful of associates launched the UCAPAWA-CIO organizing campaign in early 1937, about half-way through the 1937-1938 picking and shipping season. From Sanford on Lake Monroe southward to Frostproof workers signed up with the UCAPAWA, but opposition was strong. Some workers declined to join either because of personal hostility to unionism or fear that employers would retaliate. But even those reluctant persons agreed with the

7. *Tampa Tribune,* October 1, 1937.
8. Ibid., October 22, 1937.
9. Ibid., November 5, 1937.
10. Ibid., April 5, 1938.

union's goals of better wages and working conditions. Employers, on the other hand, were incensed. After conferring with members of the Florida Citrus Exchange about a 1938 strike, Newcomb Barco of the United States Department of Labor reported that "their rage toward Edward Norman and all C.I.O. is terrific, and when I say terrific I mean terrific and and worse. . . . They swear by all Heaven that they won't meet with Norman or any other outsider." Norman was a Polk County native, but, as Barco explained, resentment toward him resulted from "Southern attitudes toward any so-called Labor Agitator."[11]

In anticipation of difficulties with the United Citrus Workers Union in 1934, Lakeland city officials enacted an anti-picketing ordinance prohibiting picket lines within 400 feet of a citrus packing house. That ordinance became a model for similar provisions in other cities when UCAPAWA organizers began operation in the state.[12] Sanford enacted such a law in 1937 when employees of the Eckerson Fruit Canners Company prepared to strike in December of that year. Aided by policemen enforcing the ordinance, C. H. Eckerson successfully broke the strike. At a party celebrating his victory at the end of the walkout, Eckerson declared that "breaking of a strike . . . will be of vital importance in preventing future labor troubles here," adding that "red or communistic tactics have no place in Sanford, Seminole County or Florida."[13]

While the UCAPAWA encountered hostile resistance, other labor groups scored small successes. A little-publicized strike at Wiersdale was successful when pickers there refused an offer of six cents a box for picking oranges, demanded eight, and sat down in the groves refusing either to work or to allow others to do so. They held out for several hours and reached an agreement giving them the higher compensation. There was no recognition of collective bargaining, however. Meanwhile, the AFL-affiliated citrus workers union was even more successful, albeit because of a unique circumstance. The national carpenter's union, headed by "Big Bill" Hutcheson, with whom Lewis had a fistfight at the time he withdrew the miner's union from the

11. Newcomb Barco to Director, November 30, 1938, United States Conciliation Service, Department of Labor, Record Group 199, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereinafter, USCS).
12. *Tampa Tribune,* September 1, 1937.
13. Ibid., December 31, 1937.

AFL, established a retirement home for its members at Lakeland. Both the union and Hutcheson owned groves, and he was the owner of the Adams Packing Company at Auburndale. Its employers were members of the AFL citrus workers union. When they demanded union recognition, Hutcheson, as one of the most powerful members of the AFL governing board, was obliged to honor their demands. The union at Auburndale thus became the first in the state to win recognition as the bargaining agent for the employees of a citrus packing house. In his autobiography, H. L. Mitchell, of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, noted the irony of Hutcheson, as a member of the governing board of the AFL, being technically the national representative of the union with whom he had just contracted as their employer.[14]

There were few causes for humor elsewhere in the ridge district as the CIO continued signing up members. The Ku Klux Klan once again went public. For the first time in years it held a public funeral in St. Petersburg in October 1937 and placed a full-page advertisement for members in a Tampa newspaper. Klansmen threatened to meet the CIO organizers in the citrus country with violence.[15]

Although most of the UCAPAWA-CIO locals formed too late to have much effect on the 1937-1938 picking season, there were several confrontations and at least two strikes. When John A. Snively, president of the huge Polk Packing Association at Winter Haven, announced a reduction of the piece rate from eight to seven cents per box for picking oranges, and from five to four cents for grapefruit, seventy workers refused to work. Assisted by Newcomb Barco and Stanley White of the United States Conciliation Service, Snively and UCAPAWA Local 10 agreed to split the difference, and workers signed a contract for seven and one-half and four and one-half cents respectively. Snively also recognized the union's right to bargain, and he agreed to restore the striking workers to their jobs.[16]

The UCAPAWA local at Frostproof demanded and received a contract from W. J. Cody of the Producers Citrus Corporation,

14. Mitchell, *Mean Things Happening in This Land,* 222; *Tampa Tribune,* November 5, 1937.
15. *Tampa Tribune,* October 19, 1937; Thomas to Robert LaFollette, October 28, 1937, Box 143, WDL Collection.
16. Apopka *Orange County Chief,* April 19, 1938; Memorandum of John A. Snively . . . and Stanley White, April 15, 1938, USGS.

but he soon changed his mind and fired the union spokesman. The workers struck and Cody began replacing them. When Conciliation Service representatives contacted Cody, he agreed to stop using non-union workers and to close the plant until an agreement was reached. But he also remarked that the season was almost over and that his company was about to be liquidated by its creditors. After negotiations led by Stanley White, all those concerned agreed that the plant would continue operating, the creditors would take no action for one year, and the employees would forego any demands for a like period.[17]

Cody's financial difficulties emphasized the overall problem that citrus workers and operators alike faced in Florida's ridge district. As a labor department official noted, "It is as gloomy an outlook as any group of people ever faced, growers, packers, and workers."[18] He thought that if the growers could reach an agreement and stop shipping their lower grade fruit, the remainder would bring a price that would enable them to pay living wages and still earn profits. Florida's industrial commissioner, Wendell Heaton, concluded that the absence of some agreement among the producers made it almost impossible for packing houses to pay reasonable wages. "Conditions are turned around," he said. "Instead of the cost of production and processing controlling the market price, the market price is the controlling factor."[19]

In addition to the strong locals at Frostproof and Winter Haven, the UCAPAWA also organized workers at Lake Alfred and Auburndale. Their members worked in the packing houses and groves of the Florida Citrus Exchange, the Florence Citrus Growers Association, the Winter Haven Citrus Growers Association, the Winter Haven Fruit Sales Company, H. A. Pollard, Inc., the Coward Fruit Co., the Winter Haven Cooperative Growers, and Auburndale Growers, Inc., in addition to Snively's Polk Packing Association. There was also the AFL Local 21210 at Auburndale that had bargaining contracts with both the Adams Packing Company and the smaller McDonald Corporation.[20]

17. Stanley White to Director, April 19, 1938, USCS; *Tampa Tribune,* April 19, 1938.
18. Barco to Director, October 7, 1938, USCS.
19. *Tampa Tribune,* December 6, 1938.
20. Barco to Director, November 30, 1938, USCS.

Notice of incipient labor difficulties came in the summer of 1938 when the McDonald Corporation notified J. M. Mackenzie, president of Local 21210, that it would exercise the sixty-day cancellation clause of their contract and reduce wages for the forthcoming picking season. When it appeared that the Adams Packing Company would follow suit, Mackenzie asked the United States Conciliation Service for assistance. Newcomb Barco was sent to assist in negotiations in early October.[21]

Since an AFL official owned it, the Adams Packing Company was perhaps more willing than other firms to recognize the union to which its members belonged. Its general manager, J. M. Morrow, agreed to call a meeting of the packing house managers and a delegation of the workers to "work out a wage rate for the season and be through with it." Morrow and Barco met with the managers of fifteen packing houses and found that an agreement was exceedingly difficult because of the prevailing low demand for citrus. Some managers preferred to close until prices improved, but Barco warned that such an action might be construed as a lockout. All parties then agreed that nothing would be done until November.[22]

Negotiations finally broke down, and on November 17 the UCAPAWA called a strike at the Lake Alfred Citrus Growers Association packing house. Manager W. A. Stanford refused to recognize the strike and began employing replacements for the striking workers. Picket lines went up and several confrontations occurred. Stanford was absolutely unwilling to meet with the UCAPAWA secretary, Edward Norman, but Lake Alfred Mayor Burt Johnson, the local Chamber of Commerce, Citrus Commissioner Harvey Henderson, and Industrial Commissioner Wendell Heaton all tried to ameliorate the difficulties and bring the antagonists together.[23] While attempting to resolve the difficulty, Mayor Johnson also declared that no one who wished to continue working would be interfered with. Accordingly, he assigned the town marshal to see that the picket lines were peaceful. On November 29, UCAPAWA members walked off their jobs at five other packing houses near Winter Haven. About 600 men from the Polk Packing Association, Florence Citrus Grow-

21. Barco to Dr. Steelman, October 19. 1938, USCS.
22. Barco to Director, May 6, 1939, USCS.
23. Ibid., November 30, December 5, 1938; *Tampa Tribune,* November 18, 1938.

ers, H. A. Pollard, Winter Haven Citrus Growers, and Winter Haven Cooperative Growers were involved.[24]

When the strike spread to Winter Haven, several members of the Tampa seamen's union joined the picketers. As it contained some communist members, that union had long been in confrontation with the Ku Klux Klan in Tampa. At the same time, Klansmen had been watching the citrus district. The KKK held a large parade in Lakeland on August 31, and several smaller demonstrations subsequently occurred. A riot broke out at the Lake Alfred packing house on November 30 when about 300 people began throwing rocks at replacement workers entering the plant. Two people were badly beaten. Governor Cone asked the Polk County sheriff to assist local officials, and four deputies began patrolling at Lake Alfred.[25]

By December 2, workers at three houses had returned to work, at their former wages, but Snively refused to allow his workers to return and used replacements to pick and pack his fruit. The situation at Lake Alfred remained deadlocked. None of the operator-members of the Lake Alfred firm were willing even to discuss a higher wage, and most were willing to close their plants until early 1939 when prices for fruit might be better. Snively would not cooperate with Department of Labor officials, arguing that his firm was exempt from national legislation. Barco reported laconically that "there has been quite a bit of rock throwing at Lake Alfred and W. A. Stanford . . . is still in a bad humor." He expressed hope that both would come around if given time to think things through.[26]

While Barco, assisted by Harvey Henderson and Wendell Heaton, continued trying to get Snively and Stanford to submit to conciliation, the Klan rendered its special variety of assistance. In cars bearing license plates from Polk and Hillsborough counties as well as Georgia, about 400 Ku Klux Klansmen paraded through Winter Haven and Auburndale in the areas where most of the workers lived. They announced loudly that "strikers and radicals will not be tolerated," adding that they believed in "the

24. Barco to Dr. Steelman, November 29, 1938, USCS; *Tampa Tribune,* November 27, 28, 29, 1938.
25. McCallister to Dave, September 2, 1938, Box 26, and Dave Clendenin to Dear Friend, Box 88, WDL Collection: *Tampa Tribune,* November 30 and December 1, 1938.
26. Barco to Director, December 1, 6, 1938, USCS.

principles of Americanism, and do not intend to tolerate strikers and radicals." It was also asserted that they knew "who the radicals are, and would take care of them." Edward Norman called off the strike at Lake Alfred and removed the pickets on December 9. No agreement was reached. The wage cuts were not restored, and there was no agreement to reemploy the striking workers who had been replaced.[27]

Because of internecine squabbling in the union, the UCAPAWA-CIO did not return to Florida the following year. During World War II laborers were in extremely short supply. Local law enforcement officials aided the packing houses and canneries by rounding up workers, sometimes using constitutionally questionable methods. Meanwhile, the Florida legislature enacted legislation– so-called right-to-work laws– making it more difficult for labor unions to operate in the state. The UCAPAWA was reorganized as the Food, Tobacco, and Allied Workers (FTAW), still under the leadership of Donald Henderson. It was one of ten Communist-led unions expelled from the CIO at its 1949 convention.[28]

Although it is difficult to determine whether the nature of citrus labor, the extremely depressed conditions of the 1930s or regional animosity toward organized labor was most responsible, the abortive effort of the UCAPAWA-CIO to organize the central Florida citrus industry in the 1930s left a legacy that has made it exceedingly difficult for working people to try to improve their status. Given the combination of all three, neither the CIO nor the AFL had much chance of successfully organizing the citrus workers, but the activities of the UCAPAWA-CIO made labor leaders, regardless of their actual goals, much easier to categorize as "communists" or "outside agitators." That the UCAPAWA happened to be one of the CIO unions with communist leadership reinforced the already widespread belief that organized labor and communism were indistinguishable. Those who argued for needed labor reform were labelled disloyal and impractical; their suggestions were not taken seriously. Over the years economic and political conservatives have dominated the law-making process in Florida, and there has been no one to sponsor the cause of migratory agricultural workers.

27. *Tampa Tribune,* December 6, 9, 1938.
28. Mitchell, *Mean Things Happening in This Land,* 181.

# PHILADELPHIA STORY: FLORIDA GIVES WILLIAM BARTRAM A SECOND CHANCE

*by* CHARLOTTE M. PORTER

WILLIAM Bartram's book, *Travels Through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida . . .*, published in 1791, presented the most "consistent aesthetic theory produced in America up to his day." [1] Two hundred years later, appreciation of this complex work requires an understanding of the author's intellectual growth, for the *Travels* is both a volume of natural history and autobiography.

A "late bloomer" to say the least, Bartram was educated by his travels in the largest sense of the word. To his mind, the existence of established Indian village states alongside the emerging United States of the Southeast established a shared human dignity and rationale for the peopling of Indian lands under a republican form of government. Central to his north Florida experience was the "Great Alachua Savanna," present-day Paynes Prairie State Preserve, which he viewed as a fragment of the original state of nature awaiting European settlement. In the *Travels,* Bartram looked to nature to justify and sustain the pursuit of happiness. In the process of preparing his book, the naturalist expanded his moral philosophy to include animals as well as other human races. "It evidently appears," he wrote in 1795, "that the Animal creation are endowed with the same passions & affections We are & that their affections operate in the same manner." [2] Bartram's Florida travels were central to his maturation since they were the excuse for his best natural history studies.

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1. L. Hugh Moore, "The Aesthetic Theory of William Bartram," *Essays in Arts & Sciences* 12 (March 1983), 19.
2. See notes on the versa of Benjamin Smith Barton to William Bartram, September 14, 1795, Bartram Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (hereinafter, HSP).

William Bartram and his twin sister Elizabeth were born April 9, 1739. He was the fifth son of botanist John Bartram, and, with his father, Billy began traveling by the age of fourteen. He illustrated natural history specimens for his father's English correspondents who held botanical and horticultural interests. In an era before established natural history presses, these drawings were a resource John Bartram used to advantage. Within two year's time the Bartrams had assembled the largest collection of North American trees and flowering shrubs ever imported to the British kingdom.[3] The father admired and encouraged the lad, but, a plain man himself, John did not comprehend the depth of William's aesthetic focus and moods. Concern over young William's temperament fills John's botanical correspondence with Peter Collinson, a wealthy London Quaker. Although the two men never met, they developed a candid rapport. In 1756 Collinson advised John Bartram that it was time for William to forego his childhood interest in drawing and to decide upon a livelihood. [4] John sought counsel in others as well, and his old friend Benjamin Franklin suggested that William learn the printer's trade. To this, Collinson responded that since printing involved engraving, William's interest in drawing might be advantageous.[5]

Collinson meant well, but his own requests for William's drawings continued to divert the youth from a more practical plan. Collinson was aware of this conflict and wrote to John Bartram that he hoped botany would not distract William from learning the printing business.[6] William, however, had not resolved to abandon his "favorite amusement." Furthermore, after Franklin claimed that he was the only printer in the British colonies to make any money, the father reconsidered and chose instead a medical career for William. To that end, he wrote another botanical correspondent, the noted Charles Town

3. "A List of Seeds and First Trees & Flowering Shrubs Gathered in *Pensilvania,* the *Jerseys,* & *New York,*" Linnean Society Microfilm No. 629, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA (hereinafter, APS). For context, see Sarah Stetson, "The Traffic in Seeds and Plants from England's Colonies in North America," *Agricultural History* 23 (January 1949), 45-56.
4. Peter Collinson to John Bartram, February, n.d., 1756, transcribed by Edward E. Wildman, APS. The Wildman transcripts in APS are the source of all subsequent correspondence unless otherwise noted.
5. Ibid. The reader should also consult Edmund and Dorothy Berkeley, eds., *The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734-1777* (Gainesville, 1992), 394.
6. Ibid., 393.

physician Alexander Garden. William, he claimed, longed to work with Garden, but not on medicine or surgery. John Bartram continued to fret that William would not be able to support himself by drawing or by pursuing plant studies.[7]

For some reason John resolved to apprentice William to a merchant.[8] By January 1757 William was outfitted with wares, but he did not apply himself and was soon busy preparing a "pockit" of fine drawings for Jane Colden, the scientific daughter of Cadwallader Colden of New York.[9] He also continued to draw for Collinson who wanted to believe that William had learned to budget his time wisely, confining his botany only to leisure hours.[10] As a reward and a reminder, Collinson sent him a book on self-improvement. Collinson's optimism continued, and in 1759 he praised William's writing to John but continued his criticisms of the young man's spelling. Again, he sent William books to help him, this time spelling guides.[11] Despite Collinson's attentions, William was not receiving stimulation commensurate with his needs, and, beginning a practice that would characterize his intellectual growth, he was sent south.

In 1760 John arranged for the youth to live with his uncle, William Bartram, at Cape Fear River, North Carolina, and to pursue the merchant's trade– actually that of a traveling salesman. Colonel Bartram was by all accounts a kind man, and William seems to have been a welcome addition to the household. He wrote with apparent relief, "Here no Preaching."[12] His father continued to chide his unsteady ways. John plied his son with requests for seeds and roots of plants that he might find along his trade routes.[13] Not surprisingly, young William's interests remained divided, and his name soon dropped out of John Bartram's letters to Collinson. In spring 1764 the London Quaker discretely referred to Billy in the past tense, as if he were dead or disgraced. Referring to Bartram's sixth son, John,

7. John Bartram to Alexander Garden, March 14, 1756.
8. John Bartram to Collinson, March 14, May 30, 1756.
9. John Bartram to Jane Golden, January 24, 1757.
10. Collinson to John Bartram, February 10, 1757.
11. Ibid., March 10, 1759.
12. William Bartram to his father John Bartram, May 20, 1761. See also William Bartram to his brother John Bartram, May 18, October 31, 1761, Bartram Family Papers, HSP.
13. John Bartram to William Bartram, September 1, 1761, Misc. Mss. Bartram, New-York Historical Society, New York (hereinafter, NYHS).

Jr., he hoped this boy too would study nature, but in a more reliable and profitable fashion than Billy.[14] Nature study, of course, had been William's undoing, but Collinson was eager for an enthusiastic and inexpensive collector in the colonies and continued to send messages to this effect for Johnny. Three months later Collinson was still left with a troubled picture of William's exact whereabouts and well-being, but his hints persisted to the father. On the news of a large, fossilized bison discovered in the colonies, Collinson wished for a skilled artist to draw it.[15] Although he always spoke well of John, Jr., he was clearly hopeful that William would come forth with pen and paper in hand.

By autumn 1764, John Bartram, ever resourceful but losing his eyesight, hit upon a partial solution. Collinson would procure for him an appointment as botanist to the king to explore East Florida, and William would accompany him. This was a clever idea, spurred on in part by the recent appointment of the Bartrams' young neighbor, William Young, as botanist to Queen Charlotte.[16] John hoped to enjoy similar formal recognition and prestige for his botanical contributions. William was to gain suitable employment. In return, Collinson would receive specimens and drawings, and the crown would benefit by exploration of the little-known headwaters of the St. Johns River. The larger British gain would be the settlement of East Florida.

News of John's appointment did not come until May 1765.[17] By June 1, Thomas Lamboll was referring to him as "Kings botanist, with a Salary"— actually a meager stipend of £50 per annum.[18] John, under the impression that he was to survey the natural productions of East Florida, used the excuse of his ailing eyes to pressure William to join him.[19] This tact may not have been effective in soliciting William's cooperation, and in June, John informed William that his friend Peter had ordered him to take along a son or servant.[20] In fact, Collinson had ordered no such thing. William's services spared John the cost of an

14. Collinson to John Bartram, March 7, June 1, 1764.
15. Ibid., June 30, 1764.
16. For more on William Young, a neophyte botanist, see Raymond Phineas Stearns, *Science in the British Colonies of America* (Urbana, IL, 1970), 582,592.
17. Collinson to John Bartram, May n.d., 1765.
18. Thomas Lamboll to John Bartram, June 1, 1765.
19. John Bartram to William Bartram, May 19, 1765.
20. Ibid., June 7, 1765.

assistant, if indeed he would have been able to procure one for so difficult and uncomfortable a journey. John further pressed William to sell the merchandise he had forced him to buy at Cape Fear and to have a lawyer settle any debts. The father emphasized in no uncertain terms the venture was a fair opportunity for William to redeem his reputation.

John Bartram returned from East Florida in 1766 under some misunderstanding. The trip had been dangerous, and John was in poor health. Collinson did deliver a part of their collections to the royal gardens at Kew, where some of the plants can be seen growing today, but he seems to have kept the lion's share. Furthermore, Bartram was discouraged from overloading his royal patron with too many specimens and notes.[21] Collinson explained that the king was no botanist, and there were formalities to be observed.[22] Collinson also retained William's drawings, for which he sent payment, and circulated them among professional and amateur circles in hopes of finding an admiring benefactor for the unknown young man.[23] From the onset Collinson appeared to have been more interested in William's contributions than in John's dubious new status.[24]

John Bartram was also less than forthcoming. He did not forward his manuscript account of the Florida journey to Collinson, but allowed the British Land Office to publish it as part of William Stork's *Account of East-Florida.* This breach, rightly or wrongly, miffed Collinson who vented his petty wrath in one of his last letters to Bartram.[25] Collinson threatened that Bartram's annuity might be withdrawn. Collinson regretted this possible action because Bartram's eyesight was so poor. Good vision was of course essential for a plant collector. More telling than this reference to John's health, however, was Collinson's revelation that the man had no formal title as king's botanist beyond one

21. Collinson to John Bartram, February 10, 1767.
22. Ibid., February 29, 1768.
23. Ibid., April 10, 1767.
24. Ibid., February 17, 1768.
25. Ibid., n.d., but probably February 3, 1767. See Berkeley and Berkeley, eds., *Correspondence,* 680; see also William Stork, *An Account of East-Florida with a Journal Kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty for the Floridas; Upon a Journey from St. Augustine Up the River St. John's as far as the Lakes* (Woodfall, Charing-Cross, 1766), published again with the revised title *A Description of East Florida* (London, 1769). Dr. Stork also published an abstract of the *Account* in 1766, to which were added "Observations of Dews Rolle."

of his own making. No one else, including Bartram's biographers, seems to have cared about this detail.[26] By August 1768 Collinson was in his grave, and John Bartram soon was receiving accolades as the "Botanici Regii" from the Academy of Science at Stockholm. He was even addressed as "Sir John."[27]

William's comprehension of the situation is even murkier. Both he and his father appear to have been misled on the Florida venture. More importantly, both men lost control over their scientific findings as Collinson shared their findings with botanic friends and others to whom he owed favors. The Florida trip served Collinson well, but it was personally disastrous for the Bartrams. John became seriously ill in East Florida and, footsore and exhausted, was handicapped by a recurrent ulcer.[28] Collinson had refused to push his luck with the king by asking the crown to pay for a horse. William decided to become a planter along the St. Johns River. Furthermore, somewhat out of the blue, he obstinately convinced his father to obtain a plantation of 500 acres for him near St. Augustine. A provincial census lists William as a "draughtsman," and his land grant was one of 121 issued in East Florida between 1764 and 1774.[29] The terms of these grants required the settlement of white, Protestant families to work the land, but, in practice, slave labor was used for the cultivation of rice and indigo. A Quaker by upbringing, John Bartram unwillingly followed custom and bought slaves for William in South Carolina.[30] By April, John had also outfitted William with tools, including a "shovel much better than any spade," lead for bullets, "3 stone cups," "20 yards for crocus," "hizing [gunny or sacking] for bags to fill with

26. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *The Life and Travels of John Bartram: From Lake Ontario to the River St. John* (Tallahassee, 1982), 272-92; and Rodney H. True, "John Bartram's Life and Explorations," *Bartonia* 12, special issue (1931), 19.
27. See John Bartram's diploma from the Academy, April 26, 1769, Bartram Family Papers, HSP; and John Weiksell to Bartram, August 31, 1773.
28. John Fothergill to Collinson, May 10, 1766, Wildman transcripts, APS. This letter is not included in Betsy C. Corner and Christopher C. Booth, eds., *Chain of Friendship: John Fothergill of London, 1735-1720* (Cambridge; MA, 1971).
29. See "A List of the Inhabitants of East Florida, their Employs, Business and Qualifications in Science from 1763 to 1771," in Louis DeVorsey, ed., *De-Brahm's Report of the Survey General in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia, SC, 1971), 180-86.
30. Berkeley and Berkeley, *Life and Travels of John Bartram*, 263.

moss which the people here say makes good beds," and other household items. The father also sent much advice, some of it tiresome: "Above all take care the negroes dont fall trees upon one another."[31] A few days later a second letter continued, "It will be best for thee to plant as many pease as possible for the negros." John added the sobering news that he was "altering his will."[32]

The father's attitude became increasingly harsh. A July letter chastised William for his "usual ingratitudes" and concluded, "Thee must expect to suffer the first year as all do in new settlements[.] In the meantime I remain thy loving father."[33] William failed his father in East Florida, and in August the eminent Henry Laurens felt compelled to urge John Bartram not to disown his son, a gentle man with no wife or friend.[34] Laurens was a successful Charleston merchant and planter who speculated in Florida land. Having visited William, he offered an all-too-real picture of the young man's circumstances. He implored the senior Bartram to exchange the inexperienced slaves since they were not plantation workers but sailors. Furthermore, the location, Laurens continued candidly, was the worst he had seen– a pine barren verging on stagnated swamp. The father's desire for a vegetable garden was clearly out of the question. In Laurens's considered opinion the pineland John hoped to have timbered was too inferior. This was not welcome news to the penny-pinching father, but Laurens, who was later elected president of the Second Continental Congress and then imprisoned in the Tower of London, was a man of conviction. He closed his letter with the warning that William's hopelessness might drive him to despair.

Laurens wrote with insight. By the end of the year a forlorn William had fled the swampy undertaking and presumably found residence in or near St. Augustine.[35] Prior to William's failure, the saddened father wrote Collinson in June 1766 that the consequences of the Florida trip for both him and William had placed him in great financial straits.[36] To make matters

31. John Bartram to William Bartram, April 5, 1766, HSP.
32. Ibid., April 9, 1766, Misc. Mss. Bartram, NYHS.
33. Ibid., July 3, 1766.
34. Henry Laurens to John Bartram, August 9, 1766.
35. Ernest P. Earnest, John and William Bartram: *Botanists and Explorers* (Philadelphia, 1940), 104.
36. John Bartram to Collinson, June, n.d., 1766.

worse, during that interval unemployed William had also refused William Gerard DeBrahm's offer to join a general survey of West Florida.[37] William was described as too whimsical and unhappy to take advantage of this opportunity to do what he liked best– traveling and drawing in Florida. With no more self-help books to send William, Collinson offered the distraught father the usual advice: get the lad a hard-working, honest wife.[38]

John's leadership among Pennsylvanian farmers must have made William's agricultural failure especially humiliating for both men. William had expended his birthright and his father's patience. Overshadowed by his father's more outgoing personality and direct manner of expression, William once again seemed unable to find a profitable place for himself in life. Surviving a shipwreck off St. Augustine, William, now in his late twenties, left Florida in November 1766.[39] Debts and personal defeat, however, did not long dampen William's interest in Florida, and he returned for a short time the next year before taking a job as a day laborer in the North.[40]

Despite his personal fiasco as a planter, William Bartram described Florida in the *Travels* as "delightful territory," "expansive savannas," and "glittering brooks." He contrasted the prospects of the Florida interior with the less happy existence of the British along the east coast.[41] Some readers failed to grasp this distinction. In 1831 a disappointed John James Audubon, the famous bird painter, wrote from the St. Johns River, "I am now truly speaking in a wild and dreary and desolate part of the World." "No one in the Eastern States," he continued in a letter to his wife Lucy, "has any true Idea of the Peninsula." Audubon reiterated his own impressions in a letter to a support-

37. Ibid., August 26, 1766.
38. Collinson to John Bartram, April 10, 1767.
39. Francis Harper, "Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-74: A Report to Dr. John Fothergill," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series 33, pt. 2 (1943), 125.
40. Collinson to John Bartram, December 25, 1767.
41. William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida,* Mark van Doren, ed. (New York, 1955), 312. By the time the *Travels* was published most Americans recognized the advantages of acquiring Florida for the United States. See Joseph Burkholder Smith, *The Plot* to *Steal Florida, James Madison's Phony War* (New York, 1983), 45-46; Bernard Bailyn, *Voyages to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986), 31-36, 430-73.

er. "Mr. B[artram] was the first to call this a garden, but he is to be forgiven; he was an enthusiastic botanist, and rare plants, in the eyes of such a man, convert a wilderness at once into a garden."[42] Audubon was not far from the truth. In 1767 John Bartram's British correspondents had wished to establish a botanic garden in West Florida.[43]

In the *Travels,* William Bartram's conversion of "a wilderness at once into a garden" is a literary accomplishment, but he did not undertake his trip with writing in mind. In 1772 his gloomy occupational horizons changed with the promise of a patron, Dr. John Fothergill– a wealthy friend of American intellectual enterprises known to the late Peter Collinson. After preliminary courtesies to John Bartram, Fothergill assured William by letter, "I should be glad to contribute to thy assistance in collecting the plants of Florida."[44] Actually, the physician preferred more hardy plants from the North, but William wished to return to the Southeast. Fothergill expected Bartram to travel in Georgia with a group of British land speculators. To these ends he arranged for Lionel Chalmers, a Charles Town physician, to serve as middleman for collections and supplies.

Bartram set out for Savannah, Georgia, in April 1773. The following September Fothergill wrote, "I cannot expect great things from this first summer." He urged Bartram "to take proper opportunities of conveying things to Chalmers in Charles Town."[45] Apparently fearful that Bartram was not completely "sober and diligent," Fothergill warned Chalmers not to let Bartram run up a bill of more than £50 per annum. He reiterated, "I do not want every little diminutive plant that grows. Drawings of such would be sufficient." Fothergill also excluded trees exceeding fifteen feet in height, "because [in En-

42. Kathryn Hall Proby, *Audubon in Florida* (Miami, 1974), 26, 31, 96. Note that Audubon's confusion of William Bartram with the latter's botanical friend William Barton was not uncommon. See Charles Evans, *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of all Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America,* 14 vols. (New York, 1941), III, 120, which lists Barton, not Bartram, as the author of the *Travels.*
43. Roy A. Rauschenberg, "John Ellis, Royal Agent for West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (July 1983), 14; and Julius Groner and Robert R. Rea, "John Ellis, King's Agent and West Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 392.
44. Corner and Booth, eds., *Chain of Friendship,* 391, letter of October 22, 1772.
45. Ibid., 401, letter of September 4, 1773.

gland] we cannot easily give taller trees the shelter they require."[46]

After more than a year of transatlantic arrangements, Bartram's duties thus began as those of artist and collector. Traveling with several "gentlemen" of Georgia, Bartram assembled and forwarded a collection of dried plants to Charles Town for Fothergill, but he did not remain long in this company. Lured by the beauties of Georgia's Altamaha River, Bartram borrowed "a neat light cypress canoe" from Broughton Island, one of Laurens's properties, and "formed the resolution of travelling into East Florida." Fothergill, however, preferred that Bartram "confine his rambles within narrower bounds."[47] As luck would have it the American Revolution spared both men argument and freed Bartram to follow his own course of action. He joined a group of British Indian traders and moved with them throughout northern Florida. He traveled in the same fashion across the Indian nations of Alabama. After satisfying his desire to see the Mississippi River, he ended his travels in January 1777 and returned to his family home in Kingsessing, Pennsylvania.

In September of that year John Bartram died. John, Jr., inherited the Kingsessing property and allowed William to live with him. William stayed at Kingsessing for the rest of his long life, and it was there, within the confines of a rather small house, that he passed fourteen years before publishing his famous book of *Travels.* These years of domesticity were profitable for Bartram. He and his brother turned their father's hobby garden into a nursery business. After the restoration of the mails to Great Britain in 1783, their first catalog, a printed broadside, listed more than 400 trees and shrubs, many from East Florida.[48] Response was good as so-called "American gardens" became fashionable after Loyalists returned to England. For example, in 1784, Benjamin Vaughan wrote the Earl of Shelburne about

46. Ibid., 403, 394, 392, letters of September 4, 1773, October 23, 1772, and Autumn 1772.
47. Bartram, *Travels,* 64, 69; Corner and Booth, eds., *Chain of Friendship,* 464, Fothergill to Chalmers, n.d. 1775.
48. *Catalogue of American Trees, Shrubs and Herbaceous Plants, Most of Which are Now Growing, and Produce Ripe Seed in John Bartram's Garden, Near Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1784). Copies of this rare 1783 broadside can be seen at the APS and HSP.

seeds for Lady Shelburne from "the famous Bartram who has sent me a list of American plants fit for this country."[49] Vaughan seemed unaware of the death of the senior Bartram, and William's business continued to benefit from the confusion with his father.[50] Thirty-five years later the southern travels of the two men were indistinguishable in the minds of some horticultural devotees.[51] This situation was compounded by the fact that John Bartram's account of the East Florida trip was published in London in 1769 under William's name.[52] In 1791 the publication of William Bartram's *Travels* further contributed to the Bartrams' composite reputation abroad and boosted nursery sales as transatlantic demand for Kingsessing seeds continued.[53]

Recognition of William Bartram's efforts extended beyond garden circles. William Dunlap, art critic for the *New York Mirror*, referred to him as "philosopher, philanthropist, and naturalist" who with his father opened the field for subsequent observers.[54] William Rush, the American sculptor of Linnaeus and George Washington, exhibited a bust of William Bartram at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts in 1812. As for scientific acclaim, Thomas Pennant cited Bartram five times in the first volume of his *Arctic Zoology* (1784-1787), and Benjamin Smith Barton mentioned William Bartram's name fifty times in his forty-two-page *Fragments of Natural History*. The year after Bartram's death, Charles Alexander LeSueur, a colleague of Bartram's grandnephew, Thomas Say, named the flying squid *Loligio bartrumi* (now *Sthenoteuthis bartrami*).

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49. Benjamin Vaughan to the Earl of Shelburne, January 28, 1784, Benjamin Vaughan Papers, APS.
50. For John's legacy, see Joseph Kastner, *A Species of Eternity* (New York, 1977), 45, 60.
51. Johannes Heckewelder to Peter S. Du Ponceau, July 25, 1819, Manuscript Division, APS.
52. "An extract of Mr. Wm. Bartram's Observations in a journey up the River Savannah in Georgia, with his son, on Discoveries," *Gentleman's Magazine* 37 (April 1767), 166-69. Harper, ed., "Travels in Georgia and Florida," attributes this to John, 228.
53. William Strickland to John Bartram, July 19, 1797, Misc. Mss. Bartram, NYHS. A new edition of the Bartram's catalog in 1807 was followed by a catalog twice as large in 1814, 1828, and 1836. Refer to John Hindley Barnhardt, "Bartram Bibliography," *Bartonia* 12 supp. (1931), 66-67, and original catalogs, HSP.
54. William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 3 vols. (New York, 1834; reprint ed., New York, 1969), II, pt. 1, 202.

The earliest work to call attention to William's botanical discoveries was *The American Grove.* This handbook contained the first printed description of the beautiful flowering shrub *Franklinia alatamaha,* now extinct in the wild.[55] The author, William's cousin, carefully noted that although John and William Bartram had first observed the rare new species in Georgia in 1765, it was William who brought back the first specimens to Philadelphia in 1777. It was William, too, who chose "to honor [the species] with the name of that patron of sciences" and great friend of his father, Benjamin Franklin. Today it is wonderful to remember that all Franklin trees are derived from these specimens and that remarkable friendship.

When John Bartram, Jr., died in 1812, his daughter Ann inherited the garden at Kingsessing. After her marriage to Robert Carr, customers contacted him rather than William to order plants. Europeans were willing to pay high prices for American plants: $6.00 to $10.00 for oaks, $2.00 for *Franklinia,* and $5.00 for the fragrant American lotus *(nelumbo lutea)* which Bartram had described in Florida.[56] Carr, printer for the illustrated bird books produced by William Bartram's student and Audubon's rival, Alexander Wilson, was no gardener so William must have continued to do much of the work.

Given the demands of the nursery business, it is a wonder that Bartram ever found time to turn his field work for Fothergill into a four-part volume. Friends described him working barefoot in his garden, reading or watching birds, but none talked about his writing. In 1796 Bartram recounted an accident he had suffered some years earlier: "I had the misfortune of a violent fracture of my Right leg by a fall from a Tree where I was collecting seeds which laid me up for near 12 months & which prevented me from undertaking Botanical excursions for some time."[57] The preparation of the *Travels* for publication may be one of the few happy results of this confinement. Unfor-

55. Humphrey Marshall, *Arbustrum Americanum: The American Grove, or, An Alphabetical Catalogue of Forest Trees and Shrubs* (Philadelphia, 1785), 49-50.
56. François André Michaux to Robert Carr, July 1, 1818, Manuscript Division, APS.
57. Ewan assigns this mishap to 1787 on the basis of an undated letter from Bartram to B. S. Barton describing an injury. See also William Bartram, *Botanical and Zoological Drawings, 1756-1788,* Joseph Ewan, ed. (Philadelphia, 1968), 12.

tunately, we have no idea of Bartram's methods of composition. The only known manuscript for the voluminous *Travels* (at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania) has few editorial markings or corrections. Yet, the inconsistencies of spelling, time, and place strongly suggest that Bartram reconstructed large portions from memory. After the books publication, Bartram confessed to Lachlan McIntosh that he took pleasure in recollecting "the various scenes & occurrences of my long pilgrimage."[58] As for primary sources, the only extant journal Bartram sent back to Fothergill records his exploration of the biologically rich Alachua Savanna south of Gainesville, Florida. This journal is dated March 22, 1774, but is not daily field notes. Rather, the neat and uniform execution suggests a copied synopsis.[59] Whatever the explanation, the writing is pedestrian.

Bartram's *Travels* presents his Florida journey in literary terms as attractive to delicate feelings and sensibilities as the European Grand Tour. Ironically, despite their interest in travel, the Bartrams did not participate in the Grand Tour, a custom initiated in Philadelphia in 1748 by the young Quaker Francis Rawle.[60] Furthermore, after 1777, despite invitations from Wilson and Thomas Jefferson, William Bartram never traveled again. He appeared content to spend the rest of his life at Kingsessing gardening and being "alone in the Garden reading a favorite Book."[61] As identified at present, however, the Bartram library appears inadequate to provide the literary dimension Bartram eventually brought to his published book.[62] One surprising lacuna is the burgeoning travel literature of the eighteenth century. William Bartram did own a two-volume work published in 1789, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America.* Whether or not he read this work as he prepared his *Travels,* it was passed along to a nephew the next year.

William Bartram was impressionable as his responses to nature demonstrate. Although John Bartram had nurtured his son's botanical interests, he did not understand his artistic temp-

58. Bartram to Lachlan McIntosh, May 31, 1796, Misc. Mss. Bartram, NYHS.
59. A photocopy of this journal at the British Museum can be seen at HSP. See also Harper, ed., "Travels in Georgia and Florida," 134-71.
60. Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1962), 171.
61. Bartram to McIntosh, May 31, 1796, Misc. Mss. Bartram, NYHS.
62. See Robert McCracken Peck, "Books from the Bartram Library," in *Contributions to the History of North American Natural History* (London, 1983), 46-50.

erament. During his travels, William turned to others to foster his late personal growth. In 1796 he addressed General Lachlan McIntosh as "Venerable Father Friend." During his last summer spent in Georgia in 1776, William apparently found the McIntoshes more understanding of his nature than his own relatives. "My heart," he wrote at age fifty-seven, "fills with gratitude and I seem to be really in your happy family, enjoying with you that improving Philosophic conversation you used to indulge me with Parintal, Filial & phylanthropic society."[63] He signed this letter, "Your obliged Friend, Pugpuggy, The Flower hunter"—the name given to him by the Creek leader Cowkeeper near present-day Micanopy, Florida. Bartram was, as he confessed, "traveling over again" in memory the complex pathways that led to his remarkable book of 1791.

63. Bartram to McIntosh, May 31, 1796, Misc. Mss. Bartram, NYHS.

# TOWARD A MORE HUMANE OPPRESSION: FLORIDA'S SLAVE CODES, 1821-1861

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As personal property capable of independent action, slaves posed a unique dilemma to antebellum Florida's ruling society. Statute law, which defined criminal behavior and affixed punishment for white criminals, could not be applied easily to the slaves lest whites compromise the hegemonic function of the law. A clear line of distinction between the two races was needed in order to maintain black subordination and race control. Had the ruling class consented to a body of laws that would have applied equally to both master and slave, that line might have been disconcertingly ambiguous. Any hint of equality under the law would have raised questions as to the viability of a slave-labor-based economy and the validity of the doctrine of white supremacy, the very institutions upon which southern society rested. In addition, these laws protected the delicate balance, the uneasy peace, if you will, struck between the races. In this regard, slave codes, as they came to be known, were seen as precautionary measures designed to forestall the likelihood of slave insurrection, petty thievery, miscegenation, escapes, and countless other infractions associated with the frustrations of an oppressed people. This essay examines the legal apparatus that white Floridians used to preserve their social, political, economic, and psychological hegemony. Clearly evident in both territorial and state statutes as well as the rulings of Florida's highest court was an effort to maintain a balance in the law, to curtail the slaves' ability to act independently while at the same time extending to the slave certain guarantees against maltreatment. Indeed, Florida's slave code was designed to control both slaves and masters. Behind this dual function of the law lay the belief that the institution of slavery remained most secure when the bondsman

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was neither tempted with excessive liberties nor taunted by inhumane cruelties.[1]

Florida's lawmakers drew upon models set by their fellow southern legislators when drafting their state's slave code. As a rule these enactments were harsher than the laws that governed white behavior. For example, Florida's slave code listed more felonies than did the regular statutes. Furthermore, the punishment meted out against offending slaves was generally more severe and often involved whipping or mutilation. By creating this code, Florida's lawmakers hoped to restrict the slaves' freedom of movement and limit their ability to communicate with one another. For instance, pass laws mandated that slaves receive some form of written permission before venturing off their master's property. Strict laws against instructing slaves to read, write, set type, or possess any sort of reading material were formidable legal barriers intended to prevent potentially seditious literature from reaching the bondsmen. Slaves could not legally carry or possess weapons of any sort, nor could they congregate in groups of eight or more without a white chaperon in attendance.

Between 1821 and 1861 most of Florida's slaves could be found working the cotton-rich plantations situated between the Suwannee and Apalachicola rivers, along the St. Johns River near St. Augustine, or harvesting sugar near the Manatee River south of Tampa. While slaves could be found as far south as Dade and Monroe counties, most of the whites in that area owned few if any bondsmen. In Florida, as in most southern states, masters enjoyed a great deal of latitude when disciplining their chattel. In practice most justice was carried out on the plantation, a fact that underscores the pre-bourgeois or manorial character of plantation life and the master's near-absolute control over his

1. Leslie A. Thompson, *A Manual or Digest of the Statute Law of the State of Florida, of the General and Public Character, In Force at the End of the Second Session of the General Assembly of the State, on the Sixth Day of January, 1847* (Boston, 1848), 183; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), 26; Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, 1956), 212; Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 101; Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, 1959), 53; Thelma Bates, "The Legal Status of the Negro in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 6 (January 1928), 161; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), 363.

or her property. Florida's laws sanctioned branding, mutilation, and even death for certain crimes. However, most masters preferred to punish their slaves with whips specifically designed to inflict pain without leaving permanent scars, primarily because a scarred slave would be readily identified as "troublesome," thus depreciating his or her value. The pecuniary interests of the master further dictated that slaves not be imprisoned, for to do so would be to punish owners by temporarily denying them a productive asset. As the Civil War approached, the Draconian codes of the eighteenth century were gradually humanized. The revised code listed fewer capital crimes, and Florida's courts demonstrated a remarkable propensity for procedural fairness and justice when trying slaves. By 1845, the year Florida was granted statehood, the institution of slavery had been firmly established, so much so that legislators believed it to be secure enough to enact laws that protected slaves from arbitrary or excessive punishment.[2]

Slaves codes served a variety of functions, the most pressing of which was to protect the white community from slave insurrections. The fear of rebellion, a fear exacerbated by the emergence of northern abolitionism, periodically spurred Florida's lawmakers into action. News of a recent uprising, regardless of its location or magnitude, was quite often followed by further revisions to the state's slave code. The reaction to Nat Turner's revolt in 1831 provides an example of this post-rebellion legislation. Soon after the failed mutiny, Florida's territorial legislature passed an act that empowered slave patrols to seize and punish (up to thirty-nine lashes on the bare back) any slave found violating local pass laws. Additional legislation made the act of inciting slaves to revolt a capital offense and defined the murder of a slave in the act of rebellion as justifiable homicide. The former act reflected an increasingly alarmist body of Florida lawmakers who imagined that rabble-rousing abolitionists lurked behind almost every tree and under every stone.[3]

2. Edwin L. Williams, Jr., "Negro Slavery in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1949), 101, 107, 110; Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South* (New York, 1984), 134; Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth,* 60-61, 102; Elkins, *Slavery,* 49; Stampp, *Peculiar Institution,* 208-10; Genovese, *Roll Jordan, Roll,* 31-32.

3. John P. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida Passed Prior to 1840* (Tallahassee, 1839), 62-63, 114-15;

Floridians also enacted laws designed to punish slaveholders whose carelessness was deemed a threat to his or her neighbors. Fines of up to $100 were levied against any master whose runaway slave was captured by patrollers. Defined in the Florida code as any slave who was absent from his or her quarters and whose whereabouts were unknown, runaways represented an expensive burden to the master. Once captured, the runaway was to be housed in the local jail at the owner's expense. In addition, a nominal sum was to be paid, again by the owner, to the individual or group responsible for apprehending the fugitive. Legislators believed that these laws would encourage masters to keep a watchful eye on their more spirited chattel. While some codes specifically protected slaves from maltreatment, the vast majority were intended to "clarify beyond all question, to rationalize, to simplify, and to make more logical and symmetrical the slave's status in society."[4]

Spanish Florida was home to so few slaves that its governors never saw the need to regulate the institution. Under British rule, however, the slave population experienced a substantial increase, necessitating the formulation of Florida's first slave code. The act was signed into law in May 1782, a year before Great Britain ceded Florida back to Spain. There exists no evidence to suggest that this particular code had a lasting impact on Florida's political culture. Nevertheless, there are certain basic similarities between the British and American codes, enough to warrant a brief look at the former code.

The British code projected the same desire to regulate the system and subjugate the slave, as evidenced in codes adopted in others parts of North America. British officials imposed stringent limitations on the bondsmen's movements and their ability to associate with other slaves. Likewise, masters were penalized for any number of infractions, including granting their slaves liberties beyond those proscribed by the law and, of a related nature, carelessly affording their bondsmen the opportunity to run away or transgress in any manner. Clearly, the uniform standards of slave codes are made manifest by the British model.

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Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth,* 102; Thompson, *Manual of the Statute Law,* 490-91; Stampp, *Peculiar Institution,* 206.

4. Quote taken from Elkins, *Slavery,* 52. Additional material from Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 41; Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth* 103; Duval, *Compilation of Public Acts,* 221; and Bates, "Legal Status of the Negro," 160.

But one can only speculate as to the correlation between the act of 1782 and Florida's later statutes.[5]

Florida became a United States territory in 1821, but circumstances did not warrant the adoption of a body of criminal statutes governing its black inhabitants until 1828. At that time the territorial council enacted a law that came to form the basis for all subsequent slave-related legislation right up to emancipation. Even the so-called St. Joseph Constitution, drafted in 1839 and put into force in 1845 when Florida achieved statehood, did not substantively alter the 1828 code. Entitled "An Act relating to Crimes and Misdemeanors committed by Slaves, free Negroes, and Mulattoes," the 1828 code consisted of sixty-three sections defining a variety of criminal offenses and the appropriate penalties. It also included the legal definition of a slave and the circumstances under which one could be manumitted. With the passage of time, Floridians altered these codes in order to suit the demands of a changing social, political, and economic order. As sectional hostilities intensified, the white ruling class tightened its grip on the peculiar institution, a fact reflected in the law. The significance of this legislation mandates an in-depth examination of its pronouncements as well as any subsequent legislation adopted to revise it.[6]

The first six sections of the Act of 1828 address the problem of determining who shall be deemed a slave. In Florida, as in the rest of the South, a child inherited the status of its mother. This inhibited the growth of a class of free mulattoes. These bastard children, the issue of illegal liaisons (miscegenation was prohibited by law), were social outcasts, pariahs whose presence served as reminders of the inherent contradictions between the moral pronouncements of the ruling race and its actual behavior. The law required free blacks to pay an annual head tax of $10, register with local magistrates, and select a white guardian to function as their representative in all legal matters. In

5. For an excellent analysis of the British slave codes see William H. Siebert, "Slavery in East Florida, 1776-1785," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 3 (January 1932), 139-61. See also Williams, "Negro Slavery," 94-95.

6. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts,* 216, 228. *Journal of the Proceedings of* a *Convention of Delegates to form A Constitution for the People of Florida, Held at St. Joseph, December 1838* (St. Joseph, 1839); Stampp, *Peculiar Institution,* 207; Williams, "Negro Slavery," 182; Siebert, "Slavery in East Florida," 150; Bates, "Legal Status of the Negro," 169; Thompson, *Manual of the Statute Law,* 507-12, 531-45.

1829 manumission was outlawed, and a provision in the St. Joseph Constitution of 1839 gave the General Assembly power to prohibit the in-migration of free blacks and mulattoes.[7] These aggressively prohibitive statutes prompted some free blacks to enter bondage on their own volition, a practice facilitated by legislative action in 1858. In short, successive legislative acts underscored a willingness on the part of the ruling race to segregate society into two clearly defined categories: free whites and enslaved blacks.[8]

The first six sections of the 1828 code also governed the sale and importation of slaves. No slave convicted of a crime was permitted to enter Florida. Owners guilty of violating this article could be fined as much as $250 and ordered to remove the slave from the territory. In 1839 the St. Joseph Constitution specifically denied the General Assembly the power to emancipate slaves. Indeed, a reading of the slave code unmasks what antebellum white Floridians perceived to be the ideal black: he was obsequious, industrious, docile, loyal, and most importantly, enslaved.[9]

Florida's lawmakers took care to see to it that slaves remained shut out of the marketplace. Seven of the sixty-three sections denied slaves the right to participate in the capitalist economy. The law forbade them from selling their labor, owning property (both real and personal), or trading without the written permission of their owners. Heavy penalties awaited both buyer and seller, regardless of race, if convicted of trading on the "black market." In practice whites could expect a more lenient form of correction. Selling intoxicating liquor to a slave was a particularly serious crime. Cognizant of the unruly behavior and violence associated with strong drink, the legislature ordered that any individual found guilty of this offense should pay a fine of $10 or be subjected to thirty-nine lashes across the back. Obviously this statute was intended to deny slaves access to alcohol by punishing potential suppliers. Section 45 of the 1828 code stated that slaves who bartered, bought, or sold anything of value were to receive a maximum of thirty-nine lashes. Part of

7. Dorothy Dodd, ed., *Florida Becomes A State* (Tallahassee, 1945), 325.
8. Dodd, *Florida Becomes A State,* 170-71; Duval, *Compilation of Public Acts,* 216, 225, 228-29, 310; Bates, "Legal Status of the Negro," 164, 170-71; Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth,* 118; Williams, "Negro Slavery," 183.
9. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts,* 216; Dodd, *Florida,* 325.

the reasoning behind this penalty lay in the belief that much of what a slave had to sell had been illegally procured. Theoretically, if a slave could not own property then anything they sold could not have been their own. Unscrupulous whites often enticed slaves to pilfer from their masters by promising to buy all that the slave could steal. Lawmakers recognized this and adopted legislation designed to end it. Certain sections of the 1828 code enumerated those items that a slave could not trade. These included agricultural products, particularly staple crops. White masters feared their slaves' larceny would have a pernicious effect on their yield and, in turn, upon their margin of profit. Despite legislative diligence, Florida's "black market" flourished.[10]

Slaves were also barred from owning property. The idea of a slave owning anything seemed ludicrous to the ruling race. This simple exercise in logic– the understanding that one cannot own property if one is property– was not lost on planters. Their law books affirmed this concept, and the courts concurred. Private ownership among the slaves, one Florida judge declared, tended "to make other slaves dissatisfied . . . and thereby excite . . . a spirit of insubordination." Sometimes masters allowed slaves to keep a horse, a few pigs, or even a boat, but only at the owner's discretion. Slaves could never be the genuine owner of anything. Any slave who claimed ownership of material goods could, by law, be forced to surrender said property to the court. In turn the court would sell the goods– the proceeds of the transaction to be divided between the prosecutor and the state treasury. The slave received nothing.[11]

Despite laws denying slaves the right to hire out their labor for wages during their off hours, the practice proved fairly common throughout the South, particularly among those black artisans whose skills were in high demand. Free-born artisans objected to the lax enforcement of these laws, claiming that slaves worked at artificially depressed wages in order to attract business. These protests had some merit, for slaves usually had no over-

10. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts*, 124, 217, 219, 225, 227, 234; Florida *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida . . . 1854*, 43 (hereinafter, Florida Acts . . . along with a reference to the appropriate year); Florida *Acts . . . 1848-49*, 70; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 535-38; Stampp, *Peculiar Institution*, 126.

11. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts*, 209, 225, 227.

head, and it was possible for them to cut prices without affecting their profit margins. One Florida legislator agreed, warning that hiring out caused a "relaxation of discipline and . . . the forgetfulness of duty, gives them possession of money and affords them a means of debauchery and cannot but lead to the ultimate ruin of the slave, if not more disastrous consequences to the community."[12] It was their fear for the safety of the white community, not their concern for the well-being of the slave, that moved lawmakers to action in 1855. In that year the city of St. Augustine repealed a city ordinance that sanctioned the practice of "hiring out." The next year the state followed suit by imposing heavier fines on owners convicted of violating the old statute. At the heart of these measures lay the pervasive desire to restrict the mobility of slaves. Regulating competition in the marketplace was a secondary concern.[13]

Runaway slaves represented a severe financial strain on their masters. Based upon 1860 averages, the flight of a prime field hand could cost an owner as much as $1,500. Perhaps more disturbing, at least to most white Floridians, were the ubiquitous fugitives– both real and imagined– who might commit acts of petty thievery or encourage other slaves to join them. To combat this subversion to the state's economy and racial order, the slave code was amended to encourage whites to keep a tighter rein on their slaves. Florida law demanded that a master pay as much as $500 in order to recover a captured runaway. In addition, the unsuccessful runaway received the maximum number of "stripes" (100 lashes) allowed by law. Slave patrols had the authority to pursue runaways onto private property if necessary. They were also sanctioned to administer punishment, disperse illegal gatherings, and seize contraband. Relative to these statutes were those that prescribed the most severe forms of punishment for slave stealing. Whether the offender had acted as a noble-hearted abolitionist or as an ordinary thief, white Floridians regarded slave stealing as a despicable practice. Whites convicted of this offense either paid a fine of $1,000 or received thirty-nine lashes. In either case the guilty party was branded with the letters "ss." If the offender were black, however, he or she could receive

12. Clarence Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida,* 26 vols. (Washington, 1934-1962), XXVI, 916.
13. Florida *Acts . . . 1855,* 30; Florida *Acts . . . 1856,* 24-25; Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth,* 109.

the death sentence. As with all other slave ordinances, Florida's laws against stealing slaves became more rigid with the passage of time.[14]

The variety of violent crimes and crimes against property enumerated in Florida's slave codes reflected the standard Judeo-Christian ethic common to western legal traditions. The principal differences between the laws pertaining to whites and slaves were in the types and severity of punishment. In an age of enlightened penology, white criminals could expect to be fined or sentenced to a penitentiary to be reformed. Slaves, on the other hand, were too valuable to place behind bars. Their punishment was swift, painful, and inflicted with little thought given to the moral reformation of the offender. Capital crimes included murder, conspiracy to rebel or to commit murder, assault with intent to kill, poisoning with intent to kill, and attempted murder. In each case the law was resolute; the guilty slave was to be put to death. The courts could exercise discretion in other instances where death was listed as an option. Maiming, manslaughter, arson, robbery, burglary, and attempted rape fell within this category. Trespassing, possession of firearms, sedition, unlawful assemblage, rioting, verbal assault, larceny, perjury, and consulting or advising to murder came under the heading of crimes in which corporal punishment remained the sole recourse of judge and jury.[15] Amendments to the codes support the contention that slave laws evolved to safeguard against insurrection by placing greater restrictions on the slaves. An example of this strategy can be found in Section 9 of the 1828 code and the subsequent repeal of that section in 1831. The original law permitted slaves to carry firearms provided that they had acquired the necessary permit from the local justice of the peace. The wisdom of allowing slaves to arm themselves came into question around the time of Nat Turner's rebellion. Apprehensive legislators struck down the provision, declaring that henceforth slaves could carry

14. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts,* 62-63, 65, 115, 221-23; Thompson, *Manual of the Statute Law,* 174-75; Florida *Acts . . . 1850,* 132-33; Florida *Acts . . . 1854,* 52-53; Florida *Acts . . . 1861,* 38-43; Bates, "Legal Status of the Negro," 165-66.

15. Ayers's *Vengeance and Justice* offers an excellent analysis of nineteenth-century penology and penitentiary reform. See also Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts,* 216-28.

neither arms nor ammunition unless in the company of their masters.[16]

The penalties prescribed by Florida law were, by present-day standards, cruel and unusual; by any standard they were painful. The whip remained the preferred instrument of punishment. Each infraction of the law stipulated the exact number of stripes or lashes to be applied to the guilty party's bare back. Ordinarily that number was thirty-nine, a recognized allusion to the Roman custom mentioned in the Bible. Other forms of punishment proved less humane. A slave convicted of perjury, for instance, in addition to being whipped could have one of his or her ears nailed to a post. The slave would remain standing beside the post for one hour, at which time the mutilated ear would be severed from the head. Such graphic displays, commonly known as cropping, were intended to remind potential malefactors that retribution was often swift and brutal. Other forms of non-lethal punishment dictated by Florida law included branding and nose splitting. Capital punishment was an extreme measure that most owners preferred to forego. In the event that a slave was executed by the state, however, the master was entitled to fair compensation because Floridians recognized the execution of a slave as something akin to the seizure or condemnation of property.[17]

One should not confuse the letter of the slave code with the reality of its enforcement. Slavery was an institution based upon widely held assumptions regarding the relationship between whites and blacks, labor and capital, plain folk and gentry, and the individual and the state. All of these attitudes were ingrained in the characters of most white Floridians. The law simply mirrored their customs. While most laws merely reiterated local mores, others were nuisances, only to be enforced during times of social unrest or economic hardship. For example, slave owners generally consented to their slaves' weekly religious service unless cautioned by rumors of an insurrection plot. Then laws banning large gatherings were strictly enforced. Slave marriages, while prohibited by Florida law, were allowed by owners so long as his or her economic circumstances permitted the union. Otherwise the owner could disavow the marriage and

16. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts,* 218, 231.
17. Ibid., 216-28: Stampp, *Peculiar Institution,* 199.

separate the couple through sale. Some slaves kept rifles or livestock while others hired out their own time or traded with whites, often with their masters' knowledge and consent and always in violation of state ordinances. Noting these routine transgressions, a Florida Grand Jury in 1844 condemned "the great looseness or laxity that too generally prevails in the management of our slave population."[18]

Owners were bound by a sense of moral accountability– an obligation often called "paternalism"– to treat their slaves in a humane fashion. Community pressure further dictated that masters behave in a socially responsible manner, exercising discretion when chastising disobedient slaves. Owners were also bound by the law. The St. Joseph Constitution required them to provide their servants with a healthy diet, adequate clothing, medical care, and shelter. Custom further dictated that they care for the elderly and infirm. In Florida, masters could be charged with murder if their abuse caused the death of a slave. However, most masters appear to have been guided by common economic pragmatism when it came to handling their bondsmen. Slaves represented capital assets; therefore, their misuse or neglect made little economic sense. Florida's slave code only codified the majority's mores; the master class functioned in its own best interests, and no law could dictate otherwise.[19]

The patterns of legal change expressed in Florida's slave codes followed two divergent paths: the first led toward more restrictive legislation designed to limit the possibility of insurrection, while the second reflected a desire to protect the slaves. The former was largely the result of legislative action, the latter the work of the courts.[20]

An accused slave rarely saw the inside of a courthouse. Instead, the plantation proved the more familiar venue. Masters preferred this alternative for it reaffirmed their authority and

18. Quote taken from Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States, XXVI,* 916; Stampp, *Peculiar Institution,* 207, 228-29; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 40.
19. Kermit L. Hall, ed., *The Law of American Slavery: Major Historical Interpretation* (New York, 1987), xiii; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 26, 32, 37, 43, 47; Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth,* 102.
20. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 32; Daniel J. Flanigan, "Criminal Procedure in Slave Trials in the Antebellum South," *Journal of Southern History* 40 (November 1974), 538.

protected them from the caprice of outside interference. However, laws and social customs constrained owners by placing limitations on the severity of punishment that one could administer to a recalcitrant bondsman. For example, particularly serious offenses such as murder, theft, and attempted rape automatically came within the jurisdiction of the state. Crimes committed by slaves in any place other than their master's property necessitated the intervention of a disinterested or impartial third party. Again, the state filled this role. Civil suits also fell within the realm of the state's authority.[21]

Slaves who knew of the court's reputation for fairness welcomed the intercession of the law, for it was in the courtroom that the slave stood the best chance for an impartial hearing. On the plantation justice was unchecked and arbitrary. Similarly, local justices of the peace offered little in the way of justice to the accused slave. Usually ignorant of legal subtleties or personally acquainted with the owner, slaves knew of their reputation for inconsistency and venality. Florida's Superior Court judges and Supreme Court justices, on the other hand, conformed to higher standards of practice. These men tended to be better educated and more responsive to public pressure than local justices. As a result, slaves could expect more justice from the state's higher courts.[22]

The courts accorded the slaves a remarkable degree of judicial courtesy, closely adhering to the standards of procedure and decorum used for whites. The explanation for this curious departure from day-to-day race relations, aside from the two aforementioned, illustrate the oxymoronic quality of the definition "human property." In order to hold slaves accountable for their crimes, the court had to recognize that they were capable of exercising free will. To acknowledge this was to acknowledge their humanity. Slaves, therefore, had to be granted the same rights and privileges enjoyed by any other defendant who stood before the bench. To do otherwise would have opened the court up to charges of hypocrisy. The courts obliged this masquerade, granting the slaves rights in order that they may be legally punished. But in the process slaves came to enjoy the benefits

21. Flanigan, "Criminal Procedure in Slave Trials," 538-39; Stampp, *Peculiar Institution*, 224.
22. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 134.

of jury trials, the right to counsel, and the protection of the Constitution.[23]

Unfortunately the courtroom was not entirely immune from the dictates of social custom. A black man's word alone was never sufficient to convict a white man of foul play. The white community would not countenance such a challenge in their daily lives, and they would not condone it in their courts. Consequently, no state, including Florida, allowed blacks to testify against whites. On occasion judges did allow a slave to enter a plea of "self-defense" for the murder of a white, but such was the exception rather than the rule. The possibility of an accused rapist receiving a fair hearing was even more remote; however, it did happen. In *State v. Charles* (a slave) the judge upheld a lower court ruling that dismissed an indictment for assault with an attempt to commit rape on the grounds that it did not specify the race of the alleged victim. Section 39 of the 1828 code, the pertinent statute, clearly stipulated race when describing both the victim and her alleged assailant. In another case of alleged rape, *Cato (a slave) v. State,* the Florida Supreme Court granted a retrial to a convicted rapist because of the questionable veracity and character of the state's witnesses. Writing for the majority, Judge Charles H. DuPont proclaimed that "It is the crowning glory of our 'peculiar institution,' that whenever life is involved, the slave stands upon as safe ground as the master." These two cases illustrate an attempt to provide justice for those slaves accused of even the most serious crimes.[24]

The perseverance of Cato's attorney demonstrates that some lawyers maintained their commitment to justice despite adverse public sentiment. Studies indicate that slaves generally received able representation. Indeed, the Florida Supreme Court, in the case of *Joe (a person of color) v. State,* granted a motion for a new trial because, among other things, the accused "lacked adequate council." Because slaves could not serve on juries, the likelihood of being tried by a true "jury of one's peers" was nil. In fact, slaves were adjudged by representatives of a superior caste. So,

23. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 29-30; Flanigan, "Criminal Procedure in Slave Trials," 540, 546.

24. Quote taken from *Cato (a slave) v. State,* 9 Fla. 163 (1860); *State v. Charles (a slave),* 1 Fla. 298 (1847); Flanigan, "Criminal Procedure in Slave Trials," 556; Stampp, *Peculiar Institution,* 220, 222; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 33-34.

despite efforts at impartiality during voir dire, they remained at the mercy of prejudicial juries.[25]

Courts made efforts to compensate for the slaves' legal vulnerability by making the appropriate allowances. Court-appointed attorneys were one such concession. Another was its willingness to challenge the admissibility of coerced confessions. Overzealous interrogators often employed torture and intimidation in order to compel suspect slaves to admit complicity in a crime. In *Simon (a slave) v. State* the Florida Supreme Court reversed a lower court's conviction because the latter had based its ruling upon a confession obtained through coercion. The presiding justice wrote that he could find "few cases . . . where stronger influences were brought to bear . . . to extract a confession."[26]

The courts tended to construe the slave code quite literally, and sometimes this strict construction worked to the advantage of the slave. Paraphrasing Justice Albert G. Semmes in *Bryan v. Dennis,* the term "slave" had to appear in the wording of a law in order for that law to be applicable to slaves. In this particular case the ruling ordered that a family of slaves claiming freedom was, according to the law, still slaves. Although this particular ruling proved unfavorable to the litigants, it set a precedent for literalism that became a protective blanket for slaves against arbitrary legal action. In *Luke (a slave) v. State* Justice Leslie Thompson ruled that slaves could be punished only in the manner prescribed in the slave code. Thompson argued that "in order to punish a slave for a 'common law' offense, the court must examine the pertinent slave code," thereby insulating the slave against indiscriminate punishment. In *Francis (a slave) v. State* the Florida Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the slave code. In each of these cases, decided in the early 1850s the justices ruled the slave code was the only law applicable to the enslaved. Clearly, Florida slaves benefitted from the high court's predilection for constitutional and statutory literalism.[27]

A Florida Supreme Court ruling in 1860 declared that a slave could only be charged with those crimes enumerated in

25. *Joe (a person of color) v. State,* 6 Fla. 591 (1856).
26. *Simon (a slave) v. State,* 5 Fla. 285 (1853); Flanigan, "Criminal Procedure in Slave Trials," 559-60.
27. *Bryan v. Dennis,* 4 Fla. 445 (1852); *Luke (a slave) v. State,* 5 Fla. 185 (1853); *Francis (a slave) v. State,* 6 Fla. 306 (1855).

the Florida slave code. The case in question involved a slave named Clem Murray who had been convicted of running an illegal gaming house. His attorney appealed the decision on the grounds that the relevant offense was not listed in the state's slave code and therefore could not be "extended to them [slaves] unless specifically named."[28] Writing for the majority in the case of *Clem Murray (a slave) v. State,* Justice William A. Forward concurred, arguing that slaves were not "covered by the word 'person' in the penal statute [white code] except by necessary implication." The court, in deciding for Murray, sought to protect the slave from unrestrained persecution. By 1860 the courts had become the guardians of the slaves' legal rights.[29]

Florida's slave code served to regulate and stabilize the "peculiar institution." It functioned as well as any body of law that enjoys the overwhelming support of its populace. The primacy of popular consensus in determining the scope and direction of the law is evident in the history of Florida's slave code. As demonstrated here, the exigencies of the era forced lawmakers to reexamine their priorities. An increasingly vocal anti-slavery movement in the North coupled with an almost obsessive fear of slave rebellion distorted the perceptions of many of Florida's lawmakers who determined that their slave code was too lax and therefore unable to prevent unrest and rebellion. In an effort to rectify this weakness, strict limitations were placed upon the slave's ability to act independent of his or her owner. But enlightened legislators and court officials paternalistically clothed their chattel in laws and court decisions that were designed to protect the slave's humanity. Referring to the treatment of slaves, the Florida Supreme Court declared in 1859 that a person who leased slaves should "bestow that degree of care and attention which a humane master would bestow on his servant." The statement served as both a warning to those who might abuse the slaves of another and as a mirror reflecting an image the courts held of how the slave should be treated.[30]

28. *Clem Murray (a slave) v. State,* 9 Fla. 246 (1860).
29. Ibid.
30. *Tallahassee Railroad Co. v. Macon,* 8 Fla. 299 (1859).

# "CAPTURED ON CANVAS": McKENNEY-HALL'S *HISTORY OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA*

*by* SHIRLEY H. BOWERS

THOMAS Lorraine McKenney was the second superintendent of Indian Trade and later the first director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Born March 21, 1785, in Somerset County, Maryland, he was twenty-four when he moved to Washington, D.C., and opened a dry-goods establishment in Georgetown. McKenney's friends– some of the most powerful men in government– included John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Secretary of State James Monroe. These contacts helped him receive the appointment in 1816 as superintendent in the Office of Indian Trade.

George Washington had created the Indian Trade office as an agency of the War Department in 1796. Trading posts would be established along the southern and western frontiers where Indians could exchange their furs and skins for the goods they needed– coffee, sugar, tobacco, and gunpowder. There were other reasons to keep these posts active and strong. The British and Spanish often incited Indian discontent, and the posts could provide some security for the settlers.[1] The Indians also needed protection from greedy and unscrupulous traders.[2] Control of the trading posts was an important administrative function, and in 1806 the superintendent of Indian Trade became the first head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[3]

McKenney had served as the army's chief supply officer during the War of 1812, and he was well experienced for his appointment to the trade office. He was genuinely concerned with the well being of the Indians, and he was an astute observer of their culture. He urged clerks and managers at the trading posts

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1. Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, OK, 1957), 23.
2. Herman J. Viola, *Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy, 1816-1830* (Chicago, 1974), 7.
3. S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, 1973), 41.

to send him artifacts, weapons, clothing, and ornaments from the various tribes, which he planned to preserve.

The posts, however successful, could not halt the hostility caused by the settlers' voracious appetite for the land claimed by the Indians. The natives resented the efforts to force them to leave their ancestral homes and resettle in the West. To secure their cooperation and support, Indian delegations were invited to visit Washington where they were lavishly entertained. The chiefs were presented with specially designed Peace Medals which they wore around their necks. They were given gifts of clothing, food, and wine, sometimes as a ruse to negotiate one-sided treaties or as a display of the government's power.[4]

McKenney lost his Indian Trade office in 1822 when Congress abolished the office. He then became involved briefly as a newspaper publisher in Washington. He ardently supported John C. Calhoun's candidacy in the presidential campaign of 1824. In part to pay this debt, Calhoun, secretary of war under John Quincy Adams, established the Bureau of Indian Affairs within his department in 1824 and appointed McKenney as its first superintendent. McKenney often boasted that he "controlled the destinies of more Indian natives on the American continent than any one man."[5]

McKenney was now able to enlarge his Indian archives, and he began collecting books, maps, and written material about the leaders and the various tribes. He also was involved in hosting the visiting Indian delegations. He had the opportunity to meet and talk with the Indian chiefs. He realized that the Indian way of life was changing, and he wanted to preserve a pictorial record of their lives. McKenney enlisted Charles Bird King, an artist friend, to paint portraits of the tribal leaders who came to Washington to visit their "Great White Father."[6] The government paid for the paintings, and they were hung in McKenney's offices on the second floor of the War Department building in Washington.[7]

King, a native of Newport, Rhode Island, was only four when he lost his father in an Indian raid in Ohio in 1790. Even

4. James D. Horan, *The McKenney-Hall Portrait Gallery of American Indians* (New York, 1972), 43-45.
5. Ibid., 22.
6. Herman J. Viola, *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King* (Washington, 1976), 20.
7. Patricia R. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy* (Tuscaloosa, 1991), 70.

as a child he was interested in art, and by age fifteen he was studying in New York City. He continued his art education in London from 1805 to 1812, but the impending war with Britain made him decide to return home. After exhibiting his work in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond, he settled in Washington. From 1822 to 1842 King painted over 140 portraits of Indians for McKenney's War Department gallery.[8] They included several Florida Seminoles, painted during those delegations' visits to Washington in 1825 and 1826.[9]

This glorious period for McKenney ended after Andrew Jackson became president in 1829. Jackson, never an Indian sympathizer, also remembered McKenney's support for Calhoun during the presidential race in 1824 when Jackson was also a candidate. In 1830, realizing that his position was in jeopardy, McKenney began a program that he had long considered. He would print a portfolio of Indian paintings, along with historical and biographical sketches, and make the work available for general distribution. For a project of such magnitude McKenney needed substantial financial support. Samuel F. Bradford, a Philadelphia printer, became his first partner. The plan was to reprint twenty of the portraits, with McKenney providing the text.

A new process called lithography offered a medium that could be used to reproduce the paintings. Without President Jackson's permission, but with the cooperation of Secretary of War Lewis Cass, McKenney surreptitiously began shipping the original paintings, a few at a time, to Philadelphia. They were copied on canvas by Henry Inman, an artist and partner in the lithographic establishment of Inman and Childs, and were then shipped back to Washington. The likenesses were transferred onto a specially prepared stone with a greasy crayon. When the stone was dampened, the ink in the printing process adhered only to the drawing, and many detailed prints could be produced.[10] Various print-shop artists colored the reproductions.

McKenney was pleased with the results, and he and Bradford decided to announce publicly their proposed volumes. In 1836, McKenney published an introductory *Catalogue of One*

8. Viola, *Indian Legacy,* 21.
9. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy,* 70.
10. Viola, *Thomas L. McKenney,* 255,

*Hundred and Fifteen Indian Portraits* to announce the forthcoming three-volume edition of the prints. Fifteen of the portraits in the *Catalogue* were of Creeks and Seminoles.[11] For six dollars customers received one portrait reproduced on fine paper, hand-colored, and accompanied by the text that had been prepared from McKenney's notes. For $120 a full set of the proposed folio was offered.[12]

Competition, bankruptcies, broken partnerships, deaths, and strained friendships plagued the operation, but after eight years of effort the first volume was published in February 1837. The title page of *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* carried McKenney's name and that of his new partner, James Hall. Hall lived in Cincinnati where he had a good reputation as a jurist, prolific novelist, western historian, and journal editor. He also had some experience as a publisher. He met with McKenney in 1835 and agreed to write the biographies needed for the publication, as well as the general historical sketches of the Indian tribes.[13] The first volume of plates was published at Philadelphia in 1836. It was reissued in Philadelphia and London in 1837 and again the following year together with the second volume.[14]

The project continued to suffer serious financial problems, particularly after the bank panic in 1837 which depleted the original subscribers' list so drastically that even the persistent McKenney finally had to admit defeat. He was out of funds and had exhausted the patience and generosity of most of his friends.

Thomas McKenney died in New York City in 1859 penniless and with no known survivors. Completion of his massive endeavor was turned over to a series of printers and lithographers. The first folio was published in three volumes in 1842 and 1844.[15] The original collection of King portraits was transferred to the National Institute in 1841 and then in 1858 to the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithsonian fire of January 15, 1865, destroyed many of the portraits, but the Henry Inman copies of the Bird portraits still exist.[16] Portraits of the Seminoles of

11. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 72.
12. Viola, *Thomas L. McKenney*, 256.
13. Horan, *McKenney-Hall Portrait Gallery*, 108.
14. Wickman, *Osceola's Legacy*, 70.
15. Ibid., 73.
16. Ibid.

ASEOLA.

A SEMINOLE LEADER.


YOHO-SEE-MATEELA
A SEMINOLE CHIEF.

Florida are prominent in the McKenney-Hall collection. Two of the most handsome pictures in the folio, notable for their full-length portrayal, are those of Aseola (Osceola) and Tuko-See-Mathla. Their clothing and accessories are intricately detailed, providing an accurate glimpse of Seminole tribal dress.

It is not known who was the actual artist of the Osceola portrait. Osceola never visited Washington, but, while in captivity at Fort Moultrie in South Carolina, several artists came to paint this most famous Indian.[17] One was George Catlin, the preeminent painter of American Indians. The War Department commissioned him to do Osceola's portrait. William L. Lanning and Robert John Curtis, both of Charleston, were two other artists who painted Osceola.

The portrait of Tuko-See-Mathla, a principal chief, is well documented. Also known as John Hicks, he was a member of the Seminole delegation that visited Washington in May 1826.[18] Florida territorial governor William P. DuVal had wanted to bestow upon him the honorific title of governor, but officials in Washington denied the request: "He will be distinguished by a Great Medal, and acknowledged Chief of his people."[19]

Head chief Micanopy and lesser chiefs Holata Mico, Itcho Tustenuggee, Neamathla, Fuche Luste Hadjo, and Tulce Emathla accompanied Tuko-See-Mathla on his visit to Washington in 1826.[20] They are portrayed wearing clothing supplied by their government hosts and typical Seminole tribal accessories. Several of the Seminoles are shown wearing the Peace Medals given them by President John Quincy Adams. According to the records of the War Department Indian Gallery, Charles Bird King was responsible for all of these portraits.[21]

A complete three-volume set of the original McKenney-Hall book, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America,* is in the collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida. Individual lithographs, occasionally found

17. Ibid., 70-73.
18. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842,* rev. ed. (Gainesville, 1967), 62.
19. Francis Paul Pruche, *Indian Peace Medals in American History* (Madison, WI, 1971), 56.
20. Mahon, *Second Seminole War,* 62.
21. Viola, *Thomas* L. *McKenney,* 143-43 (as abstracted from the Catalog of War Department Indian Gallery).

MICANOPY.

A SEMINOLE CHIEF

through print dealers, sell for several hundred dollars each. For Floridians who want an opportunity to see an accurate portrayal of their Seminole Indian forebearers, thanks go to Thomas L. McKenney, the Indians' friend and the visionary who had them captured on canvas.

# FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

*Anne Arundel Community College, Arnold, Maryland*

Frank Alduino (faculty)– "Charlie Wall, Tampa's Bolita King" (continuing study).

*Auburn University*

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– "Fort S. Gabriel, Manchac, and the Small Mississippi Tribes" (continuing study).

Ethan Grant– "Anglo Settlers in the Natchez District of British, West Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

*Broward County Historical Commission*

Rodney E. Dillon, Jr.– "The Civil War in South Florida" (continuing study).

Rodney E. Dillon, Jr., Helen H. Landers, and Dorothy Bryan– "History of Broward County" (continuing study).

*Clearwater Christian College*

Frank L. Snyder (faculty)– "Biography of William Pope DuVal" (continuing study).

*Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University*

John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster (faculty)– "Racial Equality and the Activities of Educators in Early African-American Schools: A Comparison of Florida and Hampton, Virginia" (continuing study).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– "James Hudson: Civil Rights Leader in Tallahassee, Florida, 1955-1975"; "Slaves and Masters: Madison County, Florida, 1827-1865"; "The Peculiar Institution in Jackson County, Florida, 1824-1865"; "A Troublesome Property: Master-Slave Relations in Florida, 1821-1865" (studies completed); "The Role of the Florida Overseer, 1821-1865"; "A Statistical View of Florida Overseers and Drivers in Florida, 1821-1865"; "A Statistical View of Land and Slaveownership in

Florida, 1821-1865"; "The Role and Status of Antebellum Physicians in Middle Florida, 1821-1865"; "The Role and Status of Antebellum Lawyers in Middle Florida, 1821-1865"; "The Role of Religion in the Slave Community"; "The Role of Female Slaves on the Antebellum Florida Plantation"; "Indentured Servitude on the Wirtland Plantation: An Experiment that Failed, 1833-1834" (continuing studies).

*Florida Atlantic University*

Thomas N. Cunningham– "The Life and Career of Edward R. Bradley" (master's thesis completed).

Donald W. Curl (faculty)– "Addison Mizner and Alice DeLamar"; "Romance in Stone: Mediterranean Revival Architecture in Florida," with Fred Eckel (publications forthcoming); "Joseph Urban's Palm Beach Architecture" (study completed); "Lost Palm Beach," with Fred Eckel (continuing study).

John F. Eades– "City Planning in West Palm Beach, Florida, During the 1920s" (master's thesis completed).

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– "The Florida Seminole Land Claims Case, 1950-1990" (publication forthcoming); "Florida Seminole Tribal Government in the Early Years, 1957-1979" (continuing study).

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– "Race and Space in the Modern City: Interstate 95 and the Black Community in Miami" (publication forthcoming); "Blacks, Jews, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960"; "Race Relations and the Second Ghetto in Miami, 1940-1960" (studies completed); "Shadows in the Sunshine: Race Relations in Miami, 1896-1990"; "The Latinization of Florida" (continuing studies).

*Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee*

Henry Baker– "Archaeological Monitoring at the Gamble Mansion" (publication forthcoming).

John H. Hann– "The Mayaca and Jororo and Missions to Them"; "Visitations and Revolts in Florida, 1656-1695"; "Leadership Nomenclature Among the Spanish Florida Natives and Its Linguistic and Associational Implica-

tions"; "The Florida Mission Experience"; "The Apalachee of the Historic Era"; "1630 Memorial of Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesus on Spanish Florida's Missions and Natives" (publications forthcoming); "Florida's Timucua"; "Survey of Spanish Florida's Natives" (continuing studies).

Joe Knetsch and Marion Smith– "Historical Maps and Site Maps at the Florida Site File" (publication forthcoming).

Bonnie G. McEwan– "Hispanic Life on the Seventeenth-Century Florida Frontier"; "Excavations in the Apalachee Village at San Luis"; "Compositional Identification of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Majolica Types Exported to the New World," with Emlen Myers and Jacqueline Olin (publications forthcoming).

Bonnie G. McEwan and John F. Scarry– "Domestic Architecture in Apalachee Province: Apalachee and Spanish Residential Styles in the Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Periods" (publication forthcoming).

*Florida Department of Military Affairs, St. Augustine*

Robert Hawk– "Florida's Navy: Naval Militia, 1565-1945" (study completed).

*Florida Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee*

Joe Knetsch– "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842"; "A General History of Florida Land Policies" (continuing studies).

Joe Knetsch and Edward Keuchel– "The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida" (continuing study).

*Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville*

Kathleen Deagan (faculty) and Gardner Gordon– "Fountain of Youth Park Site, St. Augustine, Excavations of Sixteenth-century Spanish Campsite." Cooperatively with the Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, archaeological resources from St. Augustine's historic sites are being curated at the Florida Museum of Natural History. The staffs of both agencies are developing a com-

puterized data base of the materials. The artifacts cover the period from ca. 1565-1800.

Jerald T. Milanich (faculty)– "Archaeology of the Florida Indians" (publication forthcoming).

*Florida Southern College*

James M. Denham (faculty)– "Nullification, Florida's Second Seminole War, and the South Carolina Gubernatorial Election of 1936," with Canter Brown, Jr. (study completed); "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida" (continuing study).

*Florida State University*

Canter Brown, Jr.– "Fort Meade, 1849-1900"; "Race Relations in Territorial Florida, 1821-1945"; "Lower Peninsular Florida's Political Economy During the Second Spanish Period"; "Nullification, Florida's Second Seminole War, and the South Carolina Gubernatorial Election of 1936," with James M. Denham (studies completed); "Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

David J. Coles– "Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

R. Thomas Dye– "Cedar Key, Florida: A Political and Social History" (master's thesis completed).

Ric Kabat– "Claude Pepper's Early Career" (continuing study).

Edward F. Keuchel (faculty) and Joe Knetsch– "The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida" (continuing study).

Merri Lamonica– "A Biography of Senator Dempsey Barron" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Kathleen McCarron– "The Prohibition Movement in Leon County, Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Clay Outzs– "Jimmy Carter's Road to the White House: The Florida Presidential Primary of 1976" (continuing study).

Anthony J. Paredes (faculty)– "The Poarch Creek Indians: The 'Third Tribe' in Florida" (publication forthcoming).

Patrick Riordan– "Finding Freedom in Florida: African-Americans and the First Underground Railroad" (study

completed); "Seminole Genesis: The Multicultural Colonial Origins of a Native-American Group" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

William Warren Rogers (faculty)– "A History of Goodwood Plantation"; "A History of the Capital City Bank, Tallahassee"; "Leon County from Early Times Through 1920" (continuing studies).

Cecile-Marie Sastre– "A History of Florida Land Grants in the Second Spanish and Territorial Periods" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "The British Redoubts of St. Augustine" (master's thesis completed); "Francis Abreu, Boom-Time Architect of Ft. Lauderdale" (continuing study).

Jessica Slavin– "Crackers and Clay Eaters: The Poor Whites of Reconstruction Florida" (master's thesis completed); "Florida's Confederate Deserters" (continuing study).

Victor Triay– "Al Capone in Florida" (continuing study).

*Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board*

Stanley C. Bond, Jr., Susan R. Parker, and Julie Wizorek– "Historical Archaeology of Cofradía of the Blessed Sacrament Site" (study completed); "Archaeological Investigation of Ribera Gardens Site" (continuing study).

Stanley C. Bond, Jr.– "Archaeological Investigation of North Beach, A Post-Contact Native-American Site" (continuing study).

Susan R. Parker– "Spanish St. Augustine: Family Life"; "The Triracial Community"; "'Urban' Indians"; "Property Ownership"; "Childhood"; "Religious Organizations (cofradías) for the Laity" (continuing studies).

*Historical Association of Southern Florida*

Tina Bucuvalas– "Cuban Folklore"; "South Florida Folklife" (continuing studies).

Brent Cantrell– "Trinidad Carnival" (continuing study).

Robert S. Carr– "Archaeological Investigation of the Addison Homestead, Dade County" (continuing study).

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

Paul S. George– "Port of Miami" (continuing study).

Arva Moore-Parks– "Dade County"; "Harry S. Truman in Key West" (continuing studies).

Thelma Peters– "Cuban Summer" (continuing study).

W. S. Steele– "Military History of the Joe Robbie Dolphin Stadium Site" (publication forthcoming); "Seminole Wars in South Florida" (continuing study).

Patsy West– "Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees"; "The Historic Snake Creek Seminole Settlements: Dade County, Florida, ca. 1819-1900" (publications forthcoming); "Seminoles in Tourist Attractions and Expositions"; "The Settlement of the Everglades: A Mikasuki Cultural History" (continuing studies).

*Indian River Community College*

Robert A. Taylor (faculty)– Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy"; "Lucius B. Northrop in the Second Seminole War" (continuing studies).

Robert A. Taylor and Lewis N. Wynne– "This War So Horrible: The Civil War Diary of Hiram Smith Williams" (publication forthcoming).

*Johns Hopkins University*

Amy Turner Bushnell– "Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provisions of Florida" (publication forthcoming); "A Requiem for Lesser Conquerors: Pacification on Spain's North American Frontier"; "Swanton and Sons: Documentary Research on Spanish Mission Sites in Guale" (studies completed); "The Provincials: Spanish and Indian Maturales in the Provinces of Florida" (continuing study).

*Louisiana State University*

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)– "History of Spanish Louisiana" (continuing study).

*Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus*

Paul S. George (faculty)– "A History of Lauderdale-By-The-Sea"; "A History of Miami's Jewish Community"; "The Maritime and Aviation History of Miami and South

Florida"; "A History of Pioneer Life in Broward County, Florida" (continuing studies).

*Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee*

Jeana E. Brunson and R. Bruce Graetz– "Florida's Civil War Flags" (continuing study).

Julia S. Hesson– "Florida Farm Kitchens of the 1920s and 1930s Home Extension Work in Florida; Florida on the Eve of the Great Depression"; "Florida's Supreme Court, 1902-1912"; "Agriculture and Economy in Antebellum Florida" (permanent exhibits forthcoming).

Charles R. McNeil– "Pensacola Red Snapper Industry"; "Fishermen's Labor Union in Pensacola"; "Union Bank Minute Book" (continuing studies).

Erik T. Robinson– "Art, In and About Florida" (continuing study).

*National Park Service*

Luis R. Arana– "The British Siege of St. Augustine, 1740" (study completed).

*North Florida Junior College*

Joe A. Akerman, Jr. (faculty)– "The Life and Times of Jacob Summerlin" (continuing study).

*Pensacola Junior College*

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)– "Hutto the Highwayman" (publication forthcoming); "American Military Operations in Spanish West Florida, 1814-1819"; "Education in Antebellum Pensacola"; "History of the Citrus Industry in West Florida" (continuing studies).

*The St. Augustine Foundation Inc., Flagler College*

Eugene Lyon– "Translations, Revillagigedo Archives"; "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés" (continuing studies).

*St. Augustine Historical Society*

Page Edwards– "Turpentine Manufacturing and Naval

Stores in St. Johns County"; "Medical Practices in Territorial Florida"; "The Battle of Natural Bridge"; "Divorce Procedures in Florida, 1890-1921" (continuing studies).

*St. Thomas University, Miami*

Seth H. Bramson– "Rural Hospitality in the Florida Keys: Long Key Fishing Camp, 1904-1935" (continuing study).

*Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Science*

Mark Ames– "Probate Research: 1870s Farmsteads"; "Leon County Farms, 1880s Probate Records"; "A Cross-sectional Study, 1880s Leon County Farm Inventories."

Robbie A. Bouplon– "Rural Clothing: North Florida ca. 1888."

Linda Deaton (curator)– "Boxing, Cornering, Chipping, and Dipping Under the Wake of Black Aunty"; "Black Common School Education in Florida from Emancipation to Desegregation."

Sherrie Stokes– "Rural Southern Foodways, 1850-1900."

Sharyn Thompson– "Leon County, Florida, 1880-1889"; "1880-1888 Settlement Patterns, Leon County, Florida."

Sharyn Thompson and Mary Louise Ellis– "The Life of a Railroad Man."

*University of Central Florida*

Richard E. Foglesong (faculty)– "Baiting the Mousetrap: Extending I-4 Through Orlando" (continuing study).

Jerrell H. Shofner (faculty)– "History of Brevard County" (study completed); "History of Florida," with William Coker (continuing study).

*University of Florida*

Arch Fredric Blakey (faculty)– "Rose Cottage Chronicles: The Civil War Correspondence of Bryant-Stephens Families of Welaka, Florida" (publication forthcoming); "Florida's First Forty Years as a United States Possession, 1821-1861" (continuing study).

Stephen E. Branch– "Waters of Blessed Escape: Mass Cul-

ture and the History of Florida's Silver Springs" (study completed).

James C. Clark– "The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary between Claude Pepper and George Smathers" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "The Ku Klux Klan and the Murder of Harry T. Moore" (study completed).

David R. Colburn (faculty)– "The Black Heritage in Florida: An Overview from the Spanish Period to the Present," with Jane Landers (continuing study).

James Cusick– "An Archaeological Study of Ethnicity in Second Spanish Period St. Augustine" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Herbert J. Doherty (faculty)– "Life of David Levy Yulee"; "History of the Florida Historical Society"; "Railroads of North Central Florida" (continuing studies).

Diana S. Edwards– "The Social and Economic Life of African-Americans in the Lincolnville Community of St. Augustine in the 1920s"; "Richard Aloysuis Twine, Photographer of Lincolnville, 1922- 1927," with Patricia C. Griffin (continuing studies); "History of Adoption in Florida: Legislation, Social Policy, and First-Person Narratives from Relinquishing Mothers, Adopted Persons, and Others Involved in Adoption prior to 1970" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– "The Administration of Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera, 1680-1687" (continuing study).

Kathleen Hoffman– "The Nature of Criollo Cultural Crystallization in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Lisa M. Hoshower– "Bioanthropological Study of a Seventeenth-century Native-American Spanish Mission Population: Biocultural Impacts of the Northern Utina" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Sherry Johnson– "'Of the Same Quality, Customs, and Circumstances': Criollas and the Formation of Creole Society in St. Augustine, 1785-1803" (study completed); "The Floridana Diaspora: Florida's Women in Exile in Havana, 1763-1777"; "'She Has Been Mine Just Like a Wife': Slave Marriages in St. Augustine, 1785-1821" (continuing studies).

Stuart Landers-"Anatomy of a Movement: Protest and Activism in Gainesville, Florida, 1963-1973" (continuing study).

William H. Marquardt (faculty)– "Culture and Environment in the Domain of the Calusa" (publication forthcoming).

David McCally– "An Environmental History of the Florida Everglades" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Dixie Neilson– "Keepers of. the Flame: Early Lighthouse Keepers in St. Augustine, Florida."

Larry Odzak– "Odysseys to America: The Origins and Growth of Jacksonville's Greek-American Community" (publication forthcoming); "Jacksonville's Greek Community, 1889-1939: A Southern Paradigm?" (continuing study).

Susan R. Parker– "The Economy of Spanish East Florida, 1784-1821" (continuing study).

Claudine Payne– "Political Complexity in Chiefdoms: The Lake Jackson Mound Group and Ceramic Chronology in Northwest Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Stephen R. Prescott– "Florida's Sunshine Law" (study completed); "Cabinet and Supreme Court Scandals in the 1970s" (continuing study).

Donna L. Ruhl– "Paleoethnobotany of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Mission Sites in Coastal La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Rebecca Saunders– "Stability and Change in Guale Indian Pottery, A.D. 1350-1702" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Karen Jo Walker– "The Zooarchaeology of Charlotte Harbor's Prehistoric Maritime Adaptation: Spatial and Temporal Perspectives" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

John E. Worth– "The Timucuan Missions of Spanish Florida and the Rebellion of 1656" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Bertram Wyatt-Brown (faculty)– "The Percy and Related Families" (publication forthcoming).

*University of Miami*

Gregory W. Bush (faculty)– "The Relationship of Anti-Communism to Antisemitism, Racial Oppression, and Union Busting in South Florida, 1930-1960" (continuing study).

Patricia R. Wickman– "Power Forms: The Transfer of Social and Institutional Structures from Spain to La Florida in the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Osceola's Journey: A Photographic Essay on the Life and Death of a Southeastern Indian War Leader" (continuing study); "Osceola, The Man Behind the Myths" (publication forthcoming).

*University of North Florida*

James S. Crooks (faculty)– "Jacksonville Jewry after the Fire, 1901-1919" (publication forthcoming); "Jacksonville Since Consolidation" (continuing study).

Daniel Schafer (faculty)– "A Class of People Neither Freemen nor Slaves: From Spanish to American Race Relations in Florida, 1821-1861" (publication forthcoming); "Yellow Silk Ferret Tied Round Their Wrists: African Americans in British East Florida" (study completed); "The Florida Plantations of James Grant, First Governor of British East Florida"; "The Plantations of Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr., 1803-1843"; "The Plantations of John Fraser, 1808-1814" (continuing studies).

Daniel Schafer and Edward C. Coker– "A New Englander on the Indian River Frontier: Caleb Lyndon Brayton and the View from Brayton's Bluff' (republication forthcoming).

*University of Pennsylvania*

James J. Miller– "The Fairest, Frutefullest and Pleasantest of all the World: An Environmental History of the Northeast Part of Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

*University of South Florida*

Stephen Branch– "Lakeland's Movie Palace: The Golden Years of the Polk Theater" (master's thesis in progress).

Keith Haldeman– "Tampa during the Spanish-American War" (master's thesis in progress).

Janet M. Hall– "Desegregation of Hillsborough County Schools" (master's thesis in progress).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– "Florida during World War II" (continuing study).

Robert Snyder (faculty)– "World War II Films Made in Florida" (continuing study).

Sally Vihlen– "The Impact of Civil Rights Legislation on the Practice of Medicine by Black Physicians in Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

*University of West Florida*

William S. Coker (faculty)– "The Mobile Cadets, 1845-1945: A Century of Honor and Fidelity" (publication forthcoming).

William S. Coker, Brian Rucker, and Bobbye Sikes Wicke (faculty)– "Our Family. Facts and Fancies: The Crary and Related Families" (publication forthcoming).

George F. Pearce (faculty)– "A History of the Civil War in Pensacola" (continuing study).

*Valdosta State College*

F. Lamar Pearson– "Spanish-Indian Relations in La Florida" (continuing, study).

*Vanderbilt University*

Jane Landers (faculty)– "African-American Life in Colonial Spanish Florida" (publication forthcoming); "Floridians Transplanted to Cuba in 1763"; "Florida's Black Heritage," with David R. Colburn (continuing studies).

*Consulting, Research, and Local Historians*

John Crowley– "The Primitive Baptists of South Georgia and North Florida During the Civil War Era"; "'Old Father Peacock': A Pioneer 'Hardshell' Preacher of South Georgia and Florida"; "'Grose Heresee': The Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists in Florida and South Georgia" (continuing studies).

J. Allison DeFoor, II– "Odet Phillippe at Tampa Bay" (continuing study).

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

Julius J. Gordon– "Influence of German-Americans on Tampa, Florida, 1840- 1900"; "Index, Florida *Peninsular*

newspaper, 1855-1871"; "Census, Hillsborough County, Florida, 1841-1883" (studies completed); "Index, *Sunland Tribune*, Tampa, Florida, 1877-1883" (continuing study).

Richard A. Martin– "River and Forest: Jacksonville's Antebellum Lumber Industry" (publication forthcoming).

Bruce John Piatek– "The Tomoka Point Archaeological Survey" (study completed); "Washington Oaks State Park Archaeological Survey" (continuing study).

Lewis G. Schmidt– "The Civil War in Florida, A Military History" (study completed).

Kyle S. VanLandingham– "The Life of William Brinton Hooker" (continuing study).

*University of Alabama Press, forthcoming publications*

Robert Browning, Jr. – *From Cape Charles to Cape Fear: The North Atlantic Blockading Squadron During the Civil War.*

George E. Buker– *Blockaders, Refugees, and Contrabands: Civil War on Florida's Gulf Coast, 1861-1865.*

Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore (eds.)– *The DeSoto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to the United States, 1539-1543 (Volumes I, II).*

David Dodrill– *Selling the Dream: The Gulf American Corporation and the Building of Cape Coral, Florida.*

Julian Granberry– *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language.*

Jay K. Johnson– *The Development of Southeastern Archaeology.*

William E. McGoun– *Prehistoric Peoples of South Florida.*

Raymond B. Vickers– *Prelude to Panic: The Banking Crash of 1926.*

Lynn Willoughby– *Ol' Times There Are Not Forgotten: The Antebellum Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley.*

*University Press of Florida, forthcoming publications*

Dallas Blanchard and Terry Prewitt– *Religious Violence and Abortion: The Gideon Project.*

James Covington– *The Seminoles of Florida.*

J. T. Glisson– *The Creek.*

Robert Ingalls– *Urban Vigilantes in South Florida* (paper ed.).

Charlene Johnson– *Florida Thoroughbreds.*

Edmund Kallina– *Claude Kirk and the Politics of Confrontation.*

Bonnie G. McEwan (ed.)– *Missions of Spanish Florida.*

David Meeks– *John Ringling in Sarasota.*

Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson– *Hernando de Soto and the Florida Indians.*

Thomas Nelson– *General James Grant, Scottish Soldier and Royal Governor of East Florida..*

Robert N. Pierce– *Nelson Poynter and the St. Pete Times*

Samuel Proctor– *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* (paper ed.).

Eugene Provenzo and Michael Carlebach– *The FSA in Florida.*

M. Scarry (ed.)– *Paleoethnobotany.*

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Excavations on the Franciscan Frontier: Archaeology at the Fig Springs Mission*. By Brent Richards Weisman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. xvii, 250 pp. List of figures, list of tables, preface, introduction, photographs, tables, illustrations, appendices, references cited, index. $29.95.)

The Mission Period, an all but forgotten part of Florida's First Spanish Period (1565-1763), lies buried beneath the surface, chiefly in north Florida. Unlike the churches in California and Texas, the missions of Florida were constructed of impermanent materials such as wood, clay, and thatch. As a consequence, there are few indications of the many once-populous settlements that served Spain as an instrument of pacification and production or as a buffer between the English to the north or the French to the west.

Students of historical archaeology had long considered the Fig Springs area along the Ichetucknee River in north central Florida to be the site of a Spanish Franciscan mission. Early archaeological investigations in the river by John Goggin of the University of Florida had recovered many European and Native-American artifacts dating to the documented time of mission activity but had failed to reveal any structural or land-based remains.

In 1986, as part of a larger study attempting to locate the route of Hernando de Soto through north Florida, archaeological testing revealed such evidence. Ney Landrum, then director of the Florida Division of Recreation and Parks, had for some years sought a location within the park system where a mission setting could be replicated for public education. The Fig Springs site, lying within Ichetucknee State Park, presented such an opportunity. This book chronicles the archaeological project that was organized to evaluate and interpret the site for a proposed public education program.

Weisman sets out the historical background, the archaeological methodology to be used, and assesses the outcomes of this work. The historian will find this book of interest because it

provides direct information about a part of history for which there is a scant written literature. In fact, the majority of people involved in the mission effort– the native Guale, Timucua, Potano, and Apalachee– left almost no written account of their participation. Studies such as this one offer a way to examine aspects of their interaction with Spaniards that are otherwise unavailable.

The archaeologist will appreciate the explicit discussion of methods and findings. There is also a thorough discussion of the artifactual remains and separate sections (appendices) presenting a new typology of the native ceramic assemblage (by John Worth) and the botanical and zoological remains (by Lee Newsom and Irvy Quitmyer).

It is important to note that the nature of archaeological interpretation is one of continuous evolution and refinement. Two important factors affect this process: the extent of exposure in a site and the conditions of preservation since its abandonment. Excavation of a small area of a site provides direct examination of only that small area. Time, climate, and the motivation for abandonment of the site can significantly affect what remains to be recovered. This book represents the preliminary stage of work done at the site between 1988 and 1989. It should be regarded as a preliminary document that continuing work at the Fig Springs site and other mission sites will refine and update. The information presented by Weisman and his colleagues helps clarify our understanding of life on the frontier of the Spanish empire in North America in the seventeenth century.

*Florida State University* ROCHELLE A. MARRINAN

*The French Thorn: Rival Explorers in the Spanish Sea, 1682-1762.* By Robert S. Weddle. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1991. xi, 435 pp. Illustrations, preface, abbreviations, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. $49.50.)

This book is the second volume in Weddle's ambitious trilogy, a monumental undertaking by which he plans to survey the entire colonial history of the Gulf of Mexico from the era of initial European discovery down to the early nineteenth century.

In the first volume *(The Spanish Sea: The Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery, 1500-1685)* Weddle traced the complexities of French, Spanish, and British intercolonial rivalry in the region from the Spanish conquest of Cuba to the buccaneering era of the 1680s. *The French Thorn* continues this epic saga, starting with the explorations of La Salle and ending with the Seven Years' War. Only a well-established authority like Weddle could successfully fashion the well-crafted narrative synthesis contained in this volume, much of which is based squarely on his own personal mastery of the period. Weddle's expertise is already proven by the long and impressive list of his earlier books on the era, including edited collections and scholarly monographs dealing with the La Salle expedition, the founding of mission San Juan Buatista, the early Spanish entradas into the region, the missions of Texas, and the European mapping of the Gulf coast. *The French Thorn* merely reconfirms the author's stature as one of the premier historians of the Spanish borderlands.

This volume examines in comprehensive, chronological fashion the intercolonial rivalry between France and Spain that motivated the French settlements in the lower Mississippi valley, the founding of the "defensive" missions and presidios of Texas, and resulted in the establishment of Spanish Pensacola. Weddle's basic interpretative stance is that French exploration and colonization activity in lower Louisiana during the 1680s and 1690s (the "French thorn" in Spain's side, as he styles it) was the primary reason for the Spanish settlement of Texas and western Florida. Although this view is not new to borderlands history, Weddle is the first scholar to examine fully this hypothesis, and he does so to a much greater, detailed extent than any historian before him. He succeeds at his task by adopting a fresh and innovative historical perspective that treats the entire Gulf coast from Tampa Bay to Tampico as one geographical entity unique to itself, rather than employing the specific colony-centered or modern state-based approach more often reflected in historical studies that focus instead solely on Hispanic Texas, French Louisiana, or Spanish Florida. In doing this, Weddle comes very close to emulating the geographical understanding of the region held contemporaneously by the French and Spanish of the era.

Weddle's powerful command of the sources enables him to sustain this outlook while he considers the colonization activities

of La Salle, the Spanish reaction to them in settling eastern Texas and Pensacola, the establishment of Louisiana led by the Le Moynes, the Saint-Denis incursions into Texas, and the activities of José de Escandon, along with other lesser-known explorers and friars who acted on behalf of France and Spain in the region. Indeed, the primary and secondary sources upon which this book is based are simply prodigious, reflecting a lifetime of research in the major colonial archives of Great Britain, France, Spain, Mexico, and the United States. Weddle bolsters this documentary base with his skill in interpreting maps of the era and his own technical knowledge of pre-eighteenth-century navigational practices. He provides an impressive analysis of the way in which travellers of the era inaccurately reckoned longitude in order to explain why maps varied greatly and provided imprecise geographical data to those exploring the region. He notes that La Salle's settlement of Fort St. Louis in Texas, for example, therefore resulted from poor maps and the French explorer's misunderstanding about where the Mississippi entered the Gulf of Mexico. Similar geographical errors as well plagued other Europeans in the region until better maps and navigational techniques became available in the mid eighteenth-century. Given all of this, it must be noted that *The French Thorn*, and the trilogy of which it will form a part, has the very real potential to motivate a complete reinterpretation of colonial Gulf Coast history into one centered on the geographical perspective, mastery of maps, and analysis of navigational techniques embodied in this volume.

*Austin College* LIGHT TOWNSEND CUMMINS

*Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader: The Shaping of the Southern Colonial Frontier.* By Edward J. Cashin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. x, 405 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, maps, epilogue, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $45.00.)

Indians feature largely in this biographical study which is also an analysis of change in the southern backcountry in the eighteenth century. Edward Cashin does not write about them as would, say, James Axtell or Charles Hudson but rather in the

classic mode of John Alden and David Corkran: The Indians' diplomatic dealings are Cashin's primary, almost his exclusive, concern. He has much more to say about the cultural background of the whites with whom they traded and, in particular, about Lachlan McGillivray.

Eighteenth-century opinion of backcountry traders was that they used false weights and measures, adulterated rum, got Indians drunk the better to cheat them, abused Indian women while the men were out hunting, and were consummate liars. Evidence exists for all these practices. As a class, traders acquired a bad name, and traditionally colonial governors, politicians, and soldiers, more than traders, have attracted biographers.

Such neglect is unjust to traders of McGillivray's caliber who did much more than, honestly or otherwise, swap trinkets for skins. In the frontier regions where colonial officials did not exist, responsible traders exercised judicial functions as justices of the peace, filled extraordinarily difficult (and dangerous) diplomatic roles among Indian tribes, and, in time of war, commanded militia and provincial units. McGillivray did all these things well while, at the same time, prospering commercially and amassing vast acreage for himself.

Central to this book and to McGillivray's career is the Cherokee War, concerning which Cashin leaves the reader with the impression that the French had more influence and the Cherokees more unity than either probably possessed. In Cashin's opinion, two major colonial achievements in the war– preserving Augusta from Cherokee conquest and keeping the Creeks neutral– should be credited to McGillivray.

It is not criticism of McGillivray to point out that neither achievement was at the expense of his personal interest. His trading post in Augusta was his base of operations. Concerning his peacekeeping role, McGillivray, like other traders, stood to lose money from war. Despite a possible increased demand for guns and ammunition, Indians engaged in war could not acquire the skins needed to pay for the weapons, nor for the other trade goods on which the southern Indians depended.

If, for Cashin, McGillivray was a skilled hero, governors William Lyttelton and James Glen and Superintendent Edmond Atkin were bumbling glory seekers. By contrast, Governor Henry Ellis of Georgia scores points for, among other successes,

settling the Bosomworth claims. No historian has dealt so concisely, yet understandably, with this intricate and prolonged affair as Cashin. Other strengths of this book are the delineation of the intercolonial rivalries that hampered crown policy, the shifting nature of that policy, and the importance and details of Scottish clan links in the backcountry trading world. All those Campbells, Mackenzies, McIntoshes, and, of course, McGillivrays! Every scholar in the field knows the frustrating eighteenth-century habit of using last names only, not to mention the complicating Scottish fondness for repeatedly using a limited number of Christian names when baptizing their children, and will be grateful to Dr. Cashin for his detective work.

This is a well-researched, readable, and useful biography. All who have hitherto believed that Lachlan McGillivray's son Alexander was the only important McGillivray may now wish to revise that opinion.

*Auburn University* ROBIN F. A. FABEL

*The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume XX: October-December 1844.* Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991. xv, 723 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95.)

This is the third volume relating to John C. Calhoun's year as secretary of state under President John Tyler. It documents the period from October 1 through December 31, 1844. This was an era when many important matters were developing, though few were resolved. Probably the biggest news of the time was the presidential campaign and election that brought to the presidency James K. Polk of Tennessee.

After a fall holiday in South Carolina, Calhoun, with his wife and second daughter, returned to Washington for the new session of Congress which would begin in December. Eldest daughter Anna Maria Clemson and her husband had left for Brussels where he took up his post as United States chargé d'affaires. She was an intelligent and articulate woman who intellectually resembled her father far more than did any of his sons. The correspondence of the Clemsons and Calhoun helped him to grasp European politics better.

Though the issue is not resolved in these pages, the complex of interests, pro and con, over annexing Texas exhibits bitter ramifications. Conditions there were ably represented to Calhoun by our chargé, Andrew Jackson Donelson. Continuing tensions with Mexico were extensively reported by Wilson Shannon, our representative there. The preceding volume revealed Calhoun's annoyance with British emancipation policies, and this one shows Calhoun's frustrations at working through our Anglophile minister, Edward Everett.

Though Calhoun had favored Polk's election, in the months before the inauguration the latter kept his cabinet plans to himself, causing Calhoun to suspect that he would not return the government to the kind of "first principles" that Calhoun favored. During these months, too, Calhoun had to face criticisms at home for his "moderation" from the likes of James H. Hammond and Francis W. Pickens. Despite them he continued to receive the support of the public and the political elite.

In these months, Texas, Mexico, and Oregon were continuing diplomatic concerns, but two other measures came before the Senate: our first commercial treaty with China and an unprecedented trade treaty with the German Zollverein. The China treaty was approved, but the Senate did not act upon the German accord. In the House, John Quincy Adams secured the repeal of the "gag rule" which tabled abolition petitions. Calhoun was unruffled because he always had believed that the rule was not the proper means of dealing with the problem.

There are fewer documents dealing with Florida in this volume than in the preceding one, and they are relatively inconsequential. The old feud between Richard Keith Call and the Sibley brothers, Samuel and Charles, pops up again, but we learn little about it. There are several letters from David Levy [Yulee] who was fast becoming a disciple of Calhoun, but he is wrongly identified as a member of the Confederate Congress, and his status as territorial delegate to Congress was ignored. A New Yorker who had recovered his health in Florida, Charles Augustus Davis wrote two long letters to Calhoun urging government support for a railway from Pensacola to Montgomery. It would, he said, bring capital and population to Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia and would be a signal rebuke to abolitionism (pp. 587-90). Pensacola, he wrote, was "among the jewels of the na-

tion. . . . It does not prosper . . . 'because it has no access to the interior' " (p. 589).

This series of volumes continues to be a major asset for research historians.

*University of Florida* HERBERT J. DOHERTY

*A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier.* By Joan E. Cashin. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. viii, 198 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, a note on the tables, tables, notes, index, illustrations. $24.95.)

This study of westward movement focuses upon the "profoundly different ways that planter men and women experienced migration from the Southern seaboard to the frontiers of the Old Southwest in the years between 1810 and 1860" (p. 4). The book opens with a discussion of the structure of planter families living on the southern seaboard (Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina). By the early nineteenth century these families had built a multi-layered kin structure that provided its members with a variety of support services but also demanded reciprocal obligations. These kin networks benefitted both men and women, but since a woman's assistance came in the form of helping hands and sympathetic hearts from her female kin (rather than physical assets that generated cash), it was impossible to transport to the frontier. Women, therefore, usually resisted the move.

The decision to migrate, Cashin argues, nearly always came from men who were seeking not only economic advancement but also freedom from familial obligations. Seized by the modern notion of "independence," and provided with start-up money from fathers or other relatives, these men decided to try their luck in Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, or, occasionally, Florida. Once isolated on the frontier, where the moderating influence of friends and neighbors was absent, both women and slaves suffered mightily at the hands of the men who had forced the migration upon them in the first place. Freed from societal restraints and familial obligations, pioneer men were more likely to be abusive to wives and slaves and to

sink into destructive behaviors such as alcoholism, dueling, and gambling.

Cashin argues further that the different value systems held by men and women in the nineteenth century only increased tensions within families on the frontier. While men migrated for the purpose of making their fortunes and freeing themselves from familial obligations, women were disdainful of the pursuit of riches and believed wealth lay in family connections, not money. Women sought to preserve and maintain family ties whenever possible and were distraught when they were forced by distance to sunder them. Women, Cashin maintains, were also more sympathetic to the slaves (though not critical of slavery itself) and tried to prevent slave families from being broken up by migration or sale.

The book abounds with notes and tables to back up its conclusions, but there is one major methodological flaw: Cashin did not research a "control group" of families who may NOT have migrated precisely because of wives' objections. By studying only those families who actually did move (a self-selected group), her conclusions about the nature of the southern patriarchy are necessarily skewed. However, her judgments about the motives behind migration and the differing ways in which men, women, and slaves were affected by the move to the southwestern frontier are basically sound and make the book a worthwhile contribution to southern historiography.

*McNeese State University* JANET ALLURED

*Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture, and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850.* Edited by Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991. xvii, 302 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, selected bibliography, index, figures, maps, tables. $42.50.)

The essays presented in *Atlantic Port Cities* stem from a 1974 article by Jacob Price that compared the various economic sectors of colonial Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. This new compilation, which includes a summation by Price, goes one step further; it adopts a pan-colonial perspective to

trace the interdependence of economies in British, Spanish, French, and Portuguese possessions in the New World.

The volume stands as an admirable companion to Barbier and Kuethe's *The North American Role in the Spanish Imperial Economy*, featuring some of the same authors and treating similar themes. Though not specifically conceived as a study of maritime Spanish America, *Atlantic Port Cities* provides a badly needed review of the role ports played in integrating Spanish America first into the regional economy of the Circum-Caribbean and then into the world market.

On its most general level, this volume breaks geographical and temporal boundaries to define the nature of a colonial port city. The coverage is broad, encompassing the ports of Havana, Vera Cruz, Cartagena, and Buenos Aires in Spanish America; the ports of Guadeloupe and Saint Domingue in the French Caribbean; and major ports of Jamaica and Brazil.

Thematically, essays fall into three categories. Higman's work on Jamaica and Russell-Woods's on Brazil provide an overview of port towns in those areas and their geographical and commercial integration with specific hinterlands. Contributions by Pérotin-Dumon and University of Florida Professor David Geggus provide detailed case studies of ports in the French Caribbean. The remaining essays focus on Spanish America and provide a wealth of information directly pertinent to research on Spanish possessions in and around the Caribbean.

Essays by Kuethe and Salvucci on Havana are especially illuminating, providing a framework for recent research on Spanish Florida– particularly Florida's use of situado monies to abet commerce and its close trade links with Charleston. In this, Florida was but a microcosm of Cuba, where monies expended on defense and fortification fueled the sugar industry, and demands for wartime foodstuffs forged permanent links between Havana and Philadelphia.

Kuethe's article also introduces a theme that recurs in essays on Cartagena and Vera Cruz– their large governmental and military sector. The infusion of military spending into the economies of these ports goes far to explain what Price points out in his overview essay: that the growth of Spanish-American ports occurred independently of the development of a large industrial sector.

*Atlantic Port Cities* also bears witness to the cosmopolitan na-

ture of ports regardless of which colony they were in. Liss and Knight note that Atlantic port towns "reflected the full panorama of society and culture." One aspect of this was the similar urban experience of "people of color" in these towns. Census data provided by Socolow for Buenos Aires, by Grahn for Cartagena, and by Pérotin-Dumon for Basse-Terre and Pointe-à-Pitre underline the importance of free black, mestizo, and mulatto workers as artisans and in the service sector.

This volume will be a standard reference text and source of comparative data on colonial ports. Its one flaw is perhaps its failure to outline adequately the role of merchant networks in the "Atlantic economy world." Jiménez Codinach's essay on Gordon and Murphy Co. provides the only detail on the organization of networks. Salvucci and Socolow have written previously on this topic and unfortunately did not incorporate their data here. However, this is a minor criticism, rectified by reference to their previous work.

*University of Florida* JAMES G. CUSICK

*Mother, May You Never See the Sights I Have Seen: The Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Veteran Volunteers in the Last Year of the Civil War.* By Warren Wilkinson. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1991. xix, 665 pp. Maps, illustrations, foreword, preface, appendices, bibliography, index. $15.00, paper.)

Civil War unit histories divide easily into two major groups: those published in the immediate post-war era– usually by veterans organizations– and the modern, more scholarly volumes written by historians over the last thirty years. James Robertson's *The Stonewall Brigade* and Alan Nolan's *The Iron Brigade* are among the best of the latter category. Warren Wilkinson's *Mother, May You Never* See *the Sights* I *Have Seen* approaches these two classics in overall quality and readability.

Wilkinson's volume traces the history of the Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Infantry from its organization in late 1863 and early 1864 until its disbandment at the close of the war. Approximately two-thirds of this large volume consist of a narrative history of the regiment, while the remaining one-third is a detailed roster of the unit.

The Fifty-seventh Massachusetts was not an elite, early-war

organization. It was recruited long after the conflict had lost its trappings of glamour and glory. After a period of recruitment and training at Camp John E. Wool near Worcester, the regiment was quickly sent to Virginia where it participated in the brutal campaigns of the war's last year. First bloodied at the Battle of the Wilderness, Virginia, in May 1864, the Fifty-seventh saw almost continuous combat until the end of the war in the spring of 1865.

Despite its relatively short history, the regiment suffered tremendous casualties. At the Wilderness, 262 of the Fifty-seventh's men became casualties, including a staggering ninety-three killed, mortally wounded, or missing. At Spotsylvania the regiment lost nearly eighty men of the 333 who entered the fight. Following the horror of Grant's 1864 overland campaign, the Massachusetts men would suffer through the ten-month-long siege of Petersburg, including the July 1864 Battle of the Crater. Before the end of the war 324 men had been killed or died of disease, and 370 more suffered wounds. Statistically, these losses were the third highest for any Union regiment during the war.

Perhaps the greatest strength of Wilkinson's book is his ability to recreate the immediacy of contemporary Civil War writing and to combine that with the objectivity and scholarship of modern historians. He is adept at personalizing the experiences of the men of the Fifty-seventh. Through extensive use of manuscript sources and regimental service records readers obtain one of the finest views of Civil War combat as seen by the common soldier. From Lieutenant George Barton's descriptions of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and the Crater, to Private William Peabody's tormented diary entries in the weeks before his death from starvation in the Andersonville, Georgia, prisoner-of-war camp, Wilkinson documents the horrors faced by these young Massachusetts boys as they were thrown into the vortex of the war. The extensive roster is a fine complement to the text, providing excellent biographical sketches of all the regiment's men, including details on their pre- and post-war lives.

*Mother, May You Never See the Sights I Have Seen* belongs on the short list of the best Civil War unit histories that have been written. It should prove indispensable to serious students of the war.

*Florida State Achives,*
*Tallahassee*
DAVID J. COLES

*Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History*. By Anne Firor Scott. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xii, 242 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, illustrations, appendix, notes, index. $29.95.)

Those who understand the role and concerns of women in the political process will find Anne Firor Scott's *Natural Allies* of enormous value. This important and richly detailed study of women's associations from the 1790s to World War II demonstrates convincingly that these associations were at the heart of American social and political development throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From the earliest days of the republic the associations enabled women to take a public role and to influence policy. The associations made suffrage inevitable and shaped the post-suffrage agenda.

*Natural Allies* traces the evolution of women's organizations from those that were primarily local in the pre-Civil War years to the national organizations formed after the Civil War with their wider agendas for action. Part One covers three successive phases in the development of women's groups: the early benevolent societies organized to help the poor; the activist groups emerging by the 1830s to deal with issues of prostitution, alcoholism, slavery, and women's rights; and the societies formed during the Civil War by both northern and Confederate women to support the war efforts. Underlying the work of these diverse groups as well as those established subsequently was the idea of woman as moral being with "a special responsibility to bring principles of the well-run Christian home into community life."

Women's associations expanded dramatically in number and range of interests in the years following the Civil War. In Part Two Scott concentrates on three types of organizations– religious, self-improvement, and community improvement– and on the related movement for social justice. She argues that the harsh conditions of the emerging urban industrial society shaped the agendas of many groups, moving them from an emphasis on philanthropy to more radical social reform goals. Their activities throughout this period were impressive and included building community institutions such as settlement houses and libraries, working for female suffrage, and lobbying for regulatory and protective legislation.

The significance of the associations rests not only in their

contributions to a more just society, but also in the role they played in liberating women. Scott views them as "miniature republics," enabling women to learn to organize, to administer, to deal with legislatures, to speak in public, and to gain a new self-confidence and self-image.

This lively and well-written book makes a major contribution to women's studies and American history. It shows clearly that women and their associations played a far more important role in the development of American social and economic policies than is generally acknowledged. Scott speculates that the long neglect of the associations by historians related both to the absence of controversy around many of their activities and to a tendency to view women's clubs as frivolous.

Scott, a distinguished historian and author of a number of studies on women, including *The Southern Lady* and *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*, has spent over twenty years working on the subject of "organized womanhood." She has used a wide variety of archival materials and secondary sources and examined thousands of black and white women's organizations in producing this landmark study. The material is organized masterfully, showing the pattern and significance in the activities of these many groups, yet with enough detail to make the organizations and the women who ran them seem very real.

Although this study does not focus on organizations in Florida specifically, many of the national groups studied had active Florida chapters. It should, therefore, assist the Florida historian to understand better the groups operating in the state and perhaps encourage research in this neglected area.

*Jacksonville University* JOAN S. CARVER

*Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South.* Edited by Alfredteen Harrison. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991. xviii, 107 pp. Preface, introduction, contributors, index. $18.95.)

This volume contains seven of the twenty-odd papers that were presented on various aspects of the "Great Migration," the subject of a symposium held at Jackson State University in September 1989. As noted in the preface by the editor, Alfredteen

Harris, these essays are not designed simply to cite the causes of the movement, but rather to analyze them. Thus, each is based upon a particular theme or perspective. The first essay offers a generalized assessment of the Great Migration as exemplar of the historic search by blacks for justice, freedom, and equality, as well as for full citizenship in America. The next three discussions seek to analyze those social, economic, and racial causes that impelled this population shift within its given time boundaries of 1915 to 1960, while the last three essays emphasize the Great Migration as the backdrop against which African Americans continue the drive for social change.

This effort to identify common themes and implications for the Great Migration is commendable. Several of the essays offer a fresh perspective on the movement of African Americans to northern cities and upon those who remained in the South despite the out-migration of loved ones, family members, and friends. In this category are Denoral Davis's "Toward a Socio-Historical and Demographic Portrait of Twentieth-Century African Americans," which focuses upon the impact of the shift of blacks from the South to the North on growth patterns, and the fertility and mortality rates of blacks in both regions of the country. Carol Mark's is a provocative study of the economic changes that occurred in the South when northern developers sought to industrialize the region by training poor whites, thereby forcing many blacks either to migrate North to avoid working the dirtiest jobs or remain as tenant farmers or sharecroppers in the South. Neal McMillian's exposition is on those blacks who remained in one particular southern state– Mississippi– and who used the Great Migration as an impetus to push for social change in that state.

*Black Exodus* is both useful and interesting, and it will serve its purpose well if accepted as a model for further investigation into the causes, consequences, and impact of twentieth-century black migration from other southern states, Florida included. Certainly, there remains much that is inspiring and enlightening to be learned from additional studies on those who emigrated and those who chose to remain in the South.

*Florida A & M University* LARRY E. RIVERS

*Yellow Fever & Public Health in the New South.* By John H. Ellis. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992. xii, 233 pp. List of tables and illustrations, preface, notes, index. $28.00.)

Coastal North America had endured wave after wave of yellow fever assaults in the two centuries preceding the epidemic of 1878. But this particular epidemic did not confine itself to the coast; rather it moved up the lower Mississippi Valley from New Orleans to Memphis, radiating from there all the way north to southern Ohio, leaving some 20,000 dead in its wake and at least another 100,000 who became ill but survived the disease. In financial terms the costs were astronomical, the expense of tending the sick and burying the dead a small fraction of the toll of lost business and commerce.

Professor Ellis, however, is less interested in the devastation wrought by this last great yellow fever epidemic in North America than he is in its impact on public health in the South. More specifically, he views the epidemic as a spur for a public health movement in the region and undertakes to measure that movement's development during the years 1878-1888 in the cities of New Orleans and Memphis– both of which suffered spectacularly from the epidemic– and Atlanta, which was spared fever but not fear in 1878 as yellow fever broke out in nearby Chattanooga.

Such comparative scrutiny on the local level, however, is not done without an eye on the larger world, and Ellis fills the reader in on the nineteenth-century public health movement in England and in the north of the United States as well as earlier public health measures taken in what he terms "The Necropolitan South" (the title of chapter 2). In addition, he sketches in the changing demographic, social, economic, political, and racial situations in the South from the days of slavery to 1878 and reviews the region's earlier experience with yellow fever and other epidemic diseases. The South that hosted the yellow fever of 1878 was one of considerable poverty and racial tension, presided over by affluent local elites whose concern for public health was essentially a concern over the bad press the lack of salubrity in their region received in the North that was bad for business.

During the epidemic, northern newspapers blasted the South for filthy conditions that were seen as spawning grounds for the disease: but the South censured itself too for a lack of

attention to sanitary matters that stimulated local initiatives for improved public health. For a variety of reasons such initiatives enjoyed only limited success, whereas the pursuit by Southerners of a strong federal health agency met with total failure in the face of opposition from the newly formed American Public Health Association that (ironically) defended states rights.

This book was, according to the author, researched some time ago in the libraries and archives of the cities under examination. He is to be commended for an effort that packs each chapter with a nice mixture of anecdote and hard statistical data. He is also to be commended for remaining abreast of an ever-growing body of new literature, which has been used to enlighten and enliven the study.

*Bowling Green State University* KENNETH F. KIPLE

*The Kingfish and His Realm: The Life and Times of Huey P. Long.* By William Ivy Hair. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991. xvi, 406 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $24.95.)

The late Professor Hair has filled a yawning gap in Louisiaia history in the period of Huey Long's life– 1893 to 1935– thus supplementing his previous excellent study *Bourbonism and Agrarian Protest: Louisiana Politics, 1877-1900*, published in 1969. The latter, however, has been overshadowed by T. Harry Williams's acclaimed *Huey Long*, appearing the same year, that deals superficially with the era before Long came to power in the 1920s. Its admired narrative qualities aside, Williams's biography is badly flawed by its unrelenting apologetic defensiveness of the Kingfish, biased attribution of sources, and contradictory philosophical rationalizations to excuse abuses of power of the "great man" of history as necessary to achieve progress in Louisiana. Williams stands apart from most scholars in writing sympathetically even of the character of Long, whose apparent manic obsession with aggrandizement of power and ruthlessness is attributed to his alleged desire to do good. This larger-than-life Machiavellian hero of the masses, according to Williams, overcame romantic forces, introduced realism to southern poli-

tics, provided concrete benefits to lower-class Louisianians, nationally, influenced the directions of the New Deal, and anticipated the Great Society. A breed apart from the typical southern demagogue or European fascist leader, Long allegedly disdained employment of racist and nationalistic appeals to drum up support.

*Huey Long* was representative of the scholarly tendency in the 1960s to adopt a moralistic approach to the study of political power and the inclination, by both conservatives and liberals, to adopt the "great man" theory of history (which Williams did with uncharacteristic frankness) while excusing the moral flaws, denying responsibility for political corruption, and exaggerating the accomplishments of the leader. While excluding fascists like Hitler or Mussolini, strange bedfellows– Richard Nixon, Lyndon Johnson, the Kennedy brothers to one side; Lenin, Mao Zedung, Castro, and even Stalin, on the other– appeared on lists of admirable political figures, depending on ideological perspectives. Although Williams's own political leanings and historical writings may be characterized as somewhat eccentric and difficult to label with reference to a historiographic school, he, like such influential liberals as V. O. Key and C. Vann Woodward, is inclined to view sympathetically the southern populists– their racism or other flaws aside– when they stirred lower class protest as a seemingly necessary stratagem to achieve progressive reforms.

Writing with liberal sentiments but against the grain of the self-proclaimed "realism" of the great men apologists, Professor Hair puts aside the rose-colored glasses, appropriately, one thinks, when heroes of the left everywhere are being toppled from pedestals, and the tendency now is to focus on the moral standards and personal character of the leader as significant issues in society's formation of democratic values and material advancement. In any event, Hair's treatment seems to this reviewer to be a much more objective and less romantic account of the life and times of Huey Long.

Hair supports Williams's interpretation that before the Kingfish's rise to power, Louisiana's lower classes had been dominated by a corrupt and ruthless oligarchy, neglectful of the public welfare; and that the politically brilliant Long, by humiliating his conservative opposition, effectively pushed programs beneficial to the masses, notably in areas of education

and road building. These points, however, had been conceded by conservative opponents when Long lived, and scholars dating from the 1930s hardly ever disputed this interpretation. Yet Hair's book is actually the first monograph covering the period by a historian specialist in the field– to exclude Williams who was primarily a Civil War specialist and biographer, and the works of political scientists. Hair's analysis of the Louisiana political culture, relative to its uniqueness and similarities as a Deep South state, is sharper, more balanced, and more broadly resourceful than previous studies, including that of Williams. To include the latter also, mindful of the accolades attributed to it, this reviewer thinks that Hair treats controversial issues with greater subtlety, giving attention to historical nuances. For example, compared to *Huey Long*, in about a third as many pages, Hair is clearer about how, from various perspectives, valid though contradictory conclusions may be reached on issues such as the effects of progressivism on Louisiana, the character of the anti-Long leadership, the impeachment movement, the mixtures of personal and political motives of the Kingfish himself, and the nature of the fear and hatred he engendered.

Best of all, Hair more realistically confronts the racial dimensions of Long's life and times to demonstrate the obscenity of the view that the Kingfish's despotic ways should be excused and that he should be honored in memory as a democrat at heart, not because he might not have been a racist and promoter of racial equality himself but merely because he refrained from resorting to bigoted appeals like an ordinary southern demagogue. In Hair's book, Long emerges fully the dictator, ever greedy for total dominance, unlovely and unloving, and employing racism and whatever tactics he deemed necessary to satisfy his manic need for absolute control over all he encountered in life. In short, Hair does not surrender the moral high ground of the liberal critic. From this clear perspective, Long's lack of liberalism and his demerits as a democratic do-gooder come into focus. As Hair demonstrates, Long's programs discriminated in favor of whites and only incidentally benefitted blacks; his Share Our Wealth scheme was pie in the sky; he opposed in principle the welfare state safety net as it evolved in the New Deal; his tax-and-spend programs for Louisiana were not in the final analysis all that radical; and he was neglectful of and corrupted agencies caring for the sick and disabled. Readers of this journal in-

terested in southern history generally, especially those whose impressions about Huey Long and his state's history are mostly derived from T. Harris Williams's biography, would greatly profit, therefore, from reading William Hair's book. It not only deals with the subject more lucidly and concisely than other accounts, it is especially commendable in being less focused on the role of the great man through the eyes of the Kingfish, as may be seen in the artistry of the *Huey Long* monument.

*Southwestern Louisiana University* MATTHEW J. SCHOTT

*Reform and Revolution: The Life and Times of Raymond Robins.* By Neil V. Salzman. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1991. xiv, 472 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

Transplanted to Florida as a child, Raymond Robins put down roots in Hernando County near Brooksville. Although he ranged far and wide during a busy life, his Florida home always served him as a source of physical and emotional strength. Informally educated under the direction of a Brooksville businessman who recognized his potential, Robins first achieved wealth and then became a lifelong proponent of Progressive causes– *Reform.* His work for these causes eventually led him to Russia where he became an advocate of United States, recognition of the Lenin-Trotsky regime– *Revolution.*

After a brief stint as a Tennessee coal miner, Robins studied law, gained a reputation as a reform lawyer by winning a major case before the California Supreme Court, and then left San Francisco to seek his fortune in the Klondike gold fields. He did not find much gold, but he did find his calling. He was the prime mover in cleaning up the corruption in Nome and establishing a democratic government there. From Alaska he moved on to Chicago where he spent a quarter of a century helping the poor in the settlement houses while working for social, labor, and political reform, and women's suffrage. As a dedicated member of the Progressive party he became quite familiar with Robert LaFollette, Theodore Roosevelt, and other prominent Progressives.

At the urging of Theodore Roosevelt he accepted what became his most important and certainly most controversial mission. As a member of the American Red Cross Commission to Russia in 1917, he observed the Bolshevik revolution from its inception. Convinced that Lenin and Trotsky represented the sentiments of the majority of Russians, he tried unsuccessfully to convince the United States government that they were neither German agents nor a conspiratorial clique. The United States ignored his arguments and treated the Bolsheviks as an international pariah, and Robins was eventually called home.

After a brief period of government-imposed silence, Robins– a gifted speaker who was already widely known to American audiences– began speaking about his views on the Russian situation. Unable to convince the American people or their leaders, he continued to advocate better relations between his nation and Russia. As the years passed, Robins was obliged to overlook some of Stalin's obvious contradictions, but he never swerved from his views about Lenin. He even erected a monument to the revolutionary leader at his Florida home.

Long before his involvement with Russia, Robins had purchased Snow Hill, the highest promontory on the peninsular Gulf coast, just a few miles north of Brooksville. There he built his Chinsegut Hill, the home to which he periodically repaired for spiritual and physical regeneration. He lived there most of the time from the 1930s until his death in 1954. Among the many dignitaries whom he entertained at Chinsegut Hill was the first Russian ambassador to the United States after our belated recognition in 1933.

Because of financial difficulties during the Great Depression, Robins deeded 2,100 acres of his land to the national government. It has become part of the Subtropical Agricultural Research Station operated by the United States Department of Agriculture in cooperation with the University of Florida's Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences. The house at Chinsegut Hill is a conference center for the University of South Florida. The monument to Lenin was removed when local residents thought it unfitting during the Cold War years.

*University of Central Florida* JERRELL H. SHOFNER

*Frank Lawrence Owsley: Historian of the Old South.* By Harriet Chappell Owsley. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1990. xviii, 223 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, bibliography, index. $24.95.)

Undoubtedly Frank Owsley did not fit the stereotype of an aloof professor with primary focus devoted to a specialization peculiar to all but a few hundred fellow academics. On the contrary, Owsley, whose career spanned four decades, influenced countless students and professional colleagues while authoring numerous comprehensive works on the Civil War and southern history. His *States Rights in the Confederacy* explains how the adherence to state sovereignty undermined the unity required to fight the war. *King Cotton Diplomacy,* researched in Europe, demonstrates how cotton became the magnet by which the Confederacy sought diplomatic recognition and financial support from Britain and France.

*Plain Folk of the Old South,* drawn from agricultural and census data, rebuffed the northern misconception of southern culture to show how the plain citizenry outnumbered the planters and slaves who had received the bulk of previous historical attention. To gather statistics for *Plain Folk* Owsley and his wife, who patiently shared with him the crushing burdens of historical research, combed church records, wills, estate records, county court minutes, marriage licenses, inventories, court records, mortgage books, deed books, county tax rolls, and unpublished federal census returns and pored over voluminous county and town histories and biographies. Mrs. Owsley recalls having spent summers in the 1930s traveling throughout the South searching for old courthouses and records, sometimes in vain: "We would find a particularly old courthouse that we were certain was a pre-Civil War structure, and the officials would tell us that they had just burned the old records to make room for new ones" (p. 136).

This account is not just a detailed examination of Owsley's many historiographical pursuits but is a love story written by the wife of a "happy, fun-loving, witty, and deeply caring man" (p. 104), a southern gentleman of impeccable integrity. Born in 1890, Owsley obtained his bachelor's and master's degrees from Auburn and the Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He taught at Birmingham-Southern College where he met Mrs.

Owsley; at Vanderbilt, he was the Civil War and southern history specialist. Near the end of his career he joined the faculty of the University of Alabama to fulfill a desire to return to his native state and be reunited with a longtime friend, A. B. Moore. Mrs. Owsley, later the director of the Manuscript Section of the Tennessee State Library and Archives, describes the Tuscaloosa university as "one of the most underrated" in the nation (p. 172).

At Vanderbilt, Owsley joined the intellectual cadre known as "The Agrarians" whose ranks also included Cleanth Brooks, Allen Tate, John Crowe Ransom, and Robert Penn Warren, the late poet laureate of the United States. In their 1930 manifesto *I'll Take My Stand*, the Agrarians extolled the chivalrous virtues of the vanishing Old South. In an era preceding the fundamental change brought about by the civil rights movement, urbanization, and burgeoning industrialization, they espoused the Jeffersonian paradigm that the agrarian population should "dominate the social, cultural, economic, and political life of the state and give tone to it" (p. 78). Owsley at times felt bitter about the impact of the Civil War on his beloved region. He was convinced that the war, more than any other event, had "destroyed the economic and social institutions of the South, killed and maimed several hundred thousand men, sterilized the intellectual life of the section . . . enabled the East to lay a protective tariff that was bad for agriculture, created animosities between the black and white people, and deepened the sectional bitterness already existing between the North and the South" (p. 104).

Discouraged at times by the unjust fate of the South, Owsley considered shifting his research to another field, possibly ancient history. Yet when he died in London in 1956, Owsley was predictably absorbed in another Civil War project supported by a Fulbright scholarship. Mrs. Owsley subsequently applied to have the scholarship transferred to her name, and she chose to limit her research to a revision of *King Cotton Diplomacy*. Such an undertaking was fully consistent with Owsley's advice, written to her sometime before his death: "If I should die and leave you here awhile . . . for my sake, turn again to life and smile. . . . Complete these dear unfinished tasks of mine" (pp. 199-200). Owsley can perhaps best be remembered in his wife's words: "He had always wanted to be a good teacher first, and a good writer and researcher second" (p. 181). By either standard he achieved that level of success, shared by relatively few in his

profession. Historians may fill the shelves of libraries, but not that many biographies are ever written about historians. Could Mrs. Owsley, who completed this memoir after her ninetieth birthday, be starting a trend?

*Laredo (Texas) Junior College* BILLY HATHORN

*The Politics of Change in Georgia: A Political Biography of Ellis Arnall.* By Harold Paulk Henderson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991. xii, 345 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

In this century Southerners have elected a number of flamboyant governors who seemed to define the region. Huey Long, Gene Talmadge, and George Wallace come to mind. But in fact a more sober political type has shaped public policy. Known variously as "business progressives," "entrepreneurial individualists," or "neo-whigs," they include men like Luther Hodges, LeRoy Collins, and Jimmy Carter. Ellis Arnall helped define the type.

Born in 1907, the scion of a prominent west Georgia mercantile family, Arnall became the boy wonder of Georgia politics and was elected governor at age thirty-five. Arnall began public life as a Talmadge supporter but soon cast his lot with the "better sorts" who viewed with alarm the antics of the Wild Man from Sugar Creek.

In 1941 Talmadge's vendetta against two state university officials (integrationists, he said) galvanized his foes. The affair cost the university system its accreditation and created an army of students ready to do battle against Talmadge. Arnall rode the anti-Talmadge wave to victory in 1942. While Professor Henderson identifies a "rising tide of idealism and commitment to democratic principle" (p. 50), he acknowledges that this was a battle between segregationists, during which Arnall proclaimed, "Any nigger who tried to enter the university would not be in existence [the] next day" (p. 139).

What, then, caused the national media and liberal academicians to call Arnall blessed? During his single, four-year term (Georgia governors were barred from succeeding themselves), Arnall presided over a reorganization that reduced the gover-

nor's power to manipulate state agencies for political gain. The Highway Department was exempted: Arnall was a reformer, but no fool. He won approval for prison reform and a state economic planning agency. Arnall successfully championed a favorite cause of pro-growth Southerners: the abolition of regionally discriminatory railroad freight rates. But on the other hand Arnall had pledged not to raise taxes and to reduce the state's debt. Amidst a booming economy, therefore, Georgia still lagged in expenditures for education and other services.

In matters of race Arnall did not seek change, but it found him. Arnall never disavowed segregation while in office. As with many white "moderates" of that era, Arnall's moderation is defined by the limits to his support of the old ways. Specifically, he chose not to resist the Supreme Court's decision abolishing the white Democratic primary. Arnall's stance brought him the dubious distinction of an award from the left-leaning Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Henderson argues that Arnall's acquiescence discredited him politically.

Arnall left office in 1947 amidst the confusion over Georgia's celebrated three governors controversy. A stint as head of the federal Office of Price Stabilization during the Korean War, coupled with establishment of a lucrative Atlanta law practice, turned his attention away from Georgia politics. But Arnall was still a leader of the anti-Talmadge faction, and he hinted at entering every gubernatorial race from 1948 to 1962. Whatever the lure of his business interests, Arnall was deterred by the splintering of the anti-Talmadge forces and the revitalization of the Talmadge machine under Gene's son Herman.

Finally in 1966 Arnall had his last hurrah. With the county unit system abolished and blacks finally able to vote, Arnall campaigned for governor as an urbane progressive. In an ironic turn, he was defeated in a runoff for the Democratic nomination by an unexpected successor to the Talmadge mantle, Lester G. Maddox. According to Henderson, Arnall had encouraged Maddox to enter the race as a means of dividing the conservative vote.

Professor Henderson places Ellis Arnall squarely within the tradition of New South developers and business progressives. He paints an honest portrait of a politician who was very much a product of his own age. Nevertheless, this political biography leaves one wishing for a closer look at Arnall himself and his

own sense of the shifting terrain of southern politics. Despite the author's nod in the direction of V. O. Key, one might wish for a more nuanced analysis of Georgia's politics of factionalism. Nevertheless, we have here a sturdy, business-like biography that sheds light on the sturdy, business-like governor who defined the politics of moderation in Georgia.

*Georgia Institute of Technology* ROBERT C. MCMATH, JR.

*Southern Daughter: The Life of Margaret Mitchell.* By Darden Asbury Pyron. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. xxii, 533 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, index. $24.95.)

Within the last year or so, Oxford University Press has enjoyed a sales record quite astonishing for an academic publishing house. James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom* and the biography of Margaret Mitchell, the Georgian lady who wrote the Civil War novel *Gone with the Wind,* have both sold over 40,000 copies in hardback editions. Clearly the popularity of Civil War topics remains undiminished. Although a recent review in the *New York Review of Books* slams *Southern Daughter* for being almost as racist as Margaret Mitchell herself, Darden Pyron richly deserves his success. More could probabaly have been said about Mitchell's ultra-conservatism and racial blindness, but Pyron chose his title with considerable shrewdness and honest judiciousness.

Mixed signals abounded in Margaret Mitchell's upbringing. Born in 1900 into a substantial Atlanta family, she spent her life rebelling against as well as unconsciously emulating her dynamic, proud, and ambitious mother. May Belle Stephens came from Irish-Catholic, planter roots in Clayton County, Georgia. The origins of Mitchell's slaveholding family, the O'Haras, headed by a parvenu Irishman, in *Gone with the Wind* should be clear. May Belle was devoted to the rubrics of good manners, but her first love was the local women's suffrage movement in which she played a leading part. Attempting to fulfill her mother's double messages, Mitchell later found in fiction the means to express what she could not fully understand in her own life. A reading of *Gone with the Wind* reveals how her character Scarlett O'Hara could not love anyone but herself. The ori-

gins of the flaw in Scarlett's personality lay in the author's resentment of May Belle Stephens, a mother whom she thought inattentive, unloving, and overbearing. Pressures for academic success were always heavy burdens in the Mitchell home, but May Belle also expected her daughter to combine academic achievement, to which she was indeed suited, with old-fashioned social graces that implicitly contradicted bluestocking intellectuality. May Belle died when Margaret was striving toward this fragile duality at Smith College. At once Margaret left Massachusetts and, in southern spinsterly fashion, returned to Atlanta to run her attorney father's household. With considerable psychological insight, Pyron explores the love-hate relationship of mother and daughter that extended even beyond the grave. For her entire life Mitchell was afflicted with mishaps, illnesses, and depressions closely connected to her struggle for autonomy and her incomplete mourning for a mother from whom she could never free herself. In middle age, Margaret Mitchell died in a car accident that may have been connected with her self-destructive depressions and episodic fugues.

Just as Margaret Mitchell could not live peaceably with her mother, so too her relationships with men were ambivalent. She first married an upper-class alcoholic named Red Upshaw. He was the roommate of John Marsh, whom Margaret next wedded after Upshaw proved an unmitigated disaster. In fact, both young men had been courting her simultaneously while she played a glamorous role in Atlanta society that reminds one of Scarlett's equally adolescent coquetry at the beginning of *Gone with the Wind.* Marsh was a dullard for whom few had much respect, but, idolizing his wife, he seemed to fill her angry and compulsive heart with a stability and confidence that she sorely required.

To supplement the family income, Margaret Mitchell landed a job as a reporter with the Atlanta *Journal* in the 1920s. Her chief enterprise, however, was the secret writing of *Gone with the Wind,* begun in 1926 and completed just short of a decade later. With consummate skill Pyron analyzes the novel as almost a hidden autobiography of Margaret Mitchell, her husbands, and her family's slaveowning and Confederate past. He chronicles her rapacious business sense even as she portrayed herself as the innocent southern lady whose modesty almost forbade her parting with the hefty manuscript so long in preparation.

Moreover, Pyron understands quite accurately how *Gone with the Wind* broke with the plantation-novel traditions, particularly those of Thomas Dixon, whose fiction she greatly admired. She delineated a New South of enterprise and promise rather than depict an Old South laden with pure sentiment and tattered charm. To be sure, as Pyron observes, Mitchell perpetuated a number of racial and sentimental stereotypes within the genre. Yet Scarlett is no typical herione. Instead the character is almost Depression-modern, as it were, and appropriately conflicted about success in love and life– very much like the novelist herself. No less deeply probing is Pyron's account of Mitchell's reactions to the novel's enormous success. Cool and yet elated, she presented a mixture of bravado, self-doubt, and southern-belle demureness.

In sum, *Southern Daughter* is a fully rounded and sensitive study of a complex and surprisingly exasperating figure– neurotic yet fascinating. Smoothly written though the Mitchell biogrpahy is, one regrets that a determined editor at Oxford did not reduce its length by another hundred or more pages. As a result, Pyron's major themes sometimes get lost in a forest of details. Nonetheless, so insightful are many passages in the work that the critic is tempted to pronounce Pyron a much more trenchant writer than his subject, vigorous storyteller though she was.

*University of Florida* BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

*The Adaptable South: Essays in Honor of George Brown Tindall.* Edited by Elizabeth Jacoway, Dan T. Carter, Lester C. Lamon, and Robert C. McMath, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991. x, 306 pp. Preface, introduction, the principal writings of George Brown Tindall, contributors, index. $35.00.)

The publication of *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (1967) established George B. Tindall as the preeminent scholar of twentieth-century southern history. Over a long career he has made signal contributions to our understanding of southern race relations and ethnicity, has made imaginative use of concepts like "business progressivism" and the "benighted South,"

and has advanced a persuasive interpretation of the southern political tradition, not to mention his magisterial synthesis in *The Emergence of the New South.* As Dan T. Carter writes in the Introduction to this volume, Tindall "has shaped much of the framework for historical writing on the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century South." Also, like his mentor Fletcher M. Green, he has excelled as a director of graduate students. In the Preface to this work, Elizabeth Jacoway recalls her first seminar with the North Carolina professor– how "the elegant gentleman with the wry wit and the bow ties . . . led me [within a matter of weeks] into a world of new concerns, deeper meanings, and higher callings, and in his gentle way he encouraged me to see that this could be my world, too." This wide-ranging collection of essays by Tindall's former students is a fitting tribute to a distinguished scholar and teacher.

Many of the essays are concerned with race, religion, and politics. Jack Maddex describes the efforts of the first post-war generation of Southern Presbyterians to adapt to the New South; Lester C. Lamon explains the Tennessee Presbyterians' decision to open Maryville College to blacks after the war and their reversal of that policy at the turn of the century; and Gary R. Freeze examines the community crusade for cotton mills in Salisbury, North Carolina, with special attention to the interaction of southern religion and regional industrialization. The struggle of black Southerners to survive in an era of political marginalization and legal segregation is the theme of Walter B. Weare's contribution, while the durability, as well as the violence and white oppression of the South's racial system, are revealed in Charles W. Eagles's study of the civil rights movement in Lowndes County, Alabama. In other essays, Wayne Mixon analyzes the work of the Virginia novelist Amélia Rives, a rebel against the Victorian constraints on the role of women in the South; Jerrold Hirsch focuses on the Federal Writers' Project and the writing of southern "folk history"; Julian Pleasants discusses Frank Porter Graham and southern politics; and Robert C. McMath considers Jimmy Carter as a Southerner in the White House, concluding that the Georgian fits squarely into the tradition of southern business progressivism. Finally, a lengthy interview with George Tindall opens a window on his thinking and reveals "the flavor of the man."

The contributors invoke a pervasive theme in the southern

experience: the tension between the region's devotion to the past and its awareness of the necessity for change. Tindall himself has made effective use of the concept of adaptability. Each of the essayists in this festschrift, as Dan Carter writes, "suggests ways in which individuals and groups retained key elements of the old order even as they accommodated themselves to the new." The concept of the adaptable South works well in this volume, enhancing the unity of the collection and illuminating the theme with new examples and fresh insights. The quality of the contributions varies, but they are all scholarly, well written, and a pleasure to read. In addition, they demonstrate the interpretive potential of a relatively new emphasis in the writing of modern southern history.

*Vanderbilt University* DEWEY W. GRANTHAM

*Race, Class, and Politics in Southern History: Essays in Honor of Robert F. Durden.* Edited by Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Charles L. Flynn, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. xiv, 297 pp. Preface, tables, maps, notes, contributors, index. $35.00.)

Race, said Wilbur J. Cash, has always been the focal point of politics in the South. "Before that vast and capacious distinction, all others were foreshortened, dwarfed, and all but obliterated." Not even the wrenching forces of Civil War and Reconstruction proved sufficient to uproot "the old scale of values," leaving "economic and social considerations" in the New South "as ever subordinate to those of race." For the most part, *Race, Class, and Politics in Southern History* vindicates rather than challenges Cash's assessment rendered over half a century ago in *The Mind of the South.*

Offered as a tribute by colleagues and former students to distinguished Duke historian Robert F. Durden, this collection of eight essays explores the intersection of race, class, and politics in the life of the South between the Civil War and the close of the Progressive Era. Editors Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Charles L. Flynn, Jr., have divided the volume into three sections: one on Republican Reconstruction, a second on the Populist revolt, and a final one entitled "Racial Bonds and Class

Divisions in the Post-Reconstruction South." The picture that emerges from this mosaic, as the preface concludes, is one "in which, in most instances, racism remained a powerful, even overriding commitment among whites." Despite the presence of class interests fraught with "complexity, tension, and conflict, . . . what seems striking is the frequency with which racism narrowly circumscribed the limits of dissent, the frequency with which racial bonds defined the limits in which groups fought for their class interests, and the stubborn persistence with which bonds of racial identity governed the hearts and minds and politics of the region."

The single deviation from this race-over-class theme comes in the lead essay by Escott, who discovers in the North Carolina Piedmont a true biracial Republican coalition. Built on post-war black suffrage and a tradition of antebellum and wartime dissent, this progressive and democratic Republicanism, says Escott, flickered to life briefly during Reconstruction only to be snuffed out by Klan terror orchestrated by the traditional white elite. In other essays, Ruth Currie-McDaniel probes the lives of carpetbaggers' wives for insight into northern attitudes on race and gender that contributed to the demise of Reconstruction; Raymond Gavins explains how "shared concepts of freedom" nurtured a racial solidarity that blunted class tensions within the black community during the emergence of Jim Crow; Jeffrey Crow traces *Progressive Farmer* editor Clarence Poe's campaign for rural segregation to illustrate the dark "conservative, even reactionary," underside of southern Progressivism that paradoxically coexisted with an otherwise sincere desire "to elevate the common man"; and Bruce Clayton explains how Wilbur Cash's long pilgrimage of "reading, thinking, brooding, worrying, talking, and writing" led him to a unique insight into and emancipation from the racist illusions that "subtly and profoundly served the self-interest of the ruling class and the psychological needs of the common whites."

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the book is the middle segment wherein provocative essays by Flynn, Eric Anderson, and Richard L. Watson explore the dynamics of race and class during the Populist era against the larger historical and ideological backdrop of the overall southern political experience. Focusing on Georgia, Flynn argues that Populism makes historical sense "only in terms of the Democratic party politics

out of which it grew." The third party movement sprang from tactical rather than ideological differences among Georgia whites. Those who abandoned the party of their fathers did so because they came to view Clevelandism as a betrayal of the "Jeffersonian and Jacksonian tradition of laissez-faire and localism" and Democratic leaders, both locally and nationally, as collaborators in a Republican conspiracy to prostitute representative government and plunder the people with tariffs, deflation, and pork-barrel pensions for Union veterans. If the Democratic party, as one Populist newspaper put it, had "any democracy in it, there would be no need for a People's party."

Anderson reaches similar conclusions in his analysis of Edgecombe County, North Carolina, whose Populists appear more like Durden's old "angry agrarian capitalists" than like the vanguard of a radical assault on the free market portrayed by some recent scholars. Anderson, too, finds "the key issue" dividing Populist from Democrat to be the question of "the reliability of the Democratic party . . . [as] a fit instrument of reform." Watson's excellent account of Furnifold Simmons's leadership of the successful disfranchisement campaign in North Carolina underscores Flynn's and Anderson's implicit premise that political differences between Populists and Democrats were clearly circumscribed by a common commitment to white supremacy.

Historians of the post-Civil War period, says Flynn, have not always been "attuned to the issues that the South's Democrats thought were central." This could help explain some of the frustrations of the "lost opportunity" school of recent historiography, who struggle to explain the failure of Reconstruction or Populism "to create a racially egalitarian and just society." Perhaps the simple explanation is that with few notable exceptions, the actors in those historical dramas, unlike their latter-day chroniclers, never aspired to such a crusade. Apparently reconciled to that possibility, Flynn, Anderson, and Watson have sought rather to understand both Populists and Democrats in terms of their own perceptions of themselves and their society. In so doing, they have taken significant strides toward making sense of the contorted dimensions of race, class, and politics in southern history.

Acknowledging those strengths in no way diminishes the contributions of the other essays in this volume. In contrast to the uneven quality of many such collections, *Race, Class, and*

*Politics in Southern History* consistently reflects the kind of sound scholarship, cogent argument, and readable prose that pays fitting tribute, in substance as well as in declaration, to a scholar of Robert Durden's stature.

*University of Kentucky* CHESTER M. MORGAN

*The 1988 Presidential Election in the* South: *Continuity Amidst Change in Southern Party Politics.* By Laurence W. Moreland, Robert P. Steed, and Tod A. Baker. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991. xiv, 296 pp. Tables, figures, preface, index, bibliographical note. $47.95.)

Was there anything interesting about the 1988 presidential election in the South? When the Democratic party nominated Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis as its candidate, it abandoned all hope of winning either the popular or Electoral College vote in the region– in spite of the presence of popular Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen as the vice-presidential candidate. The weak, defensive, often embarrassing campaign mounted by the Democrats did little to improve their chances in the South or anywhere else. Republican candidates George Bush and Dan Quayle did their best to tell Southerners what they wanted to hear– from attacks on the ACLU and questions about Dukakis's reticence to recite the Pledge of Allegiance to scary racial appeals (via Willy Horton) and a mocking assault on Dukakis's environmental record.

Bush-Quayle won all of the southern Electoral College votes, Dukakis-Bentsen none. The Republican ticket received 59 percent of the popular vote in the South, a landslide by any yardstick. Southerners supported the Republicans more solidly than any other region in the nation. Indeed, the base of the national Republican victory– in popular and Electoral College votes– was in the traditional eleven southern states. Besides, the Democrats had not won a presidential election in the South since 1976, and that was something of a fluke. Should anyone have expected anything different in 1988 than what actually happened?

So why bother to put out a book on an election that surprised no one, lacked substance, turned nasty and negative, and ulti-

mately bored the public? As this work shows, there are compelling reasons for doing so. The most obvious is that presidential elections are major events in American life. They shape who we are as a nation, define our political identity, and offer a glimpse of possible futures. Examining and understanding these elections is akin to turning a mirror on ourselves so that we can' better know who we are.

From a regional perspective, investigating the 1988 presidential election is important. It marked another key moment in the transformation to a "new" southern politics dominated, at the presidential level, by Republicans. How did this happen? What difference does it make? What does this change tell us about the current democratic vigor and "adequacy" of southern political institutions– an issue raised by V. O. Key in 1949 and monitored by his followers ever since.

If the analysis of the campaign and election is carried down to the state level, we can learn about the richness and texture of presidential politics where it most counts: popular and Electoral College votes. What blocs of voters support Republicans? Why do southern Democrats prefer Republican presidential candidates? Are southern states competitive "two-party" states, or does the 1988 election suggest that Republicans can plan on a southern "lock" on their future presidential vote?

All of these are important questions. They are addressed fully in this book, part of the distinguished series based on the biennial Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Individual chapters and sections discuss them from national, regional, and individual state perspectives. While they range in readability and appeal, in sum they provide an excellent archive and interpretation of a major political event whose implications are still being played out. This book belongs on the shelf of those having historical or contemporary interests in presidential and southern politics.

*University of Florida* RICHARD K. SCHER

*Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. By John Bodnar. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, xiii, 296 pp. Preface, prologue, photographs, notes, note on sources, index. $29.95.)

*The American Amusement Park Industry: A History of Technology and Thrills*. By Judith A. Adams. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991. xvi, 225 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, tables, graphs, appendices, chronology, notes and references, selected bibliography, index. $11.95, paper.)

The intention of *Remaking America* is "to peel back the mask of innocence that surrounds commemorative events and reveal the very vital issues they address" (p. 20). John Bodnar, professor of history at Indiana University, examines anniversaries, monument dedications, landmark designations, reunions, and centennials, among other activities. He finds that commemoration involves competing groups and ideas vying for supremacy, and history rewritten in the process, oftentimes not necessarily to preserve the past but to serve some present end. On one side there is "vernacular culture" which consists of diverse and changing ordinary people who want to protect interests and values derived from firsthand experience. On the other side there is "official culture" comprised largely of government authorities concerned with safeguarding the nation-state, promoting the continuity of existing institutions, and maintaining loyalty to the status quo. Both sides express their past and position in a symbolic discourse off metaphors, signs, and rituals and attempt to promote and control their version of public memory.

Bodnar discerns that for most of the nineteenth century "unregulated memory" existed as class, ethnic, gender, local, regional, urban, and rural groups engaged in sharp cultural exchanges and created fragmentation. Urbanization, industrialization, and immigration exacerbated rivalries. Over time the nation-state came to mediate the content of public memory and, as a symbol and structure, dominate public commemoration, exerting state power over pluralistic interests. Bodnar explores a variety of forums: the communal forum of Swedes, Norwegians, Mennonites, Irish, and multi-ethnic communities; the regional forum of the Midwest; the urban forum of Indianapolis and Cleveland; the national agency forum of the National Park

Service; and the national issue forum of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

The quincentennial celebration in Florida of Columbus's voyage brings home Bodnar's story. While authorities greeted the crews and replicas of Columbus's ships as heroic figures who had braved the hardships of exploration and discovered a new world, Native Americans protested their appearance as invaders who pillaged the land, enslaved and raped the aborigines, and introduced foreign diseases. Bodnar's study provides Floridians with not simply new insights into past events but new considerations in commemorating people, places, and events in the future. "The central question for public memory will continue to be what it has always been," Bodnar concludes, "just how effective will vernacular interests be in containing the cultural offensive of authorities?" (p. 253).

In *The American Amusement Park Industry*, Judith A. Adams, director of the Lakewood Library at the University of Buffalo, takes us on another cultural journey. Starting with medieval fairs and the pleasure gardens of European cities, Adams briskly traces the evolution of the amusement park to the high-technology playlands of contemporary Florida. Along the way certain parks, people, and events are singled out as milestones. The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 is credited with introducing most of the essential elements of the amusement park: enclosed site; sectored landscape; illusory architecture; educational exhibits; thrill rides; and live entertainment. The Midway Plaisance provided among other things the generic name for concessions congregated along a strip, ethnological displays for measuring and exerting cultural superiority, and a grand scale ride– the ferris wheel– that dominated the landscape and captivated crowds.

Sometimes called the "pyrotechnic insanitarium," Coney Island took the amusement business a step further. Fed by mass transit and the "pay one price" ticket, Coney Island provided release from the stress of an increasingly crowded, mechanized, and regimented life and challenged Victorian standards of conduct through rides that offered opportunities for intimate contact, exhibitionism, and titillation. Building on the foundation stones laid by the likes of George Tilyou, the amusement park industry reached its zenith in the 1920s with around 2,000 parks nationwide. The amusement park declined with the rise of the

automobile and need for massive parking space, anti-gambling laws prohibiting games of chance, crime, competition from other forms of entertainment such as television, and suburbanization.

Walt Disney came along not simply to refine the amusement park formula in the mid- 1950s with Disneyland in California, but to spark a revival of the industry as reflected in the appearance of Disney World, Epcot, and MGM Studios in Florida, and international ventures. Through modern management, product development, and marketing techniques, Disney realized an amusement paradise that was totally controlled, insulated from outside commercial incursions, spotless ("on average a piece of trash in the streets sits less than four minutes before removal" (p. 147)), orderly, escapist, alluring to all age groups, and superbly run. On the downside, Adams notes, "The darkest aspect of Main Street is its enshrinement of Anglo-American imagery to the total exclusion of immigrant and ethnic infusions. . . . It is popular culture sanitized of its more creative and energetic elements, static in time, and reserved for the financially comfortable" (pp. 98-99).

At times Adams may go too far in her analysis, such as when asserting that Mickey Mouse constituted Walt Disney's alter ego. But overall Adams provides a wide-ranging and challenging account highly relevant to understanding Florida's recent development. Adams draws on the studies of anthropologists, psychologists, and others to place the amusement park industry in comparative perspective. She addresses, for example, analogies between Disney World– "the Vatican City of Leisure" (p. 139)– and religious institutions and imagery– pilgrims, meccas, holy cities, and gardens of Eden. Throughout this study are statistics on demographics, recreational expenditures, attendance revenues, and operating profit presented frequently in tables for immediate emphasis and reference. Adams speculates on the future direction of the business, calling attention to fantasy vacations, simulation rides, discount packages, and the emergence of second-tier market cities. These entertainment elysiums, she further points out, can serve as laboratories for city planning where innovations in crowd control, maintenance, security, transportation, and sewage treatment may demonstrate real-world applications. Recognizing that Walt Disney World Resort attracts 25,000,000 customers a year, and that amuse-

ment parks had reached by 1988 revenues of $4,000,000,000 per year, Adams places this business alongside other industries in the development of this nation and state.

*University of South Florida* ROBERT E. SNYDER

*Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of Cherokees in the Twentieth Century*. By John R. Finger. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. xviii, 247 pp. Preface, photographs, tables, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $35.00.)

The Cherokee have attracted a great deal of scholarly interest through the years, though the focus has generally been on either the pre-removal people or the post-removal western nation. Outstanding studies on various aspects of the Cherokee past have been provided by scholars such as Theda Perdue, William McLaughling, and Charles Hudson. However, John Finger stands virtually alone as a student of the Eastern Band since removal. In his previous book, Professor Finger reconstructed the Cherokee experience from 1819 to 1900; with this sequel, he examines the problems, dilemmas, and successes of the Eastern Cherokee since 1900.

Working from both original and published sources, he has given us the most thorough and reliable account of the Eastern Band available. His title, *Cherokee Americans,* appropriately defines the overarching themes of Cherokee history in this century: how to preserve and protect Indianness while adapting to a white-dominated civilization– how to be both a Cherokee and an American.

Skillfully interweaving narration and analysis, Finger begins his study with a look at the status and condition of the Cherokee at the beginning of this century, notes the impact of both the railroads and the lumber industry, and stresses the often unclear relationship of the tribe with the national and state governments. The author explores the impact of the Progressive movement on the Indians and concludes that it began the breakdown of Cherokee isolation and brought significant change to their lifestyle, accentuating the issue of whether it was possible or desirable to remain an Indian. The ongoing dilemma of the Cherokee was further revealed by the question of whether the

Indians were citizens or not and whether they should allot their lands or not. Although the federal government declared them citizens in 1924, and on several subsequent occasions as well, state and local officials often succeeded in denying them the vote and other rights until after World War II. The issue of allotment was a divisive issue because some of the more acculturated Cherokee favored such a policy, while the more conservative were opposed. In the end, allotment was rejected in favor of tribalism and the reservation.

In the course of his study Professor Finger addresses the issue of Indian patriotism– the Cherokee have fought in all wars since World War I– the problems faced in such areas as health Cherokee history in this well-written and informative study, policies, tourism with its opportunities and demands such as the practice of "chiefing" where the Cherokees wear Plains Indian regalia to make money from the visitors, the continuing issue of identity, and the relationship of the Cherokee to other Indians, particularly those in North Carolina. The author also introduces many Cherokee notables– modern chiefs such as Osley Bird Saunooke and Jonathan L. Taylor, and the "Beloved Woman" Maggie Wachacha.

This is a book of many strengths and few weaknesses. While thorough attention is given to the particulars of contemporary Cherokee history in this well-written and informative study, there are a few subjects that demand a bit more detail: the activities of the Cherokee Boys Club, which seems to function almost as a state within a state, and the somewhat fuzzy relationship of the tribe to North Carolina's government, just to cite two examples. Even so, this book is certain to be the standard work on the Eastern Cherokee in the twentieth century for years to come and is a worthy addition to the University of Nebraska "Indians of the Southeast" series.

*Pembroke State University* DAVID K. ELIADES

# BOOK NOTES

Victor S. Campbell grew up on a farm in Chumuckla, Santa Rosa County, in the Florida panhandle. He holds degrees from Pensacola Junior College, the University of West Florida, and the University of Florida, and he is a Vietnam veteran. He is now pursuing a career in agribusiness and lives with his wife and son in Sparta, New Jersey. Mr. Campbell cherishes his Florida roots, and for some four years he drew upon his memories of people, places, and events to write a column for the bi-weekly Santa Rosa *Press Gazette.* The column was titled "Up Here: Down There" (New Jersey and west Florida). Campbell writes lovingly about his friends, neighbors, teachers, and kinfolk– "love, war, romance, adventure, laughter, tears." The columns have been collected into a book, *Junction County Road 197: Mild Adventure for the Armchair Ruralist*. It includes an introduction by his uncle, E. W. Carswell, whose own books on west Florida have been reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The epilogue includes photographs of some of the people about whom Campbell wrote. His book may be ordered from Xander Creek Press, 3 Fairway Trails, Sparta, NJ 07871; from Carswell Publications, 200 Forrest Avenue, Chipley, FL 32428; or from the *Press Gazette* office, 531 SW Elva Street, Milton, FL 32570. The price is $22.

*The Houses of Key West*, by Alex Caemmerer, examines the different architectural styles of this southernmost community: classical revival, including eyebrow houses; vernacular, including shotgun houses; Victorian and Queen Anne, including Second Empire; Gothic revival; Italianate; and octagonal. The color photographs and the text provide historical data about Key West's houses, many of them dating to the nineteenth century and most of them wooden. Many were small houses– shotgun houses– built for cigar factory workers, spongers, and fishermen. Dr. Caemmerer also describes the Great Houses of Key West. These include the Hemingway House, originally built in the 1870s by Asa Tift and given to Ernest Hemingway in 1931 by his wife's uncle. He paid only $8,000 for the property, al-

though it needed restoration. Hemingway lived and worked there until the late 1940s. Its present owner operates it as a museum. Dr. Joseph Y. Porter became Florida's first state health officer when the Florida State Board of Health was created in 1889. He was born in the house on Caroline Street, which his father had purchased in 1845. It became the home of Dr. Porter's granddaughter, Jessie Porter Newton, better known as Miss Jessie. She was a leader in the effort to restore and preserve the historic homes in Key West. She was one of the original founders of the Old Island Restoration Foundation, and she was an active board member of the Florida Historical Society. The property remains in the family and is occupied by Jeane Porter and her children. Other Great Houses include the Freeman-Curry House, built in 1865, and the John Lowe, Jr., House, built in 1855. The Lowe House was used as a canteen by the USO during World War II and later as a hospital. The E. H. Gato, Jr., House was built about 1885 on the north side of Duval Street, with the main porch facing south. When Mr. Gato found that the porch was too hot for comfort, he had the house moved by mules across to its present site, facing north. George Carey first lived in the Heritage House. In its garden is a cottage called the Robert Frost Cottage in which the poet stayed on many occasions. *The Houses of Key West* was published by Pineapple Press, Sarasota, and it sells for $18.95.

*Cuba & Florida, Exploration of* an *Historic Connection, 1539-1991,* by Miguel A. Bretos, is the catalogue for a major exhibition by that title at the museum of the Historical Association of Southern Florida in Miami. The exhibition and the book cover the period from the Hernando de Soto landing in 1539 to the present. Professor Bretos served as guest curator for the exhibition. His book includes maps and photographs, many in color. *Cuba & Florida* may be ordered from the Historical Association of Southern Florida, 101 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL 33133; the price is $12.95.

*The Rockledge, Florida Steamboat Line,* by Fred A. Hopwood, details the history of the Hart and Smith Rockledge Line of steamboats on the Upper St. Johns River. Except for a few trails and wagon roads, the river was the only way to enter Brevard County and the Indian River area until about 1885.

Steampower came to the Upper St. Johns in the 1870s. Mr. Hopwood describes the distinctive type of riverboat that began traveling along the Upper St. Johns: "It was a no-frills, inboard, sternwheel, workhorse. . . . Small, ugly and far from being sturdy, these small eighty-foot long steamers lasted on the average of 8 to 10 years." Colonel Hubbard L. Hart and Captain Joe H. Smith formed the steamboat company in the early 1880s. The steamers plied between Sanford and Rockledge landings, making connections at Sanford with the DeBary Line and Hart's Ocklawaha River Line. The *Marion* was the first of the company's steamboat and it became the flagship. Other vessels were the *Waunita, Astatula, Osceola,* and the sidewheel steamer *Arrow.* The fare was $2; with meals, $3; and with stateroom and meals, $5. Hopwood collected information about the steamboats, the river, amenities and stops along the way, and personalities that were connected with boating from local histories, diaries, memoirs, and newspapers. Poet Sidney Lanier traveled aboard the *Marion* to Silver Springs and wrote about the experience in his Florida travel book. Ulysses S. Grant and his party traveled aboard both the *Arrow* and the *Osceola.* To order write the author at P. O. Box 360443, Melbourne, FL 32936; the price is $6.

Jean Ribaut led a French expeditionary force into Florida in 1952, landing at the mouth of the St. Johns River. The French returned two years later under René de Laudonniére to plant a colony. But the Spanish claimed the territory and attacked the French at Fort Caroline, killing most of them. Laudonniére escaped and returned to France where he wrote *L'Historie notable, de la Floride situee es Indes Occidentales.* Richard Hakluyt discovered the unpublished manuscript and, realizing its importance, sought to publish it. Martin Basanier added an account of the 1567 voyage to Florida by Dominique Gourgus. The manuscript first appeared in 1586, and the following year Hakluyt published an English translation. The artist Jacques la Moyne was a member of the 1564 Florida settlement. He painted a number of drawings of the Timucuan Indians that were included in Hakluyt's book. *A Foothold in Florida, The Eye-Witness Account of Four Voyages made by the French to that Region and their attempt at Colonisation, 1562-1568* is based on a new translation of Laudonniére's work by Sarah Lawson. The annotations and appendices are by W. John Faupel. The appendices include an appraisal of

each of the la Moyne illustrations; modern names and locations of waterways referred to in the histories; maps showing the present-day location of the waterways named by the French; the names and locations of Indians referred to; and an appraisal of the map *Floridae Americae Provincial,* with place names and present locations. Order from Antique Atlas Publications, 31a High Street, East Grinstead, W. Sussex, RH19 3AF, England (telephone: 0-342-315-813, fax: 0-342-318-058). The price is $45, plus postage.

General Gregor MacGregor was one of the filibusters operating along the Florida-Georgia border in the early nineteenth century. In March 1817 he arrived in Philadelphia to solicit men and funds for an invasion of East Florida. He had little luck there but was more successful in Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah. His plan was to capture Fernandina and St. Augustine, establish a popular government with help from the local citizens, and petition the United States for annexation. On June 29, 1817, MacGregor and his tiny force landed on the northern end of Amelia Island. The Spanish meekly surrendered, and MacGregor's flag, the Green Cross of Florida, was unfurled over the Spanish fort. He established a civil government, a post office, and began publishing a newspaper and printing paper currency. When his promised re-enforcements did not arrive, his unpaid men began to disappear, and when the Spanish threatened from St. Augustine, MacGregor decided to withdraw. He resigned on September 4, 1817, and two new adventurers– Ruggles Hubbard, high-sheriff of New York City, and Luis Aury, a French freebooter who sailed under the Revolutionary Mexican flag– arrived in Fernandina. Under orders from President James Monroe, Aury and his force were expelled. On December 23 the United States flag was hoisted over Fernandina and Amelia Island. Within four months four flags had flown over the area– Spanish, the Republic of the Floridas, Revolutionary Mexican, and the United States. Carling Gresham recounts this interesting bit of Florida history in his pamphlet *General Gregor MacGregor and the 1817 Amelia Island Medal.* The medal was probably authorized by MacGregor. It is not known who engraved the Amelia Island medal or where and when it was struck. Everything about its origin is a mystery. The 1817 Amelia Island Medal was first revealed publicly in 1863. After

several years of research, Mr. Gresham has located eleven medals, including several in private collections in Florida. Order the pamphlet from the author, P. O. Drawer 580, Pomona Park, FL 32181; the price is $7.

*Historical and Genealogical Holdings in the State of Florida* was compiled for the Genealogy and Local History Caucus, which was part of the Florida Library Association's annual conference held in May 1992. The holdings of 388 institutions are included in the bibliography. Entries are listed alphabetically and include the name, address, and telephone number of each institution, the name of a contact person, and brief information about holdings. The directory is available for $7 each. It may be ordered from Ms. Dahrl E. Moore, Florida Atlantic University Libraries, Technical Services, P. O. Box 3092, Boca Raton, FL 33431.

*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* was one of the most influential and widely read periodicals in the United States in the nineteenth century. Frank Leslie, born in England, pioneered the use of illustrations in newspapers; he was the forerunner of modern picture magazines such as *Time, Newsweek,* and *Life.* During the Civil War he used graphics and prose to describe news events. The two-volume edition of *Soldier in Our Civil War,* published in 1891 and 1892, included woodcut engravings taken from issues of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and other Leslie publications. In 1894 a one-volume edition was published, and this review copy of *Leslie's Illustrated Civil War* is a facsimile of this 1894 edition. Engravings were made from pencil drawings produced by battlefield artists. Leslie and his staff created wood engravings for the printing process. Each wood block was divided into thirty-two squares, with each block assigned to a separate engraver. A full picture could be completed in twenty-four hours, rather than in the customary two weeks. The University Press of Mississippi has published this facsimile edition, which includes an introduction by John E. Stanchak, editor of *Civil War Times Illustrated.* Although Florida was not a major theater of military action, there are some Florida illustrations. These include a Federal picket boat near Fernandia under attack by Federal sharpshooters hidden on the banks and Federal troops marching through the streets of Fernandina. This volume sells for $50.00.

Biographical studies of three major Florida blacks are available. They are children's books written by Patricia and Fredrick McKissack. They are nationally known authors of several award-winning books for young people. They received the 1990 Coretta Scott King Award from the American Library Association. *Mary McLeod Bethune, A Great Teacher* and *Zora Neale Hurston, Writer and Storyteller* were published by Enslow Publishers, Inc., Box 777, Hillside, NJ 07205, for their Great African Americans series. Each book, containing black-and-white photos and drawings, sells for $12.95. *James Weldon Johnson: "Lift Every Voice and Sing"* was published by Childrens Press, Chicago; its price is $14.60. The projected audience is students in grade levels 1-4, ages 7-10.

The new edition of *Confederate and Southern States Currency: A Descriptive Listing, including Rarity and Values,* by Grover Criswell, Jr., is available. It is probably the most detailed book of Confederate varieties in print. There is a section on Confederate counterfeit money and on Confederate notes. Almost every type of Confederate note is illustrated. The section on Florida begins with the money issued by Gregor MacGregor in Fernandina in 1817. Also included are issues from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The Indian territories are also included in the catalogue. Order *Confederate and Southern States Currency* from Criswell's, Salt Springs, FL 32134; the price is $40.

*The Alabama Confederate Reader,* edited by the late Malcolm C. McMillan, was published in 1963 by the University of Alabama Press. A paperback edition, with an introduction by C. Peter Ripley, is available from the University of Alabama Press. It sells for $24.95.

# HISTORY NEWS

## *Gulf Coast History Conference*

The Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference will meet in Mobile, Alabama, October 7-9, 1993. The theme is "The Gulf Coast in the Gilded Age." The University of South Alabama, the University of West Florida, and Pensacola Junior College are sponsors of the conference. Send proposals for papers or sessions to Dr. George Daniels or Dr. Michael Thomason, Department of History, University of South Alabama, Mobile, AL 36688. Selected papers will be published in a special issue of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review*. An honorarium to help defray the cost of travel to the conference will be available for presenters.

The published volumes of the papers presented at previous Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conferences are also available from the Department of History, University of South Alabama. Paperback editions sell for $10, and the cloth, $15.

## *South Prong Cemetery*

The South Prong Cemetery in Baker County is one of Florida's historic burial grounds. It was first called Greene's Creek Cemetery because Elisha Greene had cleared the property and had used it for his family's burials. The earliest known grave, which is unmarked, is believed to be that of Francis Bryan who died in 1837. The oldest marked graves are those of Elisha Greene (d. 1875) and Elias Wester (d. 1880). Fifteen Civil War veterans are buried there among the 780 marked graves. A monument for the Tippins' mass grave was dedicated May 23, 1992. Early settlers along the south prong of the St. Marys River arrived in Baker County around 1829-1830. Many came from Tattnall County, Georgia. The closest present-day community to that early settlement is Sanderson, Florida. Mrs. Paula J. Wester, who is gathering information on her own family, compiled the historic data on the South Prong Cemetery.

*Seminole Wars Historic Foundation*

The Seminole Wars Historic Foundation, Inc., is seeking support to acquire and permanently preserve significant sites involved in the Seminole Wars and to establish educational programs. The Foundation has acquired an option to purchase two major historical sites: Fort Dade (a three-acre site on the Withlacoochee River) and Fort Izar (a Seminole War battleground near Ocala). There are plans for a museum at the Fort Izar site. Individuals who donate $25 will become honorary members of the Seminole Wars Historic Foundation Council and will receive honorary "ownership" of one square foot of the Fort Izar battleground or the Fort Dade site. Send contributions to the Foundation office, 1203 Court Street, P. O. Drawer 5066, Clearwater, FL 34618-5066.

*Awards*

The Tampa Bay Historical Society has presented its 1992 D. B. McKay Award to Julius J. Gordon. The award, recognizing outstanding contributions to Florida and local history, was announced at their annual meeting on November 23, 1992, at the Tampa Yacht and Country Club. Mr. Gordon, a former city treasurer in San Antonio, Texas, has written *The German-Americans Influence in Tampa, 1840-1900; Study of Free Blacks in Florida, 1850-1860;* and he compiled an index for the Florida *Peninsular,* a Tampa newspaper published from 1855-1871.

William C. Davis has received the Museum of the Confederacy's 1991 Jefferson Davis Award for outstanding historical scholarship on the Confederate States of America period. The award was presented for his book *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour,* published in 1991 by Harper Collins.

*Announcements and Activities*

The Southeastern Library Network of Atlanta has an NEH grant of $2,397,425 to support the preservation microfilming of 28,057 brittle books and pamphlets on United States Americana, Latin Americana, and Africana, held by fifteen members of the Association of Southeastern Research Libraries. Florida libraries participating include the State Library of Florida, the University of Florida, the University of Miami, and the University of South Florida.

The Georgia Historical Society announces the establishment of the Malcolm and Muriel Barrow Bell Award, which will be presented in odd-numbered years to the author of the best book on the history of Georgia or Georgians published in the previous two-year period. The first award will be presented at the society's April 1993 meeting for a book published in either 1991 or 1992. Authors or publishers who would like to have books considered for the prize should submit five copies of the book to the Georgia Historical Society, 501 Whitaker Street, Savannah, GA 31499.

The Southern Oral History Program and the Southern Historical Collection announce publication of *Women's Voices in the Southern Oral History Program Collection*. This collection guide contains abstracts of over three hundred oral history interviews with southern women, grouped by topic, along with an introduction describing each section. There is also an extensive index and valuable introductory material. *Women's Voices* can be ordered from the Southern Oral History Program, CB#3195, Hamilton Hall, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3195; (919) 962-8076.

An NEH Summer Seminar for College Teachers will be held June 28 to August 13, 1993, at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. The theme will be "Colonial North America: New Approaches to its Hispanic Past," and it will examine the Spanish origin of the southern United States, from California to Florida. Participants may divide their time equally between personal research projects and reading and discussing new works. Applications are invited from college teachers or independent scholars of American culture and institutions who wish to broaden their understanding of the nation's multi-ethnic origins. Latin American specialists who wish to learn more about peripheral regions of Spain's empire should apply also. The stipend is $3,600, and the postmark deadline for applications is March 1, 1993. Awards will be announced March 26, 1993. For applications and further information, write seminar director Professor David J. Weber, Department of History, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX 75275.

The 27th Annual Georgia Archives Institute will be held in Atlanta, June 14-25, 1993. It is designed for beginning ar-

chivists, librarians, and manuscript curators and will offer general instruction in basic concepts and practices of archival administration and management of traditional and modern documentary materials, The two-week program will feature lectures and demonstrations, a supervised practicum, and field trips to local archives. Topics will include records appraisal, arrangement and description of official and private papers, preservation, legal issues, and reference service. Tuition is $400. Enrollment is limited, and the deadline for receipt of application and resume is April 1, 1993. For more information and application, write Dr. Donald E. Oehlerts, School of Library and Information Studies, Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA 30314; (404) 325-0778 or (404) 880-8702.

The Southern Association for Women Historians announces the Southern Conference on Women's History will be held at Rice University, Houston, Texas, June 2-5, 1994. Conference coordinator is Elizabeth Hayes Turner of the University of Houston, Downtown, and the program chair is Joan E. Cashin of Ohio State University. More details will be announced shortly in the Southern Association for Women Historians newsletter.

The American Jewish Historical Society will award the Leo Wasserman Foundation Prize for the best student essay on any aspect of American Jewish history. Contestants can be graduate or undergraduate students. The winning essay will be considered for publication in *American Jewish History*. Essays should be twenty to thirty pages in length and have appropriate citations and bibliography. To be considered for the 1993 prize, send five copies of the essay to Dr. Leonard Dinnerstein, Department of History, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721. The deadline is January 31, 1993.

The Seminole Tribe Council and the Seminole Tribe Museum Authority, recently opened the temporary home of AH-THA-THI-KI Museum on November 20, 1992. It is located in Hollywood, Florida, at Seminole Village, corner of State Road 7 (441) and Stirling Road. The museum plans to preserve and interpret the culture, language, and customs of the Seminole Indians of Florida.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1993

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| April 1-2 | Society of Florida Archivists | St. Augustine, FL |
| May 7-9 | Florida Anthropological Society | Clearwater, FL |
| May 20-22 | FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY- 91st MEETING | Pensacola, FL |
| May 20 | FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION | Pensacola, FL |
| Sept. 8-11 | American Association for State and Local History | Columbus, OH |
| Oct. 7-9 | Gulf Coast History and Humanities | Mobile, AL |
| Oct. 14-17 | Southern Labor Studies | Birmingham, AL |
| Nov. 4-7 | Oral History Association | Birmingham, AL |
| Nov. 5-7 | Southern Jewish Historical Association | Atlanta, GA |
| Nov. 10-13 | Southern Historical Association | Orlando, FL |

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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 0 197. Telephone: 813-974-38 15 or 974-5204; FAX: 813-932-9332. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.