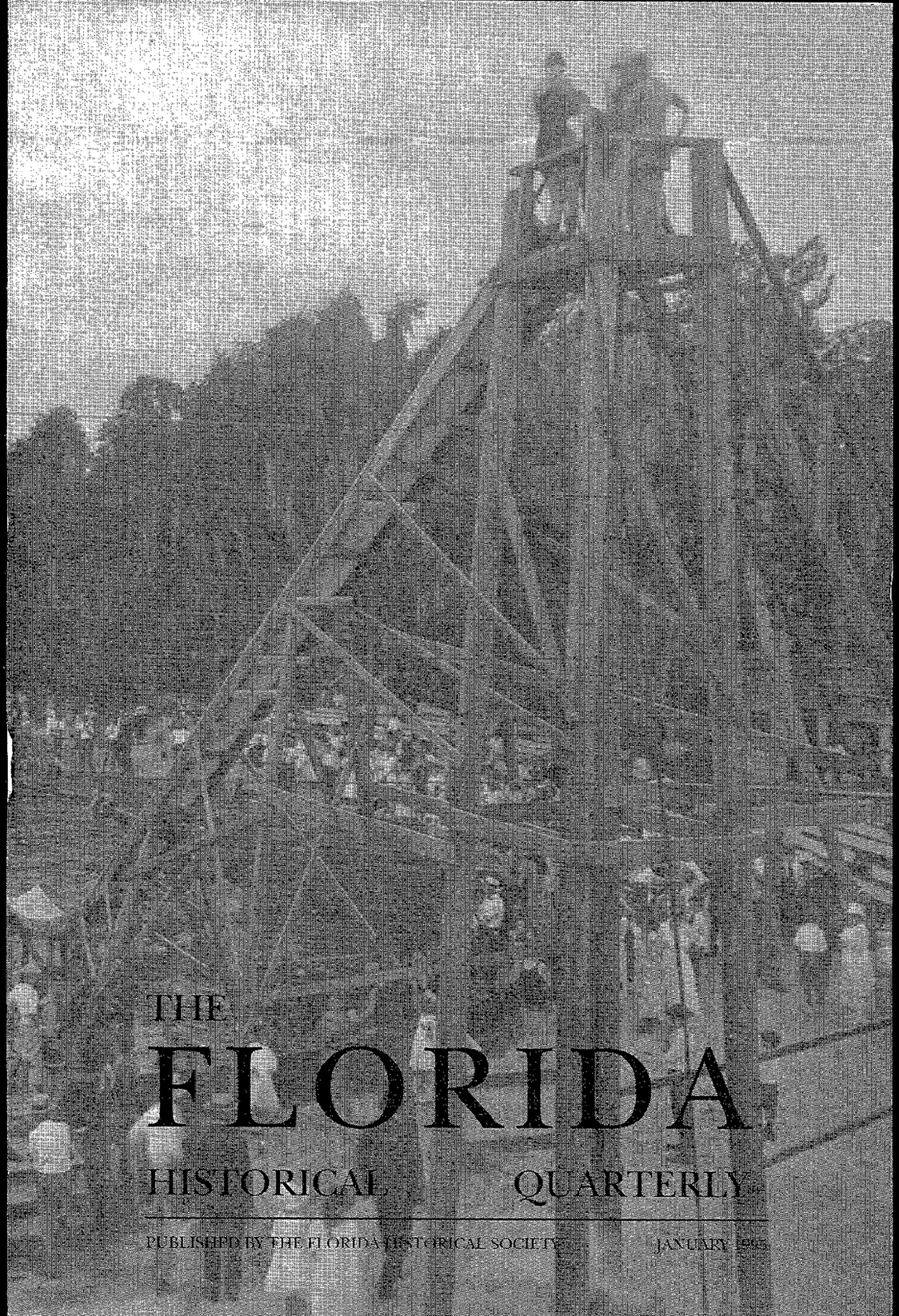

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JANUARY 1965

COVER

Spring-fed pools have long been popular recreation areas in Florida. This Burgert Brothers photograph of Sulphur Springs c. 1920 captures the spectacle associated with the commercial development of these areas. *Photograph courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume LXXIII, Number 3

January 1995

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida, 4202 E. Fowler Avenue, Tampa, FL 33620, and is printed by E.O. Painter Printing Co., DeLeon Springs, FL. Second-class postage paid at Tampa, FL, and at additional mailing office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the *Florida Historicd Quarterly,* P.O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197

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RACE RELATIONS IN TERRITORIAL FLORIDA, 1821-1845

by CANTER BROWN, JR.

Race relations evolved in complicated and often confused ways in antebellum Florida, as did patterns of racial interaction in other parts of the South. Nonetheless, many students of the subject have written as if the institutions, patterns, and practices prevalent in the 1850s were typical of the region's experience over the entire prewar period. In doing so, they have failed to account fully for regional variations and for changes over time.[1]

The neglect of evolutionary context and regional diversity has permitted some authors to project upon southern history a number of historiographical models that depend upon a generalized world captured at a specific moment in time or, at least, an evolutionary process marked by certainty, clearly defined intent, and even destiny. Eugene D. Genovese, for instance, offered a Marxist interpretation of the South's development. He asserted, in part, that a planter ruling class shaped southern political culture and spurred class consciousness by using the law as a tool to assert hegemony over race relations and the functioning of the slave system. Genovese insisted that the effort was a farsighted one, spearheaded by "the most advanced fraction of the slaveholders– those who most clearly perceived the interests and needs of the class as a whole." Summarizing the point, he noted, "The law must discipline the ruling class and guide and educate the masses."[2]

Genovese's argument was offered two decades ago, and he acknowledged at the time that his work risked "too much abstraction." He invited regional studies that would permit discussion of

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1. See, for example, John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1972); George P. Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community* (Westport, CT, 1972); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974); Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross,* 2 vols. (Boston, 1974).
2. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* 27.

the issues he raised to move beyond a "preliminary analysis."[3] Florida's territorial-era experience, which began in 1821 and ended in 1845, invites such an inquiry and provides an opportunity for testing the Genovese model. By 1830 the territory's economic foundation had shifted substantially toward a slave-labor-based farm and plantation economy, and its political, social, and economic elites increasingly were drawn from prominent planter families of the Old South. Admittedly, much of the territory remained a frontier until well past the Civil War, but a frontier context for the development of race relations was common to the South.[4]

Examination of Florida's antebellum experience suggests that race relations did not evolve primarily from the farsighted leadership of planter elites, effective disciplining of the ruling class, or education of the masses. Rather, the process was a turbulent one marked by confusion and uncertainty. The territory's harsh slave code and other race-related statutes resulted more from real and immediate fear of local slave revolt and native insurrection than from any deliberate farsighted policy. Although Genovese insisted that harsh laws served "as a device to be reserved for periods of disquiet and especially for periods of rumored insurrectionary plots," Florida's statutes and local ordinances at times so far exceeded community consensus as to be unenforceable, even amid extreme emergency.[5]

The complex nature of Florida's racial patterns as they existed prior to the Civil War and the process by which they evolved were rooted in the area's Spanish colonial history. Perhaps most importantly in terms of implications for the future, Spanish Florida for more than a century prior to 1821 had offered itself as a refuge for runaway American slaves and for Indians fleeing the advance of Anglo frontier settlement.[6] Some refugees located in areas under immediate Spanish control, but others chose to live in more-remote regions where they stood armed and ready to defend their

3. Ibid., 26.
4. See, for example, W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York, 1941).
5. Ibid., 40.
6. Jane Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida," *American Historical Review* 95 (February 1990), 9-30; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Creeks & Seminoles* (Lincoln, NE, 1986), 87-88; James W. Covington, "The Negro Fort," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 5 (Spring 1990), 80; Canter Brown, Jr., "The 'Sarrazota, or Runaway Negro Plantations': Tampa Bay's First Black Community, 1812-1821," *Tampa Bay History* 12 (Fall/Winter 1990), 5-19.

freedom. "More than 1,000" runaways and free-born blacks were estimated to live among the Indians by the early nineteenth century.[7]

Other traditions of the colonial society also were influential. In addition to granting refuge to runaways, Spanish Floridians viewed issues of race differently from many American Southerners. "On this frontier," Jane Landers has noted, "race was a concept modified by social connections, wealth and behavior, and upward mobility was not as difficult as it may have been in a major colonial center." Further, free blacks, though relatively few in number, enjoyed significant standing in the community, and miscegenation was not uncommon.[8] Thus, the legacies of Florida's Spanish heritage included the presence of armed blacks and Indians who were prepared to resist any attempts at forcible removal, a society within which free blacks constituted a legitimate and influential segment, and a willingness to accept intermarriage of some white colonials with blacks or mulattoes.

Spanish rule of Florida ended in 1821, but for many reasons the influence of its racial policies and practices continued during the territorial era. First, the example of armed free blacks within close proximity continued to be a fact of life. Indians, with their black vassals, controlled most of the territory's land, particularly in the peninsula and the western panhandle. Consequently, all but 800 of the new territory's estimated 4,500 inhabitants were located in East Florida, bordered by the St. Marys River on the north and St. Augustine on the south; the remainder resided in Pensacola

7. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territotial Papers of the United States,* 28 vols. (Washington, DC, 1934-1969), *Florida Territory,* XXII, 744 (hereinafter, *Territorial Papers).* As to the presence and influence of free blacks and "Maroons," Joshua R. Giddings in 1858 explored the subject and its implications for Florida and southern history in *Exiles of Florida: or, The Crimes Committed by Our Government Against the Maroons, Who Fled From South Carolina and Other Slave States, Seeking Protection Under Spanish Laws* (Columbus, OH, 1858; reprint ed., Gainesville, 1964). Giddings's work and thesis largely were ignored during the century after its publication, although the subject again has begun to command attention. See, for example, Jane Landers, "Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1988). The role and influence of free blacks within another North American Spanish colonial society, Louisiana, also has been examined recently. See Kimberly S. Hanger, "Free Blacks In Spanish New Orleans: The Transitional Decade, 1769-1779" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1985); and Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves In A Frontier Exchange Economy: the Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill, 1992).

8. Landers, "Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine," viii.

and its immediate vicinity. Middle Florida– the area between the Suwannee and Apalachicola rivers that became the heart of the territory's plantation belt– was uninhabited except for scattered native settlements.[9]

Within the narrow limits of territorial settlement, most inhabitants immediately after the transfer were holdovers from the Spanish colony and derived certain rights, as well as cultural traditions, from that fact. Kinship or property ownership tied many of these individuals to the area, even though a number of the whites had been United States citizens prior to immigration into Spanish territory. All had reason to believe they would be protected in American Florida because the Adams-Onís Treaty, which authorized the transfer, guaranteed them the rights of United States citizens.[10] That this provision applied to black– as well as to white– holdovers was tested and upheld, at least on a local level, early in the territorial period.[11] Although the actual protection afforded in practice by this guarantee is unclear, numerous racially discriminatory laws enacted by the territorial council exempted holdover free blacks. Thereafter, they enjoyed "a certain status which other free Negroes in Florida did not enjoy."[12]

Probably a majority of the territory's 600 to 800 free blacks– those who lived outside Indian lands– were mulattoes.[13] Most were clustered in the two towns of consequence, St. Augustine and Pensacola. More importantly, many were the issue of prominent members of the community. At St. Augustine, for example, George J. F. Clarke, Charles W. Clarke, Francisco X. Sanchez, and John Leslie, among others, had mulatto children, and "a respected

9. Dorothy Dodd, "Florida's Population in 1845," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 24 (July 1945), 4.
10. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1833-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 29.
11. St. Augustine *East Florida Herald,* November 27, 1824.
12. Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 113; David Y. Thomas, "The Free Negro in Florida Before 1865;" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 10 (October 1911), 336.
13. Florida's first reliable census was taken in 1830 and disclosed 817 free blacks in the territory. Although the population as a whole had increased to over 30,000 (including 15,501 slaves), the immigration of free blacks (as opposed to runaways) in any considerable numbers during the 1820s is unlikely. The number of free blacks remained relatively constant in Florida through 1860. Census takers did not count mulattoes until 1850. In that year, 703 of the state's 932 free blacks were mulattoes. See United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790-1915* (Washington, DC, 1918), 57, 221.

property-owing [black and mulatto] class" already was present at Pensacola. Similarly, Alachua County developer Edward M. Wanton raised a multiracial family. Slave trader Zephaniah Kingsley of Fort George Island near Jacksonville enjoyed entertaining visitors to his plantation with his "coloured wife . . . at the head of the table, surrounded by handsome and happy children." Kingsley, who saw mulattoes as a necessary protection against race war, publicly insisted "that the coloured race were superior to us, physically and morally."[14]

Florida's territorial experience with miscegenation was not unusual. The acceptance of interracial families mirrored practices in other coastal areas of the lower South, which had also been subject to Spanish influences. Joel Williamson has noted that, prior to 1850, attitudes were "especially lenient" in the region. "Free mulattoes of the more affluent sort in the lower South," he observed, "were treated by influential whites as a third class, an acceptable and sometimes valuable intermediate element between black and white, slave and free. In the lower South mulatto relations had a distinct West Indian flavor."[15]

Miscegenation continued throughout Florida's territorial period, and attempts by the legislative council to outlaw it were routinely ignored. By the time the state's mulatto population was first counted in 1850, one out of ten blacks (including free individuals and slaves) was of mixed blood.[16] According to Daniel L. Schafer, violators of prohibitory laws "risked little more than gossip and ostracism."[17] One of Jacksonville's founders, Isaiah D. Hart, openly

14. Dodd, "Florida's Population in 1845," 4; Louise Biles Hill, "George J. F. Clarke, 1774-1836," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 21 (January 1943), 197-253; Landers, "Black Society," 126-27; Wright, *Creeks & Seminoles,* 81; Ruth B. Barr and Modeste Hargis, "The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (July 1938), 4; St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* May 12, 1830; Philip S. May, "Zephaniah Kingsley, Nonconformist (1765-1843)," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 23 (January 1945), 145-59; L. Maria Child, *Letters From New York* (New York, 1843), 142-43.
15. Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York, 1980), 2, 15. See also Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, eds., *Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, 1984); and Johnson and Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York, 1984).
16. United States Department of Commerce, *Negro Population,* 209.
17. Daniel L. Schafer, "'A Class of People Neither Freemen nor Slaves': From Spanish to American Race Relations in Florida, 1821-1861," *Journal of Social History* 26 (Spring 1993), 599.

consorted with a black mistress until his death in 1861.[18] Planter-politician Banks Meacham of Quincy sent his mulatto son to the town's private academy. The son, Robert, did not know as an adult whether he had been slave or free.[19] When Tampa pioneer William Ashley died in 1873, he arranged for his black mistress to be buried next to him. The tombstone inscription read: "Here Lie William Ashley and Nancy Ashley, Master and Servant; faithful to each other in that relation in life, in death they are not separated. Strangers, consider and be wise– in the grave all human distinctions of race or color mingle in one common dust."[20]

The blending of Spanish and Anglo customs, as well as the law's failure to discipline the multiracial society, was evident in other facets of local culture. Public officials enacted numerous territorial and municipal regulations to limit black mobility. The efforts often were ineffective, however, as demonstrated by repeated attempts at their implementation and execution. The St. Augustine city council thus echoed the actions of other towns and of the territory by attempting in 1837 to prohibit "any person, having legal control of a slave, [to] suffer him or her to go at large and trade as a free person."[21] Yet, at the close of the territorial period the county grand jury still was condemning "the great looseness or laxity that too generally prevails in the management of the Slave population."[22]

Such mobility raises questions about the nature of territorial society. Some might argue that Florida's slave system was disciplined and unthreatened by movement. Many Floridians did not believe this was the case. Their words and actions suggest that mobility likely represented a necessary concession by individual owners to economic conditions and to established patterns of race relations over which the slaveholder had less than complete control. Accordingly, and in defiance of statutory and regulatory prohibitions, owners continued to grant their bondsmen "leaves of

18. Ibid.
19. The younger Meacham was not accepted by the parents of his white Quincy peers. They sent word to the teacher, in Robert Meacham's words, "that if he was going to teach a nigger they would keep their children at home." Canter Brown, Jr., "'Where are now the hopes I cherished?' The Life and Times of Robert Meacham," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (July 1990), 2-3.
20. Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 162.
21. St. Augustine *Florida Herald*, February 16, 1837.
22. *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 916.

absence." Without real impact, some leaders railed against the practice and its racial and economic implications. St. Johns County grand jurors, for instance, bemoaned "the almost universal usage among Slave owners in making the slaves in substance free dealers by allowing them to go forth and hire themselves by the day or otherwise to who ever may incline to employ them." This practice, the panel concluded, "is of necessity followed by a relaxation of discipline and in them a forgetfulness of duty, gives them the possession of money and affords them the means of debauchery and cannot but lead to the ultimate ruin of the slave."[23]

Clearly, the majority of slaves were not afforded total freedom of movement. Most, however, were permitted regularly or, at least, occasionally to leave the farm, plantation, or business. Marriage off the property was not unusual, and visitations were allowed. Holidays, likewise, encouraged unsupervised travel, particularly during the period between Christmas and New Years Day.[24] Such an occasion at Newnansville (modern Alachua) was described by a visitor. "High and low, rich and poor, good and bad, the sober and intemperate, white and black, the wise and the foolish have come together, from village and from country cabins," he wrote, "to enjoy the most ancient festival of Christmas with boisterous hilarity." The man concluded, "The perfect freedom which the negroes here enjoy during Christmas week struck me with surprise."[25]

Holidays thus afforded opportunities for the races to mingle on a limited social basis, again evidencing white ambivalence toward enforcing a rigid color line. Traditional festivals, such as Pensacola's "Pad-Gaud," served a similar purpose.[26] At Tampa in 1838 "a good many Negroes attended the theater and the beautiful and virtuous ladies of [the town] were present."[27] Another frequent social opportunity consisted of church services on Sundays. Whites sometimes intended them as occasions to teach respect for mas-

23. Similarly, a visitor at Key West in 1862 noted a "custom long in vogue here" of allowing slaves "to hire their own time and make what they could, paying to master a portion of their earnings." St. Augustine *News*, November 19, 1842; *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 916; *Boston Daily Journal*, September 12, 1862.
24. Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth*, 73-74.
25. Dorothy Dodd, *Florida Becomes A State* (Tallahassee, 1945), 16.
26. T. Frederick Davis, "Pioneer Florida: The Pad-Gaud at Pensacola, 1830," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 23 (April 1945), 221.
27. Felix P. McGaughy, Jr., "The Squaw Kissing War: Bartholomew M. Lynch's Journal of the Second Seminole War, 1836-1839" (Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1965), 180n.

ters, as well as for "looking after the negro's morals."[28] That is to say, they saw attendance at church as an opportunity to educate slaves in the interest of the planter class. The attempt, however, often was unsuccessful. "The slaves went to the 'white folks' church on Sundays," recalled one territorial-era slave from Columbia County. "They were seated in the rear of the church. The white minister would arise and exhort the slaves 'to mind your masters, you owe them your respect.' An old Christian slave who perceived things differently was heard to mumble, 'Yeah, wese jest as good as deys is only deys white and we's black, huh.'"[29]

Sunday travel was important to slaves for reasons other than the freedom of movement it allowed. They capitalized on the opportunity to enhance the economic possibilities occasioned by concessions such as leaves of absence. In doing so, they also undermined laws and rules restricting their involvement in local markets and prohibiting their use of some commodities. In these circumstances, Sunday in the territory's small towns was often typified by noise, tumult, and behavior that offended the sensibilities of some community leaders who, nonetheless, were powerless to change things. "We believe this custom is highly demoralizing," Gadsden County grand jurors proclaimed in 1837, "and tends to corrupt and derange the habits of our slave population, and render the Sabbath a day of amusement, dissipation, and debauchery. The negroes . . . make use of that opportunity to pilfer from their masters and others, those articles which are readily exchanged for spirituous liquors."[30]

The loose control masters seemingly exercised over many bondsmen stemmed in part from the nature of slaveholding during the territorial era. As was the case in most of the South, relatively few of Florida's farming operations involved gentlemen planters, with overseers, supervising estates of hundreds or thousands of acres tilled by large numbers of slaves.[31] Rather, as Larry E. Rivers's studies have shown, the planter class constituted a small

28. Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth,* 95-96.
29. George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography,* 19 vols. (Westport, CT, 1941; reprint ed., 1972), *Florida Narratives,* XVII, 35. See also Gary R. Mormino, "Florida Slave Narratives," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (April 1988), 411-12.
30. Tallahassee *Floridian,* October 25, 1837.
31. James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York, 1983), 40.

An overseer whips his slave with a paddle. *Illustration courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

minority of the population, and holdings usually amounted to only a few bondsmen.[32] Florida slaves, like those in other southern states, thus labored alone or within relatively small groups and were often in direct personal contact with their owners.

Because of these contexts, gang labor, rigid discipline, and overseer cruelties sometimes associated with the regimen of a large plantation applied only to a minority of the territory's slaves. That fact should not be interpreted, however, as suggesting that the system was not harsh and, sometimes, extremely cruel. "He gave us all we wanted to eat, but he cowhided us," recalled one former slave. "He had a cowhide and used to take us in a little room to whip us.

32. In 1830 only 42 percent of Jefferson County's families owned slaves and, of slaveholding families, only 16 percent owned twenty slaves or more; by 1860, 59 percent owned at least one slave but only 21 percent of slaveholding families owned twenty or more. While a majority of families owned slaves in Leon and Gadsden counties, only between 15 and 25 percent of those families fell within the planter class. See Larry E. Rivers, "'Dignity and Importance': Slavery in Jefferson County, Florida– 1827 to 1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (April 1983), 407-08; idem, "Slavery in Microcosm: Leon County, Florida, 1824-1860," *Journal of Negro History* 46 (Fall 1981), 238; idem, "Slavery and the Political Economy of Gadsden County, Florida: 1823-1861," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70 (July 1991), 5-6.

Did you ever know of a master *not* to *cowhide* a nigger?"[33] A visitor to Middle Florida in 1837-1838 noted, "The slaves . . . are generally treated with the greatest severity. A whip is the only language used with them."[34]

In addition to the size of typical slaveholdings, other factors molded the institution. Rivers's studies demonstrate, for instance, that a significant number of slaves were purchased to work on locations other than the owner's farm or plantation. Owners often obtained bondsmen for investment or for purposes of estate planning with the intention that they be rented out. They used the income to support widows or minor children.[35] Hiring out slaves necessarily involved mobility. The practice also required separation from the slave's family and loved ones. Additionally, it encouraged cruel treatment of the bondsman because a lessee did not have to live permanently with the consequences of punishment or the denial of proper diet or medical care.[36] These factors, as well as the division of authority between lessee and lessor, undoubtedly contributed over time to the "looseness" of slave control.

A measure of mobility, some economic opportunities, and chances for social interaction were available to many blacks, but factors understandably prompted bondsmen to flee their enslavement. "It is said," an editor noted in 1824, "that many decline settling in the Territory because they are liable to the loss of their negroes by elopement."[37] The Tallahassee *Floridian* echoed the charge a decade later. Its editor opined, "There are few things which have been subjects of greater complaint for the last two or three years than runaway negroes, who are permitted to go at large, and plunder the public."[38]

33. Mormino, "Florida Slave Narratives," 409.
34. Arthur R. Seymour, trans., "Essay on Middle Florida, 1837-1838 (Eassai sur la Floride du Milieu) by Comte de Castlenau," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 26 (January 1948), 240. Jefferson County planter Achille Murat, reflecting the sentiments and insensitivity of many whites, defended whippings. "Let one of my negroes [rob me]," he stated, "[and] he is whipped and mends his manners. Corporeal pain over, he feels no other bad consequences, and his innocent children are not punished for the fault of the father; but whatever may be said, cruel punishments are not practiced." Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville, 1883; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1962), 164.
35. Rivers, "Jefferson County," 417-20; idem, "Leon County," 242-43; idem, "Gadsden County," 15-17.
36. Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth,* 77.
37. St. Augustine *East Florida* Herald, October 16, 1824.
38. Tallahassee *Floridian,* January 18, 1834.

Masters' sentiments toward truant bondsmen varied radically, suggesting the diversity of beliefs among slaveholders and the dangers of assuming that a planter elite could fully discipline its class. Some owners naturally expressed anger or resentment, but published notices frequently betrayed a certain admiration for the runaway. Twenty-four-year-old Dick, of Leon County, was "a daring, artful villain" and William Isaac of Jacksonville, aged nineteen, "a very intelligent negro."[39] Occasionally masters were disbelieving that their bondsman would leave. Mary Roberts of Marianna said of her servant Harry: "He is a keen artful fellow and no doubt will give a favorable account of himself. I think it is likely that he has been carried off."[40] Mary Sanchez promised her man George that, if he returned to her St. Augustine home, "all will be forgiven."[41]

Why would Harry have left Mary Roberts, or George, Mary Sanchez? Perhaps, surprisingly, the most common scenario did not involve cruel punishment. More often, runaways had been recently brought into the territory and were seeking to return to their families and loved ones. Florida slaves eloped to every southern slave state. The urge to return home was so strong for twenty-two-year-old Lewis that in 1839 he stole a horse at Tampa Bay's Fort Brooke and made his escape through 100 miles of Indian territory during the midst of the Second Seminole War. "His destination it is supposed will be South Carolina," a report noted, "whence he was brought last fall."[42] Even capture did not defeat the spirit of some bondsmen. After running away from a plantation in the Lake Jackson area of Leon County, Edmund and Rebecca were seized and jailed at Hawkinsville, Georgia. Undaunted, a local man recorded, "Edmund fired the Jail and subsequently broke out, and [then departed] towards Hamburg, S. C., through to Virginia, if possible."[43]

Many runaways chose to remain close to loved ones in the territory. "I purchased [Jim] . . . last January," advertised one man in 1833, "and have reason to believe he is about Tallahassee, where he has been heretofore hired— his wife is a large dark complected woman, whom he decoyed off, and is doubtless with him."[44] Other bondsmen opted for freedom in the nearby Indian lands. "Negroes

39. St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* June 1, 1833; St. Augustine *News,* June 19, 1840.
40. Tallahassee *Floridian,* February 28, 1835.
41. St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* February 10, 1830.
42. Tallahassee *Floridian,* September 28, 1839.
43. Ibid., April 6, 1839.
44. Ibid., May 11, 1833.

are harboured among the Indians with impunity," charged a newspaper in 1824.[45] Owners' fears that slaves would seek such refuge were commonplace well into the 1840s and, as will be seen, were not without foundation.[46]

The relative ease with which substantial numbers of slaves fled bondage demonstrates the failure of territorial law to stem the runaway problem. The legislative council felt compelled in the 1820s, for example, to impose the death penalty "for a master of a ship to conceal on board and carry away any slave, the property of a citizen of the Territory." Soon, the same penalty was imposed upon "any person convicted of slave stealing."[47] Still, runaways often remained at liberty for long periods of time.[48]

No doubt black family members and friends protected many, but some whites also harbored fugitives. These whites fell within two broad categories: persons sympathetic to the runaway, and persons desirous of exploiting the fugitive for their own purposes. "Negro stealing" was a continuing problem, and owner frustration ran high at the ability of their bondsmen to elude capture through the help of whites. A St. Johns County man summarized these feelings. "I am determined to punish [my runaway]," he declared, "until he informs me who has given him food and protection, and I shall apply the law of Judge Lynch to my own satisfaction, on those concerned in his concealment."[49]

White sympathy for runaways stemmed from a number of sources, although ties of kinship must be counted among the most significant. Miscegenation was common, and illustrations of family concern stretching across racial lines easily are found.[50] Antislavery

45. St. Augustine *East Florida Herald,* October 16, 1824.
46. Edwin L. Williams, Jr., "Negro Slavery in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1949), 102-04.
47. Thelma Bates, "The Legal Status of the Negro in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 6 (January 1928), 166.
48. As to the capture of runaways, one Englishman wrote in the late 1830s: "At Tallahassee I saw in the streets two negroes with heavy iron collars around their necks. These were captured run-aways; the collars which much have weighed seven or ten pounds had spikes projecting on either side. One of the poor creatures had hold of the spikes as he walked along to ease the load that pressed painfully on his shoulders." See Bertram H. Groene, *Ante-Bellum Tallahassee* (Tallahassee, 1971), 112-13.
49. St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* June 16, 1838.
50. See, for example, May, "Zephaniah Kingsley"; Brown, "Robert Meacham"; Child, *Letters From New-York,* 142-43; Richard A. Martin and Daniel L. Schafer, *Jacksonville's Ordeal By Fire: A Civil War History* (Jacksonville, 1984), 246-47.

sentiment also existed during the territorial period, as the *Pensacola Gazette* suggested in 1834. "The curse of domestic slavery," its editor proclaimed, "has scarcely yet begun to be felt— we speak upon it as a curse, not to the negro but to the white man."[51]

The ofttimes slack nature of slave control, interracial ties of kinship and affection, slave mobility, opportunities for social interaction across racial lines, and antislavery sentiment during Florida's territorial period all reflect patterns of race relations at odds with 1850s practices typical in other areas of the South. If planter elites were using the law effectively as a tool to create a more-disciplined political culture, how was this being done? Were the attempts proving effective over time?

Several scholars have examined the severity of Florida's slave code and racially discriminatory legislation, including laws against miscegenation, manumission, harboring fugitive slaves, property ownership by blacks, and slave mobility.[52] Penalties included whipping, nailing the slave's ears to a post, burning the slave with a heated iron in open court, and death.[53] Yet, day-to-day realities were often at odds with the law. In the final year of the territorial era a grand jury still could declare, "It is a fact established by proof . . . that from want of care or a mistaken policy on the part of many slave owners, an inertness in the enforcement of the law or a lameness in the laws themselves an extent of privilege and indulgence is permitted to which [blacks] can have no consistent claim and which is wholly incompatible with a just estimate on their part of their proper position."[54]

This state of affairs existed because much of the law evolved not from a considered plan but, rather, was adopted in an emotional atmosphere grounded in planters' immediate fears of slave revolt and black and Indian insurrection. Laws enacted in such a climate stepped far beyond the bounds of community consensus

51. *Pensacola Gazette,* May 17, 1834, quoted from Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida During the Territorial Days* (Athens, 1944; reprint ed., Philadelphia, 1974), 123.
52. Thomas, "The Free Negro in Florida Before 1865"; Bates, "Legal Status"; Edwin L. Williams, "Negro Slavery in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1949), 102-04; Russell Garvin, "The Free Negro in Florida Before the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (July 1967), 1-18; Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth,* 101-21.
53. Bates, "Legal Status," 132.
54. *Territorial Papers,* XXVI, 916.

and, once the particular emergency passed, often commanded so little respect as to be unenforceable.

The conflicts that prompted enactment of racial laws predated transfer of the territory to the United States. The First Seminole War of 1817-1818, according to one historian, "had been commenced for the destruction of the [free blacks]," and its principal engagement was fought between blacks and forces commanded by Andrew Jackson.[55] Likely on Jackson's orders, remaining black settlements near Tampa Bay were destroyed in 1821.[56] How many refugee and runaway blacks continued to live in the territory is unclear, although the number apparently was in excess of 1,000. In 1823 American authorities attempted by treaty to concentrate them and their Indian allies deep within the peninsula.[57] Fear of their proximity to settled areas was pervasive. "Many fugitive slaves [are] running at large in the Southern part of this paninsula," reported Governor William P. DuVal. "[They] are well armed with Spanish Muskets &cc."[58]

When authorities removed Indians and blacks to the new Indian reservation, poor planning, insufficient supplies, lack of cooperation, and bad weather combined to reduce many evacuees to near starvation.[59] Incidents between white settlers and Indians compounded the problem, while slavecatchers hounded officials for the return of runaways.[60] By the spring of 1826 the natives had become so desperate that a delegation of chiefs visited Washington to protest. President John Quincy Adams agreed to adjust the northern limits of their reservation to include fertile lands adjacent to the frontier in Alachua County.[61] In the minds of many settlers, the government's decision placed armed black runaways within shooting distance of their families. As planter James Gadsden later explained, "The extension of their limits. . . was ill advised, and [was] the fruitful cause of most of the disagreements with our Red Brethren of Florida."[62]

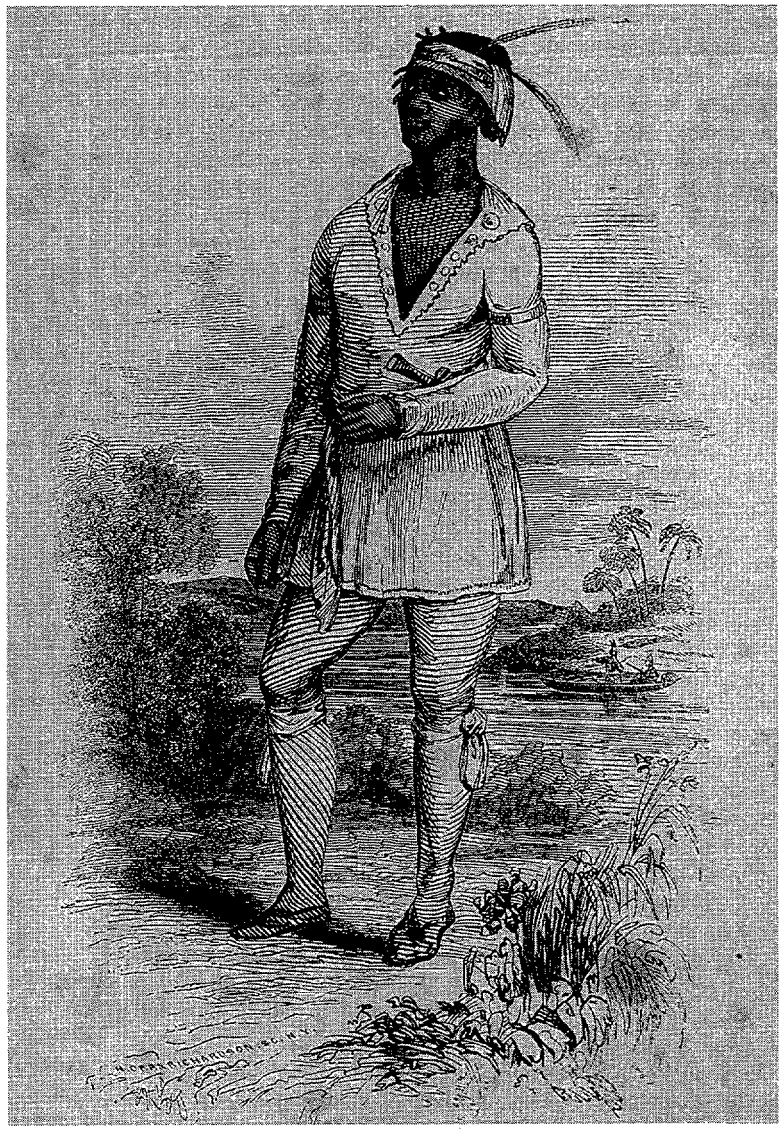
55. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida,* 54-55.
56. Brown, "Sarrazota, or Runaway Negro Plantations."
57. Mahon, *Second Seminole War,* 42-50.
58. *Territorial Papers,* XXII, 744.
59. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida,* 75.
60. Virginia Bergman Peters, *The Florida Wars* (Hamden, CT, 1979), 73-80.
61. Mahon, *Second Seminole War,* 62.
62. Tallahassee *Floridian,* April 3, 1832.

Passions simmered on both sides of the reservation boundary in 1826 and 1827. When an army detachment approached one Indian town in July 1826, a black informed its officers that "the [Indian and black] inhabitants, on hearing of our approach, had taken to the swamp, and would fight if followed."[63] When a party of Indians left the reservation and reportedly murdered a family near Tallahassee, Middle Floridians– who lived in the heart of the territory's plantation belt– were shocked and fearful. According to one account, "their indignation against the Indians was unbounded."[64] Alachua County residents demanded that a permanent military post be established to protect their settlements.[65] Officials dispatched regular army troops from Tampa Bay and Pensacola to the Suwannee River, and the governor of Georgia sent several militia companies to the state line.[66]

Through 1827 the possibility of war hung in the air, and, at that juncture, the legislative council met to consider enactment of the territory's first slave code. For seven years Florida had governed itself without the need for a comprehensive code, but the danger posed by frontier problems compelled action. The council responded with a detailed checklist of restrictions designed to restrain all bondsmen. Legislators banned "riot, rout, unlawful assembly, quarrel, or fight" by free blacks and slaves. It was also decreed that any white man found at an unlawful assembly or meeting of blacks would be whipped. The death penalty was imposed for any capital offense, manslaughter, or the burning of a "dwelling house, store, cotton gin, barn or stable."[67]

Despite the legislative action, fears of black revolt remained high as frontier problems persisted. Although Indians comprised the larger number of potential hostiles, many whites perceived blacks as the true villains. "The negroes of the Seminole Indians, are wholly independent, or at least regardless of the authority of their masters," asserted the Indian agent, "and are Slaves but in

63. George A. McCall, *Letters From the Frontiers, Written During a Period of Thirty Years' Service in the Army of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1868; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1974), 148.
64. Giddings, *Exiles of Florida,* 79.
65. Isaac Clark to Thomas S. Jesup, December 30, 1826, Quartermaster General, Consolidated Correspondence File 1794-1915, Isaac Clark file, RG 92, box 109, National Archives, Washington, DC.
66. Savannah *Daily Georgian,* November 17, 1826, January 1, 1827.
67. Bates, "Legal Status," 160-61.



Gopher John, a Black Seminole interpreter for United States troops engaged in fighting the Seminoles. *Illustration courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

name." He added, "The great influence the Slaves possess over their masters . . . is uniformly exercised in exciting their jealousy of the whites."[68] When army troops withdrew from the Indian agency at nearby Fort King (Ocala) in 1829, settlers again demanded action, while noting their "helpless and unprotected condition." The St. Augustine *Florida Herald* commented, "The whole country is now laid open to them; and they can, with impunity commit depredations upon the property of the inhabitants."[69]

Apprehensions of the might of armed free blacks on the frontier and of the possibility of free black cooperation with a slave revolt continued to haunt legislators. In 1829 the council, which increasingly represented Middle Florida's planter interests, again focused its attention on the problem. Delegates prohibited manumission and the immigration of free blacks into the territory. Additionally, it ordered that any slave freed by a Floridian be sold back into slavery.[70] In 1831 and 1832 the council further tightened controls, banned possession of firearms by blacks, and passed a law "against intermarriage [of whites] with free negroes or attempting to live in a state of adultery or fornication [with blacks]."[71]

Coming on the heels of Nat Turner's slave insurrection in Virginia, the changes might appear to be part of regional efforts to tighten laws. A more immediate cause, however, lay with the continuing potential for frontier violence. In early 1832, for instance, Alachua County residents again petitioned for "armed force" to counter "aggression by the Indians or attempt of an insurrection among the slaves." Settlers argued that "1600 Warriors & over 1100 Slaves (belonging to the Indians) now resid[e] in the Seminole Indian Nation many of whom are traversing the Country adjoining the Northern Boundary of the Indian Nation."[72]

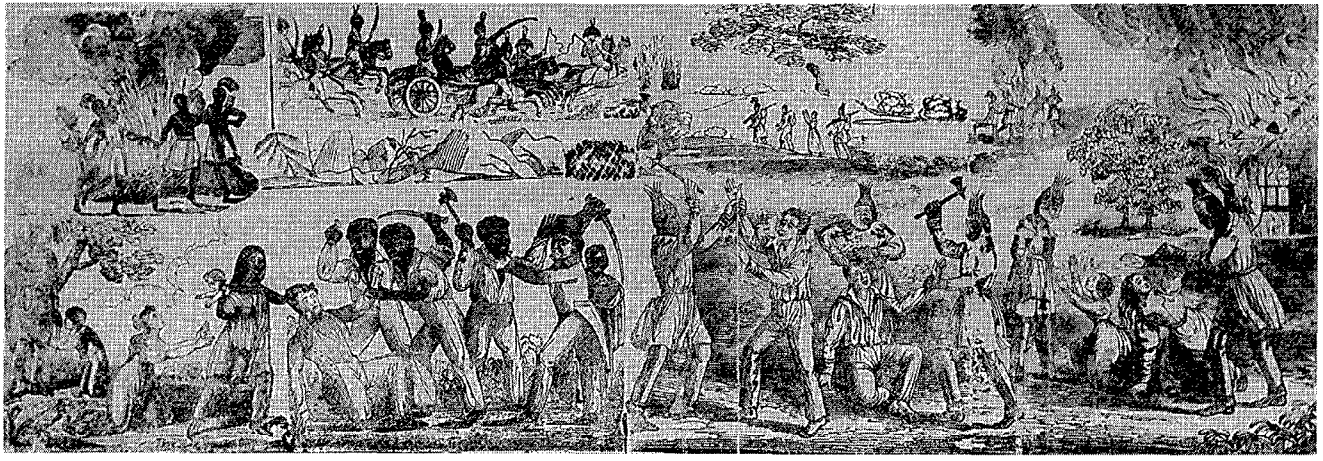
Planter and frontiersmen fears were justified. By 1835 Indian leaders, counseled by black advisers, opted for war rather than emigration to the west. Under Holata Micco and Osceola– and often commanded by the black chief Harry– Indians and blacks initiated

68. *Territorial Papers,* XXIII, 911.
69. St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* September 2, 1829.
70. Bates, "Legal Status," 164-65.
71. Thomas, "Free Negro," 340.
72. *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 643-44.

a series of provocative incidents.[73] Meanwhile, several black leaders circulated among the Alachua- and St. Johns River-area plantations. According to Kenneth Wiggins Porter, they successfully "encouraged the Negroes, by promises of freedom and plunder, to be prepared to revolt simultaneously with the outbreak of hostilities."[74] When open warfare commenced in December 1835 and January 1836, hundreds– if not 1,000 or more– bondsmen cooperated by deserting to Indian and black settlements.[75] This event marked the greatest slave uprising in United States history.

Although earlier prohibitions had proved ineffective, the council adopted additional repressive measures when racial tensions boiled over into slave revolt. Among other provisions, the "Act respecting the hostile Negroes and Mulattoes in the Seminole Nation" penalized owners for the return of slaves who had fled from their farms and plantations.[76] Since most of the slaves in question lived in East Florida frontier areas, the Middle Florida planter elite, which by then dominated the council, sacrificed little. The attempt, however, was too much for Floridians accustomed to disregarding overreaching laws. Residents throughout East Florida refused to comply with the "odious" and "reckless" law and its "cruel and oppressive imposition" and demanded its repeal.[77] Days after the council convened in January 1837, it acknowledged the mistake.[78]

73. Canter Brown, Jr., *Florida's Peace River Frontier* (Orlando, 1991), 40-43. Faced with the threat of war, many whites, who could not imagine a genuinely autonomous spirit among the blacks, were confounded. Only outsiders, some slaveholders preferred to believe, could have instigated such intense desires for freedom. "There are a large number of Negroes amongst the Indians," one resident reported, "who may be under the influence of the Abolitionists of the North, whose machinations, are now endangering our safety." See *Territorial Papers,* XXV, 190.
74. Kenneth Wiggins Porter concluded, "Since, for a number of years, the prevalence of peace had encouraged intercourse between Negro slaves and Seminole Indians, it was easy to convince the slaves." Kenneth Wiggins Porter, "The Negro Abraham," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 25 (July 1946), 17-18.
75. At the remote Miami River plantation of territorial council member Richard Fitzpatrick, fifty to sixty slaves struggled for their freedom and only "with great exertion" was his overseer able to prevent them "from falling into the hands of the Indians." See Peters, *Florida Wars,* 108; Hugo L. Black III, "Richard Fitzpatrick's South Florida, 1822-1840, Part II: Fitzpatrick's Miami River Plantation," *Tequesta* 41 (1981), 36, 40.
76. Laws of Florida (1836), 13-15.
77. St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* November 24, 1836.
78. Tallahassee *Floridian,* February 18, 1837.



"The above is intended to represent the horrid Massacre of the Whites of Florida, ion December 1835, and January, February, March and April 1836, when near Four Hundred (including women and children) fell victims to the barbarity of the Negroes and Indians." *Illustration courtesy Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

The attempt of Middle Florida planters to "discipline" their class and others had failed; rather, the planter elite had been instructed to reach no further than a legal position their opponents safely could ignore. Their problem, though; soon grew even greater. Many East Florida leaders, wary of planters' designs, demanded political separation. "Perhaps it would suit all parties better," explained one East Floridian, "to divide the Territory at the Suwannee and let that part west of that river '*set up for herself,*' if she will."[79] Struggling to maintain credibility and fearing the impact of a loosely disciplined East Florida frontier, Middle Florida leaders quickly accelerated the drive for a statehood convention as their only option in maintaining influence in the territory as a whole. In 1837 Governor Richard Keith Call, a Middle Florida planter, succeeded against East Florida opposition in issuing a convention call.[80]

The constitutional convention met at St. Joseph on December 3, 1838, and the territory's deep sectional differences surfaced in its deliberations. After long debate, the convention ultimately rejected division of the territory and, eventually, approved a constitution that protected slavery while prohibiting the legislature from passing emancipation laws or barring settlers from bringing slaves into the territory. The charter subsequently was rejected overwhelmingly in East Florida and approved territory-wide by only twenty-one votes.[81]

The St. Joseph Convention and the sectional and economic differences it exposed helped give birth to party politics in Florida. The tumultuous nature of party competition thereafter heightened racial and sectional tensions as Middle Florida planters strained to win statehood before East Floridians could secede.[82] Democrats, with the planters' silent assent, accused East Florida Whigs, who were pro-division, of abolitionist sentiment. "Disunite [the territory]," roared the Tallahassee *Floridian* in 1840, "and we shall have the germ of an Abolition State in East Florida, in less than five years."[83] Such inflammatory language, based upon widespread concern among Middle Florida slaveholders, continued to

79. Dodd, *Florida Becomes A State,* 40, quoting St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* January 6, 1838.
80. Ibid., 31-47.
81. Ibid., 63.
82. Herbert J. Doherty, *The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854* (Gainesville, 1959), 1-8.
83. Tallahassee *Floridian,* April 4, 1840.

exemplify the tenor of public debate until Florida finally achieved statehood in 1845.

For twenty-four years prior to Florida's admission into the Union, change, confusion, fear, misunderstanding, and overreaction marked the patterns of its race relations. They were not as static as suggested by many recent scholars. Rather, they evolved within a dynamic context that itself was molded by the territory's frontier experience. Where some historians have attempted to apply to the South over-arching theories based upon fixed circumstances, Florida's example suggests that local customs, conditions, and events had substantial impact upon the evolution of slavery and relations between the races.

As argued by Eugene Genovese for the South generally, the territory's planter elite, of whom most lived in Middle Florida, did attempt to discipline society through the law. In substantial measure, though, their effort failed to achieve its goal. By the end of the era those leaders, against the wishes of many of their East Florida counterparts, were compelled to seek statehood in an urgent attempt to find more effective alternatives. Still, the alternatives chosen offered no guarantee of eventual success. Additionally, such attempts more often than not were born out of fearful reaction to events occurring within the territory, rather than from farsighted leadership. As a result, the law often overreached community consensus and, if not challenged directly, was ignored or treated with indifference by a broad range of residents-white and black, slave and free. Day-to-day life in Florida continued to offer far greater possibilities for many of the territory's residents than the letter of the law seemingly permitted.

AID SOCIETIES WERE NOT ALIKE: NORTHERN TEACHERS IN POST-CIVIL WAR FLORIDA

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

Northern teachers in the South during the Civil War and Reconstruction have been the subject of various studies.[1] This literature emphasizes the origins and development of the aid societies that sponsored the teachers, and it focuses upon major figures who shaped educational policy. At the same time, little attention details the activities of early northern teachers in Florida within the context of developments in other places. Florida's experience varies from other parts of the South, and it offers, by contrast, a fresh perspective on the regional experience. Ansel Eddy Kinne's career provides an opportunity for understanding aid societies. From early 1864 to late 1866 he was superintendent of schools in Florida for one such organization, the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York (NFRA).[2]

Ansel Kinne was born near Syracuse, at Dewitt, New York, on May 17, 1820. The youngest of Prentise Kinne's eleven children, he pursued a love of learning by completing all of the formal education available in the district. At the time, educational opportunities were limited, and he supplemented a common school

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1. Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875* (Westport, CT, 1980); Robert F. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation: Black Hampton, Virginia, 1861-1890* (Philadelphia, 1979); Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890* (Athens, 1986). See also Samuel Proctor, "Yankee Schoolmarms in Post-War Florida," *Journal of Negro History* 44 (July 1959); Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida In The Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, 1974); Sarah W. Foster and John T. Foster, Jr., "Chloe Merrick Reed: Freedom's First Lady," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71 (January 1993).
2. A. E. Kinne is listed as assistant superintendent and superintendent of schools in issues of the NFRA periodical, *The National Freedman.* See also Foster and Foster, "Chloe Merrick Reed, 279-99."

Ansel Eddy Kinne. *Photograph courtesy Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, New York.*

education by attending an academy. While there he decided to become an educator. Kinne obtained a teaching position in a log house in Dewitt. In the early 1840s he interspersed successful teaching with attendance at a seminary in nearby Cazenovia. These studies prepared him for college— a hope that failing

health ended in 1844.[3] When his health improved he returned to the classroom in Dewitt and nearby villages. In 1848 he came back to his hometown, and at the age of thirty Kinne was elected superintendent of schools.[4]

In the late 1840s and early 1850s Kinne's life changed. He married twenty-year-old teacher Emma Merrick in October 1849 and moved into Syracuse. The Kinnes thereafter involved themselves with the Merrick family and the family's church. Emma's brothers, Montgomery and Charles, were abolitionists, and in 1843 they confronted the local Methodist Episcopal Church on this matter. When their efforts failed to change the church's policy on slavery, the Merricks helped to organize a chapel affiliated with a small breakaway denomination– the Wesleyan Connection of America. Besides rejecting both slavery and alcohol, Wesleyan chapels were places where controversial ideas were debated. The women's rights convention of July 1848, for example, was held in a Wesleyan Connection church in nearby Seneca Falls.[5] Additional conventions followed in 1852, when Susan B. Anthony spoke at the Merricks' home church in Syracuse. "She ridiculed the idea that women owe any allegiance to men," demanding "for her sex all the rights enjoyed by men, even to the ballot box."[6]

When Ansel and Emma Kinne moved to Syracuse in 1849, local residents were engaged in a different controversy. Congress had passed a fugitive slave law that mandated the return of runaway slaves found in the North to their owners. Daniel Webster, who advocated the law, came to Syracuse to confront local abolitionists, declaring that the law would be enforced regardless of their wishes. The Wesleyan Methodists rejected his law as a product of Satan, "The Father of Lies."[7]

Efforts to impose the law on Syracuse came to a head in October 1851 when a runaway slave was arrested, only to be freed by a group of men that included both of Emma's brothers and their father, Sylvanus. After United States marshals recaptured the slave, a

3. Emerson Kinne, *A Branch of the Family Kinne* (Syracuse, 1881), 60-61; Edward Smith, *A History of the Schools of Syracuse: From its Early Settlment to January 1, 1893* (Syracuse, 1893), 308-09; Syracuse *Daily Standard*, January 17, 1890.
4. Smith, *History of the Schools of Syracuse,* 308.
5. Miriam Gurko, *The Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Women's Rights Movement* (New York, 1974), 100.
6. Ibid.; Syracuse *Daily Standard,* June 6, 1852.
7. Earl E. Sperry, *The Jerry Rescue, October 1, 1851,* ed. Franklin H. Chase (Syracuse, 1924), 22-28; *New York Tribune,* October 4, 6, 8, 1851; New York *True Wesleyan,* May 17, June 14, 1851.

group of men and women, including the Merricks, returned to the police station and released the slave yet again. He escaped to Canada. These events pleased Kinne, and he probably participated in them. As his convictions grew, he became more active in the family church. By 1856 Kinne had served as a trustee, a steward, and a superintendent of the Sunday school.[8]

Church participation reinforced Kinne's interest in the well-being of others. As an educator with limited formal education, he continued to expand his own knowledge through independent study and shared new ideas with his wife and her younger sister Chloe. They, in turn, shared knowledge with him. Kinne had a keen interest in the careers of his wife and her sister and in the welfare of his students. His sympathy for others also made him popular with students, many of whom still praised him in the 1920s, decades after his death. Kinne took seriously the biblical admonition to be concerned about one's neighbors whether they be African Americans, women, or wayward youth. With the latter he always sought "to reclaim the truant and disobedient."[9] By 1855 he had become principal of a Syracuse elementary school. Emma periodically joined the staff between the births of her children Lucius in 1855 and Mary in 1860. A son, Charles Wesley, had been born earlier in 1850 and another daughter followed Mary in 1862.[10]

While the Kinne family was growing, events in the South occurred that would take Ansel and Emma to Florida. At the Civil War's beginning Federal troops held coastal fortifications at Hampton, Virginia, and quickly added other possessions along the coasts of both South Carolina and northern Florida. As these areas came under northern control, the prospects of freedom attracted thousands of escaped slaves. The influx brought military officers both opportunities and serious problems. Many African-American men were organized into army units, and their families needed clothing, food, and shelter. Since most had been denied any opportunity for an education, many sought literacy for themselves and schooling for their children.

Military leaders such as Brigadier General Rufus Saxton in northeast Florida asked Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton for assistance. Stanton appealed to abolitionists, including Samuel J.

8. *Syracuse Daily Journal City Directory for 1862-63* (Syracuse, 1862).
9. Syracuse *Herald,* November 19, 1922; Smith, *History of the Schools of Syracuse,* 309.
10. Kinne, *Branch of the Family Kinne,* 61.

May who was active in Syracuse. May quickly shared information about the plight of freedmen. By the fall of 1862 he had organized a local freedmen's aid society affiliated with the NFRA, collected funds to send several teachers south, and began recruiting. Two local women, Chloe Merrick and Cornelia Smith, volunteered to serve.[11]

The same process that occurred in Syracuse was repeated in other places, and different types of aid societies came into being. Some were affiliated with religious denominations, and others were secular. At Hampton, Virginia, both types of organizations competed with each other and with the denominational groups that were becoming more important. In Florida, on the other hand, the predominant aid society– the NFRA– dropped its religious affiliation.[12] By December 1862 both secular and religious societies had become closely aligned. They viewed blacks from a perspective described as "romantic racialism." The term implied that blacks were inferior but that their condition was the product of the "shackles" or deprivations of slavery. Slavery's harmful effects were not permanent and were believed to be subject to amelioration. Education offered both a means of compensating them for their suffering and a way of giving them skills to use in a "new" future. Schooling would be preparation for the time when African Americans would participate as equal citizens, voting and holding public offices. Southern schools with this purpose would replicate the northern common school. Such schools, supported with taxes, would provide an educational program for all students– black and white. There would be integration of the races.[13]

After 1863 some workers in denominational societies began discarding romantic racialism. When Presbyterian teachers and missionaries first arrived in Hampton, Virginia, they were optimistic, but they soon began to believe that their work had failed. As this happened, communal living and eating among blacks and whites declined. Familiarity with freedmen became less common due to a rapid turnover among missionaries. "Few of them continued the practice of addressing Christian blacks as 'brother' and 'sister,' in part, because they were no longer convinced that Afri-

11. Syracuse *Daily Standard,* December 23, 1862.
12. Butchart, *Northern Schools,* 81-82.
13. Ibid., 49.

Emma Merrick Kinne. *Photograph courtesy Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, New York.*

can-Americans really were Christians."[14] For some, romantic racialism gave way to biological racism. By 1865 some missionaries believed that "many freedmen [were] ignorant, vicious and de-

14. Northern Methodists followed a different pattern from Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. Methodist Episcopal Church leaders in Jacksonville, Florida, held views after the Civil War that varied from those of either the American Missionary Association or Samuel Chapman Armstrong. See John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah W. Foster, "The Last Shall Be First: Northern Methodists in Reconstruction Jacksonville," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70 (January 1992); Engs, *Freedom's First Generation,* 60; Butchart, *Northern Schools,* 49.

grading." These traits, they thought, were inherent black traits. Hampton Institute founder Samuel Chapman Armstrong announced that blacks possessed vices: "They had low ideas of honor and morality, and a general lack of directive energy, judgment and foresight."[15]

By adopting these views, missionaries like Armstrong became less concerned about education for liberation and more worried about the threat 4,000,000 freed blacks posed to society. Armstrong wrote: "The plastic character of the race put them completely under the control of their leaders. A most unfortunate result of this blind leading the blind is already seen in the belief that political rights are better obtained by political warfare."[16] Education became a tool for keeping blacks on the land they traditionally had worked. Education could mold African Americans into a docile, stable work force while teaching them to accept their place at the bottom of southern society. As a partial consequence of this view, denominational groups sought an educational curricula designed especially for blacks. Major themes included piety, temperance, and character building. Hampton Institute became a prototype of institutions such as Tuskegee– little worlds "which assiduously cultivated morality, diligence and thrift rather than academics."[17]

While some members of denominational societies abandoned romantic racialism, secular ones often did not. Secular workers were less concerned about blacks adopting the religious practices of particular denominations. The Kinnes, for instance, probably had little expectation that blacks would become Wesleyan Methodists. Their church's position on slavery became less important as the Civil War continued. In time, they joined other Methodist groups themselves.[18]

Ansel Kinne's opportunity to serve in the South came in December 1863. Secretary of War Stanton and General Saxton offered him a position as a superintendent of freedmen's schools in Florida. The appointment may have come at the urging of Chloe Merrick who already had obtained approval to open an orphanage in Fernandina.[19] Ansel accepted the job, a decision that reflected

15. Engs, *Freedom's First Generation,* 143.
16. Ibid., 144.
17. Ibid., 145.
18. Syracuse *Daily Standard,* January 20, 1890; *Jacksonville Journal,* September 23, 1976.
19. *Syracuse Journal,* December 16, 1863.

commitment to the cause and his considerable knowledge of the Florida situation. He had received information from Chloe in the summer of 1863, which supplemented a series of previous letters describing the schools, the progress of students, and conditions in Fernandina. Although both Kinnes were enthusiastic to join Chloe and her work, Emma waited in Syracuse until early 1865 so that arrangements could be made for her and the children.[20]

After his February 1864 arrival at Fernandina, Kinne served as both superintendent of schools and superintendent of the "colored" people.[21] These positions gave him responsibilities for the welfare of African Americans beyond education. In fulfilling these duties, he sought the active participation of black Floridians in public affairs– a goal that also was sought by the chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, Salmon P. Chase. As a result, the paths of Kinne and Chase crossed in Florida soon after the war's end.

Salmon Chase had two abiding interests: furthering the cause of racial equality and his own political career. His involvement with African Americans grew out of his law practice where he had gained renown for defending blacks. He attacked slavery in the courts and through an examination of the intentions of the Constitution's framers. Chase felt that the Constitution was not written to protect slavery and that it was improper to use it for that purpose.[22] He also sought to further black's rights and his own political ambitions through memberships in parties– Liberty, Free Soil, Democratic, and Republican. His pursuit of high political office brought him to the United States Senate from Ohio in 1849, twice to the governorship of that state, and to the Senate again in 1860. Appointed by Lincoln as secretary of the treasury, Chase earned distinction by leading efforts to finance the war.[23] When Chief Justice Roger B. Taney died in the fall of 1864, Lincoln nominated Chase to fill the vacancy. The Senate confirmed him, believing that the court would no longer obstruct the war effort or Lincoln's emancipation policy.[24] The confidence given to Chase on these matters was

20. Ibid., August 9, 1866; Kinne, *Branch of the Family Kinne*, 60.
21. Kinne, *Branch of the Family Kinne*, 61; *The National Freedman* (February 1866), 68.
22. Brooks D. Simpson, LeRoy P. Graf, and John Muldowny, eds., *Advice After Appomattox: Letters to Andrew Johnson, 1865-1866* (Knoxville, 1987), 3; William H. Rehnquist, *Grand Inquests: The Historic Impeachments of Justice Samuel Chase and President Andrew Johnson* (New York, 1992), 174, 183.
23. Rehnquist, *Grand Inquests*, 183.
24. Simpson, *Advice After Appomattox*, 4.

well placed. In spite of his almost insatiable ambition, he never gave up his lifelong desire to better the slaves' condition.[25]

Early in 1865 Chase devised a program for Reconstruction based upon the enfranchisement of freedmen. African Americans were loyal citizens of the federal government and had earned their rights on the battlefield. "Simple justice" demanded that the ballot be extended to them. Through their enfranchisement and that of southern Unionists, control over their own political futures would be possible. To further this goal Chase planned a tour of southern coastal areas. Fernandina probably was selected as a place to visit since it was home to Lyman D. Stickney– a Chase supporter and United States tax commissioner– and to Adolphus Mot, the former French tutor of Chase's children.[26]

Kinne's subsequent behavior suggests that Justice Chase's goals for the freedmen already had been communicated to him. Kinne was sympathetic to black suffrage and was willing to provide evidence that Chase's program would work. Accordingly, in April 1865 he supervised efforts to establish a municipal government in Fernandina. After the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee's army, a committee was appointed which agreed to a plan of action. The only unresolved issue was whether or not the vote should be extended to black men. At first the committee voted against this proposal, but the issue was eventually put to the entire group– some fifty whites and two or three times that number of blacks. Kinne wrote: "Of the fifty, nearly forty were residents of the town, and nearly all of the colored persons might be considered [to be residents]. The first vote went . . . one hundred and twenty-three to twenty-seven." Seeing the inevitable, twenty-five white Southerners left the meeting. A final vote followed, giving unanimous support to black suffrage.[27]

An election was scheduled for May 1, 1865, to elect a mayor, a city clerk, a marshal, and eight councilmen. Kinne believed that "it

25. Rehnquist, *Grand Inquests,* 183. According to Ovid Futch, "Chase was no unprincipled politician who would make appointments with consideration only for personal gain. He was practical enough to look for appointees who would, he hoped, competently and faithfully perform their public duties." See Ovid Futch, "Salmon P. Chase and Civil War Politics in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32 (April 1954), 163.
26. Simpson, *Advice After Appomattox,* 4-5, 36. Chase's views on black suffrage appear in the *New York Tribune,* May 22, 25, 1865.
27. *Syracuse Journal,* June 8, 1865.

was one of the quietest, most unanimous and purest elections I ever attended. Of the one hundred and sixty-nine votes cast, only nine were those of white citizens, the twenty-five seceders from the primary choosing not to vote." Rather than accepting these results, nonvoting residents tried to keep Federal military authorities from recognizing them. This effort failed when Chase came to Fernandina on May 18, 1865. When he discovered that the winners, including Mayor-Elect Adolphus Mot, had not been sworn in, Chase solved the problem by administering the oath of office himself. Regional military commander Major General John Gilmore responded to Chase's actions by congratulating the new mayor, adding, "I shall issue an order fully recognizing the municipal government of Fernandina."[28]

Participants understood the significance of these words. Chase was excited about whites and blacks voting together and wrote Charles Sumner about his actions. "Was not that an event?" he asked Sumner. The chief justice commented to Kinne "that he had only administered oaths of office twice before, and then to presidents of the United States." Sharing Chase's enthusiasm, Kinne informed the people of Syracuse that Mot was "the first mayor ever elected in the South upon the broad platform of universal suffrage."[29]

While in Fernandina, Chase visited the NFRA's schools as Kinne's guest. Kinne took delight in showing the accomplishments of his students and teachers. They toured the school of Mrs. Loveridge and Miss Abbie Burch, at which time Kinne related: "It was my privilege to introduce the General [Gilmore] and Chief Justice to the pupils. I told [them] that they were looking upon the face of one who held the highest judicial position in this or in any country in the world– that meriting this high position he had been placed there by President Lincoln. In response, Mr. Chase said some plain, simple and impressive things. Admitting his high position, he said that when he was a boy he studied hard, with less advantages than they enjoyed, that had he not been studious he could never have been in his present position, more than intimating that his example might be followed. As I sat listening to his simple, wise words . . . I thought,

28. Ibid.
29. J. W. Schuckers, *The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase; United States Senator and Governor of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury and Chief-Justice of the United States* (New York, 1874), 523; *Syracuse Journal,* June 8, 1865.

"How great are the revolutions which we witness!" These events visibly moved the students. "No school of white children could have given better attention," Kinne concluded.[30]

The chief justice's response was positive. "They are composed of scholars of all ages and colors," he recorded. "Many of the colored soldiers attend, and are striving very diligently after knowledge. The teachers are of that army of women to whom the country owes more than it can ever pay, and more I fear than it ever will be conscious of. The world has never seen such self-denying and generous zeal . . . as shown by our American women."[31] In spite of these events in Fernandina, Chase's hopes for his journey to the South went unfulfilled. During the first half of his trip he wrote a series of letters to President Andrew Johnson seeking to influence policies on Reconstruction. In June, when Chase reached Mobile, he learned that Johnson had chosen to pardon Confederate veterans but not to enfranchise blacks. These policies led Adolphus Mot to write Chase: "The proclamation of the President on State reconstruction stands, in the path of future history, like a sphinx at the gate of Thebes, offering problems to be solved, enigmas and secrets to be derived. It is proclaimed that States shall be provided with a republican form of government by the votes of loyal citizens. What form? . . . Is the freedman a citizen? Shall he vote? Will oath and testimony make Southern men loyal? Should reconstruction be left at the hands of prejudiced Southern men, what form of government can be expected, but the CSA pattern, that is of Oligarchical republics?"[32]

At the time of Chase's visit to Fernandina the NFRA was becoming more secular. Some of its denominational leaders had lost a power struggle and had begun to accept positions in religious aid societies. The ascendancy of secular leaders and their views were reflected in the NFRA's willingness to coordinate its efforts with other secular aid societies. Consequently, the NFRA approved the foundation of national coordinating groups– the American Freedmen's Aid Commission and the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC).[33]

30. Schuckers, *Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase,* 523; *Syracuse Journal,* June 8, 1865.
31. Schuckers, *Life* and *Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase,* 524.
32. Simpson, *Advice After Appomattox,* 16; A. Mot to S. P. Chase, June 30, 1865, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Library of Congress, Washington.
33. *The National Freedman* (December 1865), 372-73.

Kinne, who sought the meaningful participation of African Americans in political life, endorsed secular efforts to combine romantic racialism, common schools, and integration. The *National Freedman* and AFUC's *The American Freedman* published letters from his teachers who held similar views– ideas that largely disappeared in places like Hampton, Virginia. Kinne routinely found black students to be talented learners. A teacher noted, "Many of the pupils learned to read, to write, and to be able to study geography and arithmetic with intelligence and great perseverance." These children showed "great capability for improvement," proving like all creatures of "divine origin" that they could "quicken into new life." A teacher in Gainesville noted student progress. "[They] advance gradually, and whatever knowledge they acquire is by hard study. I can boast of some very smart, ambitious scholars, with good heads and good hearts, too. I am free to say that I am proud of them."[34]

The teachers emphasized geography, arithmetic, spelling, and reading. In Gainesville Catherine Bent taught the first three of these subjects in "general exercises every day." In addition to her "primary department pupils," she had an advanced student in grammar. There was a desire for uniform textbooks. Kinne observed that "schools, to succeed well, must be graded and classified; this requires a uniformity of books." He urged the NFRA to adopt textbooks for entire states, and the NFRA agreed that the subject had "much importance."[35]

With the establishment of common schools there were efforts at integration. The Fernandina orphanage was integrated and also its school. Kinne's teachers helped to establish integrated schools in several locations, including Jacksonville, and they also participated in mixed social gatherings. "Last night we were invited to a tea party where two or three of our scholars lived. As we had never been there, we were wondering what sort of a place we should find, as some of their cabins are not very desirable places to eat one's supper in, but we were ushered into quite a neat house, and were entertained mostly by a tall, stately black woman, until tea, when we sat around the table which was full of good things, with them, they expressing much gratitude that they enjoyed this privilege, saying, 'A few years ago, we should not have dared to do this.' We valued

34. Ibid. (April 1866), 114-15; *The American Freedman* (April 1868), 392.
35. *The American Freedman* (April 1868), 293; *The National Freedman* (April 1866), 116.

the attention as an index of their appreciation of our labors. Thanksgiving Day we were invited into the country, and ate our dinner under the trees, with quite a party of our sable brethren and sisters."[36]

Whites in Fernandina and Gainesville responded with hostility to such behavior. Kinne's teachers were verbally insulted, and in Gainesville and Lake City they had difficulty finding lodgings. From more isolated places came reports of violence, often directed at freed blacks rather than at white teachers. "The teachers are mostly a tabooed class," reported H. H. Moore of the Freedmen's Bureau. They are shown "intended contempt."[37] Kinne visited the schools as often as possible to encourage the teachers. In the first half of 1866 he visited in Jacksonville on eight different occasions, often in transit to other places. On the first of these journeys he traveled with northern Methodist minister John S. Swaim, to Gainesville, Micanopy, Ocala, Silver Springs, Sumterville, and Palatka.[38] In May 1866 Kinne travelled to Lake City, Gainesville, and Tallahassee– to which he returned a second time in June. These trips permitted Kinne to write an extensive report for the Freedmen's Bureau about conditions in the state. The economic prospects of many people seemed dismal to him, and the attitudes of many Southerners were harsh. "Public opinion," he wrote, "is set against any and all efforts on the part of northern individuals and associations, to ameliorate and reconstruct."[39] While people in Virginia such as Samuel Chapman Armstrong sought to accommodate southern opposition, Kinne was very apprehensive about doing so in Florida.

The National Freedmen's Relief Association had only a brief presence in Florida. After 1866 the freedmen's aid society declined as a result of conditions outside the state. Differences of opinion among societies had grown into a bitter ideological struggle. During this conflict, denominational societies directly opposed secular

36. *The National Freedman* (December 1865), 346; *The American Freedman* (January 1868), 350.
37. H. H. Moore to T. W. Osborn, February 25, 1866, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Florida, National Archives, Washington (hereinafter, BRFAL).
38. Diary of John S. Swaim, in possession of the authors. Swaim's account of his trip with Kinne appears in the *Newark Daily Advertiser,* March 2, 21,1866. Also see Joe M. Richardson, "A Northerner Reports on Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (April 1962), 381-90.
39. Richardson, "A Northerner Reports," 389.

societies, including the NFRA and the AFUC. The results rapidly became clear. Secular associations were forced out of black education, in large measure because of declining public and financial support.[40]

As a result of the conflict there was a reduction in contributions to secular aid societies. As this occurred, the sizable NFRA operation in Florida declined. In June 1866 its network included thirteen schools, one orphanage, twenty-seven teachers, and 1,663 students. The *American Freedman* in the spring of 1869 listed only five NFRA teachers. Shortages of funds in October 1868 led the NFRA to conserve its resources and to appoint only those teachers that it could support. As a response to these financial difficulties, the NFRA and the Freedmen's Bureau began transferring the operating cost of the schools to black communities, despite their limited ability to support such efforts. "The freed people themselves are doing more and more for the support of their schools," an *American Freedman* correspondent wrote. In Jacksonville, "we pay only the salaries of the teachers– and these are small– while the people provide for their board and supply the fuel for the schools."[41]

These money-saving measures did not stop the NFRA's decline. After the middle of 1868 a small group of trustees managed its assets and teachers. The trustees, comprised of six of the NFRA's most dedicated workers, could only continue the society's elementary and normal schools until January 1870.[42] Financial difficulties and job insecurity added to the pressures of teaching during the organization's last years. In the best of times, the AFUC paid its teachers twenty dollars plus room and board each month. If its teachers had remained in the North, their wages may have been 50-100 percent higher. Although teacher motivation did not stem from meager financial compensation, the rapid decline of the NFRA threatened the support that existed and added many frustrations.[43]

Serious problems also developed with the Freedmen's Bureau. At the urging of President Johnson, the agency placed an early priority on the return of property that had been abandoned during the war. The policy stripped aid societies of buildings they were us-

40. Butchart, *Northern Schools,* 94.
41. *The American Freedman* (April 1869), 4, 5, 11
42. Butchart, *Northern Schools,* 94.
43. Ibid.

ing, usually before these facilities could be replaced. In January 1866 the bureau's Florida superintendent of education, H. H. Moore, noted that in Jacksonville "the building assigned to us by the military has been given up to its former owner; we have been ordered to leave [the places] where our schools are held."[44] Kinne actively opposed this policy. He reacted quickly when the Fernandina Episcopal priest sought the return of his sanctuary. Years earlier the cleric had endorsed the Confederacy and fled the community. General Saxton gave the abandoned building to the NFRA, and Cornelia Smith and Chloe Merrick used it for their school. As other teachers followed in their place, Kinne maintained the operations of the church. Writing Thomas W. Osborn, local head of the Freedmen's Bureau, Kinne pleaded for relief from the priest's request. "I hope you will not be in great haste to return the church. If it could be [kept] for its present purpose . . . [it will] do much good." He further argued that his use of the property was better than anything done by "all of the disloyal preachers in the country."[45]

Osborn proved more interested in building political relationships with Southerners than in helping the NFRA. He ignored its needs and Kinne's request. Osborn's actions, in turn, encouraged former Confederate General Joseph Finegan to seek the return of his house in Fernandina– the location of Merrick's orphanage. Since his earlier efforts had not worked with Osborn, Kinne recommended that the NFRA circumvent the bureau's office. Following this course of action, NFRA president Francis G. Shaw appealed directly to the bureau head, General O. O. Howard. Howard did not delay Osborn, and on July 6, 1866, the Freedmen's Bureau ordered the orphanage moved south of Jacksonville.[46]

Even before Osborn's decision to move the orphanage, a schism had formed between him and the NFRA. On April 10, 1866, the aid society ordered all of its teachers and staff in Florida to report to Kinne. The action meant that they were to ignore both Osborn and Moore. As a consequence, neither man knew details of school operations.[47]

44. Moore to C. Mundee, January 13, 1866, BRFAL.
45. A. E. Kinne to T. W. Osborn, January 2, 1866, BRFAL.
46. F. G. Shaw to O. O. Howard, April 18, 1866; Howard to C. Merrick, July 6, 1866, BRFAL.
47. Osborn to Moore, April 19, 1866; Moore to Osborn, April 23, 1866, BRFAL.

Realizing that Moore's unpopularity had become a burden, Osborn fired him and also set out to eliminate Kinne. He proposed that Moore's position with the Freedmen's Bureau and Kinne's job with the NFRA be combined into a single post-state superintendent of education for Florida. Seeking the NFRA's cooperation, Osborn offered the job to Kinne. He did this assuming that Kinne would refuse the position and resign. The effort was unnecessary because Kinne and his wife, Emma, already had made a decision to leave Florida at the end of 1866. The conflict over the orphanage had made a profound impact upon them. Kinne had struggled to save the Merrick facility where his wife worked as a teacher and matron. Moving the orphanage disrupted the close personal and professional relationship between Emma and her sister, Chloe. While this happened, Kinne's travels in Florida convinced him that the future of African Americans was not encouraging. Freedmen had plenty of "capacity," but government policy undercut their "prospects."[48]

Perhaps to the Kinnes' surprise, their negative feelings passed. One source of frustration, Florida politics under Presidential Reconstruction was terminated by Congress. Before they left Florida they also were encouraged by Chloe's health. She began recovering from a major illness, which brought the Kinnes great joy. Once back in Syracuse they renewed their social and professional contacts. Kinne obtained reappointment as a principal, and Emma's reappointment as a teacher only awaited the birth of her last child.[49] Genuine pleasure came to the Kinnes from other sources as well. An acquaintance from Fernandina, Harrison Reed, became governor of Florida. Reed appointed their son Charles as his personal secretary and proposed marriage to Chloe Merrick. The couple came to Syracuse and were married in the garden of the Kinne home. As first lady of Florida, Chloe would help shape social policy and expand the state's public school system.[50]

Emma and Ansel Kinne continued their leadership in the Syracuse school system. At the time of their deaths on August 26, 1886, and January 16, 1890, they had served as meaningful forces in the

48. *The American Freedman* (August 1866), 73; Moore to Osborn, April 23, 1866. See also Smith, *History of the Schools of Syracuse,* 309.
49. *Syracuse Journal,* October 1, 1866; Smith, *History of the Schools of Syracuse,* 309.
50. Foster and Foster, "Chloe Merrick Reed," 295-96.

lives of generations of students. In honor of their efforts, former pupils placed a bronze plaque in Madison High School on February 18, 1925.[51]

51. Ansel Kinne was the first principal of Madison High School, Syracuse, and served in that capacity from its opening until his death. See Syracuse *Herald*, November 19, 1922, February 18, 1925. On Emma Kinne's death in 1886 see Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 28, 1886.

IN THE SHADOW OF JACKSON: URIAH BLUE'S EXPEDITION INTO WEST FLORIDA

by BRIAN R. RUCKER

Students of Florida history are well acquainted with General Andrew Jackson's controversial invasions of Spanish Florida in 1814 and 1818. But what is not as well known is a related military expedition, that of Major Uriah Blue who led approximately 1,000 American forces into Spanish West Florida between December 1814 and January 1815. Andrew Jackson's concurrent, and famous, battle with the British at New Orleans overshadowed Blue's expedition. Yet, Blue's troops played an integral part in Jackson's overall plan. Both the expedition's successes and failures affected future American-Spanish relations, for Jackson would reinvade Florida several years later to fight the Indians that had eluded Blue in 1814-1815.

In order to understand the complex arena in which Blue's invasion occurred, it is necessary to sketch briefly the final operations of both the Creek War and the War of 1812. Andrew Jackson virtually ended the Creek War in Alabama with his decisive defeat of the Creek Indians at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend on March 27, 1814. Many of the more recalcitrant warriors– known as the Red Sticks– refused, however, to accept the harsh surrender conditions imposed by Jackson at the Treaty of Fort Jackson and fled instead southward to the supposed safety of Spanish Florida.[1] By May approximately 900 hostile Creeks took refuge in the vicinity of Pensacola, creating additional burdens for Spanish officials and

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1. James W. Covington, "Migration of the Seminoles into Florida, 1700-1820," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (April 1968), 354-55; Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815* (Gainesville, 1981), 91-93; and Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 109-10. The Treaty of Fort Jackson required the Creeks to cede approximately two-thirds of their lands in Georgia and Alabama. Most of the fleeing Indians were identified as either Lower Creeks or Seminoles, although at this time the two terms were often used interchangeably.

providing military opportunities for British agents.[2] The Indians, short on food and clothing, began plundering cattle from both Spanish and American settlers along the frontier. And Spanish authorities in Pensacola, fearful of American retaliation and unable to provide the Creeks with supplies, welcomed British offers of assistance. British ships unloaded supplies at Apalachicola for the despondent Indians, thereby rejuvenating their spirits and encouraging their hostility toward the Americans.[3]

By the early fall of 1814 British officers were actively training hostile Creeks and slaves in Pensacola and using Spanish West Florida as a base for British military operations against the American frontier. Such a threat did not go unnoticed by the United States. The harboring and arming of hostile Indians, setting up of British forces in Pensacola, blatant disregard of neutrality by the Spanish, and threat of an impending Gulf strike by a large British force were the justifications Jackson made for his quasilegal invasion of Spanish Florida. With a force of some 4,000 troops, composed of regular army, volunteers, and friendly Indians, Jackson entered West Florida and captured Pensacola on November 7, 1814. The British hastily departed the Spanish town, and most of the Red Sticks and a number of runaway slaves fled eastward across Pensacola Bay and were encouraged to meet the British at their new base at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River.[4]

While in Pensacola Jackson learned that thousands of British troops were being assembled in Jamaica for a direct assault along the Gulf coast. The information, and further intelligence that New Orleans was the British destination, set Jackson into motion. He moved his troops rapidly from Pensacola to Mobile and finally to New Orleans for his famous encounter with the British in December 1814-January 1815.[5]

Though forced to leave Pensacola quickly for New Orleans, Jackson was intent on carrying out cleanup operations on the remaining Indians in West Florida, for he realized that they represented a real threat. While his forces were engaging the British in Louisiana, the hostile Red Sticks could reorganize and inflict po-

2. Frank L. Owsley, Jr., "British and Indian Activities in Spanish West Florida During the War of 1812," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (October 1967), 115-16.
3. Ibid., 111-17; Frank L. Owsley, Jr., "Jackson's Capture of Pensacola," *Alabama Review* 19 (July 1966), 175-76; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 92-93.
4. Owsley, "Jackson's Capture of Pensacola," 175-85.
5. Ibid.

tentially serious damage on undefended Mobile and the southern frontier regions of Alabama and Georgia.[6] Jackson appointed Major Uriah Blue of the 39th Regiment to operate against the remaining Red Sticks in Spanish West Florida.[7] Blue, a native of Virginia, had been an officer in the U.S. Regular Army since 1799.[8] He commanded over 700 Choctaw warriors in Jackson's assault on Pensacola and was a logical choice to lead this rear guard action. Major William Russell's battalion of Tennessee Mounted Gunmen, Major John Child's battalion from Knox County, Tennessee (a substantial part of General John Coffee's brigade), and a sizable number of friendly Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks combined to form a mounted force of around 1,000 men.[9] Several important Indian leaders, like Pushmataha of the Choctaws and the Colbert brothers of the Chickasaw nation, accompanied Blue.[10]

6. Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 101, 133-35, 170, 173.
7. John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* 7 vols. (Washington, DC, 1926-1935), II, 100.
8. Francis B. Heitman, comp., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903,* 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1903; reprint ed., Urbana, IL, 1965), I, 226.
9. Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* II, 96-102, 105, 166; David Crockett, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1973), 103, 112; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 125-26, 174-75. A Captain Cummens's company from east Tennessee and a Captain Hodges's company from Madison, Mississippi Territory, were also included in this expedition. A Captain Devereux was to be sent as a guide, or "to command a Spy company."
10. Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* I, 323, II, 100; Uriah Blue to Andrew Jackson, January 10, 1815, Andrew Jackson Papers, microfilm supplement, no. 4299, reel 4; Blue to Jackson, January 29, 1815, Andrew Jackson Papers, Presidential Papers Microfilm, series 1, no. 199, reel 16 (hereinafter, AJP); Certification of Uriah Blue, April 23, 1824, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Choctaw Agency, 1824-1831, roll 169, National Archives, Washington; Wilburt S. Brown, *The Amphibious Campaign for West Florida and Louisiana, 1814-1815: A Critical Review of Strategy and Tactics at New Orleans* (University, AL, 1969), 56; Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman, OK, 1971), 98; Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders* (Tuscaloosa. 1988). 119: H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball, *The Creek War of 1813 and 1814* (Montgomery, 1895), 286; Thomas G. Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes in Relation to Various Expeditions Made by Capt. Blue, Col. Benton & Others in 1814, 1813," Pickett Papers, section 25, pp. 9-13, Special Collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola; Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 42, 50; Eron Rowland, *Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, or The Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812* (New York, 1926), 172,253; and George Stiggins, *Creek Indian History: A Historical Narrative of the Genealogy, Traditions and Downfall of the Ispocoga or Creek Indian Tribe of Indians,* ed. Virginia Pounds Brown (Birmingham, 1989), 16.

The primary purpose of the expedition was to scour the countryside east of the Escambia River and destroy the remaining hostile Creeks. Any Indian supplies or villages found were to be seized or destroyed. General Jackson also requested that loyal Creek Indians recruited by Benjamin Hawkins– the noted and admired American agent for the Creeks– and troops under Major General John McIntosh be sent from Georgia to join Blue's forces in an effort to seize Prospect Bluff and perhaps raid the Indian towns, if supplies and provisions permitted.[11] Included in Major Blue's military campaign was frontiersman David Crockett, a Tennessee scout under Major Russell.[12] While Jackson was on his way to New Orleans, this "search and destroy" mission was left behind, in Crockett's words, to "kill up the Indians on the Scamby river."[13]

The expedition, however, was delayed and plagued by problems from the start. Major Blue's forces had to return to Fort Montgomery on the Alabama River to secure much needed and scarce provisions. Blue waited in frustration for food to arrive, which the poor weather and an abominable transportation network delayed. Refusing to wait any longer, Blue departed Fort Montgomery on December 8 with only twenty days of rations and a meager amount of cattle to drive along with his troops. Because the roads were too wet and poor for wagons, Blue dismounted a sizable segment of his mounted men and made pack animals of their horses.[14]

Major Blue and his forces moved into Spanish West Florida in mid-December. Unfortunately, the weather turned extremely cold, and heavy rains created muddy roads and caused the Escambia River to overflow its banks. American forces arrived at Turvin's Bluff on the Escambia, located about twenty-four miles north of Pensacola. Blue had a boat brought up from the town to assist in transporting American forces east of the river. The boat also brought a few additional supplies, such as sugar, coffee, and various

11. Bassett, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* II, 100-02, 105; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 125,174-75.
12. Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 101-04, 106; Richard Boyd Hauck, *Crockett: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, CT, 1982), 26-27; and James Atkins Shackford, *David Crockett: The Man and the Legend,* ed. John B. Shackford (Chapel Hill, 1956), 29-30. Crockett's company arrived in Pensacola from Tennessee after Jackson's forces had captured the town.
13. Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 103.
14. Blue to Jackson, December 7, 1814, reel 14, AJP; Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 106; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 9.

liquors. But crossing the cold, swollen Escambia River proved a difficult task, especially for the men forced to swim their horses over.[15] The men, according to Crockett, "just put in like so many spaniels, and waded on, sometimes up to our armpits."[16] After finally reaching high ground, the drenched troops were forced to light fires or to keep moving in order to avoid freezing.[17]

Friendly Indian scouts soon made contact with a small, hostile Creek camp on the east side of the river, and two Creek warriors were killed and decapitated. When Crockett and the other whites with him arrived at the camp, they found the friendly Indians ritually striking their war clubs upon the heads. After each Indian had performed this act, Crockett himself took one of their clubs and struck a head as the Indians had done. At this, the Indians gathered around him, patted him on the shoulder, and called him, "Warrior– warrior."[18]

Shortly after this, Crockett's group came across the sobering sight of a slain and scalped Spanish family. As Crockett said, "I began to feel mighty ticklish along about this time, for I knowed if there was no danger then, there had been; and I felt exactly like there still was."[19] Soon after, American forces located a sizable Creek camp in a thick oak hammock. The Americans and their Indian allies surrounded the camp and ordered the hostiles to surrender. The Creeks refused, fled to their arms, but were cut down by American fire. About twenty Creek warriors were killed, and the impetuous Chickasaws scalped some of the men before the Americans could stop them. One hundred and fifty Creeks, mostly women and children, quickly surrendered and were marched back to the Escambia River where a detachment took them north to Fort Montgomery in Alabama.[20]

The American expedition eventually reached the present-day Floridatown area, located on the northeastern end of Escambia

15. Blue to Jackson, December 18, 1814, reel 14, AJP; Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 106-07, 111-12; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 9-10. Turvin's Bluff is opposite Parker Island and near Chumuckla Springs. See *J. Gilbert v. J. Pendleton,* file 1821-24, Escambia County Circuit Court Records, Escambia County Courthouse, Pensacola.
16. Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 107.
17. Ibid.; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 9.
18. Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 109-10. The site of this incident was either near present-day Chumuckla Springs or Jay in Santa Rosa County.
19. Ibid., 110.
20. Ibid.; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 9-10.

Bay. News reached them here that a group of Indians were located to the south on the Garcon Point peninsula, which separates Escambia and Blackwater bays. Major Russell, with three companies, moved south to locate this group. Around the area of Garcon Point, at the southern tip of this peninsula, a small skirmish occurred. Here, several Indians were killed and several others captured.[21] The remainder of this band fled westward across the bay to Pensacola. Major Blue ordered Captain John Trimble, Captain William Russell (the son of Major Russell), and a Captain Boyles to follow the escaping Indians by boat. They tracked them into Pensacola and to the "skin house" of John Innerarity's tan yard. Innerarity, a business partner in the Indian trading firm of John Forbes and Company, denied knowledge of their existence and refused to allow Captain Trimble to seize the refugees. But Trimble solved the impasse by taking an axe, breaking down the door of the skin house, and capturing some ten Indians and runaway slaves.[22]

One of the slaves they seized was a man named Joe. Joe formerly had lived on the plantation of Zachariah McGirth in southern Alabama and had reputedly given the Red Sticks valuable information about the condition of Fort Mims, which Creeks had overrun during an assault in August 1813. The Americans also located another slave, whom the Creeks had seized at Fort Mims.[23]

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21. Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 112; Blue to Jackson, December 18, 1814; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 10.
22. Blue to Jackson, December 18, 1814; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 10. The "skin house" was probably a building used by Forbes and Company to store the deerskins it collected. The records of John Innerarity and the John Forbes and Company make no mention of this incident. See William S. Coker, "John Forbes and Company and the War of 1812 in the Spanish Borderlands," in *Hispanic-American Essays in Honor of Max Leon Moorhead,* ed. William S. Coker (Pensacola, 1979), 72, 74-76. Captain John Trimble was from the East Tennessee Mounted Volunteer Gunmen, and Captain William Russell, the son of Major William Russell, was from the Tennessee Mounted Gunmen. The identity of Captain Boyles is unknown. See Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 112.
23. Blue to Jackson, December 18, 1814; Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 10; Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, from the Earliest Period* (Charlston, 1851; reprint ed., Spartanburg, SC, 1975), 531; and James Winchester to Jackson, December 24, 1814, reel 15, AJP. A number of slaves either joined or were seized by the hostile Creeks that attacked Fort Mims in southern Alabama in August 1813. See Frank L. Owsley, Jr., "The Fort Mims Massacre," *Alabama Review* 24 (July 1971), 202; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 38. The Red Stick Creeks attacked Fort Mims on the Alabama River in August 1813, triggering the Creek War. Approximately 250-400 settlers were killed in this violent attack. Fort Mims is located in Baldwin County, Alabama, sixty-five miles from Pensacola.

The captured Indians and slaves were returned to Blue on the east side of the bay, and a small detachment then escorted them north to Fort Montgomery.[24]

The various American companies regrouped near present-day Floridatown and on December 19 set out on a northeasterly march towards Blackwater River. Blue learned of a large Indian village on the Choctawhatchee River and made this his goal, hoping to find provisions there for his men. As the troops proceeded eastward, several Chickasaw scouts reported a large Creek encampment east of Yellow River. American, forces quickly crossed the river, surrounded the camp, and a battle ensued. Thirty Creeks were reportedly killed in the skirmish and approximately seventy-five were taken prisoner and sent north to Fort Montgomery. An old, hostile chief called the Alabama King was killed during this engagement, and American forces commandeered a sizable number of sorely needed pack horses.[25]

Christmas Day 1814 found Blue's dispirited forces deep in the wilderness of Spanish West Florida. Their rations were practically gone, and the strenuous marches were exhausting the men.[26] Crockett recalled the experience: "We were . . . in extreme suffer-

24. Blue to Jackson, December 18, 1814. See also Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 112-13; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 10-11. There are three sources for Blue's expedition: Uriah Blue's sparse reports to General Jackson, David Crockett's personal memoirs regarding his participation in the campaign, and the recollections of Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, a surgeon with the expedition. Holmes gives the most detailed account of Blue's expedition and appears to be a highly reliable source. See Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr., "Albert J. Pickett: Typical Southern Pioneer State Historian" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 1955), 184; and A. J. Pickett, "The Late Dr. Thos. G. Holmes, of Baldwin," *[Baldwin County, AL] Historical and Genealogical Quarterly* 2 (1989), 9-11. Part of the problem in piecing together the exact movements of the expedition is that various detachments among the 1,000 soldiers made separate forays. It was probably difficult for Blue to control and supervise the many diverse elements comprising this expedition.
25. Blue to Jackson, December 18, 1814; Blue to Jackson, December 27, 1814, reel 15, AJP; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 11. Blue's report mentions only ten prisoners taken in a skirmish by his Indians on Yellow River. The site of this skirmish appears to have been several miles northwest of present-day Crestview in Okaloosa County, perhaps near Gum Creek Hill. See E. W. Carswell, *Holmes Valley,* rev. ed. (Chipley, FL, 1983), 12; and University of West Florida Teacher Corps Project, *The Land Between the Rivers* (n.p., 1979), 6.
26. Blue to Jackson, December 27, 1814; Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 115; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 11.

ing for want of something to eat, and exhausted with our exposure and the fatigues of our journey. I remember well, that I had not myself tasted bread but twice in nineteen days. I had bought a pretty good supply of coffee from the boat that had reached us from Pensacola, on the Scamby, and on that we chiefly subsisted."[27]

But Blue's spies did report on Christmas day that they had located the targeted Indian camp— Holmes' Village— on the Choctawhatchee. This was probably Holmes Town, an Indian site near present-day Vernon, located on Holmes Creek in Washington County.[28] Desperate for food and provisions, American forces began an overnight march to the village, arriving there at sunrise on December 26. Major Blue ordered a three-pronged attack on the Indian town, but after a furious charge the Americans were disappointed to find the village deserted and devoid of provisions. The Indians had learned of the American presence and had fled into the swamps. A search of the surrounding area yielded nothing but three or four unsuspecting braves returning from a hunt. Blue burned the town's houses, and the dejected American forces returned to their camp "as nearly starved as any set of poor fellows ever were in the world."[29]

Blue's ultimate goal to push on to Prospect Bluff was now impossible without further provisions. The expedition of Georgia militia under General McIntosh and the Indians under Benjamin Hawkins also failed to reach Apalachicola and join with Blue. Some were diverted instead to other areas, and the remainder were unable to muster enough troops to launch a major attack on the British and their Indian allies at Apalachicola. Thus the British, by using the Red Sticks and some slaves they had recruited, were somewhat successful in their overall military plan. Communications remained disrupted between Mobile and the Georgia frontier, and the hostile forces diverted 1,000 troops under Major Blue

27. Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 115. In his account Crockett relates that "at the start we had taken only twenty days' rations of flour, and eight days' rations of beef; and it was now thirty-four days before we reached [Holmes Village]." Crockett's figure of thirty-four days is inaccurate. They departed Fort Montgomery on December 8 and did not reach Holmes Village until December 26, making only nineteen days on the march instead of thirty-four.
28. E. W. Carswell, *Washington: Florida's Twelfth County* (Chipley, FL, 1991), 15; Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 115; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 11.
29. Blue to Jackson, December 27, 1814; Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 115-16; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 11-12.

and some 2,500 Georgia militiamen and Indian allies from military service at Mobile, New Orleans, and the Georgia coast.[30]

Hundreds of miles from supplies and provisions, Blue faced a desperate situation. He split his forces and ordered Major Russell and his battalion of 500 Tennessee Volunteers to proceed northward to the Fort Jackson/Fort Decatur area on the Tallapoosa River in Alabama.[31] The cold, exposure, and fatigue severely tried Russell's men. The Creek War had decimated food supplies in this region, and the tired soldiers faced near starvation every day.[32] Crockett wrote that they were so desperate that "we all began to get nearly ready to give up the ghost, and lie down and die."[33] Game was scarce, and they took what they could get. "As the army marched," wrote Crockett, "I hunted every day, and would kill every hawk, bird, and squirrel that I could find. Others did the same; and it was a rule with us, that when we stop'd at night, the hunters would throw all they killed in a pile, and then we would make a general division among all the men."[34] The situation became so desperate that Captain Russell prepared to shoot his own horse to feed some of the men. Eventually, though, the beleaguered troops acquired a few provisions at Fort Decatur and sites to the north.[35]

Major Blue led the remaining half of his command back toward the Escambia River, but he was in no better condition than Russell's men. Blue realized he had overextended himself on this expedition and dispatched an apologetic letter to General Jackson: "My command at this time are without provisions of any kind; the horses are unable to go any farther. I am on my return march to Fort Montgomery. I will endeavor to scout what Indians may be on the yellow water. If I had been able to procure provisions at Holmes as I had calculated on, I would have routed all the Indians in this quarter, but owing to the want of provisions I am compelled to return."[36]

30. Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr., "The Role of the South in the British Grand Strategy in the War of 1812," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1972), 33-34, and Owsley, *Struggle or the Gulf Borderlands,* 125-26, 135, 174-75.
31. Blue to Jackson, December 27, 1814; Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 116; Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 12; and Shackford, *David Crockett,* 30-31.
32. Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 116-20; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 82-83, 92, 99-101, 105, 175-76.
33. Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 118.
34. Ibid., 11617.
35. Ibid., 120; and Shackford, *David Crockett,* 31.
36. Blue to Jackson, December 27, 1814.

As the hungry troops marched westward to the Escambia, Major Blue sent an officer in advance to Pensacola to obtain provisions. Unfortunately, the officer could not secure a sufficient supply at the Spanish port. In the first days of the new year Blue's exhausted forces reached the eastern shore of the Escambia at "Marshall's Landing" and made camp. A local settler named Marshall owned seven undernourished milk cows, and Blue requisitioned five of these for his hungry troops. The next morning, however, Marshall discovered that his two remaining cows had been stolen. The butchered remains of the two animals were found near the American encampment, and Major Blue was promptly informed of this incident.[37]

Blue was no doubt aware of the favorable impression American forces had made upon the Spanish during the capture of Pensacola two months earlier. The Americans had refrained from pillaging or looting, and Blue wanted to see that policy sustained.[38] Blue quickly implemented a search, and the stolen beef was located in the company of a Captain Steele. The frustrated major took disciplinary action upon the thieves. A drumhead court martial found Steele and nine of his men guilty. The men were summarily sentenced "to 15 paddles each to be applied to the bare" skin. Because Steele was found with much of the stolen beef in his possession, Major Blue ordered that he be "averted." Twenty camp kettles were tied around Steele's neck, he was forced to drag them to the river, and there he was placed in a canoe and set adrift.[39]

37. Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 12. The exact location of Marshall's Landing is uncertain. "Marshall's," "Marshall's Landing," "Miller's," and "Miller's Bluff," named in the sources, may refer to sites and settlements at, respectively, Chumuckla Springs, Parker Island, a ford north of Brosnaham Island, and the Floridatown area. See United State Congress, *American State Papers,* Class VIII. Public Lands, 8 vols. (Washington, DC, 1832-1861), IV, 182, 205-07, VI, 545-46; Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 112; *B. Souchet v. J. Keller;* file 1823-2441, *William Barnett v. John Inneratity,* file 1825-301, Escambia County Circuit Court Records; *Pensacola Floridian,* January 28, 1822; Charles Vignoles, *Map of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1823); and Charles Vignoles, *Observations Upon the Floridas* (1823; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1977), 59.
38. Bassett, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* II, 99; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 118.
39. Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 12. The Captain Steele referred to here was probably Captain Robert Steele. He may have been the same Captain Steele involved in earlier military supply preparations. See Bassett, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* II, 68, VI, 431-32.

Blue's forces soon crossed the Escambia, their horses so weak that they were barely able to swim. On his way back to the border, Blue received information that some 300 Red Sticks had taken refuge at Fort Barrancas near Pensacola. Supposedly the Indians were there under Spanish authority, and the damage done to the fort's walls by the British in November had allegedly been repaired. In a surprisingly rash move, Major Blue sent the main body of his army to the American forts in Alabama and personally took a detachment of 170 volunteers to attack Fort Barrancas and drive the Indians out.[40]

By a forced march, Blue's detachment reached Six Mile Spring near Pensacola sometime during the first week of January 1815. There the advanced guard surprised some thirty "merchants" who had been to Pensacola smuggling coffee and sugar and were returning to the Alabama settlements. Blue did not want them to give away the American presence and ordered the men to be taken. In response, the startled merchants fled, scattering their bags of merchandise in every direction. Blue and his men eventually captured the group and explained the American presence in the area. The smugglers were soon released and both parties went their separate ways.[41]

At approximately 8:00 P.M. that day the troops came to the shore of Bayou Grande, located north of the Spanish fort. Despite freezing weather, the bayou was fordable, and Blue ordered his men "to take the water which they did like spaniels." By the time they had crossed, there were strips of ice several inches long hanging from many of the men. A number of the soldiers were severely frostbitten, but they marched on, no doubt to keep from freezing. At midnight they finally came upon Barrancas and immediately set up a line of attack, waiting for daylight for the assault. But alas, Blue and his forces were disappointed once again. The light of day revealed no Indians concealed at the damaged fort. Blue learned that the Indians had evacuated Barrancas earlier that night, before

40. Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 12-13. The Spanish began repairs to the area's forts after Jackson's departure. See John Reid and John Henry Eaton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson,* ed. Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr. (Philadelphia, 1817; reprint ed., Tuscaloosa, 1974), 238.

41. Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 13. The exact location of Six Mile Spring is uncertain. It may have been located near the headwaters of Bayou Marcus, or Carpenters Creek, or Galvez Springs on Bayou Chico.

his approach, and had been carried on board some English ships then in Pensacola Bay. A Spaniard who had seen the advancing company the previous day warned the Indians of Blue's presence. Dejected and bitterly exhausted, Blue and his detachment returned to Fort Montgomery to rejoin his forces on January 9.[42] Thus the great "mopping up operation" of Spanish West Florida was brought to a close.

Unfortunately, there was no respite for Major Blue. After arriving at Fort Montgomery, General James Winchester ordered Blue to come to Mobile to bolster the meager defenses of that city. By this time, however, Blue could persuade only 100 Choctaw and Chickasaw warriors to follow him.[43] When Blue arrived in Mobile, he learned that Jackson had defeated the British army at New Orleans, which were feared heading now for Mobile. This was true. On February 8 British forces landed near the American-held Fort Bowyer at the entrance to Mobile Bay. When word finally reached General Winchester that the American fort was under attack, he sent a large part of Mobile's defenses– about 1,000 troops– under the command of Major Blue to relieve the siege. By that time it was too late. Fort Bowyer was an untenable position, and the Americans surrendered to the British on February 11. Blue's forces arrived the next day and discovered from several captured British seamen that the fort had already fallen. Major Blue had participated in the last military action of the War of 1812, for news of the peace Treaty of Ghent reached Mobile shortly thereafter.[44]

The war over, Blue wrote to General Jackson requesting a much-needed furlough. Blue explained that he had been in the

42. Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 13. Blue's official reports make no mention of his detour to Fort Barrancas; Dr. Thomas G. Holmes's account gives the only version of this incident. Major Blue's known whereabouts between December 27, 1814, and January 10, 1815, do allow for this episode. A search of pertinent British papers has so far yielded no further clues or information. See Blue to Jackson, January 10, 29, 1815; and Coker, "John Forbes and Company," 61-97.

43. Blue to Jackson, January 10, 29, 1815.

44. William S. Coker, *The Last Battle of the War of 1812: New Orleans. No, Fort Bowyer!* (Pensacola, 1981), 58, 61; Alexander Dickson, "Artillery Services in North America in 1814 and 1815," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 8 (April-October 1929), 227; John R. Elting, *Amateurs, To Arms! A Military History of the War of 1812* (Chapel Hill, 1991), 320-21; A. Lacarriere Latour, *Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15* (Philadelphia, 1816; facsimile ed., Gainesville, 1964), appendix no. XXXIX; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 170-74.

service for twelve years and "never had a Furlough for two days at a time in my life." He hoped to spend his free time establishing a salt works on the Black Warrior River in the Choctaw Nation. Indirectly, Jackson granted Blue's request. The 39th Regiment was consolidated in May 1815, and Blue received an honorable discharge on June 15, 1815. He returned to the service six months later as captain of the 8th Infantry (with brevet of major), but in December 1816 he resigned from duty permanently. Blue apparently settled in Baldwin County and presumably died there in May 1836.[45]

Was Major Blue's expedition into Spanish West Florida a failure? Blue did not reach the British fort on the Apalachicola, and his men, with their supplies depleted, returned to American lines in exhausted and starving condition. One thousand valuable troops were diverted into a remote wilderness area– troops that could have been valuable to Jackson in his defense of New Orleans. The British plan of using the Red Sticks and runaway slaves to distract American forces along the southern frontier had worked. Communication between Mobile and the Georgia frontier broke down, and the bands of Red Sticks that British agents incited indeed kept Blue's forces and American forces in Georgia distracted.

In Uriah Blue's defense, around fifty hostile Indians were killed, some 200 were taken prisoner, and several hostile camps were destroyed during his mission.[47] Despite the lack of adequate provisions and inclement weather, Blue took a hastily assembled force of Indians and whites and penetrated 100 miles into a foreign country, engaged the enemy, took prisoners, and destroyed their resources. As far as is known, there were no American casualties. Major Blue was an experienced soldier who had previously demon-

45. Blue to Jackson, April 26, 1815, reel 18, AJP; Certification of Uriah Blue, April 23, 1824; Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York, 1986), 12-13; Marilyn Davis Hahn, *Old St. Stephen's Land Office Records & American State Papers, Public Land, Volume I, 1768-1888* (Easley, SC, 1983), 47; and Heitman, *Historical Register,* I, 135, 226.

46. Brown, *Amphibious Campaign for West Florida,* 56; Elting, *Amateurs, To Arms!,* 288; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 101, 133-35, 173-75.

47. Blue to Jackson, December 18, 27,1814, January 10, 1815; Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett,* 106-16; Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. G. Holmes," 9-13; and Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 174-75. The various sources disagree as to the exact number of killed and captured. It is likely that with so many diverse and scattered units under his command Blue was unable to keep an accurate tally.

strated leadership abilities and who AndrewJackson trusted.[48] Blue also demonstrated a rapport with his Choctaw and Chickasaw allies, and the Indians seem to have respected him.[49] Given these circumstances, Blue performed as well as could be expected. It was an unenviable task to beat the bushes of West Florida for Indians while General Jackson journeyed on to New Orleans to engage the British. But Blue's expedition into Spanish West Florida was important. American forces possibly prevented the British from launching a rear guard action using their Red Stick allies, and they freed Jackson from a threat (real or imagined) to his flank. Blue's raid became a spoiling operation designed by Jackson to safeguard against Indian attacks upon Mobile and the Alabama-Georgia frontier. In this Blue was successful. He was also successful in demonstrating to the Spanish and Indians that the United States actively protected its borders.[50] Blue's expedition, however, did not eliminate the threat of Indian attacks from the Spanish Floridas. Three years later Andrew Jackson would return to Florida in an effort to demonstrate more clearly the nation's resolve to stabilize Florida's restless frontier.

48. Bassett, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* II, 96-100; and Rowland, *Andrew Jackson's Campaign,* 210.
49. Bassett, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* II, 90-100, III, 185; Blue to Jackson, October 25, 1814, reel 13, AJP; Blue to Jackson, January 10, 29, April 26, 1815; Certification of Uriah Blue, April 23, 1824; and Holmes, "Notes Taken from the Lips of Dr. Thos. C. Holmes," 9-13.
50. Owsley, *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* 101, 125-26, 133-35, 170, 173-75.

FONTANEDA REVISITED: FIVE DESCRIPTIONS OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FLORIDA

by JOHN E. WORTH

The well-known relation of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, the Spanish sailor shipwrecked on the Florida coast in the mid sixteenth century, has correctly been described by David O. True as a document that "should share the top rank of Florida source records."[1] It constitutes one of the earliest descriptions of the Indians of Florida and is rich in ethnographic detail. Although the text of the body of Fontaneda's account (the Memoir) and a separate fragment associated with it (the Memoranda) have been published by True in both transcribed and translated form, this published version came from Buckingham Smith's transcription of an earlier transcription by Juan Bautista Muñoz and a more recent but incomplete transcription by Jeannette Thurber Connor.[2] As a consequence, True's edition is not a direct examination of the original documents but instead relies upon the work of earlier researchers.

During a 1991 examination of the original Fontaneda materials in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, a third document appended to the Memoranda but not included in earlier

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1. Although the correct abbreviation for this surname would be Escalante, or Escalante Fontaneda, the unfortunate but common practice of using the secondary Spanish family name (as though it were an English-style surname) has become entrenched in the literature. Thus Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda will be referred to as Fontaneda for this article. David O. True, ed., *Memoir of Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda respecting Florida* (Miami, 1944), 23.
2. True, *Memoir*. The published version of Fontaneda's account was based on the translation by Buckingham Smith, *Letter of Hernando de Soto, and Memoir of Hernando de Escalunte Fontaneda* (Washington, 1854). Smith worked this translation from a transcription made by Juan Bautista Muñoz in the late eighteenth century contained in the Rich Collection of the New York Public Library. The only other known transcription was by Jeanette Thurber Connor, but this version excludes the other fragment by Fontaneda (termed Memoranda by Smith), probably because it was filed separately from the Memoir itself by the time of Connor's examination (see note 3).

transcripts came to light.[3] Entitled "Memorial of the Caciques of Florida," the document is in the same hand as both of the other Fontaneda documents and appears to have been written by Fontaneda himself to accompany his relation. This document has never been published in its original form, probably because Muñoz was interested in transcribing only the textual portion of Fontaneda's report. Thus a valuable portion of Fontaneda's information has remained unknown to modern researchers.[4]

Based on the distinctive character of Fontaneda's handwriting in the Memoir, Memoranda, and Memorial, two other documents were recognized during a subsequent trip to Seville to be a product of Fontaneda's hand.[5] Like the Memoranda, these documents represent fragments of text that were not included in the main body of Fontaneda's Memoir. A paraph at the bottom of the second fragment is almost certainly that of Fontaneda, since it compares exactly with his signature at the end of the Memoir. Translations of the Woodbury Lowery transcripts of these documents have been published by John R. Swanton and John H. Hann, but they attributed them to the cosmographer Juan López de Velasco, who in fact only made marginal notes on the original Fontaneda documents.[6]

At present Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda is known to have written five separate documents, including a long relation occupy-

3. The body of Fontaneda's Memoir appears in Patronato 18, numero 5, while the Memoranda is filed separately under Patronato 19, ramo 32 (see Appendix 1). The two seem to have originally been joined, since the Muñoz transcription introduces the Memoranda thusly, "Together with the preceding relation on a loose paper which serves as its cover is the following." The separation of this fragment from the main text of the Memoir is not an isolated occurrence, as will be seen below.
4. Although Woodbury Lowery transcribed the list and John Swanton subsequently used it, its author was only guessed to be Fontaneda at that time. See John R. Swanton, Early *History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors,* Bureau of American Ethnology, bulletin no. 73 (Washington, 1922), 331-33.
5. These fragments are not filed in the Patronato Real section of the archive, but instead within Indiferente General 1529, a collection of assorted "Descriptions, Populations, and *Derroteros* of Journeys" from throughout the Indies. The documents appear together in a single folder under the heading "Two brief memorials about the customs of the Indians of Florida."
6. The folder in which these documents appear states that the "two brief memorials . . . possess notes and annotations by the cosmographer López de Velasco," and Fontaneda's text is supplemented by a number of notes in a markedly different hand than that of Fontaneda. Indeed, all five of the Fontaneda documents possess these marginal notes, which seem to have been made by the same individual (presumably Velasco). Swanton, *Early History,* 374, 389; and John H. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville, 1991), 315-19.

ing eight folios of text, three textual fragments of one folio each, and a list of caciques. Translations of all textual material have been published previously, but since the Memorial of caciques has never appeared in its entirety, a translation is provided here, along with a brief overview of its contents and significance.

The Memorial was written on both sides of a single page, and it lists the names of seventy-seven caciques in geographical groupings, apparently ordered from west to east, skirting the coast of peninsular Florida. The list includes the general regions of Abalachi (eleven caciques), Carlos (thirty-eight caciques), Los Martires (nine caciques), Ays (ten caciques), and San Agustin (seven caciques), along with two interior caciques with pearls. Although the Memorial is only a listing, a comparison with the caciques mentioned in the text of Fontaneda's Memoir and Memoranda reveals that the unpublished Memorial contains thirty-six caciques not mentioned elsewhere by Fontaneda (Appendix 2). These previously unlisted caciques augment the forty-nine caciques in Fontaneda's Memoir (eight of which are not included in the Memorial) to create a final list of eighty-five caciques in Florida (and coastal Georgia), nearly doubling the previously known number.

The fact that the Memorial is much more comprehensive in its coverage of the caciques of Florida suggests that it was composed after the writing of the text of Fontaneda's Memoir. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the names of two towns in the province of Carlos, which Fontaneda stated that he could not remember while writing the text, appear in the Memorial and were later added in the margin of the completed Memoir (see Appendix 2). Fontaneda seems to have designed the memorial as a complete overview of all the caciques of Florida, including many individuals not deemed necessary (or initially not remembered) for the textual relation in the Memoir. Consequently, the list of names in the Memorial lacks the more detailed contextual information associated with the caciques mentioned in the relation.

The Memorial alone provides a comprehensive overview of aboriginal names present in mid sixteenth-century Florida, many of which persisted into later years. What makes this list even more useful is the fact that the caciques are recorded according to geographical area, and although there is no text to accompany their names, a general location and probable cultural affiliation may be

surmised. The translated Memorial appears below, with Indian names preserved precisely as written.[7]

==========

Memorial of the caciques of Florida.

In the land of Abalachi

> The first cacique which is most near Mexico is / Olagale / and next / Abalachi / next Onagatano / next / Mogoso / next Tocobaga / next Cañogacola / next / Pebe / and next / Esquega / and next / Osigbede / and next / Piyaya / and next / Tanpacaste

In the land of Carlos

> Next / Tanpa / and Yagua / and Estantapaca / and Queyhcha / and Juestocobaga / and Sinapa / and Tomo / and Cayuca / and Ñeguitun / and Avir / and Cutespa / and Sononoguay / and Esquete / and Tonçobe / and Chipi / and Taguagemue[8] / and Namuguya / and Caragara / and Henhenquepa / and Opacataga / and Janar / and Escuru / and Metamapo / and Estame / and Çacaspada / and Satucuava / and Juchi / and Soco / and Vuebe[9] / and Teyo / and Muspa and Casitua / and Cotevo / and Coyovia / and Tequemapo and Jutan / and Custevuiya / and these are those who are subject to Carlos–

In the land of the Martires

> And in the Martires there are also settlements of Indians, and the first cacique is Guarungube / next Cuchyaga / next Tatesta /–
> Next, farther on, is Tegesta / and Tavuaçio / and Janar / and Cavista / and Custegiyo and Jeaga and many Indians whose names I do not know / –

7. Slash marks seem to have been placed to separate names from one another, although not in all cases. This was not an uncommon practice in Spanish documents of the era.
8. The manuscript reads "Tguagemue" with an "a" written above and between the "T" and "g," probably resulting from Fontaneda's proofing of the list.
9. The "u" was added above the name "Vebe."

In the land of Ays – [near St. Augustine][10]

> Ays, firstly / and Vuacata / and Tunsa / and Mayjuaca and Maycoya / and Mayaca / and Çilili / and Potano / and Moloa / and Utina / –
> And in St. Augustine is Sotoriba / and Moloa the brave / and Alimacany / and Palica and many other Indian towns whose names I do not know /–
> And Tacatucuru / and Guale / and Parca [Paica?] /–
>
> And the cacique who has the pearls are two caciques, and one of them is named Aquera / and the other / Ostaga–

==========

Based on the current understanding of the late sixteenth-century social geography of Spanish Florida, Fontaneda's Memorial of Florida caciques is perhaps the most complete single overview available for the period.[11] Important names that were not included in the more familiar Memoir, such as the northern provinces of Potano, Tacatucuru, Aquera, and Ostaga, appear with a multitude of other lesser-known names in the Memorial, and in overall geographic order. The Memorial thus represents a remarkable benchmark against which other documentary information, both earlier and later, can be compared. This is particularly true when the names of caciques provided by Fontaneda in both his Memorial and Memoir are combined into a master list (Appendix 2).

As noted earlier, it is now apparent that Hernando de Escalande Fontaneda's Memoir, along with the Memoranda and the attached Memorial translated above, were not the only texts he produced. Two other fragments have been recognized as products of his hand, and although these have been translated previously, they will be presented below in order to sort out that text which Fontaneda himself wrote from the marginal notes by Juan López de Velasco (which are presented in endnotes and Appendix 3).

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10. This last passage, "cerca de Sanct Agustin," was added later, perhaps by Juan López de Velasco.
11. See, for example, Swanton, *Early History;* Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds., *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period* (Gainesville, 1978); Hann, *Missions;* John H. Hann, "The Mayaca and Jororo and Missions to Them," *Flarida Anthropologist* 44 (June-December 1991), 164-75; and Jerald T. Milanich and Charles Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida* (Gainesville, 1993).

==========

Fragment #l

Of what happens in Florida among Indians of the same land. Those of Carlos firstly have as custom [that] each time a child of the cacique dies, each resident sacrifices his sons or daughters who go in company of the death of the child of the cacique. / The second sacrifice is that when the cacique himself dies, or the cacica, they kill his or her own servants, and this is the second sacrifice. / The third sacrifice is that they kill each year a Christian captive in order to feed their idol which they adore, and which they say eats the eyes of the human male and eats the head. They dance each year, which they have for custom. / And the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer come some sorcerers in the shape of the devil with some horns on their heads, and they come howling like wolves and many other different idols which yell like animals of the woods, and these idols stay four months, in which they never rest night or day, running so much with great fury. What a thing to relate the great bestiality which they do! [see Appendix 3]

==========

Fragment #2

Memorial of the Indians and ceremonies of the Indians of Tocobaga. When one of the principal cacique dies they cut him into pieces and boil him in some large jars, and they boil him two days until the meat separates from the bones, and they take the bones and join one bone with another until they put the man together as he was and put him in a house which they have for a temple. While they finish putting him together they fast four days. At the end of the four days, all the Indian town comes together and comes forth with him to the procession and enclose him, making much reverence, and then they say that all those who go to the procession gain indulgences.

The Indians of Tegesta, which is another province from Los Martires up to Cañaveral.

When a cacique or principal dies they disjoint him and remove the major bones from the body, and the minor bones they inter with the body / and in the house of the cacique they place a large box, and in this box they enclose the large bones, and all the town comes to adore these bones, which they have for their gods. / And

in the winter all the canoes come forth to the sea. Among all these Indians one Indian is sent forth who carries three stakes in his belt, and he throws the lasso around the neck, and while the whale is diving he inserts a stake through one nostril, and thus as it is tied he does not lose it, because he goes on it, and in killing it as he kills it they pull it until it runs aground in the sand, and the first that they do is open the head and remove two bones which it has in its head, and these two bones they put in this chest in which they place the dead, and they adore this.

[paraph] [12]

==========

The text translated above provides an intriguing supplement to Fontaneda's Memoir with its attached Memoranda, particularly due to its ethnographic detail regarding some of the more gruesome customs of the Florida Indians. Indeed, it may have been this fact that prompted Fontaneda not to include it in his final submission to the king. Nevertheless, it represents yet another indication of Fontaneda's apparently vast knowledge of native inhabitants of the Florida peninsula and, as such, deserves a place alongside his other accounts.

The three documents translated above, together with the two transcribed and translated by David True in 1944 (the Memoir and Memoranda), represent the five currently known works of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda. Of these five, only one seems to represent a finished document (the Memoir), the rest being fragments of information not included in the final draft. Even the Memoir contains some marginal corrections made by Fontaneda. What has been found to date suggests that Fontaneda authored at

12. The paraph at the bottom of this text is similar enough to Fontaneda's signature to provide further evidence that these fragments are a product of his hand. On the reverse side of Fontaneda's folio is the filing note "Caciques and customs of the Indians of Florida, 69," which was written in a different script from that of Fontaneda. The number may refer to 1569. In the same dark ink as Fontaneda's text appear two multiplications, one above the other, which are as follows:

22	20
17	17
154	140
22	20
374	340

The significance of these figures is unknown

least five and probably more documentary texts, most of which represent assorted notes and text fragments comprising preliminary drafts of a projected final account (probably the Memoir).

Bits and pieces of Fontaneda's writings seem to have been scattered across much of the Archive of the Indies, and perhaps even further afield. The reasons for this are not clear. It is entirely possible that the author of the marginal notes common to all of Fontaneda's documents was responsible for separating what might once have been a single bundle of unedited texts and notes compiled by Fontaneda after his arrival in Spain in the late 1560s. This individual may well have been the cosmographer Juan López de Velasco, who seems to have mined Fontaneda's writings for information to include in his 1575 volume *Geografía* y *Descripción Universal de las Indias.* [13] The two were contemporaries and might have met each other in Spain. As a consequence, part of what López wrote may derive directly from lost fragments of Fontaneda's writings, some of which could remain among the personal papers of the cosmographer.

The key to understanding the historical context of these five documents (and to finding any others) lies in the biography of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, who has remained something of a mystery to modern researchers. Although details about his early years in Cartagena and, in particular, the circumstances and date of his shipwreck on the Florida coast are still debated, the period of his life after his rescue by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1566 is perhaps most important.[14] Successfully tracing Fontaneda's footsteps after his eventual arrival in Spain will be a daunting task, but if other texts by him are eventually discovered, historians and anthropologists will have yet another glimpse into the still poorly understood era of first contact among the Indian societies of Florida and the Southeast.

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13. For English translations of selected portions of López's volume, see Hann, *Missions to the Calusa,* 308-15.
14. In this regard, my own investigations have been aided by the comments of Eugene Lyon and Ignacio Avellaneda, to whom I express my gratitude.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Known Documents by Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda

Memoir
Location: AGI Patronato Real 18, Numero 5
Title: Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la florida.
Length: 8 folios
Description: In depth description of the social geography of sixteenth-century Florida, including detailed ethnographic information relating to Indian cultures.
Published Translations: True, *Memoir,* 25-36.

Memoranda
Location: AGI Patronato Real 19, Ramo 32
Title: none
Length: 1 folio
Description: Brief description of the channels and passages of the lower Atlantic coast of Florida, with some disconnected notes regarding the Apalachee Indians.
Published Translations: True, *Memoir,* 37-8.

Memorial
Location: AGI Patronato Real 19, Ramo 32
Title: Memoria de los caciques de la florida.
Length: 1 folio
Description: A list of seventy-seven caciques of Florida by geographical groupings.
Published Translations: Names transcribed by Woodbury Lowery used by Swanton, *Early History,* as an anonymous source.

Fragment #1
Location: AGI Indiferente General 1529
Title: Memoria de lo que en la florida pasa de los yndios de la misma tierra.
Length: 1 folio
Description: Brief description of four "sacrifices" performed by the Indians of Carlos. Numerous marginal notes regarding the early years of Menéndez's colonial effort may be the work of Juan López de Velasco.

Published Translations: Swanton, *Early History,* 389, and Hann, *Missions,* 316-18. Both authors attribute the account to Juan López de Velasco.

Fragment #2
Location: AGI Indiferente General 1529
Title: none
Length: 1 folio
Description: A brief description of the practices surrounding the death of a principal cacique in Tocobaga and Tegesta and an account of whale-hunting among the Tegesta.
Published Translations: Swanton, *Early History,* 374, 389, and Hann, *Missions,* 318-19. Both authors attribute the account to Juan López de Velasco.

APPENDIX 2

Caciques Mentioned by Fontaneda

Memorial	Memoir[15]
[Abalachi]	
Olagale..	Olagale
Abalachi	Abalachi
Onagatano	Onagatano
Mogoso	Mocoso, Mogoso
Tocobaga..	Tocobaga, Tocovaga
Cañagacola	Cañogacola
Pebe	
Esquega	
Osigbede	Osiguebede
Piyaya	
Tanpacaste	
[Carlos]	
Carlos	Carlos
Tanpa	Tanpa
Yagua	Yagua
Estantapaca	
Queyhcha	
Juestocobaga	
Sinapa	Sinapa

15. The names and spellings in this list are drawn from the original manuscript and occasionally differ from printed versions.

Tomo	Tomo
Cayuca	
Ñeguitun	
Avir	
Cutespa	Cutespa
Cononogua	
Esquete	
Tonçobe	Tonsobe
Chipi	
Taguagemue	Tavagemue
Namuguya	
Caragara	
Henhenquepa	
Opacataga	
Janar	
Escuru	
Metamapo	Metamapo
Estame	Estame
Çacaspada	Sacaspada
Satucuava	
Juchi	Juchi
Soco	Soco
Vuebe	
Teyo	
Muspa	Muspa
Casitua	Casitoa
Cotevo	
Coyovia	Coyobea
Tequemapo	Tequemapo
Jutan	Jutun
Custevuiya	Custevia, Custebiya[16]
	Ño
	Sinaesta
	Calaobe
	Guava
	Guebu
	Comachicaquiseyobe
	Enenpa

16. This town was one of two under the domain of Carlos, which Fontaneda indicated in the text of his relation that he could not remember, but which appear in the margin of the original document as a later addition (not transcribed previously). The word Custebiya was crossed out and replaced with Custevia.

[Los Martires]	
Guarungube	Guarungube, Guarugunbe
Cuchyaga	Cuchiyago, Cuchiaga
Tatesta	Tatesta [Carlos]
Tegesta	Tequesta, Tegesta
Tavuaçio	Tavuasia [Carlos] [17]
Janar	
Cavista	
Custegiyo	
Jeaga	Jeaga
Ays	Ais, Ays
Vuacata	Guacata
Tunsa	
Mayjuaca	Mayajuaca
Maycoya	
Mayaca	Mayaca
Çilili	
Potano	
Moloa	Moloa
Utina	Utina
	Saravai, Sarabai
[San Agustin]	
Sotoriba	Sotoriba
Moloa el bravo	
Alimacany	Alimacani
Palica	
Tacatucuru	
Guale	Guale
Parca (Paica?)	
[Caciques with Pearls]	
Aquera	
Ostaga	
77	49

Total number of distinct Caciques mentioned by Fontaneda: 85

17. This town was one of two not mentioned in Fontaneda's text.

APPENDIX 3

Marginal notes by Juan López de Velasco begin at the bottom of this folio, carrying over to the other side. On the attached folio (which Fontaneda left blank) are more notes by López A separate page contains the second Fontaneda text fragment. The unedited notes inserted by López are as follows:

==========

[folio 1]
Caciques[18] / Guarugumbe 2U on the point of Los Martires. His subjects are Cuchiaga farther on 40 on the very head. Tatesta farther on 80. From Los Martires to St. Augustine / Tequesta / Gega / Ais, Saturiba, St. Augustine/ and to San Mateo by the coast. By the interior Utina / Potano / M[aya?]ca / Maygueya / Moloa.

Carlos 20U
Tocobaa 6U
Mocoço U
Abalachi 20U
[unreadable passage]

[folio 1, vuelto]
In that of Carlos Captain Reynoso with 40.
In St. Augustine Estevano de las Alas and Bartolomé Meléndez with 200.
San Mateo is disappeared, [closed]. They passed it to Tacatacoru, where the artillery was placed. Vasco Cavah is there with 200 men.
In Santa Elena Pedro Meléndez Márquez with 500 / with 48 married.

[folio 2]
Pedro Menéndez
Captain Reynoso, Governor of the provinces of Carlos and fort of San Antonio, which passes fifty leagues farther on from San Mateo.
Captain Aguirre

18. This list of caciques is accompanied by numbers, presumably referring to the number of thousands ("U") in the population of each province.

Florencio de Esquinas
Captain Juan Pardo
Hernando de Miranda
Salzedo, native of Madrid.
Don Antonio, who was page of the Archbishop.
Captain Antonio del Prado
Escalante[19] /

These are there:
-Estevan de las Alas, Lieutenant General
-Captain Pedro Menéndez Márquez, discoverer of the coast and Governor and Alcalde of Santa Elena.
-Bartolomé Menéndez, Alcalde and Governor of St. Augustine.
-Vasco Caval, Captain and Governor of Catacoru.
-Diego García de Sierra, Governor of Guale.
And there are Alcaldes and Regidores in all five governorships, rather in the two, which are Santa Elena and St. Augustine.

19. Here, López de Velasco mentioned the name of the author of the text fragment upon which he was writing.

THE PAPERS AND HISTORY OF PANTON, LESLIE AND COMPANY, AND JOHN FORBES AND COMPANY

by WILLIAM S. COKER

The research project the Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company, which began at the University of West Florida in the summer of 1973, officially ended in the summer of 1987. The annotated bibliography at the end of this report lists the publications that describe the research, collection, and writing associated with the project. But the acquisition of several significant collections of papers, as well as an article about one of John Forbes's descendants, have added to our knowledge of the companies,, their owners, and their families.

The acquisition of the Panton family papers from Mrs. Jean A. Vaughn of Bray, Berks, England, in November 1987 was the first of the collections acquired by the University of West Florida library after the project formally ended. Mrs. Vaughn is a descendant of Christian, one of William Panton's sisters.[1] Mrs. Vaughn's grandfather collected the papers in an unsuccessful effort to secure the remaining assets for the family from the Panton, Leslie and Forbes companies. He felt– and rightfully so– that the family had been cheated out of its legacy. The papers, nearly 1,600 pages, contain a wealth of information about the two Indian trading companies. The documents date from 1795 to 1978, almost 200 years. Most of the collection consists of letters from members of the companies, law suits and related letters from lawyers, and correspondence between the heirs in their efforts to secure compensation.[2]

The next collection acquired by West Florida is the Innerarity family papers purchased from Hardie Maloney of New Orleans in 1992. It consists of 114 documents ranging in date from 1794 to 1904. These are the papers of William Panton Innerarity and his

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1. Jean A. Vaughn to William S. Coker, July 24, 1987, in author's possession.
2. See William S. Coker, "Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: A Spanish, French, and English Documentary Project," in *The Hispanic Experience in North America: Sources for Study in the United States,* ed. Lawrence A. Clayton (Columbus, 1992), 113-15.

immediate family of Pensacola and Mobile. William was the son of James and Heloise Innerarity. James headed the operations of John Forbes and Company in Mobile. The collection includes letters and documents to, from, and about members of the family, as well as William Panton. Among the subjects covered are Panton, Leslie and Company, trade with the Indians, rental of slaves by John Forbes and Company, Indian relations, the Seminole War, Mexican War, Civil War, land speculation, John Innerarity's personal notebook, the Apalachicola Land Company, and other materials relating to the family and business interests of Innerarity.

The documents in these two collections are located in the Special Collections Department, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola. The papers may be seen by interested persons in the Special Collections Department. A 1989 article by D. A. Farnie about one of John Forbes's descendants, "Enriqueta Augustina Rylands (1843-1908), Founder of the John Rylands Library," supplements these recent acquisitions by providing considerable information about several of the descendants of John Forbes.[3]

John Forbes, a native of Scotland, resided primarily in East and West Florida from 1784 until 1817. During these years he was a partner in Panton, Leslie and Company (1792-1801); subsequently he headed John Forbes and Company (1801-1817), the successor firm to the Panton Company. Forbes moved to Cuba in 1817 where he became a partner in a sugar plantation, La Reunion Deseada, in Matanzas Province.[4] Forbes died of dysentery on board a ship bound for New York on May 13, 1823.[5] His two daughters, Sophia (1797-1827)[6] and Juana,[7] inherited his estate valued at about

3. *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 71 (Summer 1989), 3-38. Unless otherwise noted the information herein is from Farnie's article.
4. His partners were Joseph Bellechase and Forbes's son-in-law Francisco Dalcour. See John Forbes's will, October 2, 1820, Will Book I, 153-57, Probate Court, Mobile County Courthouse, Mobile, Alabama.
5. A. H. Gordon to James Innerarity, June 2, 1823, Greenslade Papers, Florida Historical Society, Tampa.
6. Sophia Forbes was born in Mobile on July 16, 1797, the daughter of Isabella Narbone and John Forbes. She was baptized on December 10, 1797. See Baptismal Records, book 2, 67-a, Records of the Chancery, Diocese of Mobile, Alabama.
7. No date of birth or death for Juana Forbes is known. Her father's [John Forbes] will of October 2, 1820, listed her as a minor daughter. Juana married Edmund DePestre in Cuba. See *John and James Innerarity & the Heirs of John Forbes v. United States*, case no. 1830-2637, Historic Documents Section, Judicial Building, Pensacola, FL, William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Gainesville, 1986), 359.

$150,000. Sophia married Francisco Dalcour [also Dalcourt] apparently soon after she arrived in Cuba about 1817.[8]

Sophia and Francisco Dalcour's daughter– Forbes's granddaughter– Juana Camila Dalcour (1818-1855), married Stephen Cattley Tennant (1800-1848) on March 19, 1840. Tennant was an English merchant living in Havana. There were five children from this union, including a set of twins, Enriqueta Augustina (1843-1908) and José Esteban (1843-1914). José later changed his name to Stephen Joseph. Considerable information about the family and some about Enriqueta's early years is included in Professor Farnie's study. Enriqueta eventually moved to Manchester, England, and there converted from the Roman Catholic faith to become a member of the Cavendish Congregational Chapel.

In Manchester, Enriqueta became a good friend and companion of Mr. and Mrs. John Rylands. Rylands, a wealthy businessman, had already been widowed once, and his second wife, Martha, died on February 13, 1875. Some seven months later John Rylands married the thirty-five-year-old Enriqueta. They were married thirteen years, when on December 11, 1888, Rylands died.

Enriqueta inherited well over £2.5 million from Rylands's estate. Subsequently, she spent much of her time and a great amount of money on the construction of the John Rylands Library in Manchester, which she dedicated to her husband. She also assisted the library in acquiring many valuable manuscripts and books. The library was formally inaugurated on October 6, 1899. Enriqueta's twin brother, Stephen Joseph, who was associated with her in the founding of the library, also served as a trustee, a member of the council, and as honorary treasurer of the library.[9] In 1972 the John Rylands Library and the University of Manchester Library merged.[10]

In 1903 Henry Guppy, the librarian, edited the first volume of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.* Volume seventy-three of the *Bulletin,* now the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* appeared in 1992. A picture of the statue of Mrs. Rylands unveiled in

8. Will of Don Francisco Dalcourt, Matanzas, Cuba, March 24, 1838, copy in Charleston County Wills, vol. 42, pp. 29-31, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, copy provided by William Miller of Carmichael, CA, Coker and Watson, Indian Traders, 358-59.
9. "In Memoriam. Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 1 (October 1908), 353,358.
10. Stephen Roberts, et al., *Research Libraries and Collections in the United Kingdom: A Selective Inventory and Guide* (London, 1978), 162-63. In 1978 the combined libraries had 2,650,000 volumes and 8,000 current periodicals.

the main hall of the John Rylands Library on December 12, 1907, may be found in volume I, no. 1 of the *Bulletin*. Her obituary– she died on February 4, 1908– appeared in the *Bulletin* for October 1908.[11]

It is obvious from the two manuscript collections acquired by the University of West Florida and from Farnie's article that the research and writing about these two Indian trading companies and the families associated with them is not yet complete. The following is a chronological, annotated bibliography of articles and books written as a result of the documentary project, the Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company. Collectively, they provide an in depth look at the research, bibliography, and history of these companies.

William S. Coker, "Entrepreneurs in the British and Spanish Floridas, 1775-1821," in *Eighteenth-Century Florida and the Caribbean,* ed. Samuel Proctor (University Presses of Florida, 1976), 15-39. A brief overview of the early studies written about the Panton and Forbes companies in Spain and a biographical sketch of each of the early partners.

_____, *Historical Sketches of Panton, Leslie and Company* (University of West Florida, 1976). Includes a reprint of the aforementioned article from Proctor's volume and a paper, "William Panton: Loyalist and Activist," read at the 26th Annual Conference, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, March 2, 1976.

_____, "The Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company," *Ex Libris, Journal of the University of South Florida Library Associates* 2 (Fall 1979), 13-15. Describes the Panton Leslie project and provides a brief bibliography of pertinent studies.

_____, et. al., trans. and ed., *John Forbes' Description of the Spanish Florida, 1804* (Perdido Bay Press, 1979). This is a translation of a report written by Forbes for the Spanish government following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

_____, "John Forbes and Company and the War of 1812 in the Spanish Borderlands," in *Hispanic-American Essays in Honor of Max Leon Moorhead,* ed. William S. Coker (Perdido Bay Press, 1979), 61-97. Describes the difficulties that the company faced

11. "In Memoriam. Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands," 351-59.

in Mobile and in East and West Florida after the British arrived during the War of 1812.

_____, "Una Compañía privilegiada (John Forbes), en La Florida española durante la guerra de 1812," *Revista de Indias,* nos. 159-62 (Enero-Diciembre 1980), 219-54. A Spanish translation of the foregoing chapter, "John Forbes and Company and the War of 1812 in the Spanish Borderlands," from the Moorhead festschrift.

_____, "The Last Battle of the War of 1812: New Orleans. No, Fort Bowyer!" *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 43 (Spring 1981), 42-63. Shows that it was John Innerarity, a member of John Forbes Company in Pensacola, who sent a rider– Paul Revere style– to warn the Americans in Fort Bowyer that the British planned to attack the fort. This was the first attack upon the fort in September 1814.

_____, and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (University Presses of Florida, 1986). Provides an in depth study of these two Indian trading firms and the personalities associated with them.

William S. Coker, "A History of the Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company Project and its Antecedents," in *The Papers of Panton Leslie, and Co.* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1986), v-vi. This is a brief overview of the history of the collection of the documents. The main purpose of this 764-page guide is to provide names, dates, and a brief summary of each document in the twenty-six-reel microfilm collection of company documents available from Research Publications, Inc., 12 Lunar Drive, Woodbridge, CT 06525.

_____, "How General Andrew Jackson Learned of the British Plans *Before* the Battle of New Orleans," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 3 (Fall 1987), 85-95. Reveals that Jackson learned about the British plans from James Innerarity, head of Forbes & Co., in Mobile in August 1814, some four months before the Battle of New Orleans.

_____, "The Columbian Exchange in the Floridas: Scats, Spaniards, and Indians, 1783-1821," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3 (Summer 1994), 305-25. Paper read at Santa Fe, New Mexico, symposium "Old World and New: New Mexico and the Columbus Quincentennial," October 14, 1989. This shows that while the biological exchange cannot be overlooked, the eco-

nomic exchange between Europeans and southeastern Indians also had a devastating effect upon the latter.

_____, "Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: A Spanish, French, and English Documentary Project," in *The Hispanic Experience in North America: Sources for Study in the United States,* ed. Lawrence A. Clayton (Ohio State University Press, 1992), 107-15. A paper read at the Library of Congress, which briefly reviews the history and accomplishments of the Papers of Panton, Leslie and Company project to 1987.

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– "Angry Indians: Studies of Crises in the Pre-Revolutionary Era"; "D'Aubarède, Montfort Browne, and their Schemes for the Colonial Deep South" (continuing studies).

Owe J. Jensen– "The Defense Forces of West Florida in the American Revolution" (master's thesis in progress).

Flagler College

Thomas Graham (faculty)– "St. Augustine in 1867"; "Randolph Caldecott in St. Augustine" (continuing studies).

Eugene Lyon (faculty)– "Translations, Revillagigedo Archives"; "Pedro Menéndez de Avilés"; "Recovering the Minorcan Heritage"; "Floridanos Evacuated in 1763" (continuing studies).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

Canter Brown, Jr. (adjunct faculty)– "Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor" (Ph.D. dissertation completed); "Lower Peninsular Florida's Political Economy During the Second Spanish Period" (study completed); "Cultural Diversity in Florida Since 1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor," with William Warren Rogers and Mark I. Greenberg (publication forthcoming); "Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1913"; "Biographical Directory of the Florida Legislature, 1821-1920"; "The Founding of the AME Church in Florida"; "Biography of William H. Kendrick"; "Biography of John J. Dickison," with David J. Coles (continuing studies).

John T. Foster, Jr., and Sarah Whitmer Foster (faculty)– "From a Springtime of Hope: The Life of Chloe Merrick Reed"; "More Than Palmetto Leaves: A Reassessment of the Beecher Stowe Family in Florida" (continuing studies).

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– "Master-Slave Relationships in Florida, 1820-1865"; "The Case of Nicholas Pargos"; "Madison County, Florida, 1830-1860: A Study in Land, Labor, and Prosperity" (publications forthcoming); "James Hudson:

Civil Rights Leader in Tallahassee, 1955-1975"; "The Peculiar Institution in Jackson County, Florida, 1824-1865"; "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 Slave Ownership 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 Female Slaves on the Antebellum Florida Plantation"; "Indentured Servitude on the Wirtland Plantation: An Experiment that Failed, 1833-1834"; "Regulation of Free Blacks in Territorial Florida, 1828-1845" (continuing studies).

Florida Atlantic University

Susan Cary– "The Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church" (master's thesis completed).

Donald W. Curl (faculty)– "Romance in Stone: Mediterranean Revival Architecture in Florida," with Fred Eckel (publication forthcoming); "The Privatization of Palm Beach's Ocean Boulevard"; "Howard Major's Palm Beach Architecture"; "Lost Palm Beach," with Fred Eckel (continuing studies).

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (faculty)– "The Seminole Tribe of Florida in the Twentieth Century" (continuing study).

Karen E. Lucas– "Sara Lee Creech and the SaraLee Doll: Ambassadors of Peace" (master's thesis completed).

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– "The Pattern of Race Relations in Miami Since the 1920s"; "Making the Second Ghetto in Metropolitan Miami, 1940-1960"; "'South of the South': Jews, Blacks, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960"; "From Migration to Multiculturalism: Florida's Immigration History," with George E. Pozzetta; "The Big Change in the Sunshine State: A Social History of Modern Florida," with Gary R. Mormino (publications forthcoming); "Shadows in the Sunshine: Race and Ethnicity in Miami, 1896 1996" (continuing study).

Pia M. Penders– "The Modern Civil Rights Movement in Riviera Beach, 1954-1971" (master's thesis completed).

Robert A. Taylor (faculty)– "Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy" (publication forthcoming); "Lucius

B. Northrop and the Second Seminole War"; "Lincoln's Loyalists in Florida"; "Fort Pierce's Naval Amphibious Training Base, 1943-1946" (continuing studies).

Teresa B. Van Dyke– "Miami's Second Ghetto" (master's thesis completed).

Larry R. Youngs– "Golf in Palm Beach County: Enduring Elite Enclaves, 1897-1987" (master's thesis completed).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

John H. Hann– "The Missions of Spanish Florida"; 'A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions" (publications forthcoming); "Demise of the Pojoy and Bomto" (study completed); "Survey of Spanish Florida's Natives"; "Chattahoochee River Forebears of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles, 1675-1775" (continuing studies).

Clark S. Larsen, Hong P. Huynh, and Bonnie G. McEwan– "Death by Gunshot: Biocultural Implications of Trauma at Mission San Luis" (publication forthcoming).

Bonnie G. McEwan and Charles E. Poe– "Excavations at Fort San Luis" (publication forthcoming).

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

Roger C. Smith– "The Ship at Emanuel Point: A Preliminary Examination of Florida's Earliest Shipwreck" (publication forthcoming).

Brent R. Weisman– "The Origin and History of Florida Seminoles and Miccosukees," with John K. Mahon; "Crystal River: Ceremonial Mound Complex on the Florida Gulf Coast" (publications forthcoming); "Pioneer in Space and Time: John Mann Goggin and the Development of Florida Archaeology" (continuing study).

Florida Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee

Joe Knetsch– "A History of Surveying in Florida"; "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842"; "A General History of Florida Land Policies"; "The Business Operations of the Flagler Enterprises in Florida," with Edward Keuchel (continuing studies).

Florida International University

Sherry Johnson (faculty)– "Casualties of Peace: The Florida Exile Community in Havana, 1763-1800" (study completed); "'Honor Is Life': Military Reform and the Transformation of Havana, 1754-1800" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville

Jerald T. Milanich and Kathleen A. Deagan (faculty)– "The Timucua Indians" (publication forthcoming).

Florida Southern College

Pat Anderson (faculty)– "Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall" (continuing study).

James M. Denham (faculty)– "Crime and Punishment in Antebellum Florida"; "William Pope DuVal" (continuing studies).

Mary Flekke– "Frank Lloyd Wright: An Oral History" (continuing study).

Steven Rogers– "Frank Lloyd Wright, Ludd Spivey, and Florida Southern College" (continuing study).

Florida State University

Cathy Adcox– "Recent Developments in Seminole Patchwork" (master's thesis in progress).

David J. Coles– "Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Florida Troops in the Union Army During the Civil War"; "The Florida Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg," with Don Hillhouse and Zack Waters (continuing studies).

Caroline S. Emmons– "A History of the NAACP in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Eric L. Gross– "Somebody Got Drowned, Lord: The Great Florida Hurricane Disaster of 1928" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Carrol Hageseth– "The Turtle Shores Site: An Early Burial Site in Present-Day St. Johns County" (master's thesis completed).

Maxine D. Jones (faculty)– "S. D. McGill, Florida's Civil Rights Attorney"; "Black Women in Florida"; "African Americans in

Twentieth-Century Florida"; "The Ocoee Massacre" (continuing studies).

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

Kevin Kline– "The Pork Chop Gang: Florida's Bourbon Legacy" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Christopher E. Linsin– "The Impact of the Aged on Florida's Urbanization, 1940-1980" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Christopher Outzs– "The Democratic Presidential Primary of 1976: How Jimmy Carter Won the Nomination" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress.)

Lawrence Patrick Riordan– "'A Haven for Tax Dogers': The Roots of Florida's Income-Tax Ban" (continuing study); "Seminole Genesis: Europeans, Africans, and Native Peoples in the Lower South" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Laura Robbins– "Analysis of Weeden Island Ceramic Variability at the Sowell Site (8BY3) in Northwest Florida" (master's thesis completed).

William Warren Rogers (faculty)– "Florida in the 1920s and 1930s"; "Cultural Diversity in Florida Since 1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor," with Canter Brown, Jr., and Mark I. Greenberg (publications forthcoming); "A History of Goodwood Plantation and the Croom Family," with Erica Clark; "A History of the Rosewood Episode of 1923," with David Colburn, Maxine Jones, Larry Rivers, and Thomas Dye (continuing studies).

Cecile-Marie Sastre– "The Urban Development of St. Augustine, 1565-1821" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress); "Fort Picolata on the St. Johns River" (continuing study).

Robin Jeanne Mason Sellers– "Femina Perfecta: The Genesis of Florida State University" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Jessica Slavin– "'Everybody is Tired of This War': An Examination of Desertion in Confederate Florida" (study completed); "A Study of Poor Whites and Crackers in Florida, 1840-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Lee Terzis– "A Study of Deptford Settlement Patterns: Ecology and the Florida Site File" (master's thesis in progress).

Victor Triay– "Cuban Migration to Florida Under Castro" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Sally Vickers– "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's Congresswoman and Diplomat" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

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

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Cesar Becera– "The Logging Industry in South Florida"; "Human Impact on Dade County Pinelands," with Christopher Kernen (continuing studies).

Tina Bucuvalas– "Cuban Folklife" (continuing study).

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

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

Paul S. George– "Forgotten Heroes: A Study of Dade County Police Officers Killed in the Line of Duty," with William Wilbanks (exhibition and publication forthcoming); "The Port of Miami"; "The Burdine Family"; "South Dade County"; "Miami Beach's Jewish Community" (continuing studies).

Leah LaPlante– "Charles Torrey Simpson: A South Florida Naturalist" (publication forthcoming).

Arva Moore Parks– "Dade County"; "Julia Tuttle"; "The City of Miami Centennial Celebration" (continuing studies).

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

William Straight– "The Study of Medicine in the Miami River Community, 1840-1880"; "Medical Care During the First Ten Years After Miami's Incorporation" (continuing studies).

Patsy West– "A Photographic History of the Seminoles and Miccosukees"; "Seminoles in Tourist Attractions and Expositions"; "Settlement of the Everglades: A Miccosukee Cultural History" (continuing studies).

Jacksonville University

George E. Buker (emeritus faculty)– "History of the Jacksonville District Corps of Engineers, 1975-1994" (continuing study).

Ray Oldakowski (faculty) and James Dietz– "Racial Residential Segregation in Jacksonville, 1960-1990" (continuing study).

Lindenwood College, Missouri

Joseph A. Cernik– "John 'Buck' O'Neil" (publication forthcoming).

Louisiana State University

Paul E. Hoffman (faculty)– "A History of Florida's Frontiers, c. 1500 to c. 1870" (continuing study).

Miami-Dade Community College

Paul S. George (faculty)– "Florida Yesterday and Today," 2nd ed. (publication forthcoming); "A History of Miami Beach's Jewish Community, 1913-1945" (study completed); "A Biography of the Burdine Family"; "A Study of Biscayne Bay"; "A History of South Dade County"; "Criminal Justice in Miami and Dade County Since the 1890s" (continuing studies).

Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee

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

Julia S. Hesson– "Home Extension Work in Florida" (continuing study).

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

Erik T. Robinson– Nineteeth- and Early Twentieth-Century Art in and About Florida (continuing study).

Pensacola Junior College

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)– "Antebellum Pensacola"; "History of the West Florida Citrus Industry"; "History of Santa Rosa County" (continuing studies).

Saint Leo College

James J. Horgan (faculty)– " Holata Micco ('Billy Bowlegs') and the Seminoles of the 1850s" (publication forthcoming).

St. Augustine Historical Society

Page Edwards, Jr.– "Turpentine Manufacturing and Naval Stores in St. Johns County"; "Medical Practices in Territorial Florida"; "Divorce Procedures in Florida, 1890-1921" (publications forthcoming).

St. Thomas University

Seth H. Bramson– "Rural Hospitality in the Florida Keys: The Long Key Fishing Camp, 1904-1935"; "Sunshine State Trolleys"; "Jewels in the Sunshine: The Flagler System Hotels" (studies completed).

Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Sciences

Eleanore Lenington– "Late Nineteeth-Century Medical Care in North Florida: Context and Experience" (continuing study).

Christopher E. Linsin– "Middle Florida Slavery During the 1850s: An Analysis of Skilled Trades and Quarters" (continuing study).

Sherrie Stokes– "Resources for Articulating and Exhibiting the Material Culture and Possessions of Enslaved African Americans in Leon County" (continuing study).

Gwendolyn B. Waldorf– "The Murats and Their Slaves" (continuing study).

University of Central Florida

Jerrell H. Shofner (emeritus faculty)– "History of Altamonte Springs" (study completed).

University of Florida

Robert Austin– "The Effects of Chert Availability on Prehistoric Technological Organization: A Case Study from South-Central Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Brinnen Carter– "Archaeology of Early Archaic Period Peoples" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Samuel Chapman– "Seventeenth-Century Native Settlement Systems in North Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

James C. Clark– "The 1950 Florida Senatorial Primary Between Claude Pepper and George Smathers" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

David Colburn (faculty)– "The African American Heritage of Florida," with Jane Landers (publication forthcoming); "A History of the Rosewood Episode of 1923," with Maxine Jones, William Warren Rogers, Larry Rivers, and Thomas Dye (continuing study).

Michael V. Gannon (faculty)– "The History of Florida: From First Inhabitants To Sesquicentennial of Statehood" (publication forthcoming).

Mark I. Greenberg– "Cultural Diversity in Florida Since 1800: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor," with William Warren Rogers and Canter Brown, Jr. (publication forthcoming).

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

Larry Odzak– "Odysseys to America: The Origins and Growth of Greek-American Communities in the Southern United States" (continuing study).

Susan R. Parker– "Economic Relations in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

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

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

Ruth Trocolli– "Gender and Conquest: The Role of Women in the European Colonization of La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of Miami

Gregory W. Bush (faculty)– "Miami Centennial Reader," with Henry Green (publication forthcoming); "Webs of Subversion: Anti-Communism in Miami, 1945-1960" (continuing study).

Patricia Wickman– "Discourse and Power: Native Americans and Spaniards Negotiate a New World in La Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

University of North Florida

James S. Crooks (faculty)– "Jacksonville Since Consolidation" (continuing study).

Daniel L. Schafer (faculty)– "African Americans in British East Florida, 1763-1784"; "The African Americans of Northeast Florida and the Civil War" (publications forthcoming); "A Biography of Zephaniah Kingsley" (continuing study).

University of South Florida

Ellen Babb– "St. Petersburg's African-American Community" (master's thesis in progress).

Stephen Branch– "Mass Culture Meets Main Street: The Early Years of Lakeland's Polk Theater" (master's thesis completed).

Catherine Claude Fere– "Challenges to Jim Crow: African-American Legal Struggles in Tampa during World War II" (master's thesis completed).

Kim J. Frosell– "Booster Altruism: Progressive-Era Tampa" (master's thesis in progress).

Pam Gibson– "Divorce in Manatee County" (master's thesis in progress).

Heather C. R. McClenahan– "Florida in Black and White: Newspapers, Race, and the 1968 U.S. Senate Campaign" (master's thesis completed).

Gary R. Mormino (faculty)– "Florida and World War II"; "A Social History of Florida" (continuing studies).

James Schnur, "Florida's Red Scare: The Johns Committee" (master's thesis in progress).

Robert E. Snyder (faculty)– "The RA/FSA/OWI in Florida"; "World War II Films Made in Florida" (continuing studies).

Sally P. Vihlen– "The Black Physician in Florida, 1900-1965: An Examination of the Desegregation Process" (master's thesis completed).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (emeritus faculty)– "A History of Sacred Heart Hospital, Pensacola, 1915-1995"; "History of Florida," with Jerrell Shofner (continuing studies).

Jane E. Dysart (faculty)– "Indians in West Florida, 1500-1830" (continuing study).

Thomas Long, Jr.– "Governor William D. Moseley" (master's thesis in progress).

Stephanie Moussalli– "Constitution Making on the Southern Frontier: Texas, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana" (master's thesis in progress).

David Reeder– "Fort Pickens in the Civil War" (master's thesis in progress).

Valdosta State University

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

Vanderbilt University

Jane Landers (faculty)– "Free and Slave"; "African-American Women and Their Pursuit of Rights: Civil Records as Text in Eighteenth-Century Spanish St. Augustine"; "The African American Heritage in Florida," with David R. Colburn (publications forthcoming).

Consulting, Research, and Local Historians

J. Allison DeFoor II– "Odet Philippe at Tampa Bay" (publication forthcoming).

J. Larry Durrance– "The Influence of the Association of Southern Women on the Prevention of Lynching in Florida" (continuing study).

Julius J. Gordon– "The Marine History of Tampa Bay in the Nineteenth Century" (study completed).

Zack C. Waters– "Florida's Confederate Soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia"; "Fifteenth Confederate Cavalry (Florida and Alabama Troops) and the War in the Florida Panhandle" (continuing studies).

Patricia Wickman– "Between Two Worlds: A Seminole Half-Breed Woman's Story of Struggle and Survival"; "The Seminoles Remember the Florida Wars" (continuing studies); "The Uncommon Man: George A. Smathers of Florida"; "The Colonial Floridas"; "Florida Demography: A Critical Bibliography" (publications forthcoming).

University of Alabama Press, forthcoming publications

Canter Brown, Jr. – *Fort Meade, 1849-1900*
Robert A. Taylor – *Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy*

University Press of Florida, forthcoming publications

Ernest Albrecht – *The New American Circus*
David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers – *The African American Heritage of Florida*
Kathleen Deagan – *Puerto Real: The Archaeology of a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Town in Hispaniola*
Kathleen Deagan and Darcie Mahon – *Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom*
Mark Deyrup and Richard Franz – *Rare and Endangered Biota of Florida, IV. Invertebrates*
Dorothy Downs – *Art of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians*
Adela Hernandez Gonzmart and Ferdie Pacheco – *The Columbia Restaurant Cookbook*
Stetson Kennedy – *After Appomattox: How the South Won the War*
Ron Larson – *A Natural History of Florida's Swamps*
Abraham D. Lavender and Clarence Steinberg – *Jewish Farmers in the Catskills: A Century of Survival*
Mallory McCane O'Connor – *Lost Cities of the Ancient Southeast*
Jerald T. Milanich – *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*
Huey L. Perry and Wayne Parent – *Blacks and the American Political System*
Elizabeth Ogren Rothra – *Florida's Pioneer Naturalist: The Life of Charles Torrey Simpson*
George L. Vergara – *Hugh Robinson: Pioneer Aviator*
Mary Louis Weaks and Carolyn Perry – *Southern Women's Literature*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Florida Negro: A Federal Writers' Project Legacy. Edited by Gary W. McDonogh. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993. xxxv, 177 pp. Introduction, illustrations, afterword, notes, appendices, works cited, index. $30.00.)

This treatment of black Floridians was produced during the 1930s by a remarkable Works Progress Administration team of black writers (including Alfred Farrell, Viola Muse, James Johnson, Rachel Austin, Pearl Randolph, and, later, the novelist and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston) under the guidance of Martin Richardson. Published here for the first time is the 1937 version of the manuscript they left behind, incorporating some incomplete revisions made by the original research team in 1938. Also included are three appendices: a report on a state prison visit, descriptions of Eatonville, and a list of contributors to the project derived from manuscript files in several repositories. Finally there is a sketchy bibliography of secondary works that completely overlooks the significant contributions to the history of black Floridians made by Joe M. Richardson, Larry E. Rivers, Dorothy Dodd, Paul George, Wali Kharif, Julia Floyd Smith, and several others. Thus this book is more a document than an updated study that assesses systematically *The Florida Negro* in the light of the subsequent historiography and folklore of black Floridians. But an interesting, if also idiosyncratic, document it is.

In his introduction Gary W. McDonogh (an anthropologist familiar with black society and culture in the Southeast), discusses the history, scope, purposes, themes, authorship, and achievements of the project. The Florida Writers' Project, directed by Corita Doggett Corse, had been interviewing former slaves since 1936, providing significant encouragement for other states to follow suit.

The text itself is organized into sixteen chapters of widely varying length. One of the lengthiest chapters, "History" (sixteen printed pages), ranges across such subtopics as, "The First Slave," "The Seminoles Increase," "Reconstruction," and "Contemporary Life." Another chapter, "Slave Days in Florida," discusses slave occupations, good and bad masters, slave catching patrols, marriage

customs, beliefs, cures, and amusements. A chapter entitled "Notable Florida Negroes" includes biographical sketches of Augusta Savage, Robert Meacham, Professor C. F. Call, Aharte Carter, Dr. Daniel W. Roberts, Jonathan C. Gibbs, James Weldon Johnson, and Zora Neale Hurston. Numerous other chapters are exceedingly brief, with seven of them ranging in length from two to five pages. Chapter sixteen and last, "Spirituals," is less than two full pages long and consists of little more than the titles (but not the texts) of several previously unpublished spirituals. Perhaps characteristic of some phases of the Federal Writers' Project, the volume is full of "folk stuff," with separate chapters devoted to "Workday Songs," "Bolita," "Folklore," "Hoodoo and Voodoo," and "Conjure Shop."

The main thrust of McDonogh's helpful and admittedly minimal annotations is to make comparisons with information contained both in the published state guide for Florida and in the various files relating to the project. For example, discussions of the slave experience in the text can be traced to and compared with typed manuscripts of datable interviews with former slaves conducted by specific black writers.

Reading this edition suggested two thoughts about how this volume may inspire further inquiry. First, we might assess its historic and folkloric content more fully in the light of subsequent work. Second, we might conduct deeper research into the lives and backgrounds of the core group of six males and nine females who repeatedly contributed materials that went into the making of *The Florida Negro.* Both the editor and the author of the "Afterword" (Gertrude Fraser) were strongly concerned about the text itself, the anticipated audience, and the struggles of a team of talented black writers for authorial control under white editorial supervision. They have performed a valuable service by making this long-sequestered and previously unpublished text available to the public, and we should accept their invitation to join them in elucidating its full meaning.

Northeastern University ROBERT L. HALL

City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami. By Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. xvi, 281 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, tables, figures, maps, photographs, postscript, notes, bibliography, index. $25.00.)

The Exile: Cuba in the Heart of Miami. By David Rieff. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993. 220 pp. Index. $21.00.)

Explaining the sudden, sweeping changes that have dictated the development of her city, historian Arva Parks has remarked that "Miami's whole history is written in short paragraphs." A tiny frontier settlement 100 years ago, Miami became an instant city following the entry of Henry M. Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway in 1896. One generation later, a remarkable real estate boom caused its population to soar, led to the development of hundreds of new subdivisions and beautiful thematic cities, and paved the way for Greater Miami's emergence as a metropolitan area. The entry of hundreds of thousands of soldiers to the area during World War II triggered another population and developmental surge that continued well into the postwar period. Finally, the influx of Cubans and other refugees from the Caribbean and Latin America since the Castro takeover of Cuba in 1959 has transformed Greater Miami into a vibrant Hispanic community and an international city known widely as the "Gateway to the Americas."

The Latinization of Greater Miami/Dade County has inspired a large outpouring of books and articles, primarily of a sociological bent. Among the latest to examine this phenomenon are sociologists Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick in *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* and David Rieff, a writer, whose work is entitled *The Exile: Cuba in the Heart of Miami.*

In their superb work, based on studies of census reports and other published materials, surveys of refugees, and interviews with city leaders, Portes and Stepick have observed that Miami, for its size, is easily the most "internationalized" of American cities, as well as the nation's first full-fledged experiment in bicultural living. The authors explain with great insight many of the major themes associated with contemporary Miami: the community's appeal as a refuge for Cubans fleeing their island home; the astounding business success of Cuban exiles and its impact on other hemispheric refugees who have abandoned their homelands; the inability of these refugees, armed with fewer resources, to replicate the Cuban

feat; the strong Cuban national character, which has led to an idealized view of pre-Castro Cuba, a reluctance to abandon the hope of reclaiming it, and ethnic solidarity; enslave and mainstream economies; the ambivalence of the refugee community toward the United States and the former's extreme right-wing political orientation; the adverse impact of migration on Miami's native black population, which remains excluded from true political participation, assuring– in the minds of the authors– new outbreaks of racial strife; and the lessons that Miami's recent experiences with hordes of refugees hold for other urban centers of the nation, as increasing numbers of people pour in from south of the border.

The most important section of the work deals with the rise in power and influence of the exile community since 1980 and the concomitant decline of the area's old Anglo elite. The Mariel boatlift marked the beginning of this process. In 1980, 125,000 Cuban refugees entered Miami from the port of Mariel over the opposition of the area's native leadership. After failing to halt the flood of refugees, Miami's establishment attempted, without success, to direct the influx elsewhere. Finally, it gained some satisfaction with the passage of an ordinance mandating that all county business had to be conducted exclusively in English.

Branded as pariahs in the aftermath of Mariel and stung by the English-only ordinance, the Cuban exile colony, theretofore politically disengaged, fought back through the political system and through the creation of organizations like Facts About Cuban Exiles, which confronted directly attacks on the Cuban community. Within one decade, exile political accomplishments rivaled those in the business sphere, and the image of hard-working, high-achieving Cubans had been restored. Cuban Americans (the term itself is a product of this period of "reactive formation") won election to high office at each level of government and gained appointment, as well, to important governmental administrative positions. The powerful Cuban American National Foundation, whose genesis is traced to this era, has exercised great influence over American policy toward Cuba and is a force to be reckoned with in politics at the national level.

Thus, by the end of the 1980s, Miami's native white leadership had been supplanted by a formidable Cuban exile community which had, in the process, redefined the character of its adopted city and, in the authors' view, had prompted other ethnic communities of Greater Miami to "cast their own identities in

sharper relief." Although Greater Miami remains divided to an "extraordinary" extent along ethnic lines, Portes and Stepick believe that integration and cultural convergence, in the long run, are inevitable. *City on the Edge* is must reading for anyone attempting to understand the ethnic complexities of contemporary Miami.

In *Going to Miami: Exiles, Tourists, and Refugees in the New America* (1987), David Rieff examined the "new" Miami and the role that its influential Cuban exile community played in its development. In *The Exile: Cuba in the Heart of Miami,* Rieff returns to a community whose Cuban exile population now exceeds 700,000. Rieff explores the place that pre-Castro Cuba holds in the imagination and psyche of a large portion of Miami's Cubans, and its consequences. Rieff examines this phenomenon partly through the perspectives of his friends Raul and Ninon Rodriguez, husband and wife, who came to Miami as youths in 1959 and who, in the ensuing period, have achieved success and recognition in their adopted community,

The author believes that Cuban Miami, while outwardly jaunty and prosperous, is actually a city in pain because many of its denizens long for a Cuba which remains, as long as Fidel Castro is in control, far away, Unlike other immigrant groups, many of Miami's Cuban exiles comprised the most privileged part of Cuban society; therefore, they brought with them only warm memories of the homeland, and they have not relinquished their strong attachment to Cuba. In fact, many harbor a "passionate allegiance to the idea of return."

From the beginning of their exile, Miami's Cubans created a mythical, sanitized version of their la Cuba de ayer (Cuba of yesterday), one imbued with the virtues of simplicity and community, which contrasted sharply with the reality of the flamboyant, cosmopolitan Havana of the 1950s. Waves of refugees who followed have accepted this "consoling, beautiful" picture, which helps to explain why many find it hard to assimilate because it would mean the abandonment of this idyllic past and of the island they love. It would also mean an acceptance of the fact that the exile was over and that, politically, Castro had won.

Accompanying the "Cuba of dreams," was a vibrant enclave that replicated the homeland as closely as possible. Many denizens of the enclave believe that everything outside of it is dangerous. Accordingly, they rarely wander from it. Even though Raul and Ninon

Rodriguez, who are now in their mid-forties, were youngsters when this mythical past was created, they and many of their peers subscribe to it. They feel an additional tug because they were forced to leave this idyllic environment without fully coming to know and enjoy it as their elders had earlier. Raul Rodriguez explained: "Everything is a sort of blur. We were robbed of the mastery of our own city, a place we only got to know imperfectly as children." He added that the extreme reaction of exiles to Castroism and anyone perceived as supportive of it should be understood in the context of the great pain and loss felt by the Cuban community.

In *The Exile: Cuba in the Heart of Miami,* David Rieff has brought great insight and understanding to a subject that has been, from the beginning of the Cuban diaspora, extremely perplexing to non-Cubans in Miami (and elsewhere) who question the exiles continued passion for Cuba and their reluctance to adopt the culture of the country that has so warmly and generously opened its arms to them. Rieff's astuteness in analyzing the exile mentality easily overshadows a small number of historical errors found in this work.

Miami-Dade Community College PAUL S. GEORGE
Wolfson Campus

Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800. By Leland Ferguson. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. xlv, 186 pp. List of figures, acknowledgments, prologue, introduction, photographs, maps, tables, epilogue, appendices, notes, references cited, index. $35.00.)

Historians and archaeologists have long enjoyed a mutually beneficial collaboration in Florida. Historians trained in identifying, translating, and interpreting documentary evidence provide archaeologists with data on demography, material and political culture, social and economic networks, and events which might have altered the sites under investigation. Archaeologists uncover and interpret information on the daily activities, material culture, and cultural process usually ignored by the authors of official correspondence, an they give "voice" to those excluded from the official documentary record, which, as everyone laments, is noticeably biased in favor of elite European males.

The archaeology of early African America was pioneered in the 1960s and 1970s by the late Charles Fairbanks, whose investigations of slave sites on Cumberland and St. Simons islands in Georgia and Amelia Island in Florida are well known. Fairbanks's careful analysis of material remains at those sites and others overturned many accounts of the slave experience and more accurately informed us about how Africans and African Americans worked and lived. For instance, Fairbanks found that slaves regularly supplemented the meager diet provided them by their owners with wild foods which they harvested, fished, trapped, and hunted with firearms (weapons theoretically forbidden them). The conclusion of Fairbanks, and his students who went on to investigate other slave sites, was that productivity levels could not have been maintained on plantations without the slaves' own contributions to their sustenance. While these investigations began to piece together more details about the physical nature of slavery, answers to more difficult questions about African ethnicity and heritage remained elusive since Fairbanks found little evidence of African retentions or survivals.

Leland Ferguson's wonderful new book, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800,* shows how far African-American archaeology has come in a short time. Following the inspired trail Fairbanks first marked as he worked on the Kingsley slave cabins, Ferguson has searched for the missing African heritage and has found that Africans left many imprints on their worlds, which, viewed through an ethnocentric filter, simply went unrecognized before. Their impact on the material world should not be surprising given that by 1776 over 500,000 enslaved Africans labored in the colonial South. Ferguson illustrates this, point by designating the area under study– Virginia to Florida– as "North America's Slave Coast." By 1850 the combined efforts of enslaved Africans in South Carolina built a "system of [rice] banks and canals greater in volume than the Egyptian pyramid at Cheops" (p. xxv). Ferguson also finds African influence in smaller-scale works. He looks at African architecture ("earthfast" houses with posts extending into the earth, some with root cellars, or clay-walled "wattle and daub" structures with thatched roofs), pottery (so-called "colono ware," handbuilt, fired on an open hearth), basketry (coiled sweetgrass), foodways (boiled rice, corn meal mushes), and all the artifacts associated with building, potting, basketry, and food processing. Using the theory of creolization, the author explores how African traditions were altered by time and place, yet retained

a basic cultural "lexicon" or "grammar" recognizably African. Ferguson sets out to make the newest archaeological evidence accessible for the lay reader and succeeds elegantly. His review of the materials found at a variety of southeastern sites is clear and jargon-free. The volume includes a wealth of interesting maps, photographs, illustrations, and tables which bring his story to life for lay readers. More-technical appendices provide archaeologically trained readers with specimen designations and descriptive data for all the material discussed in the volume. And anyone who has ever picked up an artifact and wondered about the maker will appreciate Ferguson's poetic approach to his finds. Of a simple blue bead he sketches an imaginary scenario of a worried mother and an ailing infant whom the bead was designed to protect. This is a valuable and eminently readable book that should be a staple for all students of American history. It complements a growing body of work by historians such as Peter Wood, Daniel Usner, Gwendolyn Hall, and Michael Mullin that is changing our understanding of the colonial South by restoring its rich African heritage.

Vanderbilt University JANE LANDERS

Early Pottery in the Southeast: Tradition and Innovation in Cooking Technology. By Kenneth E. Sassaman. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. xvi, 285 pp. Acknowledgments, tables, figures, afterword, appendix, references, index. $27.95, paper.)

Sassaman offers a compelling explanation for differences in spatial and temporal occurrence of fiber-tempered pottery, the earliest prehistoric pottery (5000-3000 B.P.) in the American Southeast. He presents the results of extensive analyses (distributional, technofunctional, and stylistic) of Late Archaic pottery and soapstone artifacts. The geographic focus is the Savannah River Valley and South Atlantic Slope (South Carolina and coastal Georgia).

Chapters 1 and 3 provide, respectively, the theoretical and archaeological background. Chapter 2 reviews extant interpretations of the development and spread of early pottery in the greater Southeast. Site and artifact sampling and the chronological framework are described in Chapter 4. The methods and results of the technofunctional analysis are detailed in Chapter 5. The roles of perforated soapstone slabs, baked clay objects, fiber-tempered pot-

tery, and soapstone vessels in alternative cooking technologies are also discussed. Chapter 6 presents the results of distributional and stylistic analyses. The author explores the social and economic circumstances for interpreting the chronological, spatial, and technofunctional variation in the pottery, and he extends his observations to the greater Southeast. The book contains a wealth of figures documenting his observations, and there is also an extensive appendix of radiocarbon dates.

Sassaman makes the following key observations: soapstone cooking stones were widely used in the interior but not on the coast; the earliest pottery vessels were probably used as containers for indirect heating (stone boiling); pottery was adopted early along the Coastal Plain and coast but not in the interior; and direct heating methods of cooking developed and spread quickly along the coast, while indirect-heat cooking persisted in the interior.

According to Sassaman the social and economic incentives for development and spread of pottery during the Late Archaic were a decline in supply of soapstone and increased social demands on labor for shell ring and shell mound construction along the coast. The author makes a convincing case for the role of women in this process. Sassaman attributes the slow and limited adoption of fiber-tempered pottery in the interior to the threat this innovation posed to existing soapstone exchange relationships among Late Archaic populations. He further suggests that the Poverty Point exchange network involving soapstone vessels created a comparable obstacle to adoption of pottery in the greater Southeast, and he offers a sound alternative explanation for the westward spread of pottery.

The technofunctional analysis was conducted to document technological change in the pottery. Sassaman's choice of pottery attributes is carefully considered and well reasoned. My only concern in this regard was the lack of explicit description of scale of measurement (particle size definitions) and method of observation (e.g. unaided eye versus microscope) for temper or aplastic inclusions. These comments may not have any direct bearing on Sassaman's conclusions, except in the case of baked clay objects. These objects were described as "temperless," or lacking constituents necessary for preventing thermal shock. This description and very limited experimental data were used to suggest that the objects were unsuitable as boiling stones. Equating "temper-less" with

the absence of aplastics may result in erroneous conclusions if aplastic content was evaluated with the unaided eye.

I examined several baked clay objects from the Late Archaic Tick Island site of Florida (8Vo24). These objects appear to be "temperless" or devoid of aplastics with the unaided eye but contain abundant silica sponge spicules when viewed under a microscope (70X magnification). These naturally occurring aplastics function as temper, thus mitigating thermal shock. Although this limited evidence does not confirm stone boiling capability, an ongoing replication study of baked clay objects from the Middle to Late Archaic Lake Monroe site (8Vo2601) by McGee and Wheeler (University of Florida) may support the possibility that some are suitable for stone boiling techniques. These comments do not necessarily refute Sassaman's data and conclusions regarding baked clay objects, but they do indicate that explicit explanation of methods and reexamination of the objects may be warranted.

On the whole, this book is a significant addition to the literature on southeastern archaeology for its extensive data base, consideration of multiple lines of evidence, improved pottery chronology, and compelling explanations of the development and diffusion of pottery technology. This book will be of interest and relevance to a diverse group of readers, including historians of pottery technology and cooking technology, as well as researchers and students of southeastern archaeology. Florida prehistorians will no doubt be interested in using it as a guide for obtaining better documentation of temporal and technofunctional variation of Florida's own fiber-tempered pottery tradition.

Florida Museum of Natural History ANN S. CORDELL
Gainesville

Hispanic Presence in the United States: Historical Beginnings. Edited by Frank de Varona. (Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing Company, 1993. xii, 253 pp. Prefatory remarks, acknowledgments, preface, introductory remarks, foreword, endnotes, bibliography. $13.25.)

This nonscholarly volume contains twenty-one essays dealing with various topics touching on Hispanic contributions to the history of the United States. Edited by a public school administrator

in Miami, the essays seek to provide elementary- and secondary-level teachers with information that the editor contends is absent from most textbooks and historical materials. The book attempts to fulfill that goal by presenting a group of essays dealing with the early explorations of de Soto, Pineda, and the activities of Bartolome de las Casas. Other selections deal with the discovery and settlement of Spanish Florida, the settlement of New Mexico, Spain's participation in the American Revolution, and biographies of Felix Varela, David Farragut, and Jose Marti, along with several other persons of Hispanic heritage. It also contains an essay that chronicles United States activity in the Spanish-American War of 1898. The book closes with a chronology of dates and events important to Hispanic heritage. Most of the essays are popularly oriented pieces authored by school teachers, administrators, and persons from the general public, with the notable exception of scholarly based selections by Jerald T. Milanich, Eugene Lyon, and Jane Landers. All of the essays are very short on analysis, instead focusing on the recitation of historical facts to the point of being almost encyclopedia-like in nature. Many of the essays have a "term paper" quality to them in terms of their reliance on chronological narrative, lack of strong or diverse sources, and limited exposition of historical context.

This volume will most likely attract readers who have very little, if any, previous historical knowledge about the subjects covered in the essays. In that regard there are several matters that should be considered by these readers before using this book. First, the volume is predicated on an assumption by the editor that little historical research and writing has been done on the Hispanic heritage of the United States. That assumption is incorrect. Recent decades have witnessed a virtual explosion of published historical scholarship dealing with the Hispanic history of the United States, including much historical investigation of Spanish Florida, the Borderlands frontier, relations with Cuba and Hispanic America, and the many important contributions made by persons of Hispanic heritage. Readers need only consult the extensive bibliography found in David Weber's *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) or *A Guide to the History of Florida,* edited by Paul S. George (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989), in order to begin accessing this extensive body of historical literature. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of the essays by Professors Milanich, Lyon, and Landers, the bibliographies

of the various selections reflect little cognizance of this voluminous historical literature. This can be seen explicitly in the several essays dealing with Spanish participation in the American Revolution. These essays make no use of any of the dozens of monographs, biographies, and articles (some of which were published in this journal) that have been written during the last thirty years or so. Instead, the authors rely on antiquated studies written over a generation ago, hence making their essays out of date in discussing Spanish participation in the American Revolution. Second, many of the essays in this volume are written from a "presentist" viewpoint which is of questionable validity. Modern concepts and values are superimposed backwards through time to the past. For example, the school that operated in Spanish colonial St. Augustine from the 1780s to the 1820s is characterized as "the first integrated school in the United States" (p. 75), while the 1536 relacion written by Cabeza de Vaca is styled "the first book written by a European about the United States" (p. 219). Third, the editorial criteria upon which the volume rests is very eclectic and adopts an extremely particularistic approach. In the chronology, for example, some of the important dates regarding historical events are included but supplemented with items such as the year actress Rita Moreno won an Emmy Award for her appearance on television's "The Muppet Show" along with milestones in the careers of professional football players Joe Kapp and Jim Plunkett (both of whom are apparently Hispanic). Given all of this, potential readers desiring up-to-date historical information about the Hispanic history of the United States would be well advised to turn elsewhere, at the least to the Weber and George books noted above, rather than consult this volume.

Austin College LIGHT TOWNSEND CUMMINS

The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe. Edited by Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992. vii, 412 pp. Preface, introduction, figures, tables, index, contributors. $48.00, cloth; $18.95, paper.)

The product of a conference held at the University of Rochester in 1988, the fifteen chapters in this valuable work explore the

effects of the Atlantic slave trade. One of four chapters that examine the social costs of the slave trade for Africa, Patrick Manning's impressive effort to formulate a model of the demographic effects of the slave trade in terms of rates of capture, liberation, fertility, and mortality places the trade in its broadest context. Along with an older and smaller Oriental trade, the Atlantic trade was part of an expanding "world market for slave labor spanning five continents" (p. 118). Between 1500 and 1900 about 30 million Africans were enslaved. Of these at least 12 million, of whom more than 1.5 million died in passage, went across the Atlantic, 6 million went to the Orient, 8 million remained within Africa, and 4 million died within Africa as a result of enslavement. Slave exports to the Americas ceased by about 1850 and to North Africa, the Middle East, and the Indian Ocean by 1900, but slavery survived within Africa until the 1930s. As a result of this massive exodus and mortality, the population of sub-Saharan Africa stagnated or declined. Although Africa contributed about a seventh of the current gene pool in the Americas and the Middle East, Manning observes, vigorous population increases in Europe and the Americas meant that the proportion of African-descended people in the Atlantic basin fell from about 30 percent in 1650 to about 15 percent in 1850.

The remaining three chapters in this section are case studies. Examining the impact of the slave trade on the western Sudan, Martin Klein demonstrates that the trade led to widespread social insecurity and the political domination of a warrior class. Jan Hoogenbaum and Paul Lovejoy explore the efforts of Lord Lugard as a representative of an antislavery imperial state to deal with a situation in which roughly a quarter of the population was enslaved when the British took over northern Nigeria at the beginning of the twentieth century Joseph Miller presents a more refined account of the geographic origins, volume, and distribution of Angolan slaves during the eighteenth century.

A second group of four chapters assesses aspects of the contribution of slavery to the shaping of the early modern west. Joseph Inikori links the rapid growth of the cotton textile industry in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England to the "exploitation of export opportunities in the transatlantic slave trade from Africa and in the slave-based economy of the Atlantic system" (p. 146). Ralph Austen and Woodruff Smith examine the role of the slave and sugar trades in creating a new "distinctive cultural pattern" that associated "respectability" (p. 193) with the consumption of

sugar, tea, and coffee. Ronald Bailey persuasively considers the role of "the commercial and industrial activity related to the slave[ry] trade . . . in the process of industrialization," particularly in textiles, in early nineteenth-century New England, while William Darity, Jr., similarly argues for the significance of the West Indian colonies for the emergence of British industry.

A third group of five chapters looks at the worlds created by the slaves and slavery in the Atlantic basin. Johannes Postma charts the distribution of slaves by Dutch traders between 1650 and 1803. David Barry Gaspar provides a careful analysis of patterns of slave resistance in early eighteenth-century Antigua. Reexamining the question of mortality in the middle passage, Kenneth Kiple and Brian Higgins stress the role of dehydration, while Thomas Wilson and Clarence Grim relate the survival of those with impressive capacity for salt retention and resistance to dehydration to the prevalence of hypertension in American blacks relative to black Africans. Seymour Drescher suggestively analyses interrelations between the abolition of slavery and the rise of scientific racism in the nineteenth century.

In their introduction the editors place these chapters in historiographic context, provide an excellent short discussion of current scholarly issues, and briefly consider the questions of who won and who lost as a result of the slave trade. Few will dispute their broad conclusion that while, in net terms, Europe and North American gained and tropical Africa lost, the millions who endured enslavement "were the greatest losers of all."

Johns Hopkins University JACK P. GREENE

The Georgia Gold Rush: Twenty-Niners, Cherokees, and Gold Fear. By David Williams. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993. xiii, 178 pp. Illustrations, preface, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

A gold rush in northeast Georgia and ensuing settlement of the area in the late 1820s and early 1830s is ably chronicled in this brief but sound study. If the discovery of gold in 1829 was opportune for some miners, the same could not be said for the Indians. Northeast Georgia was one of the last areas where the Cherokee Nation lived much as it had before white encroachment. Indians

had lost their lands in Virginia, South and North Carolina, Alabama, parts of Georgia, and other southern regions earlier. Following the discovery of gold in Georgia, the exit of the Cherokees was assured. Neither the state nor federal governments provided any consistent support. Governor Wilson Lumpkin shared President Andrew Jackson's feelings about Indian removal. And, as Williams observes, the election of Jackson in 1828 "all but sealed the Cherokee's fate" (p. 37). In 1831 surveying began, a lottery system was devised for purchasing land, and the Georgia gold rush was on. Some 17,000 Cherokees, many of them literate and having an advanced culture, were forced to leave.

With the Indians gone there was nothing to stop settlement. The gold rush hastened the process. Parallels with the opening of the West in the late nineteenth century are inevitable. Individuals flocked to the area with picks, pans, and high hopes of fortune. Camps, settlements, and, in a rough sense, towns took form. Aurelia, Dahlonega, and Clarkesville owed their existence to nearby gold finds. Many of those who arrived were not model citizens. Lawlessness, drunkenness, and prostitution were common. One visitor to Dahlonega found that "gambling houses, dancing houses, drinking saloons, houses of ill fame, billiard saloons, and ten pin alleys were open day and night" (p. 97). Forty years later Mark Twain would describe Virginia City, Nevada, in much the same light.

There were relatively few slaves in the Appalachian foothills. Yet, some bondsmen participated in their masters' mining operations, and a few "free persons of color" made profits. All of this activity resulted in the creation of a branch of the United States mint at Dahlonega in 1838. That same year the last of the Cherokees were sent west. As in the Oregon, Colorado, and Dakota territories of the 1860s and 1870s there does not seem to have been that much gold. Or at least a comparative few prospectors found significant quantities. Rather quickly, and at least by the mid 1840s the gold in the creek beds began to play out. Hearing about the discoveries in California, some Georgia miners headed west.

Those interested in the process of gold mining will find much instructive here. Without supplying too much detail, Williams provides enough. Panning for gold was the simplest method, but finding the precious metal could also be done with cradle rockers and the long tom. Nor are broader themes neglected. There is no mistaking Williams's extremely negative assessment of Jacksonian Indian policy. Readers may have a few questions. The author

concedes correctly the futility of estimating how many slaves were involved. He might, however, have provided some census figures (for whites) in such counties as Hall, Lumpkin, Habersham where gold was found. Do any demographics reflect the rise and fall of towns that boomed and then busted? And how did the quantity of gold found in north Georgia compare with what was mined in the West later?

These are small concerns. Most fundamentally, Williams points to the exploitation of the Cherokees. That is nothing new. But in northeast Georgia, in the 1830s the promise of gold provided a different wrinkle. Williams tells his story well. His focus– a people, time, and the truly extraordinary circumstances– make for both an entertaining and informative book. The scholarship is solid, the research sound, and the prose is clear and uncluttered. The result is the first scholarly treatment of Georgia's little-known gold rush.

Gainesville College WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR.

A Northern Woman in the Plantation South: Letters of Tryphena Blanche Holder Fox, 1856-1876. Edited by Wilma King. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993. xx, 280 pp. Introduction, preface, acknowledgments, cast of characters, abbreviations, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. $35.95.)

In compiling and editing eighty-one letters written by Tryphena Blanche Holder Fox to her northern family, Wilma King has provided readers in southern, social, and women's history with an invaluable book. Newly married Tryphena Fox wrote frequently to her mother with the details of housekeeping, having (and losing) children, her husband's medical practice, and life in the Deep South. Written chiefly between 1857 and 1868, her letters reveal how households were a central site in which Southerners negotiated the lines of race and slavery before, during, and especially after the Civil War. Though King's introduction concentrates on the specifics of Fox's life rather than a discussion of these themes, the editor's annotation and bibliography suggest some ways in which her subject's experiences and impressions both support and contest current literature.

In 1852, when only eighteen, Tryphena Holder moved from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, to Warren County, Mississippi, to take a

position as a governess. At the time, her salary virtually supported her widowed mother and younger siblings, who struggled to lead a shabby middle-class life in New England. Four years after her arrival, Tryphena married David Raymond Fox, the younger son of a Louisiana planter, who was a frequent visitor at the home of her employers. Trained as a physician and without large holdings in land or slaves, Fox relied upon income provided by his planter neighbors in Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana, for his services as a slave doctor. Thus, in 1856 when Tryphena accompanied him to their new home, aptly named Hygiene, she moved upward toward the planter class but not entirely into it.

Frustrations related to Tryphena's life on the margins of planter society percolate throughout the letters. Even as she enjoyed the accoutrements of a relatively well-off plantation wife— tending to a growing poultry flock and making her home comfortable with linens and a piano— she had neither enough money nor appropriate society to feel completely at ease in the role. Her mother remained in debt, and she suffered the loneliness of one who felt above most of her neighbors ["We do not associate at all with the Creoles" (p. 32)] and snubbed by the others.

Another predominant theme in Fox's correspondence— her persistent difficulties with domestic servants— further elucidates variations within the slaveholding class. As a middle-class professional family, the Foxes could not afford more than two house slaves of their own, hiring others whenever finances allowed. But more important, Fox's chronicle of "the servant problem" illustrates the power of racial images and the contest over freedom that shaped postbellum southern society. Like most former mistresses, Fox was convinced that freedmen were lazy and dishonest and that those qualities were directly related to their race. A male servant was "black as the ace of spades *but* good-natured" (p. 229, emphasis mine); an African-American cook who was hard working and reliable (until her unanticipated departure) was "so much more like white folks" (p. 227); and a white nurse instilled trust in Fox unlike "the darkies to watch and care for" (p. 243), even though the woman later revealed a propensity for drink. Of course the frequency with which African-American servants left the Fox household testifies to their resistance to their employer's depiction of them and her will to control their lives.

Thoroughly southern in her prejudices despite her late move to the region, Fox nevertheless complained about the domesticity

southern society imposed. Her difficulty in retaining servants, when combined with the "latent feeling which grew out of old slave labor that *work* is more or less degrading," caused Tryphena anguish (p. 251). Caught between being unable to command the labor of others and compelled not to labor herself, Fox both resented her extensive time spent sewing, preserving, and nursing children and regretted her inability to do more of "what a smart New England woman would call *light work*" (p. 200). Clearly, this collection of letters illustrates the concerns not only of a northern woman in an unusual situation, but also those shared by ordinary middle-class women throughout the South and America.

New Mexico State University STEPHANIE COLE

From Cape Charles to Cape Fear: The North Atlantic Blockading Squadron during the Civil War. By Robert M. Browning, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. xi, 453 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, figures, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $44.95.)

Naval operations remain an aspect of the Civil War that have received comparatively little scholarly attention. At this late date no single-volume treatment of the naval war can approach being considered definitive. Robert Browning's new work, *From Cape Charles to Cape Fear: The North Atlantic Blockading Squadron during the Civil War,* makes no attempt to provide an overview of the entire naval war. It is, rather, a definitive study of the operations of one of the Union navy's main blockading squadrons.

From Cape Charles to Cape Fear benefits from exhaustive research into manuscript and archival collections, particularly in the naval records at the National Archives. Browning's bibliography lists more than sixty sources from that repository alone. The result is a work of insight and detail far superior to those based on a few published works and the navy's *Official Records.*

The North Atlantic Blockading Squadron (NABS) was organized in September 1861, with the responsibility of blockading the Virginia and North Carolina coasts. The squadron began this daunting task with only a handful of ships. During the course of the war the NABS captured hundreds of blockade runners and coastal vessels and participated with the army in a series of combined operations against Confederate targets.

Browning's narrative begins with the evacuation of the Norfolk Navy Yard in 1861, a critical loss for the Union. He continues by detailing the organization of the blockade; the capture of Roanoke, North Carolina, in early 1862; and the navy's activities in Chesapeake Bay, culminating with its support of George McClellan's Peninsula Campaign.

The bulk of Browning's study deals with the squadron's actions in North Carolina. NABS gunboats patrolled the bays and rivers of the state and helped defend Union-occupied coastal towns. In fact, the author notes, "naval forces virtually defined the reach of the federal [land] forces" (p. 307). The NABS's largest military operations were directed against Fort Fisher, which protected Wilmington, North Carolina, the last significant Atlantic port in southern hands. Browning includes a detailed account of the NABS's role in the combined operations that culminated in the January 1865 capture of Fort Fisher and the occupation of Wilmington itself one month later.

In addition to an "inner" blockade of North Carolina bays, the NABS maintained ocean-going vessels on the "outer" blockade. The squadron fought a lonely, often unsuccessful, battle to stop Confederate blockade runners. While Browning notes that the NABS stopped "only a small percentage of vessels trying to run the blockade," he recognizes that such figures are essentially irrelevant, since the blockade, "though not airtight, kept all but a small number of specialized ships from even attempting to risk capture" (p. 304).

Perhaps the strongest portion of *From Cape Charles to Cape Fear* deals not with battles or campaigns but with logistics and administration. The author discusses in detail the seemingly mundane yet critical subjects of ship acquisition and repair, the procurement and distribution of supplies, and the coaling of gunboats. Personnel issues, including recruitment, medical services, morale, and punishment, do not escape the author's attention. "Naval logistics have been an uncalculated aspect of the Civil War," Browning concludes, "but they played a large part in the successes and failures of the Union blockade" (p. 199).

In 1989 the University of South Carolina Press published Stephen Wise's *Lifeline of the Confederacy*, a superior study of the efforts of Confederate blockade runners to supply the beleaguered South. *From Cape Charles to Cape Fear* neatly complements Wise's

work. They represent two of the most significant volumes yet published on the war at sea.

Florida State University DAVID J. COLES

Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864. By Albert Castel. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992. xvi, 665 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, afterword, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

It is one of the more curious quirks of the military history of the American Civil War that the Atlanta Campaign has not received the attention it would seem to deserve in light of its acknowledged importance in determining the war's outcome. Other Civil War battles and campaigns, notably in the east (especially Gettysburg) have been the subject of so much writing that it is becoming difficult to determine what else can be said about them. In comparison, the western theater has suffered relative neglect, although many historians view it as the theater of decision for Union arms. In this massive work, Albert Castel rectifies this shortcoming and offers us a wonderful account of this most crucial campaign.

Most scholars and more than a few readers will be drawn first to Castel's evaluations of the principal commanders, most notably of William T. Sherman. Castel makes clear Sherman's preference for maneuver over battle, adding that although his flanking marches forced Joseph E. Johnston to abandon prepared positions, he undertook several of them reluctantly and failed to exploit opportunities to inflict serious damage on the enemy. In the end, Castel concludes, Sherman was "a general who did not like to fight (p. 565)." George H. Thomas, according to Castel, was far more aggressive, and fans of the Rock of Chickamauga will be cheered by Castel's treatment of him. Perhaps Castel goes too far in this case. Sherman deemed Thomas slow in moving, and perhaps he doubted that his old friend could execute as well as he could plan— a concern shared by others, including Grant. Castel's portraits of Johnston and John Bell Hood are measured and balanced. Despite his very real abilities, Johnston preferred to retreat rather than to engage Sherman, thus conforming to his foe's disinclination for battle; Hood, taking over at a difficult time, succeeded only in wearing his army down in repeated attacks against the Yankees.

Each of Castel's assessments will spark controversy, although his conclusion that the two best generals available were confronting each other in Virginia is less subject to question.

Readers who concentrate on Castel's discussion of generalship risk overlooking much more in this rich volume. Several sections offer detailed yet lucid descriptions of the mechanics of combat, tactics, marching, and logistics in the Civil War. Castel's use of the "fog of war" perspective advocated by Douglas Southall Freeman enhances our understanding of the problems of command. The author also ably places the Atlanta campaign in the wider context of the campaigns of 1864, political as well as military, for the fate of Abraham Lincoln's bid for reelection would be decided on the battlefield as well as at the ballot box. Although Sherman's failure to bag the Army of Tennessee deprived him of a climatic triumph, the news of the capture of Atlanta elated the northern electorate and proved pivotal in the fall contest. Ironically enough, a campaign that in many respects approximated George B. McClellan's notions of warfare contributed greatly to his defeat as a presidential candidate. Nevertheless, the continued presence of Hood's army complicated matters for months to come, and Sherman's famed March to the Sea would have lost much of its luster had Thomas not crushed Hood at Nashville.

Castel's willingness to explore the wider consequences of military operations elevates *Decision in the West* above most accounts of Civil War battles and campaigns. Readers may take issue with his provocative arguments, but they cannot fail to respect the work as a whole. The book deserves all the plaudits showered upon it; for those familiar with Al Castel's work, such praise should come as no surprise.

Arizona State University BROOKS D. SIMPSON

Entitled to Power: Farm Women and Technology, 1913-1963. By Katherine Jellison. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. xvii, 217 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, figures, illustrations, photographs, conclusion, notes, index. $39.95, cloth; $13.95, paper.)

"Change places with your husband next washday," declared the headline of a 1930 advertisement for Maytag washing machines.

Depicting a husband hauling a load of laundry while his wife drove by waving from the tractor, the ad explained that "if your husband did the washing, he would insist on having a new Maytag, for the same reason he buys power machinery for his field work." In her provocative book, *Entitled to Power, Katherine* Jellison skillfully dissects this and similar messages to explain connections between gender roles and technology for rural women in the early twentieth century.

Jellison argues persuasively that rural women had quite a different vision of technology on the farm than did leaders of rural America. The notion of separate spheres was not a long-standing tradition in rural America, where men and women had always worked together in the family business. Jellison maintains that this changed in the early twentieth century when United States Department of Agriculture officials, farm journal editors, and other experts constructed and shaped an "artificial division between farm and home" (p. 63).

Beginning with the creation of the agricultural extension system in 1913, Jellison traces a long struggle between the competing visions of farm women and technology. While USDA reformers and agricultural extension agents continually encouraged men to purchase tractors and other machinery to modernize their productive role, they taught women to purchase home appliances and consumer goods in an effort to keep them in the home and on the farm. Jellison suggests that efforts to modernize the farm especially hurt women on the margins of rural society– blacks, Mennonites, and others– which may indeed have been part of the experts' agenda. Experts claimed technology could make farm life similar to the experiences of urban women, but Jellison asserts they were also crafting their patriarchal model upon rural homes. As she succinctly puts it, "Most women did not see this as a worthwhile goal" (p. xxi).

Women resisted in several ways. In letters to the USDA, for example, one protested that husbands tended to build wells for the convenience of cattle rather than for the benefit of wives who had to haul the water. While reformers expected women to buy appliances for the kitchen, farm women in fact displayed a preference for the independence that automobiles provided and the information that radio offered. Farm women also fought to hang on to their control over poultry and small dairy operations, and some appealed to Eleanor Roosevelt to gain Agricultural Adjustment

Agency price supports for chickens and eggs. When male farm operators seized control of poultry operations after World War II, many women readily took jobs in town to maintain their productive role in the family economy. Ironically, new technology and resulting greater productivity actually helped drive women off the farm.

Jellison's book is well illustrated and includes over twenty informative charts that summarize USDA and census data on technology in rural America. It brings together a number of underused source materials, including letters sent by women to USDA offices, editorials and columns in farm journals, and oral history interviews. Nonetheless, the research could have been much more thorough. Jellison used relatively little of the recent historiography on the history of technology– much of which has dealt with similar issues– nor did she cite several important works on the history of twentieth-century agriculture and its modernization. While she used *Wallace's Farmer* extensively, countless other farm journals were ignored. Additional source materials that might also support the argument include records of agricultural and engineering experiment stations, county agents' reports, and records of businesses that manufactured tractors and appliances.

While Jellison's book focuses exclusively on midwestern farm women, readers of this journal might be encouraged to apply its findings to the history of technology for rural women of Florida and the Southeast. *Entitled to Power* would be a good model for such a project.

Armstrong State College MARK FINLAY

Singing Cowboys and Musical Mountaineers: Southern Culture and the Roots of Country Music. By Bill C. Malone. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993. ix, 155 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, index. $24.95.)

As Wayne Mixon notes in the foreword to this volume, author Bill C. Malone "more than any other scholar, has established the musical expression of the South's plain folk as a subject worthy of serious study" (p. viii). The volume at hand, the published version of Malone's 1990 Lamar lectures at Mercer University, only strengthens the author's reputation as the most knowledgeable authority on country music currently writing.

In these lectures, Malone shifts his focus somewhat from the commercial history of country music that was his central concern in his major work, *Country Music, USA* (rev. ed. 1985). Here Malone turns his attention to the noncommercial origins of the musical forms that became "country music," a commercial musical idiom that emerged in the decade of the twenties in this century. This music, in its commercial form, is best understood "as a phase in the history of the folk culture of the South." Southern musical forms, Malone argues, when properly understood can give us a heightened awareness of the "values, self-perceptions and historical evolution" of southern plain folk. The point, of course, is an obvious one, made more intriguing by Malone's associated observation that "outside" perceptions of what southern folk were really like also shaped the development and evolution of this music.

From its inception, Malone contends, southern rural music was a blend of a host of ethnic, racial, religious, and commercial elements– a contention that will not surprise most scholars in this field. There never was a "pure" strain of English, Scottish, or any other monocultural repository from which country music descended, Malone contends. Again, the point is not subtle and has been made by earlier investigators. What Malone provides here that is quite valuable is authoritative documentation from both secondary and textual sources. His evidence makes his contention difficult to rebut. Once the music of the rural South began to be recorded and sold commercially, it began to adjust to the demands and tastes of a consumer market, which in the first stages of commercialism was most interested in two romantic images: the cowboy singer and Appalachian balladeers. In the 1920s Malone contends, listeners discovered the rural music of the "interior" South, and its commercial appeal was advanced by the music's conformity to stereotypes of what southern folk music ought to be. Such stereotypical appeals, incidentally, found an audience among the southern people themselves, who essentially were drawn to music that was in some ways a parody of their own way of life. And in a social process that was rapidly altering the world of the rural South, these Southerners responded even more enthusiastically to the music of mountaineers and singing cowboys.

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of this book, a characteristic of all of Malone's scholarship, is that his scholarly theses do not interfere with his depiction of the music and the people who wrote and performed it. Hence his books are read with profit and

enjoyment by scholars and general readers alike. *Singing Cowboys and Musical Mountaineers* is no exception to that serendipitous achievement.

University of Florida AUGUSTUS BURNS III

The Female Tradition in Southern Literature. Edited by Carol S. Manning. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. 290 pp. Introduction, notes on contributors, index. $34.95.)

As Carol S. Manning notes, the field of southern literary criticism has produced its own major scholars. Until recently these figures often ignored the work of southern women writers and overlooked their influence on literary development in the region. This collection of essays, which is both "revisionist and feminist," seeks to redress that situation.

In her lucid introduction, Manning discusses the manner in which the "canonization processes" and "prejudice against a so-called feminine style and interests" led to the denigration of nineteenth-century southern women writers. Even recent scholars excluded most women from anthologies, with the exception of Ellen Glasgow who was seen as a precursor of the Southern Renaissance. Supposedly, female writers wrote only for other women. They did not, it was held, wrestle with larger regional themes such as race relations and what Richard H. King calls the "Southern family romance," centering around the patriarch.

The rest of this work largely demolishes these charges. Thadious M. Davis's "Women's Art and Authorship in the Southern Region: Connections," not only reevaluates some "forgotten" female authors but, equally as important, suggests ways in which they influenced subsequent generations. These women were "foremothers," and understanding them more fully can illuminate the work of contemporary writers.

Manning argues persuasively in another revisionist essay that the true origins of the Southern Renaissance exist "in the turn-of-the-century women's movement." And, she adds, that Renaissance continues today among those who strive to understand "the nature of the Southern family and community and the South's expectations– changing though those expectations may be– for womanhood and manhood" (p. 52). In another piece, Jan Cooper notes

that the term Southerner often connotes white Southerner. But if the Southern Renaissance looked to an agrarian past for its inspiration and guidance, so too did Zora Neale Hurston. In other words, Cooper insists, cultural movements in the biracial South were not simply the creation of whites.

As for the "Southern family romance," Peggy Prenshaw notes that women and men for generations have tried to come to terms with the unattainable ideal of the southern lady, whether matron or belle. And what does it say of this "romance," if as Joan Schulz argues, many southern women writers create female protagonists who orphan themselves. Certainly women writers continue to wrestle with the patriarchy, but their characters approach problems and issues differently from Robert Penn Warren's Jack Burden.

Perhaps one of the finest pieces in this collection is Louise Westling's "Fathers and Daughters in Welty and O'Conner." Her insights demonstrate convincingly that Welty places mothers at the center of family life. Westling also underscores the rich vein of classic fertility myths, based on the archetypes of Demeter and Persephone, that Welty draws on. In a later essay, Ruth Vande Kieft also adopts a comparative approach as she studies the impact of the childhood and love experiences of Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, and Carson McCullers. She finds other noteworthy themes in Welty's writing, chiefly the belief that memory can revitalize love, even when tarnished by experience. The collection ends with a marvelous essay by Doris Betts. She ties the entire volume together by demonstrating how a matrilineal bond, in this case one that is problematic, has manifested itself in her life as a creative force.

This work will be useful to students of both the Old and New South and scholars in American literature, American studies, women's history, gender theory, and race relations. In addition, it is a pleasure to read. Most important, the reader will see that female "connections" are not simply contributions, but rather vital components in the South's ongoing literary tradition.

University of Central Florida SHIRLEY A. LECKIE

Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States. By James W. Trent, Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. xii, 356 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, tables, epilogue, notes, references, index. $30.00.)

Inventing the Feeble Mind represents the coming of age of the newly emerging subfield of the history of mental disability. In this work James Trent attempts to tie the story of the treatment of persons labeled as mentally defective and deficient to larger trends in American history. His successes and failures reveal the potentialities as well as the pitfalls of using retardation as a mirror to examine American society. Trent's greatest success lies in writing a book that will appeal to more than just specialists in the history of disability and deviancy. By speaking to broader issues, he shows the relationship retardation and its treatment have to continuing social and economic themes in American history. Using this approach, however, Trent loses sight of the very group he seeks to examine—that nebulous population of persons labeled as "mentally retarded."

Trent opens his examination of retardation in America with a repetition of the familiar "Simple Simon" nursery rhyme, a verse familiar to Americans of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He argues that simpletons "usually found themselves protected by the generosity and familiarity of the locals" (p. 8). After approximately 1820, however, Americans began to change their views concerning their feeble-minded brethren. In a manner similar to that employed by David Rothman in his seminal *Discovery of the Asylum*, Trent concludes that antebellum Americans began to separate those dependent individuals in need of public assistance. In the process, individuals were categorized by the nature of their dependency or disability. Fueled both by economic reasons (Trent stresses the importance of the Panic of 1819 as a watershed) and the search for human perfectibility of the second Great Awakening and the Romantic Movement, a small emerging class of educators sought to identify, isolate, and train those individuals they labeled as "feeble-minded." While Americans such as Samuel Gridley Howe, Isaac Curlin, and Hervey Wilbur organized schools and asylums in antebellum New England and the mid-Atlantic states, it was left to a French émigré named Edward Seguin to organize and systematize the profession of feeble-minded treatment in the years before the Civil War. Recognizing his importance to the field, Trent devotes an entire chapter to Seguin's writings and teachings on the role of education for feeble-minded persons and its ambivalent role in a rapidly changing society.

After the Civil War the followers of Seguin's teaching methods organized institutions designed to educate and house persons la-

beled as feeble-minded. They were arranged as asylums in that quaint sense of the word– as refuges for individuals who could not succeed in the industrializing world of late nineteenth-century America. It did not take long, however, for these institutions to devolve into custodial warehouses in which feeble-minded persons were housed, not for their protection, but for the protection of society from what Trent calls the "Burden of the Feebleminded." Trent reveals the changes in scientific thought, particularly concerning evolution and heredity, which were instrumental in the change to long-term custodial care. He also ties the retreat to custodialism to periodic economic downturns and the concomitant alarm over the increasing numbers of poor, unemployed feeble-minded persons.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the "Burden of the Feebleminded" had turned into the "Menace of the Feebleminded." Institutional superintendents and other professionals in the "retardation" field played on fears of the continued growth of a predatory feeble-minded class, constantly increasing in size due to the hereditary nature of the malady and the fecundity of that early twentieth-century archtype, the "feebleminded female." Institutionalization increased dramatically in the first forty years of the new century, both in the total number of persons in institutions and in the numbers of states providing these facilities. It proved a short leap from institutionalization to sterilization as a remedy for the problem of always increasing numbers of feeble-minded persons. In an insightful chapter, Trent correctly views these two solutions as mutually reinforcing, rather than as oppositional in nature. Trent sees sterilization as an economic, instead of simply scientific, solution. This analysis goes a long way towards answering the question of why sterilizations continued to increase in the 1930s and 1940s as the scientific rationale for the procedure was called into question. Trent also sees the economic basis for the deinstitutionalization movement of the post-World War II era. Tying this together with a sophisticated analysis of changing professional attitudes towards fixed facilities and increasing parent involvement in the lives of their retarded offspring, Trent concludes that current public policy towards those categorized as mentally retarded has as much to do with broad social issues as with specific concerns about the "mentally retarded."

While much of Trent's work is well-crafted and thought out, problems remain. Trent needs to spend more time on the public

policy issues of the past thirty years, particularly on the question of disability as a civil rights issue. Concerns about public school equity and integration, self-advocacy, and the rights of the disabled are only touched upon. In light of the current concerns about deinstitutionalization and mainstreaming in public schools, Trent owes it to the reader to give these issues more careful consideration. Trent also needs to understand the dynamics of institutional life as more than simply the playing out of macrosociological trends. Much of what went on behind institutional walls happened for mundane, pragmatic, and political purposes. Trent's chapter on institutional life recognizes this fact, but it remains isolated and curiously detached from the rest of the book. Finally, one searches in vain for the "retarded" voice in this book. By writing about public policy towards these individuals, Trent allows the superintendent, the educator, and the researcher to set the agenda. A true history of "mental retardation" would include the "retarded" themselves. That, however, would be a different book. In the meantime, James Trent has given us a start on the road towards understanding the treatment of retarded people in America.

University of Florida STEVEN NOLL

The Scar of Race. By Paul M. Sniderman and Thomas Piazza. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993. xi, 212 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, figures, conclusion, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $18.95.)

Racism in American society today is much more complex and diverse than most people think. It is not simply blatant bigotry, nor even a more subtle "new racism," but one increasingly influenced by politics. This is the central theme of *The Scar of Race,* a new and insightful look at an old but still central issue in United States politics.

To explore contemporary racial attitudes, the authors rely on five large-scale surveys (three national and two regional) plus a computer-assisted experimental design study. The seemingly complex data are reported in simple, understandable tables and graphs, and the descriptions and discussions are clear and illuminating. What Sniderman and Piazza find is both surprising and generally optimistic concerning the potential for racial progress.

Among this work's most interesting conclusions is that while negative characterizations of blacks remain prevalent for many Americans, such attitudes are part of more prejudicial orientations generally and are not solely focused on blacks. Such attitudes, moreover, are associated with authoritarian predispositions and strains of ethnocentrism. Surprisingly, blacks are as likely as whites to hold such negative views of blacks. On the other hand, the positions of most Americans on issues of race are not fixed or static, but such attitudes are more pliable on some issues than others. As expected, those most likely to change their attitudes either do not have well developed attitudes or are easily persuaded by counterarguments. Most importantly, education can and does play a key role in reducing racism.

Perhaps the authors' most significant contribution is their claim that there is no longer a single racial issue, but a "pluralistic" politics of race. Thus attitude surveys depict three separate racial issue agendas: social welfare, equal treatment, and race conscious agendas. Whites' attitudes are much more highly correlated within than between agendas. Moreover what people think about policies to assist blacks influences what they think about blacks, not vice versa. Much scholarship on race is misguided, the authors argue, because it treats race as one overarching issue.

Clearly, *The Scar of Race* adds a new and necessary perspective on the politics of race. Yet it is not without its weaknesses. While the authors are quick to dismiss the "new racism" thesis which contends that the core values of individualism and the work ethic are the primary components of racism, their evidence at times belies their claim. Almost total reliance on opinion surveys to measure attitudes on race is also a shortcoming; social scientists are increasingly using focus groups and in depth interviews to explore more thoroughly such complex attitudes. Finally, the authors' overly optimistic view of Americans' racial orientations suggests a startling näiveté about the continuing pervasive and pernicious effects of race in this country.

University of Florida JAMES BUTTON

Tales Out of School: Joseph Fernandez's Crusade to Rescue American Education. By Joseph A. Fernandez, with John Underwood. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993. 278 pp. Acknowledgments, index. $24.95.)

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, schooling has become a hot issue once again. The curricular wars over multiculturalism, debates over the voucher system and parental choice, concerns about the resegregation of inner-city schools— these and other issues have pushed matters of schooling to the front pages and the television news channels. The general impression seems to be that education is exceedingly important to Americans, important enough to fight over. This book, written by a nationally prominent and innovative educator, provides some fascinating insights into the problems and the possibilities of contemporary schooling in big-city America.

Joseph A. Fernandez popped into national headlines early in 1993 when he was fired as chancellor of the New York City schools by the city's board of education after a short but tumultuous stint in office. Mixing autobiography with school politics and school policy, this book reveals much about Fernandez's confrontational style in "the combat zones of education" and about the controversial social programs that got him into trouble with segments of the New York City population. More immediately interesting, perhaps, to readers of this journal will be the section— about two-thirds of the book— detailing Fernandez's Florida years, when he rose gradually from the teaching ranks to superintendent of the Dade County public schools.

A New York City native of Puerto Rican descent, Fernandez grew up in Spanish Harlem, experimented with drugs as a teenager, and dropped out of school to enter the service. He took advantage of the GI Bill of Rights to attend Columbia University but in 1957 moved with his young family to Miami. He worked as a recreation supervisor while finishing his undergraduate degree at the University of Miami. Restless, ambitious, and hard working, Fernandez eventually landed a teaching job in 1963 and began the career climb through the school bureaucracy that by 1987 brought him to the superintendency of the nation's fourth-largest school system. At each step along the way, he developed innovative methods of teaching and administering. As a teacher, he writes, "I had a new idea each week. I was always trying to find ways to improve the

system." He continued to innovate as a principal, assistant superintendent, and superintendent: "Teachers and principals said it was like riding a buzzsaw, but they felt alive again."

In multicultural Miami, buffetted by massive waves of Cuban and then Haitian refugees, as well as a succession of racial confrontations, Fernandez found ways to innovate at all levels of the Dade County schools. During these years, he developed or implemented magnet schools, interdisciplinary cluster programs, teacher exchanges to facilitate desegregation, school boundary reconfigurations, satellite schools located in workplaces for working parents, and "school-based management" to decentralize educational decision making. His reputation grew as a committed school leader, impatient for positive change and willing to take chances for better education, and the reputation of Miami schools grew accordingly. Fernandez brought these experiences and values to his work in New York City where he embarked on a three-year assault on big-city school bureaucracy, inefficiency, corruption, and failure. Most New Yorkers applauded such goals, but Fernandez's support eroded quickly over programs to distribute condoms in high schools and teach about AIDS in elementary schools.

Breezily written (with the aid of coauthor, writer John Underwood), the book provides a compelling portrait of entrenched problems in American public education. Nevertheless, Fernandez is mostly upbeat and optimistic about the future. With innovation, commitment, and the appropriate financial resources, Fernandez contends, public schools can be reformed and renewed. A federally funded Marshall Plan for education is needed, Fernandez concludes. The author may be overly optimistic, however, since the current political and social climate seems more conducive to prison construction and budget cutbacks than to huge new public outlays for social programs and education.

Florida Atlantic University RAYMOND A. MOHL

American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930. By Michael C. Coleman. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993. xvi, 230 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, abbreviations, appendix, bibliography, index. $37.50.)

Michael Coleman has discovered a fascinating historical resource in the memoirs left by American Indian students who attended school in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The United States Government Indian Schools, as well as the missionary schools of this period, were committed to assimilating and civilizing their Indian charges, and it has generally been assumed that most Indian children strongly resented these efforts. After reading Francis La Flesche's *The Middle Five,* an Omaha Indian's account of his experiences at a Presbyterian boarding school in the 1860s Coleman hit upon two surprising generalizations that would guide his subsequent research. The first was that Indian children could be ambivalent concerning their experiences in the white man's schools, finding them neither all good nor all evil. The second being that Indian reminiscences of their childhood experiences were highly credible and corresponded with accounts written by non-Indians.

To test his thesis Coleman examined the testimonies of at least 100 Indian men and women who attended missionary and government schools between 1850 and 1930. These ranged from a few chapters or a chapter within an autobiographical work, to pages or fragments. The chronological parameters of his study were set by two factors. First, there were no substantial published autobiographical accounts of school experiences prior to the 1850s when a national assimilationist campaign undertook the transformation of the Indian. Secondly, in the late 1920s a progressive reform movement headed by John Collier, plus publication of the government-authorized Meriam report, made federal schools more culturally tolerant, and they began to institutionalize respect for tribal cultures.

Following a critical exploration of the use of autobiography in history, the work examines the traditional education experienced by Indian children in the tribal setting and contrasts it with the policies and practices of Indian "schooling" from colonial times to this century. The marrow of Coleman's study, however, focuses on why Indians began to attend school and the extent to which they did so willingly. Not unexpectedly, he found that the vast majority were

compelled to attend either by government authorities or their own people. The work also examines such issues as the curriculum, student responses to the school as an institution, and their responses to each other in a multitribal setting. Additionally, it was found that students exhibited several patterns of resistance to schooling; in one instance they resisted while remaining in school, in the other they resisted by running away or quitting with permission of the authorities. There is also a sympathetic portrayal of the mixed responses which Indian students encountered upon returning to the reservations. From an analysis of these narratives, Coleman concludes that his initial assessment was correct: Indian children did respond to an alien educational system with a high degree of ambivalence, and their accounts of schooling are historically credible.

Nothing in this work has any bearing on Florida Indians. The Seminoles were not exposed to federal reservation schools until the late 1920s; moreover, because Florida public schools would not accept Indian children until after World War II, a number of Seminoles had to complete their education in the federal boarding school at Cherokee, North Carolina. For the most part their experiences mirrored those of the Indians in this study– which perhaps tells us Coleman was premature in finding that government schools were congenial places for Indians by 1930.

Michael Coleman has created one of those historiographical cul-de-sacs which, while they do not fundamentally alter the broad interpretation of Native-American history, certainly make it more interesting. It appears that he can rightfully claim to have made a limited but significant contribution to the history of Indian education and the field of autobiographical studies.

Florida Atlantic University HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education in Mississippi. By David G. Sansing (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990. xii, 309 pp. Preface, afterword, notes, bibliography, index. $37.50.)

Southern Cities, Southern Schools: Public Education in the Urban South. Edited by David N. Plank and Rick Ginsberg. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990. ix, 296 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, index. $39.95.)

Professor Sansing's book summarizing the "troubled history of higher education in Mississippi" is indeed an outstanding achievement. The book reads so smoothly that it is easy to forget about Mississippi having evolved a system of eight public universities with their several colleges and professional schools, myriads of departments and thousands of faculty members and students all presenting a daunting task of portrayal for any historian. The key to Sansing's strategy was to focus on the federal- and state-level decisions that influenced the establishment and development of higher education in Mississippi. This strategy proved surprisingly effective in bringing into sharp focus a history that easily could have become a multivolume work of deadening detail.

The book opens with the early nineteenth-century effort of Mississippi's territorial legislature to launch higher education at Jefferson College. This college— with the help of public loans, the proceeds from a federal land grant, and tuition— actually employed faculty on and off until 1850 when it succumbed in the words of one of its early trustees "to the feuds between sections and factions." At this point Sansing lets his readers know that factionalism and sectionalism will remain a factor inhibiting the advancement of higher education in Mississippi.

The efforts of Mississippi's "old time colleges" between 1830 and 1840 to use, perhaps, a president and four professors to build good character into upper class or religious youth merits a chapter. The book gains momentum and focus with Sansing's chapter on the quarter-century legislative effort that culminated in 1865 with the establishment of a state university. After emancipation, bequests, economic adjustments to emancipation, and political factionalism expanded public higher education in Mississippi by 1900 to five institutions whose autonomous boards burdened the legislature with their incessant financial demands. Between 1900 and

1928 the legislature debated placing public higher education under one board, finally succeeding but only so far as gaining a large, faction-ridden board whose membership fell under the patronage system of gubernatorial appointments. This politicized power over higher education led to the infamous "Bilbo purge" of 1928-1932 in which this "slick little bastard" of a governor got rid of many political enemies in higher education while making a few positive organizational changes.

With Bilbo gone to the Unites States Senate, the quest between 1932 and 1944 was for a constitutional board of trustees to control higher education. This accomplished, the state's institution of higher education proceeded to cope with the college boom wrought by the GI Bill. Diversity and numbers throughout the system of higher education and the *Brown* desegregation decision of 1954 ignited student outrage at black colleges. This outrage alerted the state board of trustees that "the Mississippi way of life was indeed at risk." Sansing's chapter "In Defense of Yesterday, 1962-1972" chronicles how one old unreconstructed Southerner wielded enough power on the board of trustees to put in place racist restrictions and innuendos sufficiently provocative for riot and death to mar the confines of higher education in Mississippi. Ending on an optimistic note, Sansing, in his final chapter, describes the political infighting and socioeconomic pressure that led to the professionalizing of academic leadership in Mississippi under a commissioner of higher education.

In regards to this very intriguing book I have only the smallest criticisms. To me Sansing seemed overly optimistic in proclaiming the appointment in 1972 of a black and a woman to the higher education board of trustees, "a tacit announcement that Mississippi's closed society at last was open." Hardly, racism, while shaken a bit by a little desegregation, still reigns supreme in Mississippi as it does in the United States and most of the rest of the world. I must note also that this is too fine a book with a good layout, good printing, good paper, and with a useful index and bibliographic essay not to have included at least a few good pictures and illustrations of the many institutions referred to in the text.

Anyone interested in race relations, southern education, the urban South, or urban education would profit from a careful reading of Plank's and Ginsberg's *Southern Cities, Southern Schools.* Indeed, practically every page yields an important new fact or insight

on this highly neglected area. The book is divided into five parts: an introduction, "The Origins of Urban Public School Systems," "The Politics of Southern School Reform," "Issues in Black School Politics," and a bibliographical essay.

Part one consists entirely of Plank's sixteen page introductory essay "Why Study the South." In the essay Plank yields a good summary of the content and conclusions generated by the book's ten authors. Among Joseph Newman's findings gleaned from his study of New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston– which impressed Plank– was how strongly the common school movement in southern port cities resembled school reform movements historians have documented in the North, owing to the presence in each city of a large number of transplanted Yankees. Philip Racine's study of postbellum Atlanta between 1869 and 1875– during which the city grew from tiny to large– shows that "the continual existence of public schools was never in doubt after the founding of the system in 1872, in spite of occasional heated conflicts over secondary schools and religious institutions. Plank cited David Argus to illustrate that pervasive urban boosterism offers a more plausible explanation for the rise of urban school systems in southern and midwestern cities than do prevailing accounts based on the putative efforts of economic and social elites to maintain social control.

Plank led off part three of the book with his own essay on Atlanta, in which he explained the anomaly of all the classic progressive reforms being adopted from not just those proposed by "the reform faction" but some proposed by their nominal opponents. Regarding coeditor Ginsberg's account of progressive school reform in New Orleans, Plank agreed with the conclusion "that organizational imperatives and insistent public demands for improvement in the education system accounts for adoption of reform in New Orleans." The paradox that Plank identifies in Lynette Wrenn's essay on Memphis was that while the Bluff City, "was among the first cities in the country to shift from ward-based to a smaller at-large school board . . . it was one of the last big city school systems to achieve political and financial independence from city politicians." From all this Plank agreed with essayist Jeffery Murial: Postbellum studies of Atlanta, New Orleans, and Memphis, in conjunction with a critique of the current literature on education reform in northern cities, illustrate that explosive demographic growth and the "overlapping language of reform is the best explanation of how an otherwise puzzling diversity of reform coali-

tions resulted in a uniformity of reform outcomes across cities and regions."

Plank identified the fourth section of the book as dealing with the "distinctly southern" institution of legally separate and segregated schools for blacks and whites. Plank cited Marcia Turner for surveying the main elements in the century-long effort by black citizens in Atlanta to improve the education opportunities available to their children; Kathleen Berkeley for focusing "on the early years of black public education in Memphis and suggesting that in this period blacks in the city had more political power than is commonly acknowledged, at least with respect to control of institutions in the black community"; and Michael Homel for exploring "some of the parallels between black school politics in the South in the immediate postbellum period and in northern cities in the years after the great migrations brought them significant black populations for the first time." Plank identified the ultimate conclusion to be drawn from these authors as being that "though polices varied, the end result was almost everywhere the same: the education provided to black children was markedly inferior to that provided to whites."

The final section of the book consists of Plank's short bibliographic essay. In it Plank notes that "one might almost conclude that there were no cities in the region from the scarcity of good work on the urban South." For most scholars the South represented little more than race and ruralism, complains Plank.

The book has a good index, mixing places, topics, and persons. In their often-annotated endnotes, the many authors provided extensive documentation for most important facts, especially if drawn from new material or drawn from the works of colleagues. Unfortunately the book was printed in a typescript that makes it look like the final draft of a doctoral dissertation, typos and all. Again there are no illustrations or pictures of the many interesting institutions referred to in the text.

University of Florida ARTHUR O. WHITE

BOOK NOTES

The Pensacola Lighthouse, by Thomas M. Garner, tells the story of the Pensacola lighthouse, whose history spans 160 years. Erected by the United States in 1824 at a cost of under $6,000, this beacon at the entrance to Pensacola harbor remains to this day an active aid to navigation. Garner describes construction and subsequent renovations of the light, its keepers over the years, the lighthouse's role during the Civil War, and its more-recent automation and transfer to the U.S. Coast Guard. This pamphlet is available for $3.95 from the Pensacola Historical Society, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, FL 32501.

As the architect of twelve structures on the campus of Florida Southern College, Frank Lloyd Wright left an indelible mark on the school. Roux Library at Florida Southern College houses a growing collection of materials on Wright, and since 1992 Randall M. MacDonald has compiled a yearly bibliography of the collection. The third edition of *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Bibliography of Materials in Roux Library, Florida Southern College* is available at no cost from Roux Library, Florida Southern College, 111 Lake Hollingsworth Drive, Lakeland, FL 33801-5698.

The second edition of *Cruising Guide to Western Florida,* by Claiborne S. Young and published by Pelican Publishing Company, complements Young's cruising guides to eastern Florida and the northern Gulf coast. Young explains that he has tried to include all the information that a cruising boater needs in order to enjoy the waterways of Florida's western coastline. He pays special attention to anchorages, marina facilities, and danger areas. The book's six chapters are divided according to geography: from "Flamingo to Fort Myers Beach" on the southwest coast to "The Big Bend" between Tarpon Springs and Carrabelle. The book is available from Pelican, 1101 Monroe Street, P. O. Box 3110, Gretna, LA 70053 for $26.95.

Spirits of Turpentine: A History of Florida Naval Stores, 1528 to 1950, by Robert S. Blount, details the history of what was once Florida's largest industry. In fact, asserts the author, Florida led the

world in naval stores production during the early decades of this century. In this Florida Agricultural Museum publication, Blount describes the industry's origins near the confluence of the St. Marks and Wakulla rivers in 1528, the rivalry between England, Spain, and the United States for Florida's naval stores, and historic practices in the collection and distillation of pine gum. Fifty illustrations, a tool identification key, and glossary make this volume a useful source for those interested in the technical and historical aspects of the trade. Order from the Florida Agricultural Museum, 3125 Conner Boulevard, Tallahassee, FL 32399-1650 for $20.00.

Syndicated newspaper columnist and Gainesville radio talk show hostess Eloise Cozens Henderson has published a number of her essays, which have appeared in the *Gainesville Sun*, in book form. *Move Over Mountain: Learning the Lessons of Faith* contains nonfiction, fiction, and poems that touch upon the author's wide experiences. The book is available for $11.95 from Smyth & Helwys, 1440 Coleman Avenue, Macon, GA 31207.

Howard N. Rabinowitz has brought together in one volume a collection of his articles covering three overlapping fields: race relations, ethnicity, and urban history. Included are essays related to and inspired by his ongoing discussion with C. Vann Woodward and other scholars on Jim Crow segregation, black educational and political leadership in the postbellum South, comparative studies on race relations and urban development in the North and South, and the nature of nativism, bigotry, and antisemitism in the southern United States. Rabinowitz introduces the book with his reflections on the last thirty years of history as a discipline and profession. *Race, Ethnicity, and Urbanization* is available from University of Missouri Press, 2910 Lemone Boulevard, Columbia, MO 65201 for $42.50.

Columbus to Catherwood is the first volume in the planned Kislak Bibliographic Series. Compiled by Dr. Lee Allen Parsons, and written in English and Spanish, *Columbus to Catherwood* covers 350 years (1494-1844) of important historic book graphics. Dr. Parsons is curator of the Jay I. Kislak Foundation's collection of rare books, original manuscripts, and historic maps relating primarily to Florida, the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central America. There is also a substantial collection of Pre-Columbian art masterpieces in the Foun-

dation's collection. All of the graphics in this volume are from the rare books in the collection. An effort was made to select graphics that have not frequently been abstracted for republication in modern historical works. The Kislak collection is housed in the J. I. Kislak Mortgage Corporation offices in Miami Lakes. It is available to students and scholars by appointment. Paperback copies of *Columbus to Catherwood* may be ordered from Janette Cabrera, Jay I. Kislak Foundation, P. O. Box 025409, Miami, FL 33102-5409 for $9.95.

Secret Missions, a novel by Florida historian Michael Gannon, is his initial entry into the world of fiction. The book is an exciting and suspenseful tale of a German agent who arrives in Florida in 1942 to compile wartime intelligence about U.S. airplanes. Peter Krug, the spy, is ferried on to St. Augustine Beach by a U-Boat and almost immediately murders a nearby fisherman. A young boy who observed the crime reveals it to a Catholic priest in the confessional. Bound by the vow of secrecy, the priest cannot seek help but is nonetheless determined to stop this nefarious German mission. Gannon's detailed knowledge of German U-Boat activity during World War II plays an important role in this hard-to-put-down novel. The priest and the spy ride a collision course that carries them down the east coast of Florida, across to Tampa, to Eglin Field in the Panhandle, and back to a violent climax off the Florida east coast. *Secret Missions* is rich in plot, character, historical, and technical detail. It was published by Harper Collins Publishers and sells for $20.00.

Dr. Ben Pickard of the English department at the University of Florida is the author of a new history of Gainesville and Alachua County, the first to appear in more than three decades. *Florida's Eden* is beautifully illustrated and remarkably free of historical inaccuracies. Like all of Florida, Alachua County began as a frontier wilderness. Prehistoric Indians lived in the area, and it was the site for some of the early Spanish missions. White settlers– first Spanish and later Americans– established cattle ranches and cotton plantations. It was the scene of Second Seminole War confrontations and Civil War skirmishes. Education has played an important role in the county's history, beginning with the establishment of the East Florida Seminary in 1866. One of the most important events in Alachua County's history was the location of the University of Florida

in Gainesville in 1905 and the opening of its campus the following year. *Florida's Eden* traces this history and brings it up to the present. Alachua County is now recognized as one of the nation's major educational and medical centers. It is also an important marketing center for the surrounding area and a mecca for artists and writers. Dr. Pickard has done a masterful job in bringing this history to our attention. The book was written in cooperation with the Matheson Historical Center, Alachua County's new historical museum and research center, and is available from Maupin House, P. O. Box 90148, Gainesville, FL 32617; (800) 624-0634 for $19.95.

Kevin M. McCarthy chronicles over 400 years of some of Florida's most notable pirates in *Twenty Florida Pirates.* The swashbuckling adventures of Sir Francis Drake, Blackbeard, and José Gaspar, to name a few, are brought to life in this colorfully illustrated narrative. In addition to describing well-known instances of pirating, McCarthy discusses the provocations that led to the brigands' lives of crime on the seas and their daily activities between maraudings. The author also offers a uniquely positive perspective on pirates' historical influence along the Florida coastline. *Twenty Florida Pirates* is available from Pineapple Press, P. O. Drawer 16008, Southside Station, Sarasota, FL 34239 for $17.95.

Based on G. Russell Girardin's unpublished 1930s manuscript, William J. Helmer offers crime buffs a contemporary account of the gangster era in *Dillinger: The Untold Story*. First written after John Dillinger's death at the hands of the FBI in Chicago, the modern text retains details that were ascribed in part to the outlaw's lawyer, Louis Piquett. These include the famous "wooden gun" jailbreak, the gangster's contacts with Al Capone's Chicago syndicate, charges that Dillinger conspired with banks prior to robbing them, and his ties to "The Lady in Red." In addition to descriptions of multiple criminal, escapades, the authors follow Dillinger and his gang on a brief vacation in Daytona and Miami, Florida. Finally, using new information from FBI files and other sources, they shed light on the United States' crime detection system before and after the implementation of J. Edgar Hoover's bureau of investigation. *Dillinger: The Untold Story* can be ordered from Indiana University Press, 601 North Morton Street, Bloomington, IN 47404 for $27.50.

Seminole Indian folk tales are available now in print in Betty Mae Jumper's *Legends of the Seminoles.* This richly illustrated narrative shares the legends of Rabbit, the Corn Lady, the Deer Girl, Little Frog, and many others, which traditionally were handed down from elders to children around the evening campfire. For readers of all ages, Betty Mae Jumper has preserved stories of the Florida Everglades that provide valuable lessons about living in harmony with nature and help explain why the world is the way it is. This book can be ordered from Pineapple Press, P. O. Drawer 16008, Southside Station, Sarasota, FL 34239 for $24.95, cloth; $17.95, paper.

Stuart B. McIver's latest book, *Dreamers, Schemers, and Scalawags: The Florida Chronicles, Volume I,* traces the lives of some of Florida's most notable residents. The author uses biography, journalism, and storytelling to portray dozens of history-making individuals in a lively and engaging fashion. The volume reveals interesting facts about writer Zora Neale Hurston, comedian Oliver Hardy, nineteenth-century religious leader Cyrus "Koresh" Teed, movie director D. W. Griffith, and Indian leader Sam Jones. Through the "deeds and misdeeds" of these individuals McIver also offers a glimpse at Florida's formative years. This entertaining book is available from Pineapple Press, P.O. Drawer 16008, Southside Station, Sarasota, FL 34239 for $17.95.

HISTORY NEWS

News

The papers of General James A. Van Fleet are now available to researchers at the George C. Marshall Foundation Archives, Lexington, Virginia. Van Fleet was ROTC commandant on the University of Florida campus after WWI and coached the Gator football team to successful seasons in 1923 and 1924. He served in the Panama Canal Zone, Greece, Korea, and World War II; was instructor of infantry, military science, and tactics; spearheaded the landing at Utah Beach with the Eighth Infantry on D-Day; and acted as ambassador to the Far East under Dwight Eisenhower. The Van Fleet collection occupies eighty-four linear feet of shelving at the Marshall Foundation and is second only to General Marshall's papers in size. It includes manuscripts, photographs, artifacts, maps, and other oversized items. They focus mainly on Van Fleet's experiences in Greece with the Joint United States Military Advisory Group, 1948-1950, and his time with the Eighth United States Army in Korea, 1951-1953. For more information on the papers contact Thomas E. Camden, Foundation Archivist, George C. Marshall Foundation, Drawer 1600, Lexington, VA 24450-1600; (703) 463-7103.

The Georgia Archives Institute will hold its 29th annual workshop, "An Introduction to Archival Administration," June 12-23, 1995, in Atlanta, Georgia. The course is designed for beginning archivists, manuscript curators, and librarians with an interest in the basic concepts and practices of archival administration and the management of traditional and modern documentary materials. Topics discussed include acquisition, appraisal, arrangement, description, reference, and legal and administrative issues. Following a week of instruction, participants are dispersed to several local archival institutions for a practicum experience. Tuition is $450, and enrollment is limited. The deadline for receipt of application and resume is April 1, 1995. A $75 application fee, made payable to the Georgia Archives Institute, must accompany each application. Applicants not accepted will have this fee returned, and those accepted and who attend will have the fee applied toward tuition. For

applications or more information contact Dr. Donald E. Oehlerts, School of Library and Information Sciences, Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA 30314; (404) 248-1322 or (404) 880-8702.

Call for Papers

The Florida Historical Society's annual meeting will be held in Tallahassee, May 18-21, 1995, at the Ramada Inn North. Jerrell H. Shofner, chairman of the program committee, invites proposals for papers and sessions related to all topics in Florida history. The special emphasis of the conference will be "Women in Florida History," and "Florida's Sesquicentennial." Those wishing to read a paper or organize a session should submit an abstract and vita to Dr. Shofner, Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197.

The Gulf Coast History & Humanities Conference, to be held October 5-7, 1995, in Pensacola, invites proposals for single papers and sessions on some aspect of the conference themes, "The Roaring Twenties on the Gulf Coast," "The Treaty of San Lorenzo," and "Statehood for Florida and Texas." Please send proposals, including a brief summary of the paper(s) and a curriculum vita for each presenter to Dr. Glen H. Coston, Department of History, Languages & Philosophy, Pensacola Junior College, 1000 College Boulevard, Pensacola, FL 32504-8998. The deadline for submissions is February 15, 1995.

The 24th annual meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations will be held June 15-18, 1995, at Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio. Papers, panels, and workshops or round tables are invited on the following themes: the origins of civilization reconsidered; paradigms of civilization, methods of analysis, and canons of evidence; intracivilizational connectivities; civilization symbols and forms; the roles of geography, ethnocentrism, regional culture, national culture, and globalization; differing civilizational views of past and future; and the present as a civilizational turning point. Please send a one-page abstract of the proposed paper(s) to Professor Corinne Gilb, 111 El Camino Real, Berkeley, CA 94705; (510) 652-1026. The deadline for submissions is January 15, 1995.

The Florida Anthropological Society invites papers, under twenty-minutes in duration, for its 1995 meeting on April 7-9 at the Holiday Inn in Sebring. Abstracts of no more than one-half page in length should be submitted along with a brief biographical sketch of the presenter(s). Please also specify what, if any, audio-visual equipment is required. Send proposals to David Batty, Kissimmee Valley Archaeological and Historical Conservancy, 1320 Talbott Circle, Avon Park, FL 33825 by February 15, 1995.

The southern history program at the University of Virginia invites papers (twenty-five pages or less) by graduate students on any period or aspect of cultural history in the South. The conference, "Telling About the South," is scheduled for April 8-9, 1995, in Charlottesville. The deadline for submissions is February 1, 1995. For more information or to submit a paper write Southern History Conference, Randall Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903; (804) 971-7899 or (804) 971-7966.

Awards

The William M. E. Rachal Award, given each year for the best essay in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* was awarded in 1993 to Phyllis A. Hall for her paper "Crisis at Hampton Roads: the Problems of Wartime Congestion, 1942-1944," which appeared in the July 1993 issue. The prize honors Rachal, who edited the magazine from 1953 until his death in 1980.

Douglas R. Egerton of Le Moyne College has received the 1994 book award from the Society for Historians of the Early Republic for his book *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802,* published by the University of North Carolina in 1993.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS...

1995

Feb. 6-12	Florida Archaeology Week	
March 30-April 2	Organizations of American Historians	Washington, DC
May 18	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Tallahassee, FL
May 18-21	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 93RD MEETING	Tallahassee, FL
June 7-9	Berkshire Conference on the History of Women	Chapel Hill, NC
June 11-15	National History Day	College Park, MD
Sept. 7-9	American Association for State and Local History	Saratoga Sprs., NY
Oct. 5-7	Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference	Pensacola, FL
Oct. 19-22	Oral History Association	Milwaukee, Wl
Oct. 27-29	Southern Jewish Historical Association	New Orleans, LA
Nov. 8-l 1	Southern Historical Association	New Orleans, LA

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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, P. O. Box 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0917. Telephone: 813-974-3815 or 974-5204; Fax: 813-974-3815. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.