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COVER

Buyers examining tobacco about to be auctioned at Lake City in 1947. Continuing low prices and the boll-weevil finally ended Florida farmers' concentration on cotton production in the early 20th century. One of the crops which replaced it was tobacco, which had been grown in varying quantities in Florida since the 1820s. The Lake City auction was opened in 1938 to handle part of the annual crop which was inundating the auction at Live Oak, a facility which itself had opened in 1926. *Photograph courtesy of Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

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Landlords and Tenants:
Sharecropping and the Cotton Culture in
Leon County, Florida, 1865-1885
by CLAY OUZTS

IN 1875 the poet Sidney Lanier visited Leon County, bordering Georgia in northern Florida. Lanier left a favorable account of the red-hill countryside surrounding Tallahassee, the state capital. He described the area as having long fences which marked off pastures, ancient live oaks and other hardwoods spread across the rolling hills where "ample prospects, [came] before the eye."¹ Almost ten years later a northern observer remarked that the region was "exceptionally attractive" and that it was one of the "most desirable localities imaginable for several characters of farm industry."² Promotional literature in the 1890s continued to depict Leon County as a farmer's paradise. Attempting to attract immigrant workers and farmers, the state Bureau of Immigration published a glowing report in the mid 1890s which placed Leon county on an agrarian pedestal: "The rich agricultural . . . land of this county . . . is better suited to practical farming, dairying and fruit-growing than any other section," read the report. "Men of practical knowledge in agricultural pursuits will immediately recognize in the surroundings, the conditions incidental to success, comfort and profit."³

Such enthusiastic accounts masked the actual state of agricultural affairs in the county during the post Civil War era. Like much of the South, and the cotton belt in particular, Leon County was agriculturally and economically depressed. The region's experience

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1. Sidney Lanier, *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History*, (Philadelphia, 1876), 105. The quotations that follow remain as close to the original as possible.
2. W. C. Steele, *Letters From Tallahassee* (Tallahassee, 1885), 5-6.
3. *Leon and Wakulla Counties* (author and publisher unknown, 1894), Florida Room, Florida State Archives (hereinafter, FSA), 37.

was typical of prevailing conditions in northern Florida, the southern extremities of Georgia, and southeastern Alabama.

The cotton culture was partially to blame for the region's miseries. The farmer's post-war obsession with cotton set in motion a destructive one-crop agricultural pursuit, fed by the labor of freedmen through the deplorable system of sharecropping. Farmers in the latter half of the 19th century were never able to use their land to its full potential. Consequently, cotton growers experienced little success, comfort, or profit. In post-war Leon County the lives of planters, farmers, and freedmen were as uncertain and unpredictable as the white staple they so passionately planted.

On the eve of the Civil War, Leon County's economic outlook was optimistic. Businesses were expanding, cotton production was up, and so were cotton prices. Plantations increased in size and number, existing structures were improved, and new roads and rail connections were established. Yeoman farmers prospered as well, and Leon was Florida's richest county. In 1860 almost three-fourths of the country's 12,343 inhabitants were slaves who worked the fields of 354 farms and plantations producing cotton. During the 1859-1860 growing season farmers produced a bumper crop of 16,686 bales of ginned cotton, the largest amount ever yielded in the county and state.⁴

The Civil War completely disrupted Leon County's cotton culture. Although the small engagement at Natural Bridge in 1865 was its only scene of conflict, Leon County saw its economic base crippled by the war. Throughout the period, living conditions for blacks and whites steadily deteriorated. In 1863, as the Confederacy crumbled at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, one Bradfordville resident predicted to her son in Virginia a bleak future for her country,

4. In 1860 Leon County was the most populous county in Florida, with approximately 3,194 whites, 9,089 slave, and 60 free blacks. Florida's total population for that year was 140,424. Leon County produced almost one-fourth of Florida's total cotton output of 65,153 bales. The *Eighth United States Census, 1860*, Productions of Agriculture, Schedule 4; *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, 1864); *Population of the United States in 1860*; Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior (Washington, 1864); William Warren Rogers, "A Great Stirring in the Land: Tallahassee and Leon County in 1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (October 1985), 159-60.

state, community. "It seems to me," the mother wrote prophetically, "that our ruin is inevitable and fast approaching."⁵ Nearly two years later, as the war drew to a close, Ellen Call Long from Tallahassee remarked in her diary that the "world is upside down."⁶

By 1865 earlier optimism had turned to gloom and despair with the demise of slavery and the Confederate cause. The people paid a heavy price for fighting in the Confederacy. Over 200 households in the county lost a son, brother, father, or husband in the war. Other veterans returned home crippled and disabled. Plantations were in a state of deterioration. Abandoned fields were hidden in a maze of weeds and brush, while neglected crops rotted in those that were planted. "The plantations are mostly waste," commented an editorial in Tallahassee's *Semi-Weekly Floridian* in 1867: [The] fences, gin houses, buildings gone . . . the implements of agriculture destroyed, and stocks of cattle and work animals greatly depleted. The complete failure of the present crop has left the planters penniless; and without money to . . . purchase . . . implements, horses and mules, a cotton crop is an impossible achievement.⁷

Harvesting a cotton crop was made even more difficult by emancipation. When the war ended, large numbers of former slaves abandoned the plantations to discover and experience their new found freedom. Helen Edwards recalled that the slaves on her father's plantation near Leon County left soon after the surrender: "When news came of the surrender . . . Father had Sam [a slave] to ring the plantation bell which called [the slaves] together. He told them they were free but he made arrangements for those who wanted to stay on the place and finish the crops they had started. He offered to pay the men \$10.00 a month and feed them, and the

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5. Susan Bradford Epps to Nicholas Ware Epps, July 25, 1863, Pine Hill Plantation Papers, manuscript collection 1, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Special Collections (hereinafter RMSL), Florida State University. See also John B. Myers, "Social Life and Recreation in Tallahassee During Reconstruction," *Apalachee* 8 (1968-1970), 20-21; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 257.
 6. Carolina Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida: From the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times*, ed. James Alexander Robertson, 2 vols. (Deland, FL, 1925), II, 127.
 7. Helen M. Edwards, who lived on her father's plantation in neighboring Jefferson County, claimed that the war broke his health and eventually killed him. "He was getting quite old when the war ended," recalled Edwards, "and could never adapt himself to the new conditions." Helen M. Edwards, "Memoirs," RMSL. See also, Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 4, 1867; Clifton Paisley, "Tallahassee Through the Storebooks: Era of Radical Reconstruction, 1867-1877," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53 (July 1974), 49.

women \$6.00. They worked well at first [but] some soon became dissatisfied and left. [By] Christmas [1865] all had left, and how desolate it seemed without them! None of us had ever done any work. Mother had never cooked a meal in her life."⁸ Edwards, like some other planters, made arrangements with the freedmen to remain and work on the plantation.⁹

Most of Leon County's planters and farmers were left to cultivate the remaining crops by themselves, but by late May 1865, they once again channelled their energies into cotton production. They had no other alternatives. Cotton was the only available glue that could hold the economy together. Experience had taught them that the staple produced cash, a scarce commodity in the post-war South. Increasingly, southerners turned to a one-crop agricultural system as they struggled to survive in a defeated South.¹⁰

The natural cycle of cotton production and rhythm of agricultural life in Leon County remained unchanged by war. Around mid-March cotton seeds were planted in freshly plowed fields. The rows were "chopped-out," or thinned with hoes and plowed about every 21 days until the bolls opened in July. Cotton picking commenced in August and lasted until late fall. The cotton was then ginned, baled, and sold. The minority who could afford it stored their bales until market prices increased.

The Tallahassee market was the major cotton outlet for planters and farmers. The hub of the town's activity, serving as a center for socializing and gossip, the market usually opened around mid-November and closed in late May. Most growers raising cotton in the northern portion of the county hauled it to Thomasville, Georgia, where middlemen then shipped it along the Savannah, Albany, and Gulf Railroad to Savannah. A few farmers shipped their cotton to Jacksonville along the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Railroad. Some cotton also went to the ports of St. Marks and Apalachicola, al-

8. Edwards, "Memoirs." See also, Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1968* (Gainesville, 1968), 24-25.

9. Joe M. Richardson, "The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida," (Florida State University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1963), 90.

10. Between May 31 and June 7, 78 farmers, 21 planters, and 4 overseers arrived at Leon County's courthouse to take Amnesty Oaths of loyalty to the Union. A number of farmers and planters remained unreconstructed and refused to take the loyalty oath. Leon County Amnesty Oaths, May 31-June 7, 1865, manuscript collection 106, Florida History Room, FSA; John Samuel Ezell, *The South Since 1865* (Tulsa, 1978), 68, 121; W. J. Cash, *Mind of the South* (New York, 1941), 149-50; Paisley, *Cotton to Quail*, 31.

though these outlets gradually dwindled in importance during Reconstruction. Factors shipped cotton from the initial ports of delivery to either Liverpool, New York, New Orleans, or Baltimore.¹¹

Cotton prices per pound started out unusually high in 1865, although the amount grown was disappointing. To the surprise of many farmers, November prices for high-quality upland cotton reached an astonishing 50 to 54 cents per pound on the Liverpool market. The good news startled and pleased cotton planters. Cotton bales weighed on average 400 to 500 pounds each, and those financially able to withhold their cotton from the market until November stood to receive \$200 to \$250 per bale— a fine sum for desperate farmers who needed money.

Unfortunately, cotton prices were fickle. By January 1866, prices dropped below 40 cents a pound, and continued on a downward trend throughout the winter and spring. When the market closed in May, the price of cotton was only 18 cents per pound. This was followed by a massive crop failure in 1867.¹² The sudden drop in prices combined with a disastrous growing season constituted a severe blow to planters and farmers struggling to keep their farms and lives intact. The 1865-1867 crops were indicative of future trends. Never again would cotton sell for 50 cents per pound. Low yields and slumping cotton prices plagued Leon County's agriculturalists for the remainder of the century.

Several factors contributed to the declining quality of life for Leon County's rural citizens during the post-war years. Initially, the search for reliable and adequate labor caused tension and trouble between planters and freedmen. Planters blamed their wretched conditions and "drooping fortunes" on problems associated with the labor supply. By 1866 many freedmen were drifting back to their former plantations looking for work. Unfortunately, neither the planters nor freedmen understood the free labor system or the mutual responsibilities that came with emancipation. Some plant-

11. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, November 7, 21, 1865; February 2, 1866; *Florida Hill Country or Agricultural Attractions of Leon County, Florida*, promotional pamphlet, (Tallahassee, 1898), 16; Hampton Dunn, *Yesterday's Tallahassee* (Miami, 1974), 33. About 100,000 bales of cotton were shipped to Apalachicola in 1866. See Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*, (Gainesville, 1974), 126.

12. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 5, May 8, 1866; I. A. Newby, *The South: A History* (New York, 1978), 279.

ers continued to treat their laborers like slaves by whipping them and working them in gangs, often called "squads" or "companies," from sunrise to sunset in the cotton fields. They persisted in employing overseers to supervise the progress of work by the freedmen, who were still referred to as "full" and "fractional hands."¹³ Because of a lack of capital, ill-defined concepts of a free labor system, greed, and notions of white superiority, planters paid the freedmen extremely low wages.

Blacks believed that because they were no longer slaves they could decide when, where, and how to work, or whether to work at all. For some the abolition of slavery meant an escape from labor and toil in the fields. It also meant that they could assert their autonomy and independence by refusing to abide by their employers' regulations. Additionally, others were reluctant to commit themselves to labor contracts because they were holding out for promises of land— a mistaken but common belief among many southern blacks immediately after the war.¹⁴

The gang labor system was a constant reminder of slavery to blacks. George Noble Jones, owner of El Destino plantation, was in Savannah when he received a letter from his son, Wallace S. Jones, describing the negative attitudes their "hands" had toward gang labor and overseers. "There is general dissatisfaction expressed by hands with the head men of squads," commented the son. "The latter, it is claimed, are too dictatorial, and do not perform their share of the labor— a great deal of truth in the latter complaint."¹⁵ Visitors continually reminded Leon County's planters that they should be kind and affectionate toward their workers so they could gain their respect, confidence, and gratitude.¹⁶ The uncharted conditions of free labor and black freedom in the post-war South caused

13. Leon County's 1880 Agricultural Census listed overseer as an occupation. The *Tenth United States Census, 1880*, Productions of Agriculture. See also, Wallace S. Jones to George Noble Jones, November 2, 1871, in Ulrich B. Phillips and James David Glunt, eds., *Florida Plantation Records From the Papers of George Noble Jones* (New York, 1927), 37,193; *De Bow's Review*, February 1866, 197.

14. Richardson, "Negro in Reconstruction," 89. Richardson's work contains a useful discussion on labor problems, contracts, and the general plight of black laboring masses in post-war Florida, 97-103.

15. Jones to Jones, November 2, 1871, 193; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York, 1988), 103; Charles L. Flynn, Jr., *White Land, Black Labor: Caste and Class in Late Nineteenth-Century Georgia* (Baton Rouge, 1983), 59.

16. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 1, 1867; "The Freedmen," *De Bows Review*, November 1866, 491-93.

planters and freedmen alike to misunderstand their respective roles in the new society.

Blacks became scapegoats for the South's agricultural and social ills. Many whites unjustly assumed that freedmen were idle and lazy. They saw them as an unreliable source of labor which had to be coerced and compelled to work. One Leon County resident regarded freedmen as "idlers" and lambasted them for "squat[ing] about in the piney woods, in the towns and by the road-sides." He continued by surmising that "the great bulk of them live by killing stock and by general thieving. . . . At the close of the year, many of them are in debt through their idleness and extravagance, while the bulk of them have little or nothing to show for their year's work."¹⁷ Such remarks lend credence to C. Vann Woodward's view of Southern attitudes immediately after the war. "The temporary anarchy that followed the collapse of the old discipline produced a state of mind bordering on hysteria among Southern white people," he wrote, and "the conviction prevailed that Negroes could not be induced to work without compulsion."¹⁸ But some planters and farmers also had nothing to show for their year's work. In October 1865 C. J. Munnerlyn of Leon County succeeded in raising only one bale of cotton from 120 acres. With slave labor the same amount of land during an ordinary year produced somewhere between 50 and 75 bales.¹⁹

Some Leon countians, as did white Floridians in other regions of the state, threatened to import immigrants from Europe or other countries to replace freedmen as a labor source. "With such competition, Sambo must compete," argued one defiant resident, "or leave the labor market to the frugal and industrious Saxon."²⁰ Yet, attempts to attract foreigners to the cotton fields of Leon County failed miserably. By 1880 there was only one immigrant in the county from Africa, one from Ireland, three from France, and two from Prussia.²¹ The whites' only recourse was to develop a pro-

17. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 8, February 1, 1867; *De Bow's Review*, February 1866, 198; Flynn, *White Land, Black Labor*, 7.

18. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York, 1974), 23.

19. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, October 24, 1865; E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction: 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 93.

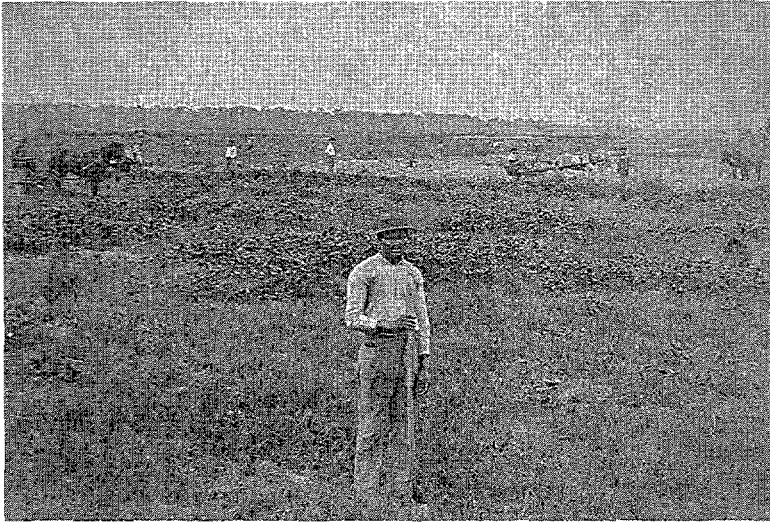
20. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 30, 1866; Coulter, *South During Reconstruction*, 103; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 213.

21. *Tenth United States Census*, 1880.

cess of work and wages with the existing labor pool— the freedmen. The result was a gradual shift by whites and blacks, with the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau, to the exploitative system of sharecropping.²²

Many Floridians hoped that sharecropping would be a panacea, but the cure turned out to be worse than the disease. Sharecropping emerged as one of the great obstacles to progress in Leon County and the South. Under this system the freedman's desire for autonomy and independence and the employer's interest in producing crops and having a steady supply of labor merged. The sharecropping system, observed Gilbert Fite, was unsatisfactory to both landowners and workers, although it did bring them together and helped restore agricultural production in the plantation areas. Yet, the new economic arrangements severely compromised black freedom. Through sharecropping, landowners gained a high degree of control over their laborers. Thus, suggested Fite, sharecropping was much more than an economic system. "In many areas," he wrote, "these economic arrangements were the basis for social control of blacks and poor whites. Landlords and merchants not only controlled what was grown but how business and social relations were carried on."²³ Sharecropping originated not only because of economic necessity, but also as a means whereby the local ruling white elite could establish and maintain control over lower

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22. Ronald Davis, a New South historian, has argued that freedmen demanded the sharecropping system because it provided them an opportunity to assert their autonomy and independence. They wanted to run their family farms and daily lives. Therefore, suggests Davis, freedmen came to sharecropping largely on their own. Black independence exerted in founding sharecropping deteriorated as the lien system settled in, as cotton prices declined, and as freedmen were increasingly excluded from southern politics. Ronald L. F. Davis, "Labor Dependency Among Freedmen, 1865-1880," in Walter J. Fraser, Jr. and Winfred B. Moore, Jr., eds., *From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South*, (Westport, CT, 1981), 158-61. Historian James L. Roark in *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, New York, 1977), 142, implied that blacks were willing to work in sharecropping arrangements, although they preferred other alternatives. "Freedmen sought independence, not gang labor and shares," he wrote. "If they could not own land, then they wanted to rent land, and if they could not rent, then they hoped to sharecrop." Sharecropping, continued Roark, offered blacks "more freedom than the labor gangs, but less than owning land or renting." See also, Joe M. Richardson, "An Evaluation of the Freedmen's Bureau in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (January 1963), 225-26; Joe M. Richardson, "The Freedmen's Bureau and Negro Labor in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 39, (October 1960), 171-74.
23. Gilbert Fite, *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture 1865-1980*, (Lexington, 1984), 3-6.



Agricultural workers in the Florida fields about 1890. *Photograph courtesy of Florida Photographic Collection, Florida State Archives.*

class blacks and whites. Too, landlords supported the system in hopes that it would improve relations with their laborers, who had an interest in the crop. Instead, argued Steven Hahn, the “share system brought on a new stage in the struggle over the substance and meaning of class relations in the developing cotton economy—a struggle that quickly moved beyond the bounds of individual farms and plantations, divided whole communities, and left a decisive stamp on local and state politics for years to come.”²⁴

Under the system landlords and workers entered into labor contracts to produce crops and share the proceeds. The contracts

24. Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890*, (New York, 1983), 164. Sharecroppers had little legal redress in the courts. In Georgia, for example, the state supreme court ruled in 1872 that sharecroppers had no decision-making prerogatives or legal rights to their crops. Only cash tenants had a valid claim of ownership to unharvested crops. The court declared that the tenant “has a possession of the premises, exclusive of the Landlord, [the cropper] has not.” Continuing, the court said, “The one has a right for a fixed time, the other has a right only to go on the land to plant, work, and gather the crop. The possession of the land is with the owner against the cropper.” See Hahn, 159-160. See also Joseph P. Reidy, *From Slavery to Agrarian Capitalism in the Cotton Plantation South: Central Georgia, 1800-1880*, (Chapel Hill, 1992), 225-226.

were made on a yearly or monthly basis, although yearly agreements were the most common. Contracts existed under a variety of arrangements. Most of the freedmen in the county sharecropped for one-third of the crop. George Noble Jones promised to furnish his hands mules, farming implements, fertilizer, credit, and management in return for two-thirds of the cotton crop and a portion of the corn. The cash proceeds that his workers received for their toil was to be divided among themselves after deductions for debts and supplies bought on credit, which invariably depleted the worker's earnings. Other contracts specified that white landowners either rent their land to blacks as tenant farmers or pay them specified wages. In such cases laborers often had to provide their own tools, food, and livestock. P. L. Craigmiles, a Leon County planter, rented his plantation to former slave Thomas Hart and his family in return for one-half of the profits on their crops. Deviating from normal practices, he also agreed to provide them with food. In 1871 Dennis Butler entered into a contract with Susan Winthrop on the Betton Hill plantation in which he agreed to lease 40 acres and pick at least "three packed bales of cotton weighing five hundred pounds, each bale of fair average quality."²⁵ Sometimes freedmen entered into contracts with other freedmen. In 1868 Thomas Hart negotiated renting contracts with two other families of freedmen on the Craigmiles plantation.²⁶

Problems associated with contracts often necessitated investigation by the Freedmen's Bureau. It was not unusual for both parties to violate the terms of agreement, and in many labor disputes bureau officials sided with white owners. Some whites cheated freedmen by refusing to pay specified wages, or by withholding their fair share of earnings from the crops. Sometimes freedmen became disgusted with their work, their employer, or the terms of the contract,

25. John Winthrop Papers, Betton Hill Plantation, box 5, 1871 RMSL (hereinafter Winthrop Papers). See also, P. L. Craigmiles to Major Cars, May 10, 1868, Bill Bradley Collection, manuscript collection 88-34 (hereinafter Bradley Collection), FSA; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, December 15, 1865; January 8, 1867; Phillips, *Florida Plantation Records*, 37-38; "The Freedmen," *De Bow's Review*, November 1866; Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (New York, 1986), 85-86; Paisley, *Cotton to Quail*, 26-27; Tebeau, *Florida*, 267-68; Susan Hamburger, "On the Land for Life: Black Tenant Farmers on Tall Timbers Plantation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (October 1987), 155. During the period, wages averaged from seven to twelve dollars a month. Richardson, "Evaluation of the Freedmen's Bureau," 231.

26. Bradley Collection.

and left. In other cases planters who were desperate for labor tried to lure workers away from an original employer with better sharecropping arrangements. Wallace Jones complained to his father in 1871 that some of the neighboring planters were "trying to induce all the hands away from here . . . [with] offers for next year to give [them] 1/2 [of the] corn and 1/3 of [the] cotton." George Noble Jones was infuriated when T. B. Simkins, a neighboring planter, tried to lure one of his laborers away from El Destino. "I infer that your purpose [is] to hold on to Cato Neyle, altho' notified of my pre-existing contract with him." Jones continued: "If planters do not respect each other's contracts with the freedmen, it is evident that the freedmen will not respect their contracts with their employers. The precedent once established will render all contracts uncertain, and result in general inconvenience."²⁷

Harsh contractual terms conjured up images of slavery. In 1871 Susan E. Winthrop contracted six illiterate freedmen to work on her plantation in north Leon County. They were required to "work from sunrise until sunset and in all things to be subject to [her orders]." Absence from work was to "be paid for at the rate of thirty-five cents per day for all time lost."²⁸ As late as 1882, 17 years after the end of slavery, freedmen were required to be "obedient" to their landlord and to "go to work very early, between daylight and sunrise." They were permitted to "stop work every alternate Saturday at 12-o'clock when their crop [was] so that they [could] leave it."²⁹

Contracts came under severe criticism. In 1866 a writer to the Tallahassee *Floridian* lashed out at the written agreements and the labor system they fostered: "The system of *contracts* now existing in the South and enforced by the Bureau, is simply slavery in a modified form. What is the difference to the Negro whether he is paid for five dollars or for five thousand. . . . It is involuntary servitude [sic] in either case and a practical defeat of the Emancipation Proclamation."³⁰ Such criticisms fell on deaf ears. When the century ended, Leon County's blacks were still sharecropping and signing labor contracts.

27. Phillips, *Florida Plantation Records*, 182, 192; See also, Richardson, "Freedmen's Bureau," 168-70; Richardson, "Evaluation of Freedmen's Bureau," 226-27.

28. Winthrop Papers, box 5, 1871.

29. Mary Simpson Yarbrough Papers, Leon County, FL RMSL (hereinafter Yarbrough Papers).

30. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, August 27, 1866.

Sharecropping and one-crop agriculture locked most black and white tenants (the number of white sharecroppers increased stunningly) into poverty, privation, and perpetual debt. Living conditions of black and white sharecroppers and tenants were deplorable. In 1885 one northern observer in Leon County noted that their homes were actually "huts . . . scattered irregularly over the land." Their houses were little more than "rudely built log cabin[s], with leaning [chimneys] of sticks and mud, surmounted by four balls of clay." The residences were a "type unlike the work of any other home builders with which I am familiar."³¹ There were some attempts by landowners to improve the living conditions of their workers, but the general lack of capital greatly limited most efforts at enhancement.³²

Wretched diets produced health problems, and in some instances, starvation. A scarcity of farm animals and farming implements, a dearth of money to purchase necessities, and a fixation with one-crop agriculture enhanced the prospects for malnutrition and alarming mortality rates.

The scarcity of livestock and worn-out farming implements reduced the ability to produce not only cotton but also food crops. Food production was additionally hampered by an adherence to the one-crop system of cotton cultivation. For many, earning money outweighed the necessity to put food on the table. "A large crop of cotton . . . and no food, is a bad policy of any people," advised the *Floridian* in 1867. Agriculturalists were encouraged to diversify their crops and to plant more corn for meal and fodder. Like the call to modify the sharecropping system, the plea for crop diversity was largely ignored. As a result, the food supply could barely feed the population. In 1868, one year after the major crop failures of 1867, the workers on P. L. Craigmile's plantation faced starvation. At their request he petitioned Major Cars of the occupation army for rations to feed his laborers: [My workers} are hard up now for something to eat and it is intirely [sic] out of my powers . . . to furnish them any more. I am just a new beginner here. [I] have had everything to buy and not much to buy with. . . . I have agreed to furnish all on the place but Rashions [rations], and let them have half of what they make— and they have worked vary well and has a good crop— and has it in [a] good fix, and I think they have about con-

31. W. C. Steele, *Letters From Tallahassee*, 5.

32. Winthrop Papers, box 2, 1871.

sumed what little Rations that they had to commence on. But if the Government will furnish them with rations from this [time] on they will get along vary well I think and make a fine crop . . . this year.³³ Such requests were common to Union commanders such as Colonel John T. Sprague of the occupation army. During that same year, he observed that "the food is not in the country, nor is there money to buy it, and the result will be that the freedman, as well as the white man, will be driven to the necessity of stealing it. Cattle and hogs roam free and they will be killed indiscriminately and then will come strife. Law, under such circumstances is of no avail and hunger is more sagacious and vigilant than the authority of a military force, or the posse of the county sheriff."³⁴

After the war, Leon County faced a livestock crisis. Horses, mules, asses, and oxen were vital to the cultivation of all crops. In 1860 the county contained 1,062 horses, 2,041 mules and asses, and 890 oxen. By 1870 the numbers had dwindled considerably to 427 horses, 1,296 mules and asses, and 320 oxen. Ten years later the livestock population on Leon County's farms and plantations remained far below their pre-war status, although their number was slowly increasing. Even swine, an important food source, drastically declined in number from 23,266 in 1860 to 6,299 in 1870. By 1880 there were only 12,373 in the county-barely half of their pre-war total. The value of farms and farming implements also decreased during the 20-year period.³⁵

The financial squeeze was most intently felt by the South's laboring masses. Often, yeoman farmers found themselves teetering on the edge of tenancy. Lack of money was the primary culprit, and unfortunately, many farmers were forced to live their lives on

33. Bradley Collection; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, March 1, 5, 1867. During the period, the Freedmen's Bureau aided in distributing food to freedmen and refugees. Richardson, "Evaluation of the Freedmen's Bureau," 223-24; Richardson, "Freedmen's Bureau," 171.

34. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 129.

35. The value of farming implements in Leon County declined from \$94,363 in 1860 to \$45,819 in 1880. The value of Leon County's farms declined from \$2,482,211 in 1860 to \$1,026,667 in 1880. *Agriculture of the United States in 1864* 18-20; *The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States Embracing the Tables of Wealth, Taxation, and Public Indebtedness; of Agriculture; Manufacturing; Mining and the Fisheries*, Ninth Census, Vol. III (Washington, 1872), 116-119; *Report on the Production of Agriculture as Returned at the Tenth Census* (Washington, 1883), 109. According to *De Bow's Review*, "In Lieu of Labor," July-August, 1867, 69, the inadequate supply of food was one of the greatest problems facing the south.

credit. Lien laws dictated that landlords and merchants be paid their portions before the tenants got their share. All the while, many local supply merchants charged outrageously inflated prices for materials purchased on credit. In return for credit, merchants placed a lien mortgage on the borrower's cotton crop. The lien became a powerful political, economic, and social weapon for those who chose to wield it.³⁶ Unforeseen natural disasters or financial setbacks often plunged yeoman farmers deeper into debt and drove them into the ranks of tenancy.

Financially, most sharecroppers, wage laborers, and lease tenants were trapped in an inescapable cycle of poverty and debt. In 1870 Andy Quash, a member of Alfred Chapman's labor gang on John Winthrop's Betton Hill plantation, picked three bales of cotton which bought \$260.94 on the market. Quash received \$86.98 for his third of the crop. He had accumulated a debt of \$80.44 to Winthrop during the year, and after settling his account with him was left with a meager balance of \$6.54. Within a matter of days Quash had spent his earnings and was once again deeply in debt. He broke even with the next year's cotton crop but had to ask Winthrop for money a few months later.³⁷ During his long stay at Betton Hill, Quash was never able to accumulate any savings. Instead, he became all but a slave to the system that exploited him, chained to the never ending cycle of indebtedness.

For Quash and many other sharecroppers and tenants, indebtedness became a permanent condition. In 1873 Theodore Turnbull, a planter and operator of a small mercantile business at Miccosukee, entered into a contract with Titus Parrish for thirds on cotton and halves on corn. According to Turnbull's business ledger, Parrish owed him \$143.72 at the end of the year for products purchased at his supply store. The next year Parrish picked nine bales of cotton and almost eradicated his debt with profits from his shares. By the end of 1874 Parrish owed Turnbull \$108.59 for the purchase of additional products. With the proceeds from his 1875 cotton crop, he reduced his debt to \$15.13. Throughout the year Parrish purchased supplies and family necessities from Turnbull, including cotton packaging, flour, tobacco, meat and bacon, salt,

36. Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction*, (New York, 1992), 13.

37. Winthrop Papers, box 2, 1871.

soup, soap, syrup, corn, rum, whiskey, boots, clothes, and a suit. His store account increased to \$59.79.

Turnbull agreed to give Parrish credit on his debt if he cultivated a certain amount of corn and fodder for the livestock. In response, Parrish grew and harvested the crops and reduced his debt to \$29.43. Even though he harvested seven more bales of cotton in 1875, he still owed Turnbull \$31.93 at the end of the year. By the time the cotton crop was ready to pick in 1876, Parrish was \$92.64 in debt. He produced six bales of cotton in 1876 and finally settled his account in full with the proceeds. By 1877 he was once again in debt. The process continued until 1883 when Turnbull finally closed his store. Only once in ten years of sharecropping did Titus Parrish temporarily break out of the cycle of debt.³⁸ The fatal combination of sharecropping and crop-liens caused blacks and whites entrapped by the system to live in a "modified form of slavery," contended historian Lawrence Goodwyn. "It defined with brutalizing finality not only the day to day existence of most southerners who worked the land," he wrote, "but also the narrowed possibilities of their entire lives."³⁹

Poverty, malnutrition, and perpetual indebtedness were made more pronounced by the influx of hundreds of freedmen into the county during the late 1860s and 1870s. Most of the newcomers found immediate employment on various farms and plantations as wage laborers, cash tenants, and sharecroppers. Some came because the Homestead Act of June 1866 had made it possible for them to acquire land in the state, although most of the tracts were in undesirable locations such as swamps and low-lying areas. There was resistance to black settlement of these areas in Leon County by white residents who balked at having African-Americans for landowning neighbors. They preferred, instead, that they remain in the agricultural labor force.⁴⁰ Other blacks passed through the county as they migrated to states further west and decided to settle in the region. A few came looking for new opportunities or lost relatives and friends.

Whatever the reasons, Leon County's black population swelled between 1865-1880 while the white population slowly dwindled. In

38. Yarbrough Papers.

39. Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York, 1976), 26, 28.

40. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 134.

1870, 12,341 blacks and 2,895 whites lived in the county. Ten years later the number of blacks had increased to 16,840 while the white population had decreased to 2,822 inhabitants. A total of 4,043 immigrants came to Leon County during the 15-year period. By far the greatest migration occurred from the former Confederate states along a north-south axis. Approximately 1,826 immigrants came from Georgia, followed by 852 from North Carolina, 517 from Virginia, and 439 from South Carolina. Alabama supplied an additional 204 immigrants. A small percentage of new arrivals were white northerners eager to find work or to own a farm or plantation.⁴¹

Population increases spurred the growth of additional farms in the county, which steadily expanded from 271 in 1870 to 1,789 in 1880. Many were situated on tracts of 40 acres or less and operated by tenants. Most of the new growth was due to the availability of land through the decentralization and division of large plantations by their owners who retained ownership. Land was also available for small farmers, usually whites, who had the cash or credit to purchase it. Shifting trends in rural life caused one agricultural expert visiting Leon County in 1880 to remark that "the great plantations of the past have either been allowed to go into disuse or have been cut up into smaller ones."⁴²

Throughout the area, clusters of slave cabins gave way to the scattered shacks of poverty-stricken tenants and sharecroppers. On Craigmile's 300 acre plantation, 27 freedmen, constituting three families and three single individuals, built their dwellings. Tenant homes sprang up on most of the county's plantations, validating Colonel Sprague's earlier prediction that before long, "small farms will succeed in Florida, [while] plantations [will be] at an end."⁴³ By 1871 Leon County's black population was so great that R. D. Edmondson, a passer-by on a hunting trip, wrote in his diary, "[There

41. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian* January 11, 22, 1867; Frank Sherman to John Winthrop, January 24, 1883, Winthrop Papers, box 7; *Statistics of the United States at the Tenth Census* (Washington, 1883); *Compendium of the Tenth Census, Part 1* (Washington, 1883); *Tenth Census, 1880, Productions of Agriculture, Schedule 2*; *The Ninth Census, Volume 1: The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, 1872); Richardson, "Evaluation of the Freedmen's Bureau," 230-31; Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction*, 100-01, 108-09.

42. *The Ninth United States Census, 1870. 1870, Productions of Agriculture, Schedule 3*; *Tenth United States Census, 1880, Productions of Agriculture*; Alan J. Downes, "Change and Stability in Social Life: Tallahassee Florida, 1870-1900" (Florida State University, master's thesis, 1955), 9; Ezell, *The South*, 116.

43. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 129.

are] more Negroes . . . [in this area] than I ever [seen] anywhere before."⁴⁴ Thus, the depressed conditions in Leon County's rural areas were greatly enhanced by numerous sharecroppers and tenants, decentralization and breakdown of large plantation tracts into small farms, poor market prices, and a shortage of money. Collectively, these conditions meant a life of misery for most of Leon County's residents.

One-crop agriculture was not a profitable enterprise. Between 1870-1880, as the farming population increased and the number of small farms rose significantly, cotton production per acre remained low and unstable. In 1870 Leon County's residents picked 39,789 bales. By 1880 the number of bales had risen to 54,997, but this total was still far below pre-war levels. The increase was largely due to the growing amount of land placed into the cultivation of cotton. Still, pounds produced per acre were extremely low. The result was a surplus of cotton which caused a drop in its value.⁴⁵

Many factors, in addition to labor problems and a scarcity of livestock, implements, and money, combined to make cotton cultivation a hazardous undertaking after the war. Cotton farmers had to contend with uncooperative weather, destructive insects, depleted soils, and low yields. There were also spiraling cotton prices, rising operation costs, droughts, hurricanes, and a punitive federal cotton tax in effect until 1868 that averaged about three cents a pound. In 1873 a major depression and panic swept the nation forcing farmers into further economic dislocation.⁴⁶ Even so, planters, farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers continued to plant cotton, since it was the only cash crop for which there was a demand.

The weather always affected the quality and quantity of the cotton crop. Between 1866-1868 inconsistent weather patterns that alternated between droughts and heavy rains severely disrupted cotton production, resulting in poor harvests. Too much rainfall

44. R. D. Edmondson, *Book of Travels*, manuscript collection 87-14, FSA, 7; Bradley Collection. Edmondson, 7-9, suggests that plantation decentralization and population growth in rural Leon County had a damaging effect on wildlife. Other evidence tends to support this assumption. See, *Leon County, Florida: A Descriptive Pamphlet, Published for General Circulation* (Tallahassee, 1881), 14; Edwards, *Memoirs*

45. *Compendium of the Tenth Census*.

46. The planters angrily responded to the cotton tax. See, Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, May 15, 25, 29, August 21, September 21, October 5, 1866; January 4, 1867; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 515.

was more damaging than too little.⁴⁷ In 1866 an overabundance of rain combined with humid conditions produced two enemies of the cotton farmer: grass and the army worm. Grass was a severe impediment to cotton production because it deprived the plant of vital nutrients and sunlight. "Planters are blue as the grass which is overrunning their plantations," wrote one observer in 1866. "For weeks there has been a struggle; fair weather would have given the victory to human muscle. But continued rains have defeated expectation, and now the universal complaint is that nature has asserted her sway and grass is decidedly in the ascendant. Thousands of acres are done for."⁴⁸

Humid conditions also aided propagation of the army worm which bored into cotton buds and devoured immature leaves. In 1866 army worms played havoc with an already vulnerable crop. In 1868 one overseer wrote to his employer that he had seen "caterpillars" on the cotton plants. "I ordered . . . the first brood of them killed," he wrote, "which I think will save the Crop 3 or 4 weeks longer. . . . I hear of some Crops below Town [Tallahassee] having been eaten out already. When that is the case, it is a poor chance for cotton."⁴⁹ In 1879 another despondent planter wrote that his cotton crop was "sorry, very sorry," and it would "not make much more than 1/2 crop. Caterpillars finished [it] off pretty well by the 1st Sept."⁵⁰

The soil on Leon County's farms and plantations was always in jeopardy. For years plantations and small farms were "mercilessly pillaged of their productive resources" by improper cultivation techniques. Meanwhile, the best soils washed away into the county's drainage basins. The abuse and misuse of the land caused Solon Robinson, an agricultural writer of the 1850s, to call Leon County's planters "land destroyers." During the post-war years everyone who farmed paid a heavy price for the agricultural extravagances of the past. The nutrient-lacking soils were a major cause of

47. Sometimes, too much rain was beneficial to planters. In 1876 John Winthrop sent eight bales of cotton on a steamer to New York for sale. Along the way the ship ran into heavy rains, and Winthrop's cotton was soaked. The wet bagging had to be removed. After new bagging was applied, the bales were reweighed, and Winthrop gained two extra pounds per bale. Winthrop Papers, box 13, November 8, 1876.

48. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, May 22, July 1, 1866.

49. D. F. Horger to Wallace S. Jones, August 14, 1868, Phillips, *Florida Plantation Records*, 180; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 8, 1867.

50. Yarbrough Papers. For more on the army worm, see Foner, *Reconstruction*, 140-41.

low crop yields in the Reconstruction era. By then most farmers had identified the problem and were taking measures to increase soil fertility and control erosion. Organizations such as the Leon Agricultural Society, the Patrons of Husbandry, and later the Farmer's Alliance, held meetings, distributed pamphlets, and published articles to help farmers improve the soil. In 1875 the Patrons of Husbandry advised all of Florida's farmers to: "quit butchering and scratching and burning up our land. If we have fine horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs [, we] must feed them. So with our land. And our genial climate, with its balmy winds and copious showers, will cause our land to produce its own feed if we will let it have it."⁵¹ By the 1870s a number of farmers had taken the advice and were beginning to replenish their soils with materials ranging from chemical fertilizers, rock lime, and cotton seed hull ash, to guano and livestock manure.⁵²

Farmers had little control over cotton prices. After the war the demand for American cotton dropped considerably as other countries entered the market. During the war foreign countries made great strides in cotton cultivation. In Egypt, India, and Brazil cotton became profitable due to cheap labor, untaxed production, and high yields. As foreign cotton flooded the market, world demand for the American staple dropped sharply, and so did prices. Foreign competition was so keen during the latter half of the 19th century that American farmers rarely profited from the enterprise. When the bumper crop that farmers had been anticipating for years finally came in 1878, the price per pound was so low that profits were minimal. During that year John Winthrop instructed his cotton factors in New York to keep his crop off the market until it reached 20 cents per pound. Letters from factors to Winthrop during the fall told the story of crumbling fortunes. On September 9, they regretfully recommended that Winthrop quickly put his cotton on the market since prices had taken a turn for the worse: "We have now to advise buying for your account a November contract 100 bales. Cotton at 10 90/100 [cents]— ten points below your

51. *Proceedings of the Second Annual Session of the State Grange of Florida, Patrons of Husbandry, Held in Live Oak, Fla., December 8th, 9th, and 10th, A.D. 1875* (Jacksonville, 1875), 14; Steele, *Letters From Tallahassee*, 6; Paisley, *Cotton to Quail*, 5-6, 42.

52. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, November 24, 1865, January 29, February 8, 1867; Winthrop Papers, box 7, 1883; Steele, *Letters From Tallahassee*, 29.

limit and we hope it will turn out satisfactory at the winding up. . . . Futures have fluctuated considerably."⁵³

The situation had not improved one month later, as they explained to Winthrop. "We are having constant and daily surprises at the continued downward tendency in cotton." The unstable prices were especially distressing since "there [was] little doubt it [would] be the largest crop ever made in this country and the quality one of the best."⁵⁴ Cotton prices continued to fall for the remainder of the century, finally plunging to below five cents per pound in 1898—the cost of production.⁵⁵ The condition of the world market was always a source of anxiety for Leon County's agriculturalists.

Operational expenses on farms and plantations continued to rise. It was estimated in 1867 that one-third of the profits made on the previous year's crop would be spent on getting the next one in the ground. Later that year *De Bow's Review* calculated profits on an average 400-acre cotton plantation in the South. The journal concluded that operational costs combined with the costs of staple production exceeded \$11,000. In return the farmer-planter made \$5,400 on 75 bales weighing 400 pounds each at a price of 18 cents per pound. The result was a plantation debt of over \$5,000.⁵⁶

For the average planter operational and production costs included, but were not limited to, wages and rations for labor, additional livestock, forage and fodder for farm animals, small farming implements, new machinery, repairs to old implements and machinery, wagons, cotton seeds, jute bagging, rope, cotton ginning, fertilizer, and barbed wire. After baling the cotton it had to be shipped to the market—at the planter's expense. On January 10, 1868, J. R. Cotten, a Leon County planter, sent 20 bales of cotton to the New York market. Cotton factors sold his bales for \$1,558.05. One-third of his profits went to pay freight, marine insurance, cartage, storage, labor, packaging, mending, fire insurance for 15 days, weighing, internal revenue taxes, government taxes, and commissions. These services and taxes cost Cotten \$511.52, leaving him

53. New York Cotton Factors to John Winthrop, September 11, 1878, Winthrop Papers, box 13; "Foreign Competition in Cotton Growing," *De Bow's Review*, September 1866, 298-99; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, May 22, October 5, December 7, 1866, May 10, 1867; Ezell, *The South*, 125.

54. New York Cotton Factors to John Winthrop, October 5, 1878, Winthrop Papers, box 13.

55. Ezell, *The South*, 126.

56. "Cotton," *De Bow's Review*, November 1867, 563-65.

with a net profit of only \$1,046.53. This sum was barely enough to cover living, operational, and production expenses for the next year. Ten years earlier these same services for 38 bales cost George Noble Jones roughly one-fifth of his net profits.⁵⁷

The inverse relationship between cotton prices and living costs caused the cotton business to teeter on the verge of bankruptcy. During the disastrous crop years of 1866-1868 a number of planters abandoned their agricultural pursuits, sold their plantations, and searched for opportunities in other lands. Newspapers were inundated with advertisements that announced the sale of plantations. "For Sale. My valuable Plantation and Beautiful residence three miles north of Tallahassee known as Live Oak," stated one newspaper advertisement on October 12, 1866. "Plantation for Sale," read H. C. Croom's announcement on October 2, 1866, "2,300 acres. . . . Also mules, oxen, sheep and hogs, milch cows, . . . pleasure horses, carriage and buggy, . . . wagons, cotton gins, [and] sugar mills."⁵⁸ George Jones contemplated selling his El Destino and Chemonie plantations in the fall of 1866. William H. Branch attempted to sell his Leon County plantation for 15 dollars an acre, but a year later, his landholdings were still up for sale since no purchaser was willing or able to pay that amount. Some northern investors did eventually purchase or lease some of Florida's sagging plantations. In Leon County, ten former officers in the Union army rented plantations. For example, the G. W. Parkhill plantation north of Tallahassee was leased by Major E. C. Weeks of the Florida Union Cavalry and subsequently farmed on a large scale.⁵⁹

Yet, most of Leon County's planters and farmers remained on their land and tried to scratch a living from the soil. Some farmers were able to profit from agriculture despite the rising cost of living and the falling price of cotton. M. H. Johnson, of Leon County, recalled in the 1890s that he had experienced success in the farming business: "I will say this is one of the best countries I ever saw for a

57. Details from a Cotton Receipt, January 10, 1868, Cotten Family Papers, manuscript collection, 75-8, FSA, William J. Bailey Papers, 1866-1873, manuscript collection 6, Florida Room, FSA, El Destino and Chemonie Plantation Papers, 1822-1859, RMSL; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, January 29, 1867; Winthrop Papers, boxes 1, 2, 7, 8, 13.

58. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, September 11, 18, October 2, 5, 12, 1866, January 15, 1867; Edwards, "Memoirs." Downes hypothesized that many of the white residents who left the rural areas came to live in Tallahassee. Downes, *Change and Stability*, 22.

59. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 133.

poor man. If a man will come to this country, buy a farm, stay at home and attend to his business, it will not be long before he will have a bank account. I started in 1877 with nothing, and to-day I am the owner of my farm, and do not owe a dollar." What was the secret to Johnson's success? He avoided planting cotton and instead operated a dairy farm just outside of Tallahassee.⁶⁰

The cotton surplus of 1878 and an anticipated boom that never occurred were harsh reminders to planters and farmers that crop diversification was necessary. Accordingly, by the early 1880s the county's farmers began to improve their farming methods. New techniques of cultivation, such as crop rotation and terracing, averted soil erosion and reinvigorated unprofitable fields. Many turned to fertilizers to replenish their soil. When financially able, they purchased the newest farm implements and machinery. In 1883 Winthrop invested \$63 to buy six New Cox cotton planters, which were claimed to be vastly superior to the outdated southern plow. The Patrons of Husbandry and Farmer's Alliance distributed literature and held meetings and conferences to aid farmers. By the 1880s the Farmer's Alliance set up co-operative stores to give farmers better terms and prices than merchant stores. Ultimately, new developments in refrigeration and trucking enabled farmers to produce crops that were less dependent on the labor supply. By 1885 it was not unusual to find watermelons and cantaloupes planted alongside railroad tracks to facilitate shipment to northern markets. Many farmers diversified their crops and began to experiment with new ones, such as grapes, pears, Japanese persimmons, "pindars, goobers and chufas," and figs. In the late 1880s Leon County farmers also explored the production of ramie as an alternative to cotton. Like M. H. Johnson, a few entered the dairy business. One visitor to Tallahassee in 1885 remarked that the "abundant supply of excellent milk to be had in [the area], from real Jerseys, and other improved cattle, is a luxury one scarcely knows how to estimate."⁶¹

Even so, rising prosperity through crop diversification was limited to only a few farmers and planters. The basic pattern of one-

60. *Leon and Wakulla Counties*, 28.

61. Southerners called Japanese persimmons "kaki." Winthrop Papers, boxes 7, 9; Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, February 12, 1867; *Leon County, Florida*, 11; Steele, *Letters From Tallahassee*, 9-11; Tebeau, *Florida*, 297-98; Paisley, *Cotton to Quail*, 43; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 196-98.

crop agriculture continued. Because of tradition, habit, experience, and the need for cash and credit, King Cotton remained the dominant crop-irrespective of low prices.⁶² Although new crops and improved agricultural methods appeared in the 1880s, they did not eliminate the ills of Leon County's stagnated cotton culture, which continued well into the 20th century.

62. Downes, *Change and Stability*, 11.

Finding Freedom in Florida: Native Peoples, African Americans, and Colonists, 1670-1816

by PATRICK RIORDAN

THE entry of the lower south into a world marketplace wrought transformations on its European, native, and African American populations. As production demands increased after the turn of the 18th century, African laborers began to escape their European masters in greater numbers and more frequently sought permanent freedom. When they entered "Indian country," African Americans confronted native peoples with a difficult choice. Native Americans could assist them in escape, incorporate them into native groups, or return them to the Europeans with whom Native Americans maintained a delicate balance of diplomacy and trade.

The interpenetration of these populations created spaces where fleeing slaves might find an escape route, a temporary hiding place, and even a permanent home. Slaves in the British colonies of Carolina and Georgia became aware that, if they reached St. Augustine, they could achieve a degree of freedom. Eighteenth-century Native Americans, by contrast, discovered in Spanish Florida's uninhabited and fertile backcountry an escape from European influences. From the founding of Carolina in 1670 until the destruction of the Negro Fort in 1816, native and African people sometimes found in colonial Florida's remoteness a haven from white settlers.¹

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1. The fear of a native-African alliance led colonists to ban Indian traders from using African Americans as laborers in Indian country. For the Georgia statute, see *An Act for Maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia*, January 9, 1734, British Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Class 5, piece 681 (hereinafter CO5/681) f. 34. Similarly, in April 1758, South Carolina colonists refused a Cherokee offer to trade two French POWs for black slaves, because of the policy against Indians owning slaves. Ludovick Grant, "Historical Relation of Facts Delivered by Ludovick Grant, Indian Trader, to His Excellency, the Governor of South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 10 (January 1909) 54-69, as cited in R. Halliburton, Jr., *Red over Black: Black Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians*, Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies 27, ed. Hollis R. Lynch (Westport, CT: 1977), 10.

Migration varied over time, gradually increasing as working and living conditions worsened for laborers in the early 18th century. Initially South Carolina's agricultural economy was based on provision gardening, naval stores, and cattle raising rather than monocrop plantations. The social distance between blacks and whites was comparatively small at first. Blacks generally lived in accommodations similar to those of whites, experienced a relatively acceptable work regime, and some African Americans apparently even voted in 1703. After the 1710s, work regimes worsened and migration rates increased. For the remainder of the period under study, African American laborers in South Carolina generally faced conditions of life and work that tended to promote flight, if not outright rebellion.²

By the 1720s, the mix of the worker population was richer in newly-arrived Africans, who were more likely to run away. A recent study of the runaways advertised in South Carolina newspapers from 1732 to 1782 shows that of nearly 3,000 escaped slaves, two out of three were born in Africa. Significantly, the Stono uprising of 1739 was led by slaves fresh from Africa, who headed south toward Florida. A study of 453 runaways advertised in Georgia during a shorter period, 1763 to 1775, found that three of every four runaways were African-born.³

Word of Florida's potential as a sanctuary probably reached Carolina blacks as early as 1685, when several slaves captured by Spanish raiders returned and recounted their adventures in St. Au-

2. Peter Wood expressed the ambiguity facing escaping African Americans in these terms: "The prospect of total absorption into a compatible culture had to be balanced against the risk of betrayal, captivity, or death." Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1975), 230-31. For the harsh conditions slaves experienced while escaping, see Daniel L. Schafer, "'Yellow Silk Ferret Tied Round Their Wrists': African Americans in British East Florida, 1763-1784," in *The African American Heritage of Florida*, eds. David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers (Gainesville, FL, 1995), 93.

3. David Richardson, "The British Slave Trade to Colonial South Carolina," *Slavery and Abolition*, 12 (December 1991) 3, 125-171, esp. Table 2 and p. 160; Philip D. Morgan, "Colonial South Carolina Runaways: Their Significance for Slave Culture," *Slavery and Abolition*, 6 (December 1985) 60; "An Account of the Negroe Insurrection in South Carolina," *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (hereinafter CRG) v. 22, part 2, 1737-1740, 232-236; John K. Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," *American Historical Review* 96:4 (October 1991), 1102; Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia 1730-1775* (Athens, GA, 1984), 173.

gustine. Runaways began arriving the following year and continued irregularly thereafter.⁴

This migration led Spain to initiate the policy that made Florida a magnet for slave migration. In 1693 the Spanish king offered limited freedom to any slave escaping from British territory who would accept Christian conversion. To be sure, the Spanish restricted the freedom of movement of the former British slaves, and required them to work on the huge stone fort known as San Marcos. Other Carolina slaves petitioned for freedom upon arrival in 1688, 1689, 1690, 1697, 1724, and 1725. In the early years of the 18th century the number of African Americans rose and fell, reaching several hundred by the 1740s including free people of color.⁵

The apparent decline in migration between the late 1680s and 1724 may be due to missing records, but shifts in native American demography provide a likely explanation. In the 1680s Spain countered British military probes of its territory with violence against native settlements it considered as British allies. One such group, located north of the Spanish fort at St. Mark's in Apalachee, was trading with the British, who offered better goods, lower prices,

4. Edward Randolph to Council of Trade and Plantations, March 16, 1699, CO5/1258, ff. 88-89v; Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Governor James Colleton, March 3, 1687, CO5/288, ff. 53v-54; Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Governor James Colleton, London, December 2, 1689, CO5/288, f. 81. It is likely that the ten slaves of whom Governor Quiroga wrote were the survivors of the 13 taken from Governor Morton's estate. Two of the slaves are said to have escaped from the Spanish and returned to Governor Morton. Another may have died in the storm which killed the Spaniard, DeLeon, who seized them. It is also possible that the ten slaves were true runaways who arrived in September 1687. Juan Marques Cabrera a Su Majestad, April 15, 1685, as cited in Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land: A Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgia Country* (1925, reprint; New York, 1968), 40; John J. TePaske, "The Fugitive Slave: Intercolonial Rivalry and Spanish Slave Policy, 1687-1764," in Samuel Proctor, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Florida and its Borderlands* (Gainesville, FL, 1975), 3. See also "William Dunlop's Mission to St. Augustine in 1688," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 34 (January 1933) 24, 3.

5. Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo (Audencia de Santo Domingo), Legajo 842. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, November 2, 1725, as cited in TePaske, "The Fugitive Slave," 3; Jane Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida," *American Historical Review* 95 (1990) 14-15; Robert LaBret Hall, "'Do, Lord, Remember Me': Religion and Cultural Change Among Blacks in Florida, 1565-1906" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1984) 26-7.

and a more reliable supply than the Spanish. Antonio Matheos, commander of St. Mark's, burned those villages which refused to switch their trade to Spain. When he torched the leading towns, Coweta and Kasihta, their leaders organized a general movement of Creeks, or Muscogulges, eastward.⁶

This Muscogulge relocation had three consequences. First, it removed them from the Chattahoochee River watershed, which flowed into Spanish territory, and put them outside the sphere of Spanish influence. Second, it placed them on the headwaters of the Altamaha River, within trading range of the British. Third, it placed them strategically between Carolina and Florida, where they or the British traders they attracted might cut off the flow of escaping slaves, if they chose to do so. The Muscogulges' new location was undoubtedly a factor in the drastic reduction in black migration between 1690 and 1724.⁷

Soon after their removal to British territory, the Muscogulges became involved in a three-way colonial fight for hegemony in North America that broke out in 1702, known as Queen Anne's War. The British formed an alliance with the Muscogulges to counter a French eastward advance. British and Muscogulge troops attacked Spanish Florida, and, in the words of Thomas Nairne, "destroy'd the whole Country, burnt the Towns, brought all the *Indians*, who were not kill'd or made Slaves, into our own Territories, so

6. Mark F. Boyd, "Diego Peña's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1716," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (July 1949) 2-4.

7. William Bartram wrote that the Muscogulges believed that their ancestors had migrated eastward in the mid-17th century, reaching the Ocmulgee River in central Georgia in the 1680s. Basing his accounts on elderly male oral informants, Bartram wrote that the Muscogulge first contacted the Spanish. After receiving abuse, "[t]hey joined their arms with the Carolinians," defeated native peoples allied with Spain, "and in the end proved the destruction of the Spanish colony of East Florida." Bartram, "Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians," in Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathleen E. Holland Braund, eds., *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians* (Lincoln, NE, 1995), 140. For a later version, heavily edited after Bartram's death, see *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* V. III., Part 1. For the burning of Coweta and Cassita, see Matheos to Cabrera, Caveta, January 12, 1686; San Luis, March 14, 1686; San Luis, March 14, 1688, and Cabrera to the Viceroy, March 19, 1686, as cited in Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, 51. For the movement to the Oconee and Ochese Creeks, see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 35-36.

that there remains not now, so much as one Village with ten Houses in it, in all Florida, that is subject to the Spaniards. . . .⁸

The British had reason to believe that they had co-opted or destroyed all the native peoples within 700 miles of Charles Town. This British-native alliance had the effect of cutting off the escape route to Florida. In fact, net migration briefly ran in the opposite direction. The Carolina forces, including a thousand Yamassee Indians, burned Spanish missions and enslaved at least 1,000 and, according to some interpretations, up to 4,000 Apalachee and other Indians. As a result, many Florida Indians were taken to Carolina, the Apalachee territory was left virtually uninhabited, and Indian slaves became the fastest-growing segment of the South Carolina population in the 1708 census. North Florida was left with few if any Native American settlements where newly arriving refugee slaves could seek assistance.⁹

Violent conflict erupted periodically in the region until the war played out in a series of skirmishes between native allies of European powers. In 1713, the Tuscarora attacked colonists in North Carolina who encroached on their lands, opening a prolonged period of conflict. After years of abuses at the hands of Indian traders—ranging from rum-running to rape, enslavement, and murder—the leaders of Coweta inspired the Yamassee Indians to revolt. The Yamassee took many African Americans as captives, and carried some of them to St. Augustine. Although the Yamassee War

8. [Thomas Nairne], *A Letter from South Carolina; Giving an Account of the Soil, Air; Product, Trade, Government, Laws, Religion, People, Military Strength, &c., of That Province; Together with the Manner and necessary Charges of Settling a Plantation there, and the Annual profit it will produce. Written by a Swiss Gentlemen, to his Friend at Bern* (London, 1710), 33-35.

9. Col. Robert Quarry to the Council on Trade and Plantations, May 30, 1704, CO324/5, f. 51; Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 80, 161; James Adair, *The History of American Indians* (1775, original; 1930, reprint; Samuel Cole Williams, ed., Nashville, TN, 1971), 277; Alexander Moore, ed., Nairne's *Muskhogeian Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River* (Jackson, MS, 1988), 14. John Hann has noted discrepancies in published versions of letters from Moore in 1704. From these and his readings of various Spanish sources, Hann doubts that Moore captured many more than 1,000 native slaves. John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, FL, 1988), 279. For the growing number of Indian slaves in Carolina, see Letter from the Governor and Council of Carolina [to the Board of Trade], September 17, 1708, CO5/1264 ff. 152-54, also Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732* (1928; reprint, New York), 113, and Wood, *Black Majority*, 143-45.

failed to achieve the goal of a pan-Indian rebellion to expel all Europeans from the southeast, it did result in the Muscogulges' capture of numerous African laborers and the reoccupation of north central Florida by native peoples.¹⁰

After the Yamassee War several important Muscogulge towns pulled up stakes a second time— relocating this time to the west, out of the path of black migration. Coweta, the town whose leaders had instigated the war, moved back to the headwaters of the Chattahoochee, along with Kasihta and several other towns. At about the same time, the British Lords of Trade and Plantations recast its policies toward Native Americans. Seeking to rebuild lost alliances, the board decided to liberalize the terms of Indian trade by supporting “honest and reasonable prices,” and to require colonial governors to regulate traders, whose abuses had provoked the Yamassee War. While the new policy did reinforce British trade alliances, it came too late to prevent the Muscogulge from relocating. Their movement created a buffer zone between Muscogulge territory and British Carolina—one through which African American refugees could travel safely, particularly when native peoples aided them.¹¹

After Coweta led the westward movement back to the Chattahoochee valley, they found themselves at the center of a three-cornered international power struggle. The Spanish sought to make peace with as many of the Muscogulge groups as possible and to isolate the British. In 1717, the French established Fort Toulouse near present-day Montgomery, Alabama, to facilitate trading with

10. Letter from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina . . . relating to the massacre in North Carolina, St. James' Square, December 4, 1711, CO5/1265 f. 247; Wood, *Black Majority*, 144; *Journal of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade* (1955; reprint, Columbia, SC, 1992), September 12, 1710 1:4, July 27, 1711, 1:11; David Crawley to William Byrd, July 30, 1715, CO5/1265, f.2; Lords Proprietors of Carolina to the Council of Trade and Plantations, June 4, 1717, CO5/1265, ff. 133-34; Copies of Certificates from Col. Robert Daniel, Deputy Governor of South Carolina, August 13, 1716, CO5/1265, f. 94; John H. Hann; “St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamassee War,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989), 180-200; Bolton and Ross, *The Debatable Land*, 57-63, Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 74-97.

11. C. O. Maps, North American Colonies General 7, c. 1722; Copy of a Representation of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to the King Upon the State of His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in the Continent of North America, September 8, 1721, Kings MSS 205 f. 39v; see also CO324/10, 296-431, and *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, American and W. I. 1720-1721*, 424-28.

the Muscogulges. The British, meanwhile, constructed Fort King George at the mouth of the Altamaha River in 1721. The construction of these forts defined a triangular contest for native friendship that handed the regional balance of power to the Muscogulges. The Muscogulges developed internal factions, each oriented toward one of the European powers, learning its language and manipulating it to native advantage. Such power politics led native groups sometimes to help runaways and other times to capture and return them for pay.¹²

Uncertainty immediately following the Yamassee War created turmoil, generally unfavorable to black migration. Spanish records suggest that the flow of African Americans did not resume until well after the westward movement of native peoples. By 1724, freedom-seeking blacks once again found their way to St. Augustine and petitioned for freedom. In September 1725, Spanish negotiators came to Charlestown to discuss the return of runaway slaves, but talks failed.¹³

By the late 1720s, the barriers had become much less formidable, and St. Augustine's population of freedom-seeking blacks began to rise. British subjects returning from Spanish captivity to Carolina told tales of African Americans and Yamassees selling British scalps for 30 Spanish pieces-of-eight in St. Augustine. Sometimes the fugitives joined forces with the remnant of the Yamassees who lived near St. Augustine, and raided Carolina.¹⁴

In 1733, as the British established a new buffer colony in Georgia, Philip V formally restated the policy of offering runaways freedom at the price of conversion to Roman Catholicism, and a term of four years of public servitude. Georgia's founders initially banned slavery, realizing that conditions favored escape. If slavery had been permitted from the colony's outset in 1732, the Earl of Egmont wrote in his diary, "there would not be 50 out of 500 re-

12. Marcel Giraud, *A History of French Louisiana*, Vol. 1 *The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715* Joseph C. Lambert, trans. (1953, translation; Baton Rouge, LA, 1974), 201-212; Daniel H. Thomas, *Fort Toulouse: The French Outpost at the Alabamas on the Coosa* (1960, reprint; Tuscaloosa, AL, 1989), 1; Barnwell to Nicholson, July 21, 1721, in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 27 (October 1926), 189-203.

13. Crane, *Southern Frontier*; 241-44.

14. Thomas Geraldino to Duke to Newcastle, enclosure in Duke of Newcastle to the Council of Trade and Plantations, September 21, 1736, CO5/365, ff. 120-23.

main in two months time, for they would fly to the Spaniards [in Florida] . . .” His colleague William Stephens, the colonial secretary, agreed that any slaves in Georgia “would march off when they pleased,” southward to the Spanish. By the 1750s however, the slave population was growing as Carolina planters moved in.¹⁵

In a few years time, Georgia’s leader, General James Edward Oglethorpe, successfully cultivated a military alliance with the Muscogulge. The Spanish reacted to the increasing British presence by establishing an outpost north of St. Augustine, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose. The town of Mose became home to 75-to-100 former English slaves, and the first self-governing community of free African Americans in North America.¹⁶

As new fugitives arrived, the Spanish governors placed them in Mose, under the care of the escaped Carolina slave known to the Spanish as Francisco Menendez. In November 1738, a group of 23 arrived from Carolina, including 19 who worked for a planter named Caleb Davis. Davis’ experience demonstrated Spain’s commitment to the policy of attracting British laborers. When Davis journeyed to St. Augustine seeking their return, his laborers laughed and jeered at his efforts to force them to return with him. Oglethorpe arrested and imprisoned Spaniards he found negotiating with blacks in Georgia, but the flow continued. In 1749, James Glen, the governor of South Carolina, complained that “both in peace and war, [the Spanish] protect the negroes that desert from

15. The king lifted the labor requirement in 1740, and his successor, Ferdinand VI, broadened the policy to cover all Spanish provinces of the Americas in 1750. TePaske, “The Fugitive Slave,” 5-7. For Georgia slavery laws, see *An Act for Rendering the Colony of Georgia more Defensible by Prohibiting the Impartation and use of Black Slaves or Negroes in the same*, January 9, 1734, PRO CO/5/681 ff. 39-44; Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*, 31. For commentary on likelihood of escapes, see Journal of the Earl of Egmont, February 20, 1738, *CRG* 5:315; Journal of William Stephens, December 15, 1738, *CRG* 4:248. For white Carolinians in early Georgia, see David R. Chesnutt, *South Carolina’s Expansion into Colonial Georgia, 1720-1765* (New York, 1989), 56-9, 82, 125-26, 170-71, 211.

16. A Ranger’s Report of Travels with General Oglethorpe, 1739-42, Stowe Manuscripts 792, British Library MSS Collection, f. 10v. The best accounts of the lives of blacks in Spanish and British Florida are those of Jane Landers, who has published two seminal articles: “Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose,” *American Historical Review* 95 (1990), 9-30, and “Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687-1790,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 62 (January 1984), 296-313; and J. Leitch Wright, “Blacks in British East Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (April 1976), 425-442.

this province." The black town of Mose was maintained until 1763, when Florida became British territory and its residents evacuated to Cuba.¹⁷

Throughout Florida's first Spanish period, the British encouraged the native peoples of the southeast to catch escaping slaves, offering rich bounties for live escapees and lesser goods for their scalps or severed heads. Results were inconsistent, however. A talk from the Cherokees in 1730 shows the thinking of some Native Americans, and demonstrates their unreliability as slave catchers. The Cherokees agreed to return slaves in general, for free, but balked at agreeing to return all runaways in exchange for payment. Their language is significant: ". . . [T] his small rope which we show you is all we have to bind our slaves with, and may be broken; but you have iron chains for yours; however, if we catch your slaves, we shall bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends again, and have no pay for it. . . ."¹⁸

Such discourse—rejecting pay and retaining a measure of discretion—clearly should be read as a negotiating ploy intended to empower the speaker to make independent decisions. Impossible as it is to enter the consciousness of the Cherokee negotiators of 1730, nevertheless one can discern several levels of meaning in their representations of themselves and Europeans. First, the Cherokees were referring to differing social definitions of slavery. Their slaves were bound lightly (with small rope) while those of the British were more stringently secured, with metal chain. This distinction corresponds the contrast between Cherokee slaves or captives,

17. Journal of William Stephens, December 15, 1738, in *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, IV, 247-48; Charles C. Jones, *The History of Georgia*, (Boston, 1883) v. 2, p. 300, as cited in Chatelaine, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*; James Glen, Answers of James Glen, Esq., Governor of South Carolina, to the Queries Proposed by the Lords of Trade, 1749, Kings MSS 205, f. 302v.

18. In 1775, Gen. William Shirley instructed officials to offer "Certain Rewards" to Southern Indians in exchange for the scalps of Britain's enemies. General William Shirley to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of War, New York, December 20, 1775, WO1/4, ff. 5-9. In 1721, South Carolina colonists offered the Creeks four blankets and two guns for every slave captured beyond the Oconee River, half as much for those found closer to home, and if only the head could be provided, one blanket, redeemable at any trader. Wood, *Black Majority*, 260-61. For test of talk comparing rope and chains, see Answer of the Indian Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, September 9, 1730, CO5/4, part 2, ff. 215-16. See also Crane, *Southern Frontier*; 300, and Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York, 1993), 103-04.

who might become free by adoption, marriage, ransom, or exchange, and English chattel slaves, whose condition was hereditary and perpetual. Second, the speaker questioned how the Cherokees could be expected to hold, with mere rope, slaves that had already escaped their British chains. At this level, the speaker was underlining social differences, raising a practical question, and perhaps making fun of the British.¹⁹

Crucially, the Cherokees were likening the “iron chain” to a formal relationship which would bind them as surely as a chain would secure an escaped slave. They preferred a looser, more informal relationship with the English. Significantly, the Cherokees’ discussion of chains to bind slaves follows immediately a reference to the “Chain of Friendship” between themselves and the British. While the image of the chain of friendship is a common one in native American diplomatic rhetoric, this juxtaposition suggests that the Cherokees saw similarities between their own relations with Europeans and the situation of African Americans. In any case, the agreement, as they amended it, did not require them to return every escaped slave, but instead gave them the right to decide which to capture and which to ignore.

The complex issue of the relationship between native peoples and runaway slaves arose at the Augusta Congress in 1763, as the British and the native peoples negotiated their new living arrangements after the Seven Years’ War. Speaking for the Upper, Middle and Lower Creek towns, the native leader Captain Aleck proposed a new policy. In the past, he said, Muscogulges returned “any negro, horse, etc.” found on their side of the Savannah River. “. . . But now the Ogeechee is the boundary, any negro, horse, cattle, etc., that exceeds such bounds he declares openly and in the presence of all the governors he will seize and keep.” The British representative offered £5 or the equivalent for the continued return of runaways, observing, “You know it is very difficult to prevent Negroes

19. The Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy, 1741-42, describes a European’s experience of Cherokee slavery. It can be found in Newton D. Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 241-260, and Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800* (Johnson City, 1928). See also Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society* (Knoxville, TN 1979 3-18, and Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, 1992), 13.

from running away and cattle and horses from rambling.” Although the final, English-language version of the treaty reflects agreement on the slave-catching plank, Captain Aleck’s forceful position suggests that at least some of the Muscogulge continued to regard the practice of slave catching as optional— a potential source of income, but not an obligation.²⁰

A third example of native attitudes comes from Seminole territory. In 1777, Seminoles living on the Flint River sent a highly direct message to British authorities in East Florida. Offering to support the British cause during the American Revolutionary War, the Seminoles set out their terms: “Whatever Horses or Slaves or Cattle we take we expect will be ours.”²¹

For the black refugees from British colonies living in Florida in 1763, the coming of British rule had two significant implications. First, the racial attitudes of Florida’s new rulers were very different from those of the Spanish. The British world included black slaves and white masters, but no in-between groups like free people of color, the middle social layer that two centuries of Spanish culture had created. Awareness of the new reality doubtless encouraged the acknowledged free blacks in Florida to emigrate. In Georgia, runaway slave advertisements only rarely reflect laborers joining existing backcountry maroon communities.²²

Second, Florida ceased to be a territory where religious and diplomatic rivalry produced a policy of religious sanctuary. On the contrary, the leaders of British East Florida actively encouraged plantations on the model of Carolina, and British settlers brought slaves with them in large numbers. The result was a demographic shift in the African American population, which grew in numbers and declined in status. By July 1782 Governor Patrick Tonyn esti-

20. Fenwicke Bull, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Southern Congress at Augusta from the Arrival of the Several Governors at Charles Town South Carolina the 1st October to their Return to the Same Place etc. the November 21, 1763*, CO5/65, part 3, ff. 51v-52, 55v-57; John Stuart to Lord George Germain, Pensacola, September 15, 1777, CO5/79, No. 19, p. 13.

21. Copy of a Talk from the Seminollie Indians dated Flint River 3d September 1777, in Stuart to Germain CO5/79, f. 37.

22. Betty Wood cited the *Georgia Gazette* of November 22, 1769, for the escape of two women— Minda, 20 and Esther, 21— who escaped from Governor Wright’s Ogeechee plantation, crossed the Ogeechee River, and were believed to have joined “a parcel of Mr. Elliot’s Negroes who have been runaway for some time.” Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia*, 173.

mated the population of East Florida at 3,000 African Americans and 1,000 Europeans. During the chaos of the American Revolutionary War, the total official population expanded more than fourfold.²³

By the time of the revolution, Florida's Indian country had been accumulating a population of African Americans and their progeny for many years. By mid-century, the Lower Creek Indians, in the process of differentiating into the Seminoles, had moved south from Georgia. Hemming in the Spanish between the St. John's River and the coast, these native peoples created a human screen that the British acknowledged by treaty. Their presence blocked both the Spanish and the British from controlling an immense, fertile, and well-drained territory, accessible from Georgia, into which some runaways obviously found refuge. They established several villages of maroons with a black population of at least 430, living alongside and among the Seminoles.²⁴

Slaves on plantations in pre-war British East Florida lived under conditions similar to those of their counterparts elsewhere in the Lower South. Indeed, Governor James Grant recruited South Carolina planters to East Florida with the distinct goal of replicating the onerous Carolina plantation work regimes that pushed so many workers to flee. At least one insurrection occurred in British East Florida, resulting in the drowning of an overseer known as Mr. Hewie. Escapes were far more frequent. A slave named Peter was never found after fleeing James Penman's plantation in October 1769. A slave named Phyllis fled in 1780 in search of her husband whom her master Robert Robinson had sold. John Moultrie wrote, "It has been a practice for negroes to run away from their Masters and to get into the Indian towns, from whence it proved very difficult and troublesome to get them back." Despite a bounty of £2 a head, native peoples in Florida did not always return laborers who reached their territory. Not surprisingly, hundreds of East Florida

23. The increase included working slaves but not escapees. Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province 1763-1784* (Berkeley, CA, 1943), 8, 126.

24. Report of an Inspection Tour Made by Lieutenant-Colonel James Robertson late 1763, CO5/540 ff. 36-51; Carita Doggett Corse, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Jacksonville, FL, 1919), 14. For black settlements between the Suwanee and Apalachicola Rivers, see Laurence Foster, "Negro-Indian Relationships in the Southeast" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1935), 20.

laborers were unaccounted for after the Revolutionary War, and may be presumed to have fled to Seminole country.²⁵

Wartime chaos provided cover for escaping African Americans, and white colonists expected many to take advantage of it. Suspecting that some escapees reached Indian country, the British offered Native Americans a reward of 100 chalk marks per prisoner, white or black. (One chalk mark represented one pound of deer skins, convertible to British trade goods.) On the other side, both South Carolina and Georgia cited the fear of rebellion as an excuse for their lack of enthusiasm for the revolution. They reported to the Continental Congress that their militias could not be counted upon to fight the British, because they were needed to prevent slave rebellion and flight.²⁶

Loss claims filed by British Loyalists after the war opened a window onto the lives of African laborers in British East Florida. At least 38 claimants mentioned slaves, although not all claimed slaves as lost property. If these African laborers are typical, then most workers in British East Florida spent their lives on large plantations. Of the 1,493 slaves mentioned in these 38 claims, 1,038 (representing more than two out of every three) lived on plantations with 100 or more slaves. Overall, 92 of every 100 of the laborers mentioned in these East Florida Loyalist claims worked on plantations with a total of at least 20 laborers. Only 15 workers—one percent—worked with two fellow slaves or fewer, and only three worked on a farm where they were the only slave around.²⁷

Those on plantations with 100 or more workers were likely to find a permanent mate or spouse. For them the odds were no worse than three to two, with sex ratios ranging from 1.52 to 1.16. On the

25. Moultrie to Lord Hillsborough, June 29, 1771, CO5/552, ff. 55-56v (erroneously cited as CO5/551 in Schafer, "African Americans in British East Florida," 93; see also 73); Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida 1774 to 1785, The Most Important Documents Pertaining Thereto Edited with an Accompanying Narrative*, 2 vols. (Deland, FL, 1929), 2: 20-21. The originals of most of this material can be found in the British Public Record Office in Audit Office Class 12, piece 3. Citations will include a Siebert page number and an AO12/3 folio number where available. AO 12/3 ff. 13-18.

26. W. C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* 13:385, as cited in Herbert Aptheker, *America Negro Slave Revolts* (1943, 5th ed., New York, 1987), 22; Charles Lee to John Hancock, July 2, 1776, Conference with the Georgia Delegation, *The Lee Papers*, Vol. 2, Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1872 (New York, 1873), 115; Thomas Brown to the Superintendent, Chechaws, September 29, 1776, CO5/78, ff. 34-77b.

27. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 2, *passim*.

other hand, those who lived on farms with ten or fewer workers faced highly uneven sex ratios ranging as high as four men for every woman. For those in between, sex ratios were far from ideal: seven men and 13 women worked on Alexander Paterson's farm, one woman and four men on Stephen White's farm. Two farms were home to two women workers each, three others to two men each. Only one had exactly one man and one woman laborer.²⁸

Some African Americans underwent involuntary migration as the result of war. Two women named Sarah and Asserina, claimed by East Florida settler Mary Webb, were seized on a voyage to New York in 1779, when an American privateer raided their ship and took them to Boston. Rebels carried off a shipwright named Tom and a laborer named Jacob when they raided John Imrie's homestead in East Florida. In September 1776, American Rebels seized 30 blacks from Florida plantations, and an American Man of War seized 200 slaves from Georgia. In 1779, the British captured 200 Georgia slaves and brought them to St. Augustine. Some slaves lost their lives when their masters evacuated. Claims show that 42 of Denys Rolle's workers and at least three laborers claimed by Francis Levett died en route to new homes in the Caribbean.²⁹

After the war, the Commission for Sequestered Estates in South Carolina advertised for runaways in the *East Florida Gazette*. He wrote that he had "received information that many negroes, the property of gentlemen of Carolina whose estates were sequestered in my hands, have made their escape to this province" between September 1780 and May 1783.³⁰

Black and white refugees poured into East Florida before beginning the long process of evacuating in 1783, and many slaves profited from the ensuing confusion to give their masters the slip. As Table 1 shows, approximately 42 percent of all blacks in British East Florida—some 4,745 people—were unaccounted for at the conclusion of the evacuation. These totals include the handful of documented escapes, such as that of three laborers who fled Alexander Paterson's farm as he prepared to evacuate, and Francis Le-

28. Author's analysis of Loyalist data.

29. Siebert, 2: 371, 229, 61-2, 104, 162 (AO12/3 ff. 186v-95v, 45, 75-7); Robert Rae to Samuel Thomas, May 3, 1776, CO5/77: 269-71, ff. 137-138v; Letter from Governor Patrick Tonyn to John Stuart, St. Augustine, December 20, 1779, CO5/559, pp. 211-15, ff. 106-108v.

30. *East Florida Gazette*, May 3, 1783.

vett's 24-year old "compleat servant" named Monday, who refused to evacuate without his wife.³¹

After the war, Florida's new Spanish government recognized the continuing presence of African Americans in Indian country, and sought half-heartedly to eject or recover them for their owners. In 1781, in peace talks at Pensacola, the Spanish requested that Creeks and Seminoles return fugitive slaves. Again in September 1789, the Spanish asked "that all negroes, horses, goods and American citizens, taken by the Indians, should be restored." And, in 1802, at the conclusion of hostilities with native warriors led by William Augustus Bowles, the Spanish sought to require Mikasukis and Seminoles to return blacks taken from Spanish owners during the conflict. For once, the Seminoles appeared to have complied: in September 1802, the Seminole leader Payne and Jack Kanard, the leader of the Hitchiti, met a Spanish official in the town of Mikasuki to turn over the blacks.³²

Table 1.
Summary of British Out Migration from East Florida

Destination	Whites	Blacks	Totals
Europe/England	246	35	281
Nova Scotia	725	155	880
Jamaica	196	714	910
Dominica	225	444	669
Bahamas	1,033	2,214	3,247
United States	462	2,561	3,023
Other Foreign	61	217	278
Did Not Depart	450	200	650
Missing	2,692	4,745	7,437
Total	6,090	11,285	17,375

The "Missing" category reflects estimates by Governor Patrick Tonyn and others that approximately 4,000 people fled to the north and west in early 1784. The racial composition of this backcountry group is unknown. My estimate for missing blacks is computed by subtracting the number of blacks who remained or were reported as leaving East Florida for known destinations from the total who were resident in East Florida. Other estimates are taken from British emigration reports in Siebert, 1: 168, 174, 208.

31. Siebert, 1: 127-28, 232 (AO12/3 ff. 91-94, 186v-195v).

32. Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period*, 2nd ed. (Charleston, SC, 1851), Vol. 2, 61, 98; Juan Ventura Morales to Miguel Cayentano soler. Nueva Orleans, 30 Septiembre 1802, Archivo General de Indias, (Baltimore, 1979), pp. 1-30, Santo Domingo 2645, fo. 177; Vicente Folch to Governor and Captain General, [Fuerte San Marcos de Apalache], 10 septiembre 1802, AGI, Santo Domingo 2569, ff. 662.

In Georgia, meanwhile, African laborers continued to make their way into Indian country, slipping away sometimes silently and occasionally after a fire fight. The *Georgia Gazette* of May 1, 1788 reported that, in Savannah, “a few Negroes, belonging to Mr. Girardeau, were carried off from Liberty County, by the Indians, the beginning of last week.”³³

Although the record furnishes little direct information about the lives of African Americans in Seminole country, certain inferences can be drawn. For example, once African Americans had lived in freedom among the Creeks and Seminoles, slave traders considered them a poor business risk, because— even when captured and reenslaved— they were extremely likely to run away. In 1794, the Panton Leslie Co. was sued when slaves shipped from Florida escaped from their New Orleans buyer, who sought reimbursement under Spanish law. When William Panton learned he might have to make good the loss, he expressed his frustration: “Pray was it not made known to the purchaser that the negroes were from the Indian Country[?]”³⁴

Panton’s comment sets blacks living in Seminole country apart from all others. Clearly, Panton’s remark reflects his awareness that “negroes . . . from the Indian country” were likely to escape, and that a prudent trader would protect himself by disclosing their origin to a subsequent buyer.

Panton’s comment further reveals his awareness of two realities. First, he was familiar with the everyday conditions of life for blacks among the Seminoles. Native American and African American villages extended from near St. Augustine to west of the Apalachicola River. Blacks lived in habitations similar to those of their Indian hosts, surrounded by fields of up to 20 acres. They dressed like the Seminoles, owned and used hunting rifles, and planted their fields in common as the native peoples did. Although some blacks were in submissive relationships to Indians, it is mis-

33. *The Gazette of the State of Georgia*, No. 275, Thursday, May 1, 1788, Savannah, PRO AO13/36A, 2.

34. G[uillermo] Butler to William Panton, New Orleans, March 19, 1794, University of South Florida Library, Special Collections, Cruzat Papers, MSS file 93-2; William Panton to [John Forbes], Pensacola, March 30, 1794, Cruzat Papers, MSS 93-2; Don Bartolome Fabre Daunoy Vs. Don Guillermo Butler, March 20, 1794, Judicial Records of the Spanish Cabildo, March 15, 1794 to April 7, 1794, microfilm: LDS #1290483, Roll #242.

leading to describe the relationships as slavery in the sense understood by Americans in the early 19th century. In some cases, these blacks merely shared their harvests with a dominant village, such as a tributary native village would do with its dominant neighbors.³⁵

Panton also knew that many of these black Seminoles had not themselves escaped from plantation slavery, but were the children, grandchildren and even great-grandchildren of refugees. Capture would bring not the bitterness of slavery's return, but the shock of its first impression. It is hardly surprising that African American people who had grown up freely on Seminole lands would reject a life of slavery. What is significant is Panton's recognition that a competent slave dealer would protect his company's interest by acknowledging the deep hunger for freedom that such people had acquired.

If blacks in Seminole country were a high-risk business for William Panton, they were also a danger to the leaders of the new United States. The growth of settlements of runaways in conjunction with Indians, tolerable when Florida was a remote frontier, became unacceptable as American settlers drew near. During the period between the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, such enclaves drew the attention of President George Washington, who noted them in his diary of 1791. The issue further occupied his secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, and was an element of this first treaty signed by the new United States government in 1790.³⁶

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35. Joshua R. Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida, or, the Crimes Committed by Our Government Against the Maroons, Who Fled from South Carolina and Other Slave States, Seeking Protection Undo, Spanish Laws* (Columbus, OH, 1858), 97; William Hayne Simmons, *Notices of East Florida* (1822, reprint; Gainesville, FL, 1973), 44, 76; Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, 2d. ed. *passim*; Herbert Aptheker, "Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States," in Price, *Maroon Societies*, 151-167; Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (London, 1988), 62; Rebecca Bateman, "Africans and Indians: A Comparative Study of the Black Caribs and Black Seminole," *Ethnohistory* 37 (Winter 1990), 3; Kenneth Wiggins Porter, "Negroes and the Seminole War, 1817-1818," in *Four Centuries of Southern Indians*, edited by Charles Hudson (Athens, GA, 1975), 160-61.
36. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (Boston, 1925), May 20, 1791, 4:180-81; Thomas Jefferson to Jose Ignacio de Viar, October 27, 1790, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, as cited in *Diaries of Washington*, 4: n. 1,181. See Treaty of New York, 1790, between the United States and the Creek Nation.

Florida's attractiveness to runaways increased during the first two decades of the 19th century. During the War of 1812, the British attempted to entice slaves away from their American masters, offering them two alternatives— a job in a British regiment, or freedom, transportation to new homes, and free land. Many accepted: more than 60 abandoned the East Florida plantation of the American John Forbes, sailing on a British ship to Bermuda.³⁷

After the war, British agents continued to undermine the United States by helping the Seminoles and their African American allies. About 1,000 escaped slaves and Native Americans lived along the banks of the Apalachicola River between Apalachicola Bay and the Georgia border, near a fort which the British had conveniently abandoned, fully armed and equipped. The maroons cultivated the fields on either side of the stronghold, known as the Negro Fort, for 50 miles on both sides of the river. Living in the fort or nearby were about 100 men and 200 women and children.³⁸

The world of Florida maroons fell into eclipse on the morning of July 27, 1816, when the powder magazine of the Negro Fort exploded. United States Naval personnel bombarded the fort at five a.m., aiming for the maroon village located just behind it. When the fort exploded, the Naval officers in charge promptly took the credit; glowing reports expressed amazement at their lucky shot, although the Army version cautiously attributed the explosion to causes unknown. The Naval reports also contain evidence for the possibility that the blacks, themselves, were responsible for the destruction of the fort. Their leader, an African American man named Garson, threatened to destroy the fort if he could not hold it.³⁹

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37. Sebastian Kindelán y Oregón to Rear Admiral George Cockburn, January 31, 1815 WO 1/144:31-32, as cited in William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Pantón, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Gainesville, FL, 1986), 292; Kindelán to Thomas Llorente, St. Augustine, February 25, 1815, bundle 150G12, microfilm reel 62, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress (hereinafter, EFP); Llorente to Kindelán, San Nicolas, February 26, 1815, bundle 150G12, reel 62, EFP.
38. Patterson to Secretary of Navy, New Orleans, August 15, 1816; John Lee Williams, *A View of West Florida* (1827, reprint; Gainesville, FL, 1976), 98.
39. Lt. Col. D. L. Clinch wrote to his commanding officer that "The black chief heaped much abuse on the Americans and said he had been left in command of the fort by the British government, and that he would sink any American vessels that should attempt to pass it; and blow up the fort if he could not defend it." D. L. Clinch to Col. R. Butler, Adjutant General, Camp Crawford, August 2,

One thing the military did destroy was the hopes of the maroons. For several years, Garson and the other maroons had invested their labor and dreams in an experimental, multicultural world. These marginalized people lived in a self-governing society of their own making, developing sufficient social order to plant and harvest a field crop. The maroons' population had grown; they were living in family groups, and their children were growing up in a richer, freer life than their parents had known. In the siege before the explosion, the military destroyed their crops, trained 18-pounders on their stronghold, and made it impossible to leave or enter the fort.⁴⁰

After the explosion, black and native peoples reestablished themselves precariously in the area between the Suwannee and the Apalachicola Rivers. More raids followed in 1818, causing the black population of north Florida to decline to approximately 430. By the mid 1830s, the number of African Americans living with Seminoles was estimated to have climbed to 800, of whom 150 were men and 650 were women and children. Since many in this population

1816, *Army and Navy Chronicle* 2:115, microfilm: American Periodical Series 1800-1850 A85 775 Vols. 1-2, Reel 469. The official account of the "lucky shot" version is that of Jairus Loomis: "At 4 A.M., on the morning of the 27th, we began warping the gun-vessels to a proper position; at 5, getting within gunshot, the fort opened upon us, which we returned, and after ascertaining our real distance with cold shot, we commenced with hot . . . , *first* [emphasis in original] one of which, entering their magazine, blew up and completely destroyed the fort." J. Loomis to Commodore Patterson, U. S. Gun-vessel No. 149, Bay St. Louis, August 13, 1816, in American State Papers: Foreign Relations (Washington, DC, 1834), 559-60. Rebutting the "lucky shot" theory is a letter published by the *Savannah Republican* (reprinted by the *National Intelligencer*), and apparently written by Col. Clinch. It is signed "C," is accompanied by copies of personal letters to Cal. Clinch, and offers a defense of Clinch's role. The letter states, "The commandant was requested to fire a few shots in order to ascertain the distance with more accuracy, and the practicability of bettering them from that point— four or five shots were accordingly fired, when the explosion took place; from what cause is unknown— opinions on that source are varied." "The Negro Fort in Florida," *National Intelligencer*, April 27, 1819, Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, Microfilm Reel 25. Adding to the improbability of a lucky shot in the predawn darkness is the uncertain distance of the bombardment. While some sources placed the Naval gun not far from the fort, one account located it at a distance of two miles away. Item entitled "New Orleans, Aug. 16," *National Intelligencer* September 18, 1816, Reel 20.

40. John D. Milligan, "Slave Rebelliousness and the Florida Maroon," *Prologue* 6 (Spring 1974): 7.

had a motive to remain in hiding, official estimates are probably low.⁴¹

The explosive destruction of the Negro Fort, then, serves as a violent punctuation point separating two epochs. After that point, the Muscogulge in North Florida were as good as "annihilated," in the words of trader James Innerarity, and so were their free black allies. White American settlers flowed in, established hegemony, and pushed the surviving native-black alliance southward. The cycle of American economic expansion, black escape, and native resistance began again, clashing in the violence of the Second Seminole War. Within a few years, involuntary laborers picked cotton on lands where native peoples and free blacks once had lived very different kinds of lives.⁴²

41. One source, with an obvious anti-British bias, states that the British were responsible for transporting 300-400 blacks from Louisiana to the Apalachicola River after losing the War of 1812. Deposition of Samuel Jervais, May 9, 1815, as cited in John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi by the Three Great European Powers Spain, France and Great Britain, and the Subsequent Occupation, Settlement and Extension of Civil Government by the United States Until the Year 1846*, Vol. 1, (New York, 1848), 88. Another possibility, supported by military correspondence of Andrew Jackson, is that the African Americans were runaways from East Florida, Georgia and Carolina. Andrew Jackson to Governor of Pensacola, April 23, 1816, *ASPFR* 4499. See also James Grant Forbes, *Sketches Historical and Geographical of the Florida; More Particularly of East Florida* (1821, reprint; Gainesville, FL, 1964), 121. For the extent of fields cultivated by runaways, see Monette, 90, and Williams, *A View of West Florida*, 98, 101-02. For population estimates, see Horatio Dexter to His Excellency William P. Duval, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Territory of Florida, St. Augustine, August 20, 1823, in Letters Received by the Secretary of War Relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1823, S-4 (Microform, Library of Congress Publication M27-1, frame 508); and John T. Sprague *The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), 19.

42. James Innerarity to John Forbes, Mobile, August 12, 1815, in "The Panton Leslie Papers," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 12 (January 1934), 127.

Wife-Killers and Evil Tempresses: Gender, Pardons and Respectability in Florida, 1889-1914

by VIVIEN MILLER

FLORIDA'S State Board of Pardons, created by the state constitution of 1868, was a necessary component of the state's criminal justice system in the late 19th and 20th centuries due to the general inadequacy of the penal arrangements,¹ the frequency with which judges imposed death penalties on those convicted of first-degree murder, and the absence of any probation or parole facilities. Letters to the pardoning board, to successive governors and to newspapers such as the *Florida Times Union* and the *Tampa Tribune*, indicate accord among diverse sections of Florida society on the need for harsh punishment for those who committed violent acts. Circuit judges imposed sentences of death or life imprisonment in accordance with the state's statutes relating to murder (divided into three degrees of severity),² the decisions of all-male juries, and to placate public opinion.³ The existence of the Board of Pardons allowed them to do this and then recommend leniency at a later date, even following an unsuccessful appeal to the state Supreme Court. Further, in the interests of justice an alternative tribunal to consider the grievances and petitions of offenders was needed to uphold the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. It is important to point out, however, that the vast majority of prisoners

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1. During Governor Drew's administration (1877-1881), the dilapidated state prison at Chattahoochee had been converted into an institution for the mentally ill, and state convicts were contracted out to the highest bidder, thus relieving the state of the burden of feeding, housing and clothing its prisoners. In an effort to slash government expenditure, the governor looked to the convict lease system to save the state of Florida an annual expense of \$20,000. The prison farm at Raiford did not become fully operational until 1914. See Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, FL, 1971), 276.
2. Ken Driggs (comp.), "Florida Executions List," Unpublished list, 1993, 52-67. Driggs lists 105 executions for murder and eleven for rape for the period 1890-1910.
3. Paul S. George, "The Evolution of Miami and Dade County's Judiciary, 1896-1930." *Tequesta* 36 (1976), 28-29.

incarcerated in Florida's state prison system in the years 1889-1914 were discharged only on the expiration of their sentence, thus pardons affected a minority of convicts.⁴

The Board of Pardons was composed of the Governor, three Supreme Court justices, and the state's attorney general until 1896, when judges were replaced by the secretary of state, comptroller, and commissioner of agriculture. Empowered to commute punishments and grant pardons to convicted felons and misdemeanants, it was the final appellant body in such matters. Members of the Board of Pardons in the period 1889-1914 were with few exceptions lawyers—usually graduates of southern law schools; wealthy landowners and planters and/or members of Florida's rising industrial commercial elite; Methodists, Baptists and Episcopalians; Democrats; Masons, Elks, and Knights of Pythias; and usually enjoyed long careers in state and local politics. For example, William H. Ellis, attorney general (1904-1909) during Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward's administration, and James Bryan Whitfield, private secretary to Governor Edward A. Perry, state treasurer (1897-1903) and attorney general (1903-1904), went on to become justices of the Supreme Court of Florida. Whitfield served as Chief Justice in 1905 and 1909-1913. Secretary of agriculture (1900-1911) Benjamin E. McLin had business interests in milling, crate manufacturing, and orange cultivation. His predecessor Lucien B. Wombwell was a land agent for the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad Company during the 1880s. Dr. John J. Crawford, a Wakulla county landowner and planter, served as secretary of state continuously from 1881 to 1902. Following his death in 1902, Crawford's son, Henry Clay Crawford was elected secretary of state in his own right in 1904.⁵ The

4. State Pardon Board, *Pardon, Commutation, and Remission Decrees, 1869-1909*, Vols. 1-4, RG 690, Series 158, FSA. For example: In 1893, 7 convicts were pardoned (1 convicted of murder), 27 died during the year, and 218 were discharged upon expiration of their sentence. Five hundred thirty remained "on hand" on December 31, 1893. In 1903, 42 convicts were pardoned (12 of whom had been convicted of murder), 18 had died during the year, and 295 were discharged upon expiration of their sentence. There were 1,523 prisoners "on hand" on December 31, 1903. *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture 1893-1894*, 69, 72, and *1903-1904*, 315, 340, 47-48.

5. For biographical information on board members see Homer E. Moyer, ed., *Who's Who and What to See in Florida: A Standard Biographical Reference Book of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1935), 99-100; Joseph H. Reese, *Florida Flashlights* (Miami, 1917), 101, 102, 114; James Bryan Whitfield (comp.), *An Official Directory of the State Government* (Tallahassee, 1885), 79; George M. Chapin, *Florida 1513-1913, Past, Present and Future, Four Hundred Years of Wars and Peace and Industrial Development* (Chicago, IL, 1914), 656; Henry Gardner Cutler, *History of Florida Past and Present*, Vol. III (Chicago and New York, 1923), 3, 123.

Board of Pardons thus embodied an array of personalities with extensive political and judicial experience.

Most of the board members who served during the period 1889-1914 were born during the middle decades of the 19th century and received their educations during the turbulent post-war and Reconstruction years. They held political office in a period of significant social and economic change as Florida underwent rapid expansion and development partly as a consequence of railway investment and construction, resulting in the development of a significant urban-industrial base by the early 20th century. The thriving Atlantic port city of Jacksonville, with a population of 28,429 in 1890 rising to 57,699 in 1910, was Florida's largest city and railroad hub.⁶ It was also the commercial center for Florida's turpentine, lumber, and naval stores industries— industries which were reliant to a large extent on convict labor.

Amid these profound economic and social changes, traditional southern values of white supremacy, black inferiority, and strict patriarchy prevailed in the New South and regulated social relations throughout the state of Florida. Further, strict adherence to rigid standards of personal conduct and belief, for example, patriotism, love of the South, the supremacy of the Democratic Party, Christianity and chivalry for white women, were not only expected but demanded of the white population.⁷ "Noblesse oblige" or an obligation to demonstrate generosity, chivalry, benevolence, and exhibit responsible behavior to the less fortunate characterized male attitudes toward "respectable" white women, and black women perceived to be subservient and non-threatening, while hostility and violence were sanctioned for those who stepped beyond the confines of the private sphere. "Honor," a gendered code of conduct and set of values specifically for adult white males,⁸ was also central to the post-war belief system imbued by white Floridians. Edward Ayers argues: "In reconstructing the workings of Southern honor and violence, it is crucial to understand that

6. U.S. Bureau of Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States*, Vol. II, (Washington, DC, 1913), 298.

7. James R. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal*. (Baton Rouge, 1982), 33.

8.. See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (Oxford, 1982).

Southern white men among all classes believed themselves 'honorable' men and acted on that belief."⁹ Anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers describes honor as a multifaceted notion open to interpretation by different classes within any society, but which "stands as a mediator between individual aspirations and the judgment of society" and as "not only the internalization of the values of society in the individual but the externalization of his self-image in the world."¹⁰ It is perhaps most useful to view the members of the Board of Pardons in terms of the "notion of a community of honorable men" mediating between the individual aspirations of offenders seeking clemency and the judgment of Florida society on their criminal acts. At the same time the decisions of this "community of honorable men" inevitably reflect the imposition of the dominant white middle class male evaluations of the criminal behavior of lower class, black and female offenders.

Research into the decision-making process of Florida's Board of Pardons is hampered by the absence of information on the actual deliberations of the board members, as no official minutes were recorded before 1909. It is necessary to reconstruct the decision-making process from the application case files which contain copies of court testimony, records of sentence, letters of recommendation for applicants seeking pardons, commutations and reprieves, petitions, and the applications for pardon themselves. Applicants were required to publish notice of their intention to apply for pardon for at least ten days, and any application had to include a record of conviction, as well as recommendations from the sentencing judge and prosecuting attorney.¹¹ Contemporary newspaper accounts provide additional details about offenders and their criminal acts. These often sensational accounts must of course be treated with extreme caution. A wealth of information is

9. Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South* (Oxford, 1984), 13.

10. Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Honor" in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (London: 1968, reprint, 1972), Vols. 5 & 6, 503-504, 507; and J. G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers, *Honor and Grace in Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1992), 5.

11. D. Lang to C. J. Hardee, Madison, FL, September 30, 1897, Outgoing Correspondence, Vol. 3, 27.

also contained in the Board's correspondence files and in the mis-sives of the pardoning board secretary.¹²

Reasons for granting pardons and commutations to offenders convicted of murder may be summarized in three forms, relative to the crime, the court trial, and the defendant. Firstly, board members might have serious reservations about the facts of the case, for example, the degree of premeditation, whether the offender was an accessory to murder rather than the actual perpetrator, or the issue of provocation by the victim. Secondly, board members might express dissatisfaction with the court procedure. They might consider that the defendant had been deprived of the right to a fair trial, had been convicted on perjured evidence, or they might display doubts about the legality of the court term. Lastly, the board might wish to take account of the defendant's status or character. Factors such as the defendant's previous good record, evidence of mental deficiency or insanity, intoxication at the time of the crime, or the deteriorating health of the offender while in the prison system were important. The board's decision to commute a death sentence or reduce a term of imprisonment was based not only on the circumstances and context of a murder act, but also depended on the perceived character and respectability of the offender and/or victim, hence the importance of perceptions of gender, as well as race and class.

Demographic distribution ensured that the "Negro Problem" of the late 19th century belonged mainly to the South. Urban growth made the "Negro Problem" more visible and this engendered an increasingly negative impression among white Floridians who sought to blame rising crime rates on Florida's black population. In his report of 1903 Commissioner of Agriculture, Benjamin E. McLin complained: "the negro population is crowding into our cities and towns, leaving the quiet country home where industrial pursuits kept him [sic] from the evil effects of street loafers and the immoral dens of vice, which are fed from the idle class."¹³ Jackson-

12. David Lang took over as pardoning board secretary in 1893 and served in that capacity until 1909. He also served as private secretary to Governors Mitchell and Bloxham, 1893-1901. Fred L. Robertson (comp.), *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Live Oak, FL, c1903, 335-336; Cutler, *History of Florida*, Vol. 1, 144.

13. *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture 1903-1904*, 318.

ville was one of four southern cities in 1900 with more black inhabitants than white.¹⁴ White Floridians sought to exert control over a group of people whose presumed natural tendencies toward immorality and crime made social equality unimaginable. Such views were not unique to the 1900s. In his discussion of Florida's post-war "Black Codes," Joe M. Richardson describes these restrictive and punitive laws as "products of the baneful heritage" of slavery which rooted in the southern mind false ideas of the Negro, including biological inferiority and innate criminality.¹⁵ In the late 19th century, new scientific theories of Anglo-Saxon superiority linked crime, race and hereditary characteristics, and hardened the view of white society toward its black and lower class criminals. Southern whites in the late 1880s and 1890s believed that growing numbers of blacks had adopted a "criminal attitude" that was increasingly directed at the white community.¹⁶

Amid increasing racial polarization following the end of Reconstruction, one of the features of the New South was the rise of a new class of African Americans; black vagrants, both male and female, in part because of economic dislocation and in part because of the implementation and enforcement of stricter vagrancy statutes throughout the New South. There are numerous references to "shiftless" or "loafing" negroes in Florida's white newspapers at the time.¹⁷ In the same period, W. E. B. DuBois and other black leaders noted that the post-war black community had produced "a class of black criminals, loafers, and ne'er-do-wells who are a menace to their fellows, both black and white."¹⁸ Yet, growing numbers of educated and wealthy blacks were achieving high standards of respectability by the 1880s.¹⁹ Lawrence Friedman argues that in a century marked by social and physical mobility, there existed "at

14. Edward N. Akin, "When a Minority Becomes the Majority: Blacks in Jacksonville Politics, 1887-1907," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53 (October 1974), 145. Fifty-seven percent of Jacksonville's population was black, affected by low socio-economic status and high mortality rates. James B. Crooks, "Jacksonville in the Progressive Era: Response to Urban Growth," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (July 1986), 60. The black mortality rate was 28 per 100,000 in 1900.

15. Joe M. Richardson, "Florida Black Codes," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47 (April 1969), 365.

16. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 236.

17. *Tampa Tribune*, January 10, 1897.

18. Quoted in Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 252.

19. Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York, 1992), 140.

the very core" of the 19th-century criminal justice system "a profound distrust of men without settled connection."²⁰ In response to the perception of a rising black "dangerous class," rigorous vagrancy laws were enacted in Florida as in other states by the 1890s, while the South in the late 1880s and early 1890s saw an epidemic of lynching and "whitecapping," extreme forms of "rough musics." These were usually directed against persons suspected of sexual misconduct and interracial killing.²¹ Lynching, kidnapping, forced departures from the city, and other forms of vigilante violence orchestrated by the Tampa business elite and executed by "citizen's committees" were directed primarily at selected labor "agitators" within the cigar industry and were carried out with support from the local community and official complicity as demonstrated by an unwillingness to investigate or effect prosecutions of vigilantes.²²

Black Floridians were disfranchised and segregated from all public facilities by custom and state law.²³ In the county jails, offenders and suspects were incarcerated in cells according to race. Segregation also prevailed in the prison system and the convict lease system. Officers of the law who fastened white male or female prisoners to black prisoners could face fines of \$100 or a six-month jail term. After 1900 stricter enforcement of these laws became evident, as in the rest of the South during the Progressive Era.²⁴

Paternalism was demonstrated toward "good negroes," but indifference or hostility was exhibited toward assertive black men and women. As the pardoning files reveal, black offenders sought protection and help from white men in the form of recommendations from employers, convict camp supervisors, and camp guards, as well as from judges and other prominent white citizens. Black

20. Lawrence M. Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (New York, 1993), 201. "Florida has increased in population more rapidly than the country as a whole during every decade since 1830." U.S. Bureau of Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States*, Vol. 2, (Washington, DC, 1913), 298.

21. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 260-261. The Jacksonville *Florida Times Union* of March 27, 1896 carried a report of "the first White Cap warning ever known" in Suwannee Shoals, Florida, directed at a black family suspected of barn burning.

22. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes* (1993), 75, 114, 205, 212.

23. Charles D. Farris, "ReEnfranchisement of the Negro in Florida," *Journal of Negro History*, 39 (October 1954), 263. Kenneth R. Johnson, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1966), 161.

24. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1974), 23, 50, 84, 85, 97, 102; and Jerrell H. Shofner, "Custom, Law and History: The Enduring Influence of Florida's 'Black Code,'" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (January 1977), 289.

women appealed to middle class white women's sense of "noblesse oblige" to effect their release from the convict lease system. In May 1906 Josephine Howard was convicted of murder in the second degree and imprisoned at Raiford prison farm, where she spent the next eleven years. In 1917 she came to the attention of Lucia Sharpe Alvarez, a "Christian lady of Starke," who, motivated by a "sense of humanity and justice," successfully took Howard's case before the Board of Pardons.²⁵

Women of the New South were largely excluded by law and custom from business, higher education, the professions, and politics.²⁶ The Florida Constitution of 1885 specified that only male persons could be qualified voters, and Florida was especially hostile to the woman suffrage movement gathering steam in the northern states during the Progressive Era. Domesticity was perceived to be women's proper sphere. However, as Edward Ayers argues, white southern women had often contradicted "the stereotypes of languid Southern womanhood" by working in farms, businesses, shops, often in positions of ownership and responsibility, especially after the Civil War, while black women had never enjoyed that luxury. Post-war economic realities challenged traditional roles, while women themselves assumed a more active public role as illustrated by the growth of the black and white women's club movements, missionary societies and church benevolent groups.²⁷ The Women's Christian Temperance Union was active in lobbying the Florida legislature to prohibit the sale of liquor and to raise the female age of consent.²⁸ Floridian women enjoyed some legal advantages with respect to property rights. A married woman's property law had been enacted in 1828 and strengthened by the 1885 constitution.²⁹ Coverture was already in decline by the mid-19th century, yet as Lucia Zedner argues, in the context of Victorian British society, in the absence of real political or economic power, "the main-

25. Judge Willis to Board of Pardons, July 3, 1917, Board of Pardons. RG690, Series 443, box 42, file 2672, Application Case Files, FSA (hereinafter Application Case Files).

26. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York, 1993), 6-7.

27. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 28-29. See Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations," *Journal of Southern History* 56 (February 1990), 1-22; and Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville, 1989).

28. Johnson, 152.

29. *Ibid.*, 154-55.

tenance of respectability became crucial for a woman who wished to maintain her status in society."³⁰

Economic realities aside, if a white woman in the post-Civil War South wished to be considered "respectable" she had to adhere to her traditional domestic and subordinate roles, continue as the source of the "superior morality of Southern society," and rely upon "chivalrous Southern men to represent her interests in the outside world." All of this was, of course, incongruous for poor and lower class women, whether black or white.³¹ Because 19th-century middle class women were invested with moral superiority, Nicole Hahn Rafter observes that one of the effects of "gender-stereotyping" was such that: "criminal females were considered more depraved than males and hence less deserving."³² Nineteenth-century sociologists and criminologists such as Havelock Ellis and Caesar Lombroso characterized criminal women as morally and mentally degenerate, atavistic, over-sexed, overtly masculine, and serious dangers to public morality. Similar labels were applied to non-criminal black women.³³ Yet, as Roger Chadwick points out, scientific explanations for female behavioral disorder were "only relevant when they reinforced existing presuppositions about 'normal' female behavior. When women stepped outside the normal parameters of such conduct both officialdom and their own communities found little room for mercy or science."³⁴

Between 1889 and 1914 women appeared before Florida's State Board of Pardons in many roles. Some were wives who killed their husbands to escape abuse or for money. Others were the cause or instigator of disputes between drinking companions engaged in card games. Still others appeared as dedicated champions of their convicted husbands' innocence and release. There are nu-

30. Lucia Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1991), 12.

31. Wheeler, 4, 19, 25.

32. Nicole Hahn Rafter, *Partial Justice: Women in State Prisons, 1800-1935* (Boston, 1985), xxv.

33. Caesar Lombroso and William Ferrero, *The Female Offender* (London, 1959), ch. 12; R. Emerson Dobash and Russell P. Dobash, *Women, Violence and Social Change* (London and New York, 1992), 158. "Degeneracy is apt to show most in the weaker individuals of any race; so negro women evidence more nearly the popular idea of total depravity than the men do . . ." The writer, a Southern woman, could not imagine "such a creation as a virtuous black women." *Independent* (March, 1904), 10, as quoted in Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All."

34. Roger Chadwick, *Bureaucratic Mercy: The Home Office and Treatment of Capital Cases in Victorian Britain* (New York and London, 1992), 289.

merous documented appeals and impassioned pleas from women imploring governors and other members of the pardoning board to free their convicted and imprisoned husbands, brothers, lovers, and sons. Governors reiterated their unwillingness to bend the rules pertaining to pardons, or to tamper with court judgments. They reasoned that their first duty was toward the fair and proper administration of the criminal justice system, and the protection of the public from convicted killers. For many women, involvement in Florida's criminal justice system was a bewildering and frightening affair, not least because it was administered exclusively by men. All judges and legislators were male, as were jurors and police officers. Nearly all were white.

The applications for pardons in general, and the cases examined in the following pages in particular, illustrate that the character and appropriate behavior of women as victims and as perpetrators were important whether the individuals were devoted wives driven to violence and deserving of clemency, or were evil adulteresses and temptresses who contributed to their own deaths. For example, 19-year-old Joe Walton had his death sentence commuted to life imprisonment at hard labor in June 1907 partly because of his age (he could furnish the state with 40 years of free labor through the convict lease system), but more importantly, because his lover and victim, Lizzie Johnston, was described as "one of the most notorious characters in La Villa" and a woman of "very bad character." She had previously been arrested for fighting and disorderly conduct, and "had recently been convicted of a murderous assault on her husband."³⁵

Black convict Belle Williams secured recommendations from several of her former employers, all of whom attested to her good character, honesty and exemplary deportment. Belle's employer, G. W. Varn, formerly a turpentine operator in Rye, Florida, described her as the "best servant I have ever had in my home."³⁶ J. F. Nutter, foreman of the jury which had convicted her, wrote that the evidence against her and her accomplice Archie Covington (her lover) had not warranted a conviction of murder (of Belle's husband, Jim Williams), and he had reluctantly concurred with the

35. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, November 29, 1906, 4. State Board of Pardons, Application Case Files, FSA.

36. G. W. Varn, Valdosta, GA to the pardoning board, July 8, 1908. Application Case Files, box 91, file 1173, FSA.

other members of the jury in the guilty verdict. He declared that she had borne a good character before her conviction. Of equal importance was the fact that both Williams' parents were "respectable" and "well-liked by white people."³⁷ After seven years in prison, Belle Williams received a conditional pardon in October 1908.

Homicide cases involving women in Florida as either victims or perpetrators reveal a high incidence of domestic abuse. The 19th century witnessed a shift in attitudes toward wife-beating and wife-killing, illustrated by the passage of several state laws that made wife-beating a misdemeanor.³⁸ Although Florida apparently did not enact such a law, the existence of domestic violence seems to have been acknowledged by state authorities. Nevertheless, there was a reluctance to intervene in familial affairs partly because of community customs and partly because of the problem of determining when reasonable chastisement became excessive violence. The police and the criminal justice system appear to have intervened in cases of domestic abuse only when an assault was reported or when a homicide resulted. For the abused wife or the dissatisfied husband in turn-of-the-century Florida, murder and/or violent assault were utilized as methods of dealing with marital problems.

In August 1901 in Tampa's Ybor City, a 70-year old Italian immigrant, Leopoldo Castellano, shot his wife, Antonia, in the back of the head as she was leaving home to go to church. She died instantly. He later testified that he had objected to her going out. Castellano's lawyers, Macfarlane & Raney, with the consent of the state's attorney, Colonel Peter O. Knight, entered a plea of "guilty" to a reduced charge of manslaughter. Had there been a trial the defense was planning to enter a plea of temporary insanity, presumably brought on by Antonia Castellano's disregard of her husband's wishes. As Leopoldo Castellano did not understand English, Judge Wall's sentence was relayed to the defendant through an interpreter: "The maximum penalty for this offense is twenty years in the penitentiary. Owing to your advanced age, the court will make your sentence five years. I am satisfied that this will be equivalent to a life sentence."³⁹ Three years later, however, Le-

37. J. F. Nutter, Supt. of the Logging Dept. of Geo. Wood Lumber Company, Caryville, FL to the pardoning board, July 28, 1908, *ibid*.

38. Friedman, *Crime and Punishment*, 222-23; Elizabeth Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy Against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York and Oxford, 1987), 109-110.

39. *Tampa Tribune*, December 12, 1902.

opoldo Castellano was granted a conditional pardon on May 16, 1904, for reasons of deteriorating health.⁴⁰

Robert Henry assaulted his wife with an axe on the night of February 26, 1896. Mary Henry was discovered five hours later lying on a "cheap" bed in a blood-stained nightgown with blood and brain matter 'oozing' from the left side of her head. It was optimistically surmised in the *Times Union* that the operation of trephining (the drilling of holes in the skull to relieve the brain of pressure from a build-up of brain fluid) would facilitate a partial recovery. Three days later it was reported that "medical skill and the wonderful vitality of Mary Henry may save Robert Henry from being a murderer in deed, though not in heart." Mary Henry was to be known as the "woman with the curtailed conscience" as she would have "one-third less of that portion of her brain supposed to be the seat of higher mental faculties, than is assigned to mortals of her calibre;" however, her injuries proved fatal a few days later. The Board of Pardons declined to commute the sentence and "wife-killer" Robert Henry was executed on September 3, 1897.⁴¹

That it was much harder successfully to prosecute a wealthy and respected member of the white community in Florida in the early 20th century was to be expected. In May 1901, Charles R. Armstrong, a well-known Jacksonville grocery merchant, upstanding member of the white Jacksonville community, and trustee and steward of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, fired three bullets from his .38-calibre Smith and Wesson revolver into his wife's back. Armstrong was reported as having been intensely jealous of his wife, and three weeks before the shooting, had used a pistol to force her out of the family home. In March 1901, Maria Armstrong had instituted proceedings for divorce on the grounds of cruelty and attempted murder. Divorce was an option for the abused wife in 19th- and 20th-century Florida but was perhaps an alternative many women could not afford either emotionally or financially. Maria Armstrong's attorneys estimated the value of her husband's estate at \$25,000 and his monthly income at \$300. They petitioned for maintenance money, suit money, counsellor's fees, and medical expenses.⁴²

Maria Armstrong died four agonizing weeks after the shooting. The attack had left her paralyzed from the waist down, and her in-

40. *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1903-1904*, 369.

41. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, February 29, 1896, September 4, 1897.

42. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, June 4, 1901.

juries had been severely aggravated when she was moved several times because of the May 1901 fire which destroyed Jacksonville. Charles Armstrong was indicted for the willful murder of his wife. At his trial in December 1901, defense counsel Major Alex St. Clair Abrams called 30 witnesses to support the claim that, "Armstrong was not a sane man after he had made the discovery of the alleged infidelity of his wife on the occasion, when she is said to have left for Palatka, accompanied by a negro." The defense was then allowed to introduce as testimony a number of letters written by Maria Armstrong and whose content was said to be "shocking."⁴³ The alleged adultery of the defendant's wife was a common line of defense for defendants facing murder charges, but the allegation was usually based on circumstantial evidence. Nevertheless, Mrs. Armstrong's reputation as a loyal wife and her credibility as a victim were damaged beyond repute. In acquitting Armstrong on the grounds of temporary insanity, the message of the court was that adultery justified domestic violence if a white man's honor was at stake.

The majority of applications from female murderers to the board involve cases originally classified as petit treason under English common law; that is, murders committed by wives against their husbands. Sirena Jackson was found guilty of first-degree murder with a recommendation for mercy by a Pensacola jury in January 1899. She was sentenced to life imprisonment. She had been indicted on two counts of murder by an Escambia county grand jury in July 1898. The indictment resulted from allegations that she struck Ben Jackson, her husband, on the head with an axe, and had strangled him with a small rope. During the court trial, neighbors, Ben and Mary Green, testified that on many occasions they had heard Jackson beating his wife, and that Sirena feared her husband might kill her. The two further testified that Sirena Jackson had disappeared on the night of July 5, 1898. Two days later they had looked through a broken window to see Ben Jackson lying on the floor in a pool of blood. Escambia county deputy sheriff F. D. Saunders arrested Sirena Jackson on a train leaving Pensacola. When the case came to trial in December 1898, Sirena Jackson pleaded "not guilty" to the willful murder of her husband. She claimed her actions were justified because they were for the purpose of saving her life. She had acted in self-defense.⁴⁴

43. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, December 6, 1901

44. Application Case Files, box 43, file 1002, FSA.

Application for pardon was made on May 2, 1907. Charles H. Alston, a prominent black lawyer from Tampa, was retained as attorney for the petitioner. Alston had been admitted to the Florida Bar in 1894 and according to his biography was eventually "identified in more than 11,000 criminal cases, including 2 of rape, 31 murder, and [the] death sentence was never executed on a single case handled."⁴⁵ Sirena Jackson's file contains letters of recommendation from seven jury members, two camp superintendents, the prosecuting attorney, and Judge Evelyn Croome Maxwell who had sentenced her. Nine years later Judge Maxwell wrote,

The testimony showed a deliberate murder on her part and the verdict of the jury was entirely warranted, if not demanded by the evidence. The evidence, however, showed a persistent course of cruelty and persecution on the part of the murdered man following her from county to county and continuing the same oppression. The woman had tried to leave him and in this way escape his abuses, but [he] would not permit this and followed her from point to point until as a last resort in order to prevent him from making her life unbearable she killed him.⁴⁶

In another letter to the pardoning board, Captain F. D. Saunders felt that there must have been some "great provocation" as to why a woman would commit such a "heinous murder." He concurred that the punishment already inflicted was sufficient for the circumstances of the crime.⁴⁷ Sirena Jackson received a conditional pardon in November 1907, "it appearing that the offence was committed under great provocation."

The crime of poisoning, historically associated with female offenders, was considered to be particularly horrific because it was unpredictable and obviously premeditated. A woman could strike at any time. Sociologist Hans Gross wrote in 1911:

45. Randall K. Burkett, Nancy Hall Burkett, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds., *Black Biography 1790-1950: A Cumulative Index*, Volume 1 (Alexandria, VA, 1991), xxvi, 166.

46. Judge E. C. Maxwell to the pardoning board, March 16, 1907, Application Case Files, box 43, file 1002, FSA.

47. F. D. Saunders, Deputy Sheriff, Escambia County to the pardoning board, March 20, 1907, *ibid*.

Now, every murder, save that by poison, requires courage, the power to do, and physical strength. As a woman does not possess these qualities, she spontaneously makes use of poison. Hence, there is nothing extraordinary or significant in this fact, it is due to the familiar traits of women [cruelty, dishonesty, lack of reason, hypocrisy and a predisposition to cheat at cards]. For this reason, when there is any doubt as to the murderer in a case of poisoning, it is well to think first of a woman or of a weak, effeminate man.⁴⁸

Administering poison was one of four types of offenses made punishable by death under Florida's "Black Codes."⁴⁹ Black women who were found guilty of poisoning their husbands, even in the post-war period, had to be punished both to alleviate societal fears and as a means of deterrence, as illustrated by the case of Mary Mozeak.

In October 1897, Mary Mozeak, a 22-year old black woman, was found guilty of poisoning her husband James with a well-known form of arsenic known as "Rough on Rats" and sentenced to life imprisonment. It was later revealed that the state's main witness, Adeline Traeger, had been paid by an unknown party to testify that she had witnessed a fight between husband and wife, in which Mary Mozeak threatened to kill her husband. She also claimed to have witnessed Mary Mozeak buy the rat poison and administer it to James Mozeak.⁵⁰ Even though the conviction appeared to have hinged on perjured evidence, the Board of Pardons was not moved to act and Mary Mozeak remained in the convict camps as a domestic servant for ten years.

Black women such as Mary Mozeak and Belle Williams sought the favor of the pardoning board through recommendations from prominent white citizens, often camp supervisors, under whom they had worked as domestic servants. In 1903 B. B. King, superintendent of the convict camp at Dunnellon, "cheerfully" recommended to the board that Mary Mozeak be pardoned, as she was obedient, faithful, thoroughly trustworthy, [and] of a good disposi-

48. Hans Gross, *Criminal Psychology: A Manual for Judges, Practitioners, and Students*. Translated by Horace M. Kallen. (Boston, 1911), 346, 357.

49. The other three were burglary, rape of a white woman and inciting insurrection. Richardson, 374.

50. Attorneys for the applicant, 1903; Mary Mozeak to Hodges & Hodges, January, 1903, in statement of application presented by Hodges & Hodges. Application Case Files, box 63, file 620, FSA.

tion."⁵¹ In May 1903 Mrs. G. H. Martin wrote the board stating that, "among the white people at Clermont, Fla, her [Mozeak's] conviction was considered a miscarriage of justice." Mary Mozeak's application was refused in 1903, but granted in November 1907.⁵²

Female offenders such as Mary Mozeak, Sirena Jackson, and Belle Williams were punished to deter other women from following their criminal paths. A loyal wife and ideal woman, black or white, simply did not kill her husband. At the same time, however, Mozeak, Jackson, and Williams were not sentenced to death, partly because of evidence of domestic violence, partly because of the paternalism of the jury members, and because Florida was not in the habit of executing women. Still, since all three were black they had less claim to self-defense because in the eyes of white jurors and white judges, they were not real "ladies."⁵³ Nevertheless, jury members felt they were acting honorably because they could later recommend leniency; and pardoning board members acted in an honorable way when they exercised clemency.

Roger Chadwick argues that gender alone was never an exculpatory factor in serious crime, rather "establishment" perceptions of femininity shaped judgements by officials with regard to women both as perpetrators and victims of murder.⁵⁴ The murderous acts of Mozeak, Jackson, and Williams were not justified, but were later pardoned after they had spent between seven and ten years working as domestic servants in the convict camps reclaiming their place within woman's proper sphere, and re-establishing their respectability as non-threatening and submissive domestics. Maria Armstrong, on the other hand, was perceived to have mounted a more serious challenge to her social position, as a white woman defying her husband's position and right to chastise her in the divorce courts, and then by allegedly committing adultery. In killing her, Charles Armstrong had acted in an honorable way to uphold his manhood and power. Lucia Zedner has noted a tendency on the part of 19th-century observers "to assess female crime not according to the act committed or to the damage alone but according to how far a woman's behavior contravened the norms of

51. B. B. King, Supt., Florida State Prison HQ camp, Dunnellon, FL to pardoning board, N.D., *ibid*.

52. Mrs. G. H. Martin, Neusho, Missouri to pardoning board, May 30, 1903, *ibid*.
Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture 1907-1908, 478.

53. Ann Jones, *Women Who Kill* (London, 1991), 336.

54. Chadwick, *Bureaucratic Mercy*, 289.

femininity.”⁵⁵ A similar argument can be applied to female victims. Maria Armstrong’s perceived behavior contravened the standards of respectable behavior in turn-of-the-century Florida and the precepts of the male members of the state Board of Pardons. In a state where the woman suffrage movement made little progress until the second decade of the 20th century, the loyal wife and ideal mother remained important community standards. The idea that a female victim who was not considered “respectable” was in some way deserving of cruelty and death, reflected the South’s chivalric code and the continued equation of female sexual purity/marital fidelity and male honor, and conversely female sexual misconduct and male dishonor, notions not exclusive to southern society.⁵⁶

Etta Lee was shot twice by Wyatt Brewer as they were travelling in a hack cab in Jacksonville on June 9, 1906. Wyatt Brewer was described by the *Florida Times Union* as a 19-year old “bright mulatto” and a blacksmith by trade (most black offenders were given the ubiquitous description of “laborer”). Etta Lee, married with two children, made her living as a prostitute or “sporting woman.” Black prostitutes as part of the rising “dangerous classes” remained on the very margins of southern society. Lee was further described as a dissolute woman who drank profusely and used excessive bad language, and “appeared to exert an extraordinary influence for evil and held him [Wyatt Brewer] completely under her domination.”⁵⁷

In spite of an operation to remove the bullets, Etta Lee died on June 10, and Brewer was charged with first-degree murder. Upon the findings of the coroner’s jury, hack driver Harry Williams was also charged with aiding and abetting in the murder,⁵⁸ but became the state’s chief witness against Wyatt Brewer when the case was brought to trial. At the trial in Duval circuit court, Brewer’s initial defense attorney, George U. Walker, unsuccessfully relied upon an explanation of accidental shooting. He and Brewer maintained that Etta Lee had been fatally shot in the cab during a scuffle for possession of the revolver.⁵⁹ The jury clearly did not accept this explanation of events when on July 15, 1906, Wyatt Brewer was found guilty of first-degree murder with no recommendation to mercy. A

55. Lucia Zedner, *Women, Crime, and Custody*, 28.

56. Julian Pitt-Rivers, “Honor,” 506.

57. Walter M. Davis to Dr. J. D. Love, Jacksonville, October 13, 1908. Application Case Files, box 9, file 1222, FSA.

58. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, June 15, 1906.

59. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, July 17, 1906.

sentence of death was pronounced on July 24.⁶⁰ Brewer was confined in Duval County jail to await Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward's signature on the death warrant. An appeal to the Florida Supreme Court was unsuccessful and Wyatt Brewer's execution was eventually set for October 30, 1908.

Following the Supreme Court's decision to uphold the conviction,⁶¹ Calvin H. Brewer had employed attorney Walter M. Davis to represent his son. Davis's strategy was two-fold: to attack the credibility of the victim and to create grave doubt in the minds of members of the board as to Wyatt Brewer's sanity, thus rendering him an unfit subject for the gallows. Over 50 affidavits were collected to give credence to this strategy.⁶² At a meeting of the pardoning board on October 21, 1908, Calvin H. Brewer petitioned for a commutation of his son's sentence from death to life imprisonment. Three reasons were given. First, Calvin Brewer believed that at the time of the killing his son was "demented, insane, mentally irresponsible, and that such is his present mental status." Davis informed members of the Board of Pardons that Wyatt Brewer had inherited the streak of insanity associated with the female side of the family, which was attributable to miscegenation when the Brewers were slaves on the Calhoun plantation in South Carolina. A number of aunts and Brewer's maternal grandmother were said to be quite demented. Calvin Brewer reported that following the birth of their third child (Wyatt) his wife Anne had become violent, subject to "excesses", and finally died a "maniac."⁶³ Wyatt Brewer apparently exhibited similar inherited symptoms. In a letter to Walter M. Davis in October 1908, Mr. A. D. Williams lamented, "to hang that man seems a pity; a poor, demented, unfortunate, diseased creature, that, I am sure, does not realize the conditions that threaten him, now, or the enormity of the crime committed."⁶⁴

60. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, July 24, 1906.

61. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, September 10, 1908.

62. J. S. Geter swore that Brewer's father, a respected black businessman, had been vigorously opposed to his son's association with Etta Lee. Calvin Brewer had even tried sending his son to Atlanta to remove him from her "evil" influence. Etta Lee ostensibly sent Wyatt Brewer the money to return to Jacksonville against his father's wishes. See affidavit of J. S. Geter, "blacksmith in Jacksonville since 1885," July 22, 1907, Application Case Files, box 9, file 1222, FSA.

63. Calvin Brewer, application for pardon, *ibid*.

64. Letter of Walter M. Davis, October, 1908, Application Case Files, box 9, file 1222, FSA.

Furthermore, the principal state witness, Harry Williams, alias Henry Williams, had himself been convicted of a double homicide in Georgia in December 1895. After being sentenced to life imprisonment he had escaped. He was thus a fugitive from justice, and his testimony could not be taken seriously." Finally,

... the woman, alleged to have been killed, was a worthless, degenerate prostitute who, by her acts and conduct, conducted [sic], largely, to her own death; that she had exerted a strong influence and domination, over said defendant, for evil; and, because of his weak-minded condition, had largely conducted [sic] to the dethronement of his reason and, by such means, contributed to her own death.⁶⁶

Calvin Brewer, a respectable and respected member of Jacksonville's black community, was described by black and white neighbors and acquaintances as an honest, industrious, and law-abiding man who was devoted to his family.⁶⁷ He remained steadfastly loyal to his son throughout the trial and continued to visit him every day in jail. Many people sympathized with the old man in his desperate efforts to save his son from the gallows.⁶⁸

Whether Wyatt Brewer was criminally insane was never proven, but the Board of Pardons did vote to commute his sentence to life imprisonment on October 28, 1908, two days before the scheduled hanging.⁶⁹ Because Wyatt Brewer was not sent to the state mental hospital at Chattahoochee, but to the convict lease system, one can argue that while the issue of mental deficiency may have influenced the board members' decision, other factors such as the character of the victim, Etta Lee, and her alleged influence over the defendant, as well as the "respectability" of Calvin Brewer, were important. Wyatt Brewer was eventually granted a conditional pardon on August 1, 1917.⁷⁰

65. W. H. Berrie, Sheriff of Glynn County, Georgia to H. M. Harris, April 25, 1907, May 2, 1907, June 19, 1907. Application Case Files, box 9, file 1222, FSA.

66. Application for pardon. Application Case Files, box 9, file 1222, FSA.

67. Affidavit of Daniel E. Vandross, "barber and Jacksonville citizen since 1872," Application Case Files, box 9, file 1222, FSA.

68. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, October 29, 1908.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1919-1920*, 34, Application Case Files, box 9, file 1222, FSA.

In his discussion of pardons as an integral part of the "ideology of mercy" in 18th-century England, Douglas Hay asserts: "The grounds for mercy were *ostensibly* that the offense was minor, or that the convict was of good character, or that the crime he had committed was not common enough in that county to require an exemplary hanging."⁷¹ In other words, these were not real grounds; rather they constituted a "smokescreen." However, as John H. Langbein has countered: "In an age before probation and large-scale penal imprisonment, the existence of family and employment relationships was highly relevant to the decision whether or not to release an offender into the community."⁷² In other words, these were not ostensible reasons but the real reasons for the issuance of pardons. A similar argument can be applied to Florida in the 1890s and early 1900s. Wyatt Brewer was saved from the gallows because his act of violence was contained within the black community and involved a common prostitute, part of a rising black criminal class. The contrast between the social status of the victim and that of the accused justified the decision of the board to act in a paternalistic manner and commute Brewer's sentence to life imprisonment. The Brewer case, and that of Otis D. Smith below, illustrates the relationship between notions of acceptable behavior and respectability, paternalism, and the "criminality" of an act of murder.

In July 1908, under the front-page headline DEPRAVITY AND DEGENERACY MARK THE STORY OF HORROR HEAPED ON HORROR, the *Florida Times Union* announced,

... the State of Florida formally demanded that Otis D. Smith, a white man, be sent to the gallows to give his own miserable, sin-stained life as some little expiation for that other life he had first ruined and then destroyed. It was the most misery-laden, horror-frightened, sin-scarred story that has ever been told in the annals of the circuit court.⁷³

71. Douglas Hay, "Property, Authority and the Criminal Law" in Douglas Hay, et al., *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth Century England* (New York, 1975), 43-44.

72. John H. Langbein, "Albion's Fatal Flaws," *Past & Present* 91 (1983), 111. "Even today, if a convict can get respectable people to support him, sentencing officers are inclined to give weight to that evidence on the grounds that it has predictive value as to the likelihood of successful resocialization."

73. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, July 14, 1908.

It was rare for a white offender to receive a sentence of death, and even more exceptional for such sentence to be executed. In fact, Otis D. Smith was reported as being the first white man to be hanged in Duval County for 30 years.⁷⁴

In the late afternoon of May 6, 1908, four gun shots were heard in the streets of Jacksonville. Witnesses rushed to a house on West Adams Street to find a woman stretched full length in a pool of blood with wounds to the head, left chest, and left forearm. A man was standing over the dead woman with a smoking pistol in his hand.⁷⁵ The victim was Cora Belle Smith, a "pretty" 23-year old press feeder, one of a growing number of white working women in the New South.⁷⁶ Her assailant was her brother, 31-year-old Otis D. Smith, a pressman who had recently lost his job with the Industrial Record Printing Company. The general consensus of opinion was that Smith had shot his sister while either "intoxicated or in a fit of rage." He had a prior record of arrests for disorderly conduct and fighting, and was reported to be acutely jealous of his sister who he had previously threatened with physical violence and beaten "unmercifully." Smith claimed that on the afternoon of the shooting his sister had insulted him and there had been a scuffle for the pistol during which Cora Belle Smith had been shot accidentally.⁷⁷

While in custody, Smith sought to damage his sister's reputation by relating several stories about her immoral lifestyle, one of which linked her to a prominent businessman in Atlanta. He claimed that he had vainly tried to encourage his sister to "lead a better life."⁷⁸ However, public indignation soared when it was revealed by an obliging *Times Union* that the young woman had unwittingly given her brother the money to buy the pistol which he used to murder her. Smith had bought the .38-calibre Harrington-Richardson gun for three dollars in the afternoon prior to the shooting, and had rented the room on West Adams Street around four o'clock on the fatal day. Cora Belle Smith had been in the room only 20 minutes when the shots were heard at 4:45p.m.⁷⁹

74. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, June 9, 1909.

75. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, May 7, 1908.

76. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 77.

77. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, May 7, 1908, May 9, 1908.

78. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1908.

79. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1908, July 6, 1908.

Smith engaged defense attorney Gordon R. Broome and determined to plead "not guilty" to all charges. At the trial in Duval circuit court, Broome wavered between presenting a plea of "guilty" to accidental shooting during a struggle for the weapon; a denial that the victim and her killer were related; and a plea of temporary insanity. All remaining sympathy for Smith promptly evaporated and further sensation was created when rumors of incest surrounded Smith.⁸⁰ The prominent (and married) businessman from Atlanta, allegedly responsible for Cora Belle Smith's "downfall," arrived at the court with an affidavit signed by the victim "to the effect that her brother had morally ruined her."⁸¹

On July 15, 1908, as expected, a verdict of "guilty" was returned against Otis D. Smith by a jury which, perhaps unexpectedly, did not include one native Floridian. The jurors were reportedly originally from North and South Carolina, Virginia, Illinois, New York, Massachusetts, Ohio and Northern Europe.⁸² This was not exactly a jury of Smith's peers and underlined the assumption that no Florida jury would convict in such a case. Broome requested a new trial and then announced his intention of appealing to the Florida Supreme Court to reverse the verdict. However, many commentators believed this would prove futile and they were right. The *Times Union* reported with certainty that, "even the overwhelming tendency of the present Board of Pardons to grant commutation and complete pardons will be checked in this atrocious case, and the man will be compelled to meet the penalty his base heartlessness has so richly earned."⁸³

Three months later, in October 1908, Smith was reported as being bereft of money and friends to help fight his case further. He filed an affidavit of insolvency, placing the burden of his court costs on Duval County, and expressed dissatisfaction with his attorney, Gordon R. Broome. Attorneys Scarborough & Scarborough took over the case, declared new evidence had come to light, and announced their determination to save the life of this "unfortunate young man."⁸⁴ However, on February 16, 1909, the Florida Su-

80. Ibid., July 14, 1908.

81. Ibid., August 22, 1908.

82. Ibid., July 16, 1908.

83. Ibid., July 17, 1908.

84. Ibid., February 18, 1909.

preme Court affirmed the decision of the lower court, and Governor Albert Gilchrist set the date of Smith's execution as May 7.⁸⁵

At a meeting of the Board of Pardons on the eve of Smith's scheduled execution, M. M. Scarborough applied to have Smith's sentence commuted to life imprisonment, and presented a considerable volume of evidence on his client's behalf. The board asked Governor Gilchrist to stay the execution until June 11, 1909 in order that "it might give proper consideration to the new evidence before it."⁸⁶ In response to news of the reprieve, the Reverend J. T. Boone of Jacksonville's First Christian Church, Smith's spiritual adviser, "offered prayers while the ladies of the church sang hymns."⁸⁷ At a second meeting of the Board of Pardons on May 21, 1909, a letter from Judge Rhydon M. Call to Governor Gilchrist was read to members of the board. Judge Call wrote, "The impression left on my mind from the testimony of the witnesses sworn and subject to cross-examination, is that this is not a case for leniency."⁸⁸ The refusal of Judge Call to endorse the application for commutation of sentence seems to have been the decisive factor in Smith's case. At the third meeting of the board, specially called to discuss the case on June 3, the board finally and unanimously decided against any commutation of the death sentence.⁸⁹ Otis D. Smith was executed on June 11, 1909.

Judge Call had imposed a death sentence on Otis D. Smith following the verdict of the jury, in response to community opinion, and in accordance with the statute relating to first-degree murder. He chose not to recommend leniency at a later date, and in doing so reflected a consensus among the Jacksonville population as to the need for harsh punishment of offenders convicted of inter-family killing. Public disapproval and opinion, especially in an election year such as 1908 and during the first months of Governor Gilchrist's term in office in 1909, undoubtedly did much to regulate the board's decision not to exercise clemency. Further, it may have been necessary occasionally to execute a white man in order to demonstrate that due process of law existed for offenders of both

85. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1909.

86. Board of Pardons, minutes, May 6, 1909, 8.

87. Jacksonville *Florida Times Union*, May 7, 1909.

88. Board of Pardons, minutes, May 21, 1909, 11.

89. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1909, 17.

racism in Florida and that the 14th Amendment was being upheld. In 1760, at Tyburn, Lawrence Shirley, Lord Ferrers, was "the wicked aristocrat who met a just end on the scaffold."⁹⁰ In 1909, in the Duval county jail yard, Otis D. Smith was the wicked white man who met his just end on the scaffold.

Lawrence Friedman argues that the shape of a criminal justice system is defined by social structure and cultural norms— the way society is organized and people's ideas, customs, habits and attitudes— their belief system.⁹¹ Florida's criminal justice system was defined by a biracial and multi-ethnic society based on inequality and patriarchy, and according to the belief system of respectable white male members of that society. The law was an ideological instrument for white middle class males to reinforce dominance, and to restrict black and lower class freedom,⁹² but this is not to say that black, lower class or female Floridians did not possess agency within the system. Letters of recommendation and petitions point to a process of bargaining for mercy, a process in which a small group of offenders convicted of murderous acts, with the financial resources to pay for legal assistance, and a network of family, friends, and acquaintances willing to put pressure on the board, could effect their release. The foregoing cases emphasize the fluidity of Florida race relations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries before systematic racial separation became firmly entrenched. Gender and race relations in the context of Florida's Board of Pardons seem marked by personal, interclass, and interracial ties which could be paternalistic and patronizing, yet ultimately invaluable. Letters of recommendation from employers, white persons of social standing, camp guards and superintendents, had weight with the board, especially when the applicant's good character and respectability were emphasized.

By the turn of the century the board "granted nearly all pardons on the condition that the one receiving the pardon shall thereafter lead a sober, peaceable, law-abiding life, and that he shall be re-incarcerated upon his failure to comply with these con-

90. Douglas Hay, "Property," 33.

91. Friedman, *Crime and Punishment*, 6.

92. Between 1890 and 1910 the ratio of black to white prisoners in Florida's jails and convict lease system never fell below 85 percent. See *Reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture 1889-1910*.

ditions.⁹³ There existed a belief in reformation and rehabilitation for offenders with roots in the community, but the Board of Pardons measured the potential for reformation in terms of the perceived character, status, and respectability of each applicant. The decisions by Florida's Board of Pardons to extend or withhold clemency to offenders convicted of murderous acts provides a discourse on the parameters of acceptable and respectable behavior in Florida 1889-1914; on the limits of reformation; and on the perceived depravity of offenders such as Robert Henry and Otis D. Smith. In the context of their times, pardon board members thought they were acting in an honorable, humanitarian and proper way.

93. D. Lang to Max Lederer, November 12, 1908, State Pardon Board, Incoming Correspondence, Box 1, Folder 1, FSA.

FLORIDA HISTORY IN PERIODICALS

compiled by JAMES A. SCHNUR

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BOOK REVIEWS

Spanish Treasure Fleets. By Timothy R. Walton. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1994. xiii, 256 pp. Preface, photographs, maps, illustrations, appendices, glossary of Spanish terms, notes, recommendations for further reading, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Timothy Walton's fine work emphasizes the worldwide scope of the Spanish colonial maritime trade system and describes this complex organization, including not only ships, their crews and supplies, but also merchants, miners, and metropolitan and colonial governments. He demonstrates how European skill and determination, applied to the extraction of precious metals and the organization of the treasure fleets, led to European domination of much of the world. He points out an early connection with Florida history through the charismatic figure of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who not only founded St. Augustine but also laid out the classic format for the operation of the Spanish fleets.

Walton calls this a study about money, and indeed he traces the circulation of some four billion pesos in Spanish silver and gold over three centuries; he follows the evolution of this circulation into modern economic systems, utilizing paper currencies instead of pieces of eight and doubloons. Walton demonstrates the universality of the Spanish system by showing how Thomas Jefferson was the first to recommend that the new United States adapt the weight and purity of the Spanish peso to a decimal currency. In 1815, the last silver-laden galleon left Acapulco for Manila. In 1820, the final ship left Vera Cruz bound for Spain with silver. Walton discloses the later interaction upon the life of Asia of a continuing demand for American silver, a growing market for tea, and the corollary rise of the growth and distribution of opium.

Florida history related in several ways to the Spanish fleets. The very *raison d'être* of the Florida *presidio* was the protection of a key maritime passage— that part of the homebound galleons' route which lay between Florida and the Bahamas. Moreover, Florida's vital Royal subsidy, the *situado*, only came to St. Augustine from the *Tierra Firme* or New Spain treasuries by sea; necessary supplies and reinforcements had to come the same way. Moreover, the effects of the fleet disasters of 1622, 1715, and 1733 were strongly felt in the

Florida colony. Finally, the 18th century European dynastic wars engendered the Spanish-English North American rivalry which ravaged the Georgia coast and led to two sieges of St. Augustine by land and sea. Those wars had dramatic effect upon Spain, no longer a first-class power. The treaties which ended the Seven Years' War dictated that Florida would be British. The acquisition of Minorca by Britain also led to the emigration to Florida of more than 1,000 Minorcans; they have been an important demographic factor here ever since. Spain's resurgence in the years of the American Revolution and the victory of Bernardo de Gálvez at Pensacola helped us gain our independence but returned the Floridas to Spain until 1821, when they were annexed to the United States. During those years of warfare, Spain replaced her regular New Spain and *Tierra Firme* fleets with small squadrons of powerful warships to carry the coin and precious metals. At the end of the 18th century, Spain eased the rigor of long-held navigation laws and opened many ports to freer trade.

Timothy Walton closes his book with an objective analysis of the rediscovery of the Spanish treasure fleets through historical research and the activities of modern treasure salvors. This is an excellent, well-written and tightly organized study of an organism which Timothy Walton judges to have been a general success in protecting its valuable cargoes. Above all, he shows how it prefigured and led to the modern world financial system.

Flagler College

EUGENE LYON

Florida in Poetry: A History of the Imagination. Edited by Jane Anderson Jones and Maurice J. O'Sullivan. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1995. xix, 295 pp. Introduction, prologue, epilogue, glossary, acknowledgments, permissions, index. \$24.95 hardcover.)

Compiling an anthology of poems about a land that has been settled for hundreds of years is no easy task. The editors, both English teachers at Florida colleges, have succeeded and made accessible for the first time in one place 286 poems that trace the history of the literary imagination of this land/territory/state. In choosing among hundreds of poets and thousands of poems, the editors have done a commendable job of including a cross-section of the well-known writers who lived here a long time (Elizabeth Bishop, Donald Justice, James Merrill) or not at all (Oliver Goldsmith, Ol-

iver Wendell Holmes, Walt Whitman); or who were here a very short time, but who wrote either the first poems about the new land (Nicholas Le Challeux) or memorable works about the state (Richard Eberhart) or social commentary (Langston Hughes); or who lived and worked here but wrote about non-Florida subjects (Zora Neale Hurston, James Weldon Johnson).

This work, which dovetails nicely with the non-fiction/fiction collection edited by O'Sullivan and Jack C. Lane, *The Florida Reader* (1991), contains a comprehensive, manageable body of literature that should appeal to both the serious student of Southern literature and the historian interested in Florida's depiction in poetry.

As with much of Florida literature, one may be surprised at just who wrote about the state, for example, the poets associated with other parts of the country (Stephen Vincent Benet, Robert Frost, Sidney Lanier). Another surprise might be learning of writers, better-known for fiction or nonfiction writing, who wrote commendable poems about Florida (Marjory Stoneman Douglas, Stetson Kennedy, Tennessee Williams).

Historians can find new angles for approaching Florida history, whether first European contacts with Native Americans or battles that shaped our destiny or personages that made an impact. What is not surprising is the range of responses to Florida, from disillusion ("Whoever wishes to go to Florida/Let him go where I have been/And return dry and arid/And worn out by rot." [Le Challeux, 1565]) to high praise ("It is a new world/full of charms and comely/with many diverse colors,/a flowered and delightful meadow/with birds of a thousand kinds" [de Flores, 1571]).

Or readers could take one aspect, for example, the mythical Fountain of Youth, and find six different poems with different angles, from the positive ("Having drunk its water a few times,/ bathing their sagging figures,/they lost the ugliness of old age" [de Castellanos, 1589]) to the negative ("But his skin/Had lost no wrinkle, not one liver spot- " [Kennedy, 1994]).

And if our acquaintances and students scoff at poetry ("I never really liked poems when I was in school"), everyone should enjoy the last part: A Florida Bestiary, which brings together poems about gators, birds, manatees, the polar bear at Miami's zoo, even the lowly cockroach. Occasionally we can see what unexpected source inspired a poet, as for example when a newspaper article about the death of the last dusky seaside sparrow led one writer to write about the extinction of another indigenous species: "Tomorrow we can

put it on a stamp,/a first-day cover with Key Largo rat,/Schaus swallowtail, Florida swamp/crocodile, and fading cotton mouse."

The book is easy to use with its thematic organization, a table of contents that includes the birth and death dates of the poets, the date of the poem in the text, a glossary of literary terms, occasional marginalia, and a useful index.

University of Florida

KEVIN M. MCCARTHY

The Columbia Restaurant Spanish Cookbook. By Adela Hernandez Gonzmart and Ferdie Pacheco. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995. xxv, 294 pp. Preface, photographs, glossary, index. \$24.95.)

This book comprises more than a collection of recipes from the kitchens of Tampa's famous Columbia Restaurant and of its "heart," Adela Hernandez Gonzmart. Co-authored by the granddaughter of the Columbia's founder and physician-artist-writer Ferdie Pacheco, the book is a history of the restaurant and a biography of Mrs. Gonzmart as well, more or less in chronological order. The authors have chosen to use two voices throughout: Ferdie's third-person narrative alternates with Adela's first-person account. The text's third component is its collection of interesting recipes, in standard cookbook format at the end of each chapter. These are complemented by photographs of the award-winning restaurant and the family associated with it since its founding, sometimes with Pacheco's humorous captions. Of potential interest not only to those concerned with cooking and restaurants, the book also provides background information on some Spanish wines and especially on the foods and customs of Tampa's latinos. This reviewer was engaged by the detailed information on the proper preparation of the local Cuban-style *café con leche*, and of Tampa's inimitable but misnamed Cuban bread. Provided too is a description of the Christmas Eve suppers of local Cuban, Spanish and Sicilian families in bygone years. Readers can also glean bits of historical background, such as the fact that cigar workers paid five dollars per month for their meals at the Columbia. The family's story is based on personal experience, "the bulk of the book . . . based on the contributions of the proprietors, Casimiro and Lawrence Hernandez, and Adela, Cesar, Richard and Casey Gonzmart" (xxii). Pacheco himself is well-acquainted with the Columbia; he worked as a waiter there in his youth, and his family and that of the propri-

etors have had a friendly relationship for several generations. Much of the material is, of course, anecdotal, and Pacheco acknowledges the many contributions of Columbia restaurant staff and patrons. Several local writers and historians are credited as sources for historical information. As might be expected in a work of this type, the historical and biographical content is presented from a personal and sympathetic point of view.

The text first offers a brief glimpse into the culinary exchange between the Old World and the New as well as a summary of the founding of Ybor City, introductory to telling how in 1905 the first Casimiro Hernandez, Adela's grandfather, established the small cafe which today is Florida's oldest restaurant. His patriotic fervor for the United States inspired him to call his new enterprise the Columbia and to give it the epithet "The Gem of All Spanish Restaurants." The story continues, chronicling the founder, his son (the second Casimiro) and his family, particularly young Adela, and various expansions of the Columbia. Adela's love of music and her study at Juilliard are related, as is her romance and marriage to the late Cesar Gonzmart. The young couple traveled for some time with the latter's band but returned to Tampa, with Cesar eventually managing the Columbia. The family account proceeds to tell of the upbringing and education of the two Gonzmart sons and their rise to the helm of the family enterprise, now several restaurants in Florida. In their narrative the authors describe the involvement of many characters who have worked at the Columbia or have been its patrons. They also present a parade of celebrity diners and performers at the restaurant.

This book is worthwhile for readers interested in this niche of Tampa's history or in its Spanish cooking. It is a good companion volume to Clarita Garcia's *Clarita's Cocina* and, of course, to Ferdie Pacheco's own *Ybor City Chronicles*.

University of Tampa

MARTIN FAVATA

History of Brevard County, Volume 1. By Jerrell H. Shofner. (Viera, FL: Brevard County Historical Commission, 1995. ix, 271 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, photographs, maps, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

Jerrell H. Shofner's *History of Brevard County* grew from the Brevard County Historical Commission's (BCHC) desire in 1988 to publish a "well-researched, academic history" of Brevard County.

Volume 1 presents the development of Brevard County from its earliest geologic origins to the 1920s. Volume 2 (unpublished) promises to carry the County's history forward to the present.

The book's 14 chapters offer an overview of the county's development. The frequent use of maps, original drawings by artist and anthropologist, Vera Zimmerman, and numerous photographs help readers make their way through Brevard County's complex history. The initial chapters summarize the scant anthropological research on Brevard's pre-Columbian inhabitants and encounter with the Spanish. Shofner's real story begins in the third chapter when Florida became a U.S. Territory. Here, he traces the beginnings of river-front communities along the Indian River under the Armed Occupation Act. He is at his best in describing the period covering the decades from the end of the Civil War to the 1890s.

Shofner's interpretation of Brevard County's history centers on the role that transportation played in the county's development. Initially, river boat transportation provided the link which forged the connection between the north and south ends of the county. Flagler's railroad solidified the process. By 1900, Brevard County stretched 72 miles from the Haulover from the Mosquito Lagoon and southward to the Sebastian Inlet. The Indian River and the railroad provided the foundation for the county's entry into the 20th century.

This book has a number of virtues. It is intelligently conceived, concise, and well-written. Unfortunately, the book possesses important shortcomings. It is an "official," commissioned history. Historians writing such histories must balance their own interests and interpretations against the desires and expectations of those in the commissioning body. This is never an easy thing. This book was written for the Brevard County Historical Commission which consists of 15 members appointed by the Brevard County Commissioners. Between 1988 and 1993 the complexion of the BCHC changed. Many of the original BCHC members had left the commission by the time the author submitted his draft of the manuscript to the BCHC. Moreover, the BCHC decided in 1993 to supplement Shofner's text with photographs which members of the commission selected and captioned. Finally, a book designer was hired to do the book's layout. The book conveys a sense of the shifts in the BCHC's interests and conception of the book.

Shofner attempts to follow a middle course in his *History of Brevard County*. This will irritate many who feel that one part of the

county was ignored or another was over represented. It is unfortunate that this attempt at providing a comprehensive treatment of the county's history is marred by factual errors. Many of these mistakes occur in the captions for the photographs selected and written by members of this Historical Commission. This is unfortunate because these photographs offer an insight into the county's development. Despite these weaknesses, this first volume of the *History of Brevard County* contributes to a clearer understanding of the complex and unique history of this part of East Central Florida's Atlantic Coast.

Florida Institute of Technology

GORDON PATTERSON

A History of Altamonte Springs, Florida. By Jerrell H. Shofner. (Altamonte Springs: City of Altamonte Springs, 1995. xii, 303 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

For years the Central Florida community of Altamonte Springs was a subtropical Mayberry, North Carolina, complete with parallel situations and counterparts to those in the popular television show. Yet in the 1970s, the settlement-turned-community-turned town became a city and threatened to lose its battle with runaway growth. Professor Shofner has chronicled the story in an engaging narrative and pictorial history.

The area's physical setting, geological history, Indian background, early domination by the Spanish and English and antebellum settlement are succinctly drawn.

Central Florida's climate and inexpensive land induced both Northerners and Southerners to migrate in the post-Civil War decades. There was access by steamboats and sandy roads, but the main impetus to the land boom was supplied by railroads. Dr. Washington Kilmer, of Cincinnati, walked all the way and was the first to settle the area that he named Altamont. Kilmer set out the first orange groves, and was followed by others so that by the mid-1870s there was a loosely defined community. In the 1880s the South Florida Railroad, funded largely by interested Bostonians, linked the area with Jacksonville and the North. Other rail lines were built in the 1880s and later became part of Henry Bradley Plant's system and eventually the Atlantic Coast Line.

Altamonte Springs got its name in early 1887, and owed its founding to the railroad and to the Altamonte Land, Hotel, and

Navigation company whose hotel would remain important through World War II. Various lakes and springs were powerful magnets, as Altamonte Springs became a "Boston Boom Town." Small neighboring settlements rose and fell or were absorbed by others. With settlement came schools and churches. There was always a sizeable black minority. Citrus production was the main agricultural pursuit, although forestry also became important.

From 1901 to 1920, George E. Bates of New Hampshire, was a key figure, primarily through his management of the hotel. The first two decades registered steady prosperity and growth, and conspicuous among town leaders were Joseph M. Lewis, Nathan H. Fogg, and Thomas Sprague. In 1913 Altamonte Springs was detached from Orange County, and became a part of Seminole County, although not without protest. Better roads, telephones, electricity, civic improvements— all evolved with time. Finally, in 1920, Altamonte Springs was incorporated, and Elmer T. Haines was elected as the town's first mayor.

The town prospered in the 1920s but experienced no frenzied boom. Even so, real estate surged. Whites and blacks were limited in their choice of building sites, and the "colored section" was a legally segregated area. The Great Depression hit, but was not devastating to Altamonte Springs which had a population of 300 in 1930. Still, in the 1930s the town was considerably reduced in size, as wealthy citizens, backed by court decisions, were able to remove their property from the tax rolls. Citizens moaned as the town's property valuation dropped to a mere \$230,000 in 1934. But, depression gave way to World War II prosperity and post-war growth. By 1950 the town retained only faint vestiges of "Boston influence." Blacks continued to occupy a second class citizen status, and in 1951 the black section (80 acres) and its citizens withdrew from the town.

A mayor and council system of government was adopted in 1953, the year that the hotel burned. Controversial mayor Lawrence Swofford was defeated in 1959 by a political unknown, but regained his office in 1961 and presided over a period of rapid expansion. Swofford had many critics, but Professor Shofner gives him high marks for keeping growth under control and for his administrative ability. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the era of proliferating suburbs for Altamonte Springs. Swofford was responsible for a municipal water system and led the way for the adoption of one of the state's first comprehensive zoning plans. Altamonte Springs' growth was explained by nearby military bases, educa-

tional expansion (the University of Central Florida was established in 1968), and Walt Disney World which opened in 1971. Interstate and other highways caused massive traffic jams. The city had 3,000 people in 1967, a 250 percent increase in seven years.

Change came so fast that in 1996, Barney's Bar-B-Q, opened in 1972, was the city's oldest restaurant. Everything was new. Everything was bigger and better: a new city hall, a new hospital, new recreational complexes. By the time Department of Transportation officials put up school traffic signs for one new school, it had already been abandoned. So many new office buildings were constructed that some were given numbers instead of names. A new shopping mall completed in 1974 was so impressive that it became, after Walt Disney World, the second major tourist attraction in Central Florida.

Along the way, strong-willed police captain Norman Floyd defeated Swofford for mayor, ending his long and busy career. Expansion continued. In 1980 the voters adopted a city manager system of government. The mayor was retained and the city commission served in a true legislative capacity. Today Altamonte Springs has 37,000 inhabitants, up from 45 in 1926. Most residents, if asked to explain their city's past, would be reduced to saying that, like Topsy, it grew. Fortunately, they and the readers of this book have Jerrell Shofner to thank for making sense out of a tangled tale, and of doing so with a judicious selection of pictures, a sense of historical selectivity, a skilled writing style, and a sense of humor.

Florida State University

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

Flags Along the Coast; Charting the Gulf of Mexico, 1519-1759: A Reappraisal. By Jack Jackson. (Austin, Texas: The Book Club of Texas, 1995. xii, 225 pp. 71 maps. Preface, text, bibliography, index. \$200.00 plus \$15.00 shipping & handling.)

This book is a part of the ongoing study of the cartography of the Gulf of Mexico by Jackson and others. An earlier example is the excellent work by Jack Jackson, Robert S. Weddle and Winston DeVille, *Mapping Texas and the Gulf Coast: The Contributions of Saint-Denis, Oliván and Le Maire*. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1990).

Flags Along the Coast is a comprehensive study of the explorers, pilots, scientists, scholars, military officers, and others who drew

maps of the Gulf of Mexico from 1519 to 1764. It probably will not come as a surprise that the early maps and charts prepared by the Spaniards were borrowed extensively by others. Spain tried to keep maps and charts secret from other countries, but by one means or another French, English and Dutch mapmakers managed to secure copies of the early Spanish charts. More often than not, the copies made of the early Spanish maps, or the information borrowed from them even by Spaniards, was not credited to the original mapmakers. Instead, they contained the names of the "borrowers." Jackson has identified a number of these early mapmakers and has traced their maps through the later work of others.

The Spaniards had a significant impact on the cartography of the Gulf Coast during that era. Of course, after La Salle's unsuccessful efforts to establish a settlement on the Texas Coast in 1684-85— he had hoped to do so at the mouth of the Mississippi River—the French and then the English began competing with the Spaniards in exploring and mapping the Gulf Coast.

The book is divided into several parts. Part I concerns the impact of the Enriquez-Barroto/Bisente maps of the Gulf Coast on European cartographers in the early 18th Century. Part II concentrates on the Gulf Coast maps of the French Engineer Valentin Devin. The works and importance of other French mapmakers such as Nicolas de Fer; the Delisles, father and son; Le Maire, La Tour, and others are also discussed. Even the intrusion of Capt. William Bond on the Mississippi River in 1699, the agent of Dr. Daniel Coxe, proprietor of Carolana, and the Coxe map of 1722 are included. *La Florida* and the northern gulf coast (Pensacola and environs) are discussed in some detail. Many of the maps include all of Florida, while some of them concentrate on the Mobile-Pensacola area. Equally significant are the extensive notes which accompany the written text.

This study contains a total of 71 maps. Fifty of them are numbered and printed beginning with Alvarez de Pineda's map of 1519 and ending with Bellin's map of 1764. This makes one think that the title of the book should have been "1519-1764." There are two maps prepared in the 1500's, nine in the 1600's and 39 in the 1700's. The other 21, beginning with Bisente's, "*Mapa de Tierra Firme, Yslas Barlobento*" of 1700, opposite the title page, are included in Parts I and II. The eleven-page bibliography is of particular importance for additional information about maps and mapmakers.

For those interested in the early mapping of the Gulf Coast, this study is a significant contribution. Even if you cannot afford the volume, certainly your library should be encouraged to obtain a copy.

University of West Florida, Emeritus

WILLIAM S. COKER

Tidecraft: The Boats of South Carolina, Georgia and Northeastern Florida, 1550-1950. By William C. Fleetwood, Jr. (Tybee Island, GA: WGM Marine Press, 1995. vii, 356 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$47.50 hardcover.)

The author's nickname is "Rusty," but there's nothing rusty about this book, except possibly many of the old-time boats he describes, dating back to the 16th century. He is a boatbuilder himself and comes from a family of bar pilots. Persons not accustomed to buying books lately may get sticker-shock at that sporty price tag, but history lovers should not let that scare them away. This coffee table model is filled with interesting sidelights and sidebars that are packed with history tidbits, much of it beamed to residents of Florida.

From Indian dugouts of ancient days to yachts of the rich and famous of modern times, Fleetwood covers the waterfront. Perhaps he tells we landlubbers more about boats than we want to know, but it's worthwhile reading just the same. For example, page one of the volume relates that, in 1986, divers at DeLeon Springs, inland from Daytona, discovered an ancient dugout canoe, subsequently determined to be about 5,000 years old. On the last page of the main text, the author concludes, "If knowing where you've been is the first step in knowing where you're going, then we've made a start." Sail on!

There is also information on native Americans, who are described as the last active Indian dugout makers and users east of the Mississippi, building the craft at least through 1950, using bald cypress almost exclusively. William Bartram, who visited the Seminoles in the Everglades, noted "These Indians have large handsome canoes, which they form out of the trunks of Cypress trees, some of them commodious enough for twenty or thirty warriors. . . ."

The word Seminole, we learn, means "outlanders" or "separatists." "They were the last holdouts against the U.S. government's In-

dian 'removal' plan. Their descendants still live in the 'Glades despite all earlier efforts of the government to remove them.'" After traveling to the Seminole trading post of Tallahassee (Talahasochte), Bartram reported the Seminoles were not always swamp dwellers.

The book is profusely illustrated with old maritime maps, excellent drawings of early vessels, including precise working plans—and an entire section of prized photographs! The chapter on "Steam and the River Trade 1800-1860" is of especial interest to Florida historians, since this was a romantic period in our past. The author verifies that "Florida's St. Johns (River) was an anomaly. It was the only major river in the country that flowed northward, and had no rapids or rocky shoals. . . ."

Most writers, in recounting great "Florida" hurricanes of the past, mention only the "Big Ones" of 1935, 1928, 1926 and 1921 or "The Gale of '48" (1848). But Fleetwood goes back even farther: "In September 1804 a fast and severe hurricane devastated the eastern Caribbean and moved up the Florida coast, lashing Georgia and the Carolinas on the 7th before moving north to cause destruction in New England. . . ."

During the Civil War, a southern shipwright had to be prudent about those for whom he built warships. We learn that Savannah shipwright H. F. Willink, Jr. was arrested for court-martial, after the city's capture. His "crime?" He had built the ironclads *Savannah* and *Milledgeville*, as well as a gunboat and torpedo boats, for the Confederacy.

In a state where live oak and yellow pine thrive, Floridians will be pleased to know that "tough gnarly live oak and straight-grained yellow pine are two of the finest woods in the world for ship-building" and: "golden and resinous, longleaf yellow pine has long been a wood sought by knowledgeable shipwrights. . . ."

Included in the latter part of the book is an old folk tale about the mullet—fish or fowl? The tale goes, "an unusual fish, mullet have a crop and gizzard like a chicken. . . . Several central Florida crackers escaped a 'fishing out of season fine' when a crafty defense lawyer, dissecting a mullet in court to exhibit the gizzard, convinced the judge to rule the mullet a fowl and not a fish." Reputable newspaper columnists Paul Wilder of *The Tampa Tribune* and Malcolm B. Johnson of the *Tallahassee Democrat* (both now deceased) vowed the "tale" is true. The lawyer involved was the late Pat Whitaker of Tampa, who also is deceased.

Writing Out My Heart: Selections from the Journal of Frances E. Willard, 1855-96. Edited by Carolyn De Swarte Gifford. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995. xxi, 474 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, editorial method, general introduction, essay on source, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

Frances E. Willard was an internationally-recognized leader of temperance and women's rights reforms in the 19th century who served as president of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union from 1879 until her death in 1898. For over two decades her books, articles and speeches shaped public opinion in the United States and abroad. In 1982, 49 volumes of Willard's journal, missing for 50 years, were discovered. These volumes, written from Willard's 16th through her 31st years and during her 44th and 57th years, provide the material for this study. The journal entries, which are remarkably frank, reveal much about Willard's inner life, the development of her character and why she came to be a reformer and a feminist.

Carolyn Gifford, an associated editor of *The Historical Encyclopedia of Chicago Women*, transcribed and edited the over 8,000 pages of Willard's journal. She then selected and organized the journal entries included in this edition and wrote informative, insightful introductions to the study as a whole and to each of the six parts of the book. The editor notes that although less than a tenth of the total journal material is included, care "has been taken in both the selection process and introductions to present the main themes that run through the journal . . . and to give readers a clear sense of the chronological unfolding of the events. . . ."

The journal entries are organized into six parts: the first five cover the years 1859-1870. During this period, one of self-searching, Willard was a student, then a teacher, and, for two years, a world traveler. The sixth part includes entries from the years 1893 and 1896 when Willard, by then a national and world leader of reform, worried over organizational issues, her own ill health, and the loss of her beloved mother. The themes that run through the journal include Willard's continuing efforts to develop her character which she defined as being strong, steadfast, genuine, good and true and the importance to her of the friendship of women, of strong religious faith, and of home and family (for her, a family included a family of women).

In her journal Willard wrote about both her "outside" and "inside" life: what happened to her and how she understood and interpreted what happened. She referred to "writing out her heart" and some of her entries are deeply emotional. She struggles, for example, with her passionate attachment to the young woman who would become her brother's wife, with the ending of her engagement to a young man despite the objections of her family, and with her recognition that her natural love was for women not men. The entries reveal her growing ambitions and emerging concern for the rights of women. By her 31st birthday, Willard felt prepared to begin her serious life's work and recorded her intention to bid adieu to her journal and "to write no more wishy-washy pages of personal reminiscence." While she wrote much for public consumption in subsequent years, not until 1893 did she once again keep a journal. The entries in 1893 and 1896 are briefer and deal primarily with her "outer" life.

The journal entries vary in style and in substance, but overall they comprise a fascinating story of an extraordinary and strong-willed woman's formative years. This work will be of interest to general readers and to historians, particularly those studying women's history. The usefulness for the scholar is increased by the editor's identifications, insofar as possible, of persons and of biblical and literary allusions mentioned in the entries as well as by the essay on the source and the comprehensive bibliography.

Jacksonville University

JOAN S. CARVER

The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist. By Andrew Burstein. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. xx, 334 pp. Preface, introduction, chronology, illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

Andrew Burstein provides an interesting and thoughtful tracing of Jefferson's thought in the intellectual history tradition of searching for the roots of one man's thoughts in the writings of other thinkers who influenced him. To the surprise of anyone familiar with the influence of John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu and other philosophers of the Enlightenment on Jefferson, Burstein depicts a Jefferson influenced to an extraordinary extent by the thought and sentimentality in James Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian*

and the novels and sermons of Laurence Sterne. In this emphasis, Burstein attempted throughout the book to trace the “heart” in constant conflict with the “head”, or passion and sentimentality in contest with empirical and rational analysis, which latter most often dominated in Jefferson’s mind. In fact this is the real thematic context of the book. Jefferson as a “grieving optimist” is more just title than thesis. Grieving optimism is an eight-page section devoted to grief over loss of family and friends in an era of short life expectancy. Jefferson did remain an optimist about the future of the country as long as his definitions and goals for the republic were steadfastly maintained.

Andrew Burstein is a businessman and long-term student of Jefferson who chose a second career as an independent historian. He set his course to recreate the inner Jefferson by chief reliance on over 18,000 letters Jefferson wrote. The letters allow the author to place Jefferson in his 18th century context, the context of a “typographical culture” wherein men of distinction paid close attention to the written word, not just what was written but the way it was written. Letter writing was not just a personal form, but a social form and “a political necessity.” It also afforded Jefferson emotional release and “creative experiments of the mind” not afforded by the spoken word. Insights into the history of letter writing when vast distances separated friends provide one of the more important contributions of this book.

In the attempt to recreate the inner Jefferson within what historians of another period would call his “climate of opinion,” Burstein rejects all revisionism. This is most clearly revealed in his rejection of the Sally Hemings story, Fawn M. Brodie’s 1974 study about Jefferson fathering the children of a slave. While revealing Jefferson’s passions and sexuality, Burstein suggests that giving oneself to a woman was like giving oneself to God, and thinks that Jefferson could not do so because it would be out of character! Obviously, Burstein has not provided a final word on the Sally Hemings story.

Rejection of that nefarious word, revisionism, involved a rejection of tools and insights from 19th- and 20th-century psychology for exploring the inner Jefferson. Even though the 18th century man may not have been overly introspective in searching his inner psyche, this is actually what the author is trying to do in exploring Jefferson’s emotional life. After all, Burstein had many thousands more documents to use than did Sigmund Freud when he analyzed Leonardo da Vinci.

Although this book had many strengths, perhaps its chief weakness lies in the fact that the public Jefferson is little revealed by the private person. No revelations intertwine or reveal Jefferson's inner thoughts to his most famous writings, such as the Bill Establishing Religious Freedom or the Declaration of Independence. Florida is not mentioned and the Louisiana Purchase, so intimately involving Florida, is only glancingly mentioned to depict a small difference of opinion between Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe, which hardly disturbed their friendship. This example displays how little of the public Jefferson is revealed in the book. Just about the only times when Jefferson's inner thoughts are related to his public life involve those outside his circle of friends, such as Aaron Burr, Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall. Only in the last few pages does the author bring the private Jefferson's use of words into the public, political realm to illuminate him as governor, foreign minister, secretary of state, vice president and president.

Any book can be subjected to minor criticisms, and this one is no exception. A certain amount of rambling and redundancy occurs and there are sufficient convoluted sentences based upon abundant subordinate clauses to make for obtuseness. Chapter sizes range from 25 to 50 pages. Although notes for each chapter are copious, no bibliography is offered. However, this book is very profitable reading, especially for anyone who wishes to know everything about one of our most fascinating Americans.

Largo, FL

ERNEST F. DIBBLE

Robert E. Lee, A Biography. By Emory M. Thomas. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1995. Preface, foreword, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 hardcover.)

It has been sixty years since the last major, full-scale biography of General Robert E. Lee appeared. Historians have long felt the need for a new, thoroughly researched, thoughtfully presented, and well-written study of this enigmatic and charismatic man. The wait has been worth it.

Robert E. Lee, by Emory Thomas, is the product of a mature scholar, at the peak of his career. The author has already produced several major works on the history of the Confederacy. He makes full use of the perspective gained in those writings to compose a very thoughtful biography of the man who has come to symbolize

the "Lost Cause." Furthermore, Thomas has thoroughly researched all available primary and secondary sources concerning Lee's life, and has carefully analyzed them, to produce the most balanced and scholarly work ever written about the general.

One of the real strengths of this work is the fact that the author understands that the true focus of a biography should be the person about whom one is writing. If the reader wants a study of Lee's Civil War battles, he is likely to be disappointed, for while they are covered, the focus never departs from the central theme of the man himself.

The author gives the reader a thorough understanding of Lee's prominent family and of his dysfunctional childhood, which saw his famous father go bankrupt and into exile, leaving young Robert to be raised by his mother.

He then traces Lee's life in the army from West Point to the outbreak of the Civil War, emphasizing that he was a first-rate engineer, a good family man, and a sterling gentleman (who very much liked the presence of ladies and greatly disliked confrontation). This portion of the book really brings Lee to life as a flesh and blood person, who had long separations from his family, a wife who was often difficult to deal with, and a constant worry that he would end up bankrupt and disgraced like his beloved father.

The outbreak of the Civil War was wrenching for Lee and Thomas thoroughly discusses his decision to go with his state. The author makes one understand that Lee's decision was very much a 19th century one that is difficult for modern military officers to understand.

The coverage of the war years is thorough, but always focused upon the man, not the general. Thomas argues that Lee disliked confrontation with his subordinates or superiors, was highly aggressive, often to the point of endangering his troops, and earned the love of his men by his austere life style and charismatic personality. For example, he rarely took leave (even though often near to his home in Richmond), slept in a tent, and ate abstemiously.

Thomas also explores Lee's growing health problems during the struggle, pointing out that he almost certainly was suffering from increasingly serious cardiovascular disease. Indeed, he probably suffered at least one heart attack during the war.

Finally, the author discusses Lee's postwar life as President of Washington College. This was basically his third career (the other two being engineer and general), and he did well at it. The final chapter, "I will give that sum" ranks with the work of Thomas's

mentor Frank Vandiver's *Mighty Stonewall*, in eloquently portraying the last days of a great leader.

This book is outstanding history and literature and must be read by all who are interested in the life of Robert E. Lee. This book epitomizes what biography ought to be. It is one of the finest historical works of this decade.

University of South Alabama

W. ROBERT HOUSTON

Troubled Waters: Champion International and the Pigeon River Controversy. By Richard A. Bartlett. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. xxvi, 348 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

"We have met the enemy," Walt Kelly's famous 'possum "Pago" once observed as he looked at his polluted swamp, "and he is us." In few places is this more true than in our relationship with the paper industry, for America's nearly insatiable demand for the products paper mills produce has led to some classic cases of environmental desecration. In *Troubled Waters*, Richard A. Bartlett has given us a thoughtful, fascinating, though not altogether unbiased look at the complexities that surround one of the worst examples of pollution, taken from an industry where bad examples are far too common. No matter which side of the controversy one supports, this is a book that should be read.

Although the Champion International Corporation's facility at Canton, North Carolina is the subject of this study, the issues explored are not limited to that locality. In the United States there are over 600 similar mills— all but seven states have at least one. When these industries first arrived on the scene they were almost always welcomed. Setting up in rural, economically depressed areas, the companies offered employment opportunities for people who might otherwise have become part of this century's migration from the countryside to the cities. Though the paper industries were expected to foul the air and discolor the streams, they also promised to stabilize communities, increase land values, and give a shot in the arm to local businesses. For many, the exchange seemed fair enough.

But if history teaches us anything, it teaches that over time things change. Change, and the resistance to it, is what this book is about. As this nation became more environmentally aware, conservation groups became more activist in their efforts to stop pollution and clean up the damage it caused. And since "aesthetic environmentalism" was the most popular aspect of the movement, paper mills were an obvious target. Efforts to make the landscape more attractive and the air smell better led to a more careful consideration of unseen pollution, toxins that posed dangers few had earlier imagined. As evidence of these dangers grew, more people became concerned, and thus the battle was joined.

The Champion mill had been polluting the Pigeon River in western North Carolina for some seven decades when the crusade to clean up the stream began. Although there had been earlier protests and some progress, the river was still unable to support aquatic life when local residents formed the Pigeon River Action Group and went to work. Key support came from Cooke County, downstream from the plant, and by 1986, Champion faced a strong grass roots movement that was drawing support from national and international environmental groups. The result was a clash of interests and values that go to the very heart of the environmental conflicts that are being felt in communities throughout the nation. As thoughtful readers will quickly realize, one does not have to have a paper mill in the neighborhood to be concerned over the future of one's environment.

The book does not have a happy ending for either side, for despite legislation and litigation, many matters remain unresolved. Champion claims to be cleaning up, but environmental groups are considering a return to the courts. Nevertheless, by carefully cataloging the issues, explaining the tactics used by those involved, and (despite his admitted bias) giving all arguments a fair hearing, Richard A. Bartlett has provided readers an excellent case study of environmental activism and the opposition to it. *Troubled Waters* also reminds those of us who have biases of our own just how complex, and how important, cleaning up the environment is.

John Muir: Apostle Of Nature. By Thurman Wilkins. *The Oklahoma Western Biographies.* Edited by Richard W. Etulain. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. 302 pp. Series editor's preface, preface, prologue, epilogue, illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$24.95.)

When I visited with Savoie Lottinville, then Director of the University of Oklahoma Press, probably sometime in 1965, he had with him Thurman Wilkins' manuscript of *Thomas Moran: Artist of the Mountains*. "It is the cleanest manuscript I've ever seen," Lottinville informed me. "It needs no editing. We are sending it directly to the printer." I was deeply impressed, but hardly surprised. I had read Wilkins' biography of Clarence King, and was already convinced that anything Professor Wilkins wrote would be of highest quality. Of course I jumped at the opportunity to review his latest book, and I have not been disappointed.

Professor Wilkins had a real challenge in writing a biography of John Muir, for Muir was a complex, brilliant, eccentric, incredibly active individual. He was an inventor, founder of the Sierra Club, father of the preservationist branch of conservationism, defender of Yosemite and leader in the fight against the Hetch Hetchy development; a prolific nature writer, botanist, glacialist, orchardist, and traveler. He knew on a first name basis many leading scientists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and more than a few of that era's politicians, including Theodore Roosevelt. Such a complex man as was Muir poses difficult problems for his biographers.

Professor Wilkins writes that Frederick Turner's *Rediscovering America: John Muir in His Time and Ours* (1985) is "in some respects the finest life of Muir yet published" (279). Turner admittedly used inference, surmise, and intuition to put flesh and blood and meaning into Muir's life.

Professor Wilkins has chosen a different approach. His narration— after an excellent prologue setting the historical stage for Muir's activities and ending with an epilogue summing up Muir's life, philosophy and achievements— follows chronologically from his subject's birth to death.

Certainly this technique has the advantage of making this biography perhaps the most useful available for quick reference to Muir's activities. The reader follows the naturalist's life as if walking along a plain, or possibly, as one climbs a smooth incline. Each year brings new experiences. We read of Muir's walk down the Appalachians, of his exploration of the big tree groves of California, of his

fascination with glaciation, and of his journeys to Alaska. We are fascinated at his poor mountaineering (he rarely carried sufficient provisions, went hungry, suffered from thirst, frostbit his feet, was often overtaken by nightfall, and fell from cliffs). We read of his writing and publishing. He was an idealist, something of a mystic, and yet he was a good businessman. Glimpses of his private life intrigue us: how he liked being mothered; his home life. A minor criticism here is that the chronological approach does not emphasize high and low points in Muir's life.

Although this biography is less than 300 pages long, it is incredibly thorough, well organized, and above all, well written. It is also, in this era of the new robber barons, extremely timely. As Wilkins writes, recent reassessment of Muir's life and work "places him at the very cutting edge of present-day environmentalism, his concept of wilderness exerting as much vitality today as when he lived and worked" (xiv). This opportune biography, written to Wilkins' high standards of research and writing, has done justice to his remarkable subject.

Florida State University Emeritus

RICHARD A. BARTLETT

Crusading for Chemistry: The Professional Career of Charles Holmes Herty.
By Germaine E. Reed. (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1995. \$45.00 cloth.)

Charles Holmes Herty is a name familiar to historians of the South. Most know something of his work in the naval stores industry and his efforts to prove that cheap, fast-growing southern yellow pine could be used as an acceptable substitute for Canadian spruce in the manufacture of newsprint and white paper. But as Reed has written, "the complete story of Herty's contributions and significance to American chemistry, the American chemical industry, and the economic future of his nation and his native region appears nowhere in the brief published accounts of his life and work."

Relying on the Charles Holmes Herty Papers at Emory University, Professor Reed has produced the first book-length study of one of the most important men of the 20th century American South. In this well-researched and clearly-written monograph Reed guides her readers through Herty's early days in a poorly equipped laboratory and classroom at the University of Georgia to a palatial suite in a New

York City office tower, from the isolated pine forests of North Florida and South Georgia, and from the halls of the University of North Carolina to serving on presidential advisory committees. Reed clearly places Herty in his proper place as one of the leading figures in the economic and industrial development of the "New South."

Born in Milledgeville, Georgia in 1867, Charles Herty was educated as a chemist at the University of Georgia and the John Hopkins University where he received his Ph.D. in chemistry. Herty's professional career was varied, and during his life he served as a university professor, government expert, journal editor, trade association president, industrial consultant, and director of a research laboratory.

Herty's "formative years" from 1890-1916, were devoted to academe and the naval stores industry. He began his teaching career at the University of Georgia in the fall of 1890. During his stay in Athens, Herty married, had two children, and began his research on the naval stores industry. It was also during this time that he developed the "Herty" cup-and-gutter system which revolutionized the industry.

Herty remained at the University of Georgia until November 1901 when Gifford Pinchot asked him to join the Bureau of Forestry. Underpaid and frustrated over limited research facilities and the lack of promotion opportunities, Herty accepted the offer. Herty spent two years in the United States Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Forestry, improving upon the cup-and-gutter system, and winning international acclaim at the same time.

Herty returned to academe in 1905 when he took a position in the chemistry department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. During this stay at Chapel Hill, which lasted until 1916, Herty served as head of the chemistry department (1905-16), dean of the School of Applied Science (1908-11), and a close advisor of the university president on issues ranging from student and faculty recruitment, promotion, curricular reform, and student discipline.

Professor Reed is at her best when tracing Herty's professional career outside of academe and the two years he spent in the United States Department of Agriculture. After he left the University of North Carolina Herty served two terms as president of the American Chemical Society (1915-16), and five years as editor of its *Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* (1917-21), using both, as Reed contends, "as a bully pulpit to preach chemistry, and to promote his conviction that cooperation by business, government, and academe was essential to the nation's health, security, and material welfare."

In the last two decades of his life, Herty played a vital role in the establishment of a domestic coal-tar chemical industry, carefully organized campaigns to secure dyes protection, and a National Institute of Health. Finally, in 1932, in what he regarded as his most important contribution to southern economic development, he established a pulp and paper laboratory at Savannah, Georgia, to prove that southern yellow pine could replace Canadian spruce in the manufacture of newsprint and white paper. Herty's research led to the construction of the South's first newsprint plant in Lufkin, Texas in 1938.

Students of economic and industrial southern history will welcome *Crusading for Chemistry*. The concise narrative is strong, extensively researched, well written, and contributes to our understanding of the modernization and economic development of the American South.

West Virginia University

JEFFREY A. DROBNEY

The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, The Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics. By Dan T. Carter. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995. 572 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$30.00 hardcover.)

In this comprehensive work, Dan T. Carter captures the essence of George Wallace and the enormous changes he wrought in late 20th century American politics. Described by the author as "the most influential loser" of this century (468), the five-term Alabama governor and four-time presidential candidate emerges from these pages as a ruthlessly ambitious figure, who combines "racial fear, anticommunism, cultural nostalgia, and traditional right-wing economics" to appeal to disaffected white voters (12). Wallace's ability to capitalize on such issues, especially in the South, Carter argues, dictated Richard Nixon's southern strategy in 1968 and ultimately paved the way for the Religious Right.

The first three chapters focus on Wallace's background and early political career, and Carter emphasizes the "normal compass of ambition" that seemed to direct Wallace's every move. During his years at the University of Alabama and in the Air Force during World War II, the Alabamian constantly made known his political aspirations; after the war, he leapt into politics at age 26 in a suc-

successful campaign for the legislature. Governor "Big Jim" Folsom dominated Alabama politics during this era, and Wallace the legislator cast himself in the populist image of this political giant. The energetic Wallace travelled and politicked relentlessly (while virtually ignoring his wife Lurleen and their young children) and in 1954 helped coordinate Folsom's successful re-election. After Folsom lost favor with voters over his passive acceptance of the *Brown* decision in 1958 Wallace made his first run for governor. Losing because of his own apparent softness on the race issue, Wallace vowed that no opponent would ever "out-nigger" him again. (Contrary to Wallace's official biographer, Carter insists Wallace did make the infamous statement.) In his 1962 gubernatorial bid, Wallace took a lesson from his defeat and fell "down a dark hole of the bleakest demagoguery" (109). Railing against "communistic amalgamation" and championing "segregation forever," he surpassed all opponents to win the governorship (108).

After a detailed description of Governor Wallace's stand in the schoolhouse door at the University of Alabama in 1963, Carter places Wallace's career within the larger context of the civil rights struggle and national political developments during the 1960s and 1970s. In tracing the tragedies and triumphs of the civil rights movement during Wallace's governorship— from the violence in Birmingham to the march to Selma— Carter argues that Wallace consistently encouraged violent extremists like the National States Rights Party and the Ku Klux Klan in order to lend credence to his claim that integration would lead to public disorder. While Wallace's intransigence and repeated episodes of violence in Alabama only hastened the legislative success of civil rights activists, the governor's defiant spirit endeared him to many southern whites and made him a viable presidential candidate. His popularity terrified Richard Nixon, who in both the 1968 and 1972 campaigns, according to Carter, repeatedly adjusted his message to make himself appealing to the same conservative voters whom Wallace attracted. Carter further details Nixon's obsession with Wallace: how the President contributed \$400,000 to Wallace's 1970 gubernatorial opponent in an unsuccessful effort to defeat his nemesis, how Nixon ordered an IRS investigation of Wallace's brother, and how in 1972 the Republican contemplated tampering with evidence to make political hay of Arthur Bremer's attempted assassination of Wallace. (Nixon wanted to plant George McGovern campaign litera-

ture in Bremer's apartment, but the President's men failed to act before the FBI sealed the room and posted a guard.)

In a brief epilogue on Wallace's legacy, Carter concludes that the Alabamian's attacks on the federal government, as well as his angry rhetoric, have become staples of modern conservatism. Moreover, the author masterfully links the Alabama governor to the Religious Right by describing his 1974 visit to Jerry Falwell's Liberty Road Baptist Church, where the wheelchair-bound governor earned a rousing ovation after giving his personal testimony. This entire book is characterized by a keen perceptiveness of the larger historical significance of episodes such as this one, and Carter's exhaustive research and wonderful writing make this both a first-rate piece of scholarship and a delightful read. Winner of the Bancroft Prize, *The Politics of Rage* is a rare and significant work that will shape historical interpretation for years to come.

Rhodes College

TIMOTHY S. HUEBNER

From Demagogue to Dixiecrat: Horace Wilkinson and the Politics of Race.

By Glenn Feldman. (Landham, MD: University Press of America, 1955. xviii, 311 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50 paper, \$49.00 cloth.)

Where's the folklore, the mythmaking, and the mass appeal? Where's the backslapping, the glad handing, and the storytelling? Where's the backwoods stumping, the whipped-up rhetoric, and the buffoonery? Where are the colorful monikers, the folksy manners, and the barbecues? Where's the bourbon, please?

Wait! Here's the beef. The term demagogue loses its regional meaning when attached to the likes of Horace Wilkinson, as Glenn Feldman has done in *From Demagogue to Dixiecrat*.

A Birmingham native, Wilkinson never held a state or national elective office; yet he occupied a central position in Alabama politics during the heyday of Jim Crow. As an assistant attorney general and a circuit judge, Wilkinson piloted a legal campaign against vigilantism in the early 1920s. This, Feldman says, made Wilkinson a progressive. But after finding civil religion in Klan-controlled Birmingham, the progressive turned political opportunist. He joined the Klan, defended vigilantes, and aligned with Klan Senator James Thomas "Tom Tom" Heflin.

His machinations, indeed, went beyond the courtroom. By Feldman's account, Wilkinson led the Alabama Democrats' bolt against the "papist" presidential candidate Al Smith in 1928. During the 1930s Wilkinson became Birmingham's chief dispenser of New Deal patronage. Throughout, he championed poor and working-class whites against the powerful "Big Mule"/Black Belt interests. But by the time of the 1948 Truman civil rights platform, he had assumed the role of race and Red baiter to boost sagging political opportunities. He joined forces with the Big Mule industrialists—creating a human bridge of white solidarity between his working-class constituency and its traditional adversary—and helped lead the Dixiecrat movement. He spent the twilight of his life until his death in 1957 ensnared in Baptist church politics.

Wilkinson was never a luminary in the public consciousness like many of his better-known compatriots. As Feldman points out, he was a behind-the-scenes operator, the consummate party worker who manipulated politics at the structural level and peddled influence through "agents." Still, Feldman grants Wilkinson demagogue status, arguing that his political career "offers the rare opportunity to examine the workings of demagoguery at a vitally significant structural . . . level" (ix). But neither Wilkinson's political maneuverings nor his persona conform (not in Feldman's portrayal of the man, anyway) to the conventional understanding of the southern demagogue. Feldman's Wilkinson is a one-dimensional politico with no personality, no depth, no luster, no homely virtues.

Political savvy and racism alone do not make a demagogue. Every self-respecting scholar of the subject has cautioned against a too liberal use of the term demagogue. (Incredibly, Feldman overlooked completely Ray Arsenault's important work on demagoguery.) If Feldman has not confused power brokerage and political bossism with demagoguery, he has expanded the definition to the point of distortion. A power-broker/city-boss angle perhaps would have served Feldman better since both conventions are normally associated with Yankeeedom.

Other problems arise. Feldman deploys questionable props that exalt his subject artificially. He makes Wilkinson the demagogue exemplar, suggesting that he steered the career of "Tom Tom" Heflin by exercising "an undue amount of influence over the older demagogue" (99). Feldman maintains that a passel of Alabama politicians fell under the tutelage of Wilkinson, but the author never details a single mentor-disciple relationship; nor does he

explain how one alleged disciple, Bull Conner, could be both student and lifelong Wilkinson antagonist. Finally, with words like "brilliant," "courageous," and "politician extraordinaire" describing Wilkinson, Feldman pens his story perilously close to hagiography.

So what can the reader learn from this arid chronicle of Wilkinson's political life? According to Feldman, Wilkinson has "taught us" that a politician of Wilkinson's stripe can be both a racist and opportunist (this is new information?) and that Wilkinson's brand of racism "is not completely rational" (again, this is new?) (199).

In the final sum, one wonders whether Horace Wilkinson's political career is worthy of a book-length study. But since that question is irrelevant in the post-publication period, one should ask whether *From Demagogue to Dixiecrat* can justify the time needed to read it? Bourbon, anyone?

Eckerd College

JACK E. DAVIS

Reading, Writing, and Race: The Desegregation of the Charlotte Schools. By Davison M. Douglas. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.95 paperback, \$39.95 hardcover.)

Personal events often inspire the selection of research topics by scholars. Davison Douglas attended Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools from 1962 to 1974 and thus witnessed much of the desegregation controversy. However, he chose Charlotte as a case study of school busing to achieve integration for other reasons as well. First, Charlotte provides a good example of the "moderate" response to the 1954 *Brown* decision in the South. The city was among the earliest to desegregate public facilities and to admit African American students to white schools. Second, because of the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* decision mandating a massive busing plan, the city was thrust into the center of the national debate over busing. Third, desegregation there has been among the most successful in limiting "white flight" and in raising test scores. Busing also won a rare degree of public acceptance in Charlotte.

Noting that "education has functioned as perhaps the most critical arena in which the struggle for racial equality has taken place," (2), Douglas uses school desegregation as the prism for

studying larger issues of the civil rights era. He examines the dynamics of southern moderation; the relative roles of the courts, black activism, and elective branches of government; the factors motivating white actions for desegregation; and the forces for success in Charlotte, which illumines the potential for busing to achieve educational equality.

According to Douglas, moderation in both the city and the state had multiple roots. A primary cause was political domination by "a business and financial elite committed to economic advancement and the avoidance of racial strife" (41). North Carolina politicians were more likely to be lawyers than planters from black-belt areas; thus they were less obsessed with racial domination and more aware of the possibilities for judicial intervention. In addition they were able to see that moderation was an effective tool to avoid significant change. Although among the first to admit African Americans to white schools, by 1964 North Carolina had less school integration than states that engaged in massive resistance.

The primary focus for school desegregation varied according to the time period. Up to the *Brown* decision the courts were the major agents of change, but then lapsed into a decade of restraint. Two lawsuits in Charlotte in 1961 and 1965 were unsuccessful. Throughout the South meaningful desegregation did not come until after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was largely the result of black activism. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, litigation once again forced the issue in Charlotte because of the persistence of Judge James McMillan. Accepting the argument that self-interest rather than morality motivates most white support for black rights, Douglas calls desegregation of Charlotte's schools the result of a "convergence of forces: the persistence of a few African American leaders unwilling to compromise in the face of perceived injustice, the emergence of a group of citizens who understood that continued recalcitrance undermined community interest, and the perseverance of a judge who remained steadfast in his interpretation of constitutional requirements" (243).

Charlotte's success demonstrates why other school systems have failed. A key component of victory was the vast size of the school district, which gave whites fewer places to flee. Separate suburban school districts in many cities increased white flight. Charlotte was also blessed with an extraordinary degree of parental participation in the schools. Additionally, the city coordinated its public housing and school desegregation policies—scattering new

public housing. Those living in integrated residential areas were rewarded by allowing their children to attend neighborhood schools. The result increased educational opportunities for African Americans and boosted economic growth for the city. This fine study is a welcome antidote to the pessimism that greets most mechanisms to promote racial equality in the 1990s.

North Carolina State University

LINDA O. McMURRY

The Separate City: Black Communities in the Urban South, 1940-1968. By Christopher Silver and John V. Moeser. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995. vii, 220 pp. Preface, maps, tables, figures, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

The scholarly literature on the nature and evolution of black life in urban America has grown by leaps and bounds in recent decades. In their collective attempt to understand the complexities of race, class, and geography in 20th-century America, historians, sociologists, and other social scientists have produced scores of carefully-rendered community studies. Unfortunately, despite its richness, this literature suffers from a preoccupation with the Northern "ghetto" experience. Sadly, we know much less about African Americans in Birmingham and Savannah than about their counterparts in Chicago and New York. Redressing this regional imbalance will require dozens of additional monographs, but Christopher Silver and John V. Moeser's insightful interdisciplinary exploration of black life in three Southern cities—Atlanta, Richmond, and Memphis—represents an important first step in the process of reconfiguring the field of urban black studies.

Silver and Moeser focus on the changing nature of Southern cities during the three decades following the Great Depression. From the beginning of the Second World War to the late 1960s black Southerners witnessed profound transformations in the social and spatial structure of their communities, the character and implications of racial segregation and discrimination, and the nature of political and legal institutions. While the authors take great pains to point out the unique or distinctive aspects of Atlanta, Richmond, and Memphis, they nonetheless insist that all three communities experienced the creation and maturation of a "separate city" during these years. Even though these were the declining years of

de jure segregation, in many ways the urban black experience in the South became increasingly separate from that of whites after 1940. Forced to deal with wrenching changes in the overall structure of urban life—urban renewal, school desegregation, the construction of expressways, the proliferation of suburbs, and so on—black Southerners often turned inward in an attempt to create viable social and political institutions. In each city, this “ghettoization” process brought an increase in African-American political power and a measure of communal hope and racial pride. But as the authors correctly point out, the promise of the “separate city” ultimately foundered on the “structural divide between an empowered black middle class and the larger working class and disadvantaged who were not able to transform black power into public policy successes” (14). As the end of the 20th century draws near, it is painfully clear that in the “separate cities” of the modern South—where unemployment, crime, and disintegrating families are rife—social and economic progress lags far behind political empowerment.

Replete with tables, graphs, and detailed descriptions of community programs and organizations, this book will undoubtedly test the patience of some readers. But for those seriously interested in the evolution of African-American life in the modern urban South, a careful reading of Silver and Moeser’s ground-breaking monograph will prove well worth the effort.

University of South Florida

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

The FDR Years: On Roosevelt and His Legacy. By William E. Leuchtenburg. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995. xiii, 377 pp. Preface, index, notes. \$29.50.)

In one of nine superbly written essays which comprise *The FDR Years*, William Leuchtenburg describes in rich detail the 1936 presidential campaign, the election returns, and the resulting political, policy, and program implications. Leuchtenburg describes how, with the leadership of FDR, American voters steadily regained confidence in government, the economy, and themselves and overwhelmingly reelected him to a second term while crushing the Republican challenge, as well as other opposing political viewpoints. In particular, the author emphasizes that FDR and the voters in 1936 demolished those political philosophies which were

rooted in the earlier conventional and highly restrictive view of the role of the Federal Government with regard to the social and economic well-being of the American public.

Some 60 years have elapsed since the 1936 elections and in 1996 an increasingly troubled and ambivalent American public may have an unusually well-defined opportunity to reconsider the role and responsibility of the federal government in the many substantive program areas which were spawned directly, or indirectly, by FDR's New Deal. Since the voting public rejected an incumbent Republican president in 1992, and followed that in 1994 by sharply ending Democratic Party control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, the American voting public can expect a lengthy and particularly contentious 1996 political season. However, more so than ever before in this age of media based "sound bite" campaigning, the voting public cannot count on the candidates alone to elucidate the issues. Wise, and at least in this one instance, truly enjoyable preparation for the voter in 1996 would begin with a careful reading of *The FDR Years*.

The nine essays of *The FDR Years* pertain primarily to the New Deal period of 1932-1938 and were written by the author over a period of some 36 years (1952-1988), with periodic updating and augmentation to reflect the additional insights of other recognized New Deal scholars and commentators. The essays were originally prepared as papers for presentation at conferences, as articles for publication in scholarly journals, one as a chapter in a previous book by the author, or as contributions to 'multiauthor' volumes on the Presidency. The selection and organization of the essays in *The FDR Years* is brilliant. Each essay is captivating; to the extent that some degree of redundancy between essays occasionally and understandably exists, it serves to offer additional insight and emphasis to important events or achievements.

Seven of the essays vividly describe the economic and social crisis confronting the American public in 1932, the continuing willingness of FDR to discard conventional views and to adapt to new realities, the political opposition, the new organizational entities and program concepts of a rapidly expanding federal establishment, and the personality conflicts between cabinet officers. Also described is the early onset of presidential difficulties with what has been elsewhere termed "The Iron Triangle" (the powerful combination of congressional committees, executive branch bureaus and agencies under the jurisdiction of a particular committee, and interest groups with

compatible goals, and a willingness to undertake concerted coordinated actions, often at odds with any administration).

The two concluding essays assess the achievements of the New Deal and its impact on American culture. Forthrightly acknowledging that the New Deal did not improve, or only marginally impacted, some socioeconomic areas, Leuchtenburg is impressively convincing in writing of significant New Deal achievements in securities regulation, banking, infrastructure development, agriculture, home building and financing, unemployment insurance, old-age security, aid for dependent children, resource conservation, and numerous other areas which improved living conditions for the American public. Indeed, one cannot read *The FDR Years* without realizing that many millions of Americans (or their parents), who are now comfortably situated and clamoring for an end to such programs, were among the major beneficiaries of New Deal programs, or other programs inspired by the New Deal.

Whether 1996 will be a year in which progress is made in resolving such long-standing issues as the proper role of the federal government in such areas as welfare, medical care for the aged and the disadvantaged, education, employment, financial support for essential services such as conservation and transportation, and other compensatory spending for social and economic purposes, remains to be seen. However, thanks to William E. Leuchtenburg's *The FDR Years*, we are afforded an unusually excellent account of the reasoning underlying the past involvement of the federal government in these crucially important areas.

Melbourne, FL

ED DOLAN

Weapons for Victory: The Hiroshima Decision Fifty Years Later. By Robert James Maddox. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995. 215 pp. Introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$19.95 hardcover.)

The dropping of an atomic bomb on Japan on August 6, 1945 by order of President Harry Truman was designed to end the war and save American lives. The hope was that this weapon would make the planned invasion of Japan unnecessary. Although Japan did not instantly surrender— it took a second bomb plus a declaration of war by the Soviet Union before this took place— there is no

doubt that it was successful. The war did stop, no invasion was necessary, many lives were saved, but the controversy had just begun.

There were differences of opinion in 1945 among high civilian and military officials as to how, when, and where the bomb should be used, but almost no one opposed its use. There were no arguments back and forth about the morality or immorality of using the weapon, whether it was a military necessity or not, what impact it would have on the Soviet Union, certainly none that reached the president. But, when some of these men wrote their memoirs they also began to rewrite history, and when New Left historians such as Gar Alperovitz presented their revised versions of the event during the 1960s, the assertion was made that the bombs were not used to defeat Japan but to intimidate the Soviet Union, that the American people had been the victim of a giant conspiracy.

In this cogent, trenchant book, Robert Maddox uses all of his considerable skills to destroy this revisionist view. His research is exhaustive, his logic is admirable, and his account is utterly convincing. On the negative side, one is left with the feeling that Maddox has engaged in overkill, that his final chapter "A Retrospect" was not truly necessary, that he has been too eager to demolish all aspects of the revisionist viewpoint.

For example, all scholars agree that of the highest military officers only Dwight Eisenhower opposed dropping the bomb. But, when Ike later asserted that he had made his views known to both Truman and Secretary of War Henry Stimson, the unanimity among scholars came to an end. Maddox spends a lot of time, far too much in the eyes of this reviewer, in proving that Ike was mistaken in his later claims.

From the 1960s on, it appears that many Americans, from Oliver Stone to revisionist historians, have been willing to believe in any number of conspiracy theories about our postwar past. They would do well to remember the old military maxim, "Never suspect conspiracy when simple incompetence will suffice." Faced with this intransigence in our society and in the halls of academe, perhaps this type of overkill is mandatory. At any rate, for those who prefer to be historically accurate rather than just politically correct, this is a good overview of how the decision was made to enter the atomic age. It is thorough, readable, accurate, and most welcome.

Good-bye, Machiavelli: Government and American Life. By Bernard W. Wishy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, xi, 364 pp. Preface, bibliography,. index. \$34.95.)

Most observers of society and politics in the United States since World War II have recognized the federal government's increasing involvement in the daily life of the republic. The extent of that involvement and its implications for both citizens and the future of republican governance in this country have sparked much political commentary, not to mention electoral posturing.

Bernard Wishy has sought to develop a reasoned, historical perspective on the subject by surveying governmental function and service from the colonial era to the 1990s. His product is a solid creation, enriched with shrewd insights and engaging presentations of evidence.

Wishy argues that government has always exercised its power in the ordinary life of this country. Sponsorship of private enterprise, for example, has been as much a part of the role of the central government as its service to defend the nation, facilitate international trade, or guarantee the rights of citizens. The regulatory function of government has been equally apparent.

But this latter function has usually received a less than appreciative nod from the general population. Wishy locates sources of this attitude in the early development of the British North American colonies. Colonists able to do so pursued London's sponsorship of their business and commercial activities even while they deplored the regulatory power imposed by imperial officials. The central government's authority could be viewed as either beneficent or tyrannical, depending upon how its actions affected one's particular interests. According to Wishy, such a pattern of selective approval of governmental intervention would become commonplace in the political discourse of the United States.

Government in the new nation proved itself well capable of providing sponsorship. Under the Philadelphia Constitution, the central government manipulated fiscal policy to solicit the loyalty of long-term debt holders, thereby strengthening its power. The same government underwrote economic development with charters, bounties, and contracts, among other instruments.

Even that arch foe of governmental intrusion, President Thomas Jefferson could not resist acting on behalf of the "public interest." He approved the use of surplus receipts to build canals

and turnpikes, and to assist education. He also earmarked federal dollars to purchase the Louisiana Territory.

Despite the “waxing and waning” of intervention in the 1820s and 1830, by mid-19th century, what Wishy sees as a continuous “pileup” of governmental functions had already been set in motion. In the 1850s “pileup” included subsidies for steamship companies, telegraph lines and cod fisheries, underwriting land surveys, and support for education and agricultural research. The national emergency imposed by the Civil War expanded a formidable, existing range of activity.

The phenomenal growth of the nation between 1865 and 1912 spurred a simultaneous burst of governmental “pileup” at the federal, as well as the state and local, levels. By 1900, business and industrial expansion prompted another surge of regulation. Thus, the implicit dilemma raised, though not solved, was that state power must be enhanced to strengthen individual freedom and economic opportunity.

Wishy notes that in response to severe economic dislocation in the 1930s the flurry of New Deal programs fashioned in Washington established a permanent foundation for the interest-based politics so noticeable today. Ever larger numbers of citizens came to view the federal government as a basic provider, as a legitimate source of support—cash, jobs, health care—to which they were entitled.

Government has become a broker, operating on behalf of multiple interest groups which compete for public largess. Each need, real or perceived, raised for consideration is promulgated as a “public interest,” usually without examination of legitimacy or worth.

An obvious conclusion derived from this work is that political life in the modern United States has lacked a mode of discourse that embraces reality. Responsible Republicans, Democrats and others must set themselves to the work of crafting campaigns that honestly address the tradition of governmental intervention. The next, and surely more challenging duty, will be to begin a fair evaluation of the merits of the “pileup” already at hand.

BOOK NOTES

A Journey Through Time: A Pictorial History of South Dade by Paul S. George, a historian well-known to the readers of the *Quarterly*, has just been published by the Donning Company of Virginia Beach, Virginia. This panoramic narrative, illustrated by 250 photographs and maps, is the first comprehensive treatment of a vast agricultural area which has long been vital to the economy of Dade County and the state of Florida.

Dr. George takes the reader through some 10,000 years of local history beginning with some of the earliest inhabitants of the region. He includes the first white settlers who were drawn to the coastal ridge and its adjacent hammock land where game abounded. He tells also of the settlers of a string of small communities that arose along the FEC Railway in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as they endured the hordes of insects, the isolation, and the subpar farming conditions to forge homes in the wilderness.

In the early decades of the 20th century the area became the winter produce capital of the nation and, eventually, host to Dade County's fastest growing communities. Hurricane Andrew's destructive path through South Dade was only the latest, and most severe, example of a lengthy chain of natural disasters which the region has endured. Led by Homestead and Kendall, the region is rebuilding in the wake of Andrew while it continues to redefine itself.

A Journey Through Time is a fascinating story. It can be read quickly, or it can be savored a little at a time with equal enjoyment and benefit. It may be ordered from the Florida Pioneer Museum, 826 North Krome Avenue, Florida City, FL 33034. The price is \$37 plus \$5 for postage and handling.

Bill Wisser's *South Beach: America's Riviera, Miami Beach, Florida* was released in late 1995 by Arcade Publishers. Beautifully illustrated by numerous color photographs, the book is a "compilation of images and words depicting the seductive and stylish Tropical Deco world of South Beach, Florida." It features the flamboyant architecture of the Art Deco neighborhood at the tip of Miami Beach and the successful fight to save it from the wrecking ball. It addi-

tionally takes the reader inside the exotic and sometimes outrageous art, fashion, and bohemian scenes that have made this historic neighborhood one of the hippest and most exciting cities in the world today.

South Beach may be ordered from Arcade Publishers, 141 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, or by FAX at 212-353-8148. The price is \$21.95.

Fisherfolk of Charlotte Harbor, Florida was written by Robert F. Edic and published by the Institute of Archaeology and Paleoenvironmental Studies at the University of Florida with the assistance of the Bureau of Historic Preservation, Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State. It is a comprehensive account of a way of life, the people who lived it, the abundant fisheries which sustained it, the natural and manmade problems they encountered, and the ways the fishery resources of the area have been altered by the modern world. In his preparation for the book, Robert Edic spent more than 10 years collecting oral histories of the fisherfolk. His work is both a history of the people of a certain place and a warning that the vanishing traditional ways heralds more profound and far-reaching changes to our natural world.

Echoes of Yesterday by Louise Ball Caccamise traces the history of DeLand, Florida's public library for 83 years from its simple beginning in 1912 to its present home in 1995 in a \$2,000,000 building. The story begins at the time when Henry DeLand, founder of the town, had been deceased just four years and his daughter, Helen, was still a frequent visitor. A blacksmith shop and an ice house were important businesses in the town. Stetson University set the tone for cultural development and plans for a library were met with enthusiasm.

Echoes of Yesterday chronicles events, but also commemorates librarians, library boards, Friends of the Library, and benefactors. The individual biographies of more than 300 people are included. Fully documented and indexed, the book includes more than 70 photographs and an appendix of important documents. Written by a retired librarian, this hard cover book was published by Luthers and printed at E. O. Painter Printing Co. It is available from the author at P. O. Box 241, DeLand, FL 32721-0241. The price is \$27.50 plus tax.

Pineapple Press has just released *Tellable Cracker Tales*, a collection of tall tales, nonsense stories, modern fables, and stories from Florida history by Annette J. Bruce of Eustis, Florida. Annette Bruce grew up in a large family where daily stories were the norm. She co-founded The Florida Storytellers Guild, The Florida Storytelling Camp, and The Cracker Storytelling Festival. She has received awards from the Florida House of Representatives and the Department of State. Her *Tellable Cracker Tales* is filled with colorful characters living their lives amid the rich landscapes of old Florida. Each story is accompanied by tips for telling, suggested audience, and approximate telling time to make it easy to start your own storytelling tradition. The book is published in the belief that these stories are as much fun to read as they are to tell or hear.

Tellable Cracker Tales is available in paperback for \$8.95 and in hardcover for \$14.95. It can be found in bookstores or may be ordered directly from the publisher by calling 1-800-PINEAPL (746-3275).

Kathryn E. Holland Braund's *Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* was originally published by the University of Nebraska Press in 1993 and was reviewed in Volume LXXII, No. 4 (April 1994) of the *Quarterly* by John R. Finger. It is now available in paperback from the same press. The price is \$15.00.

Albert E. Cowdrey's *This Land, This South: An Environmental History*, originally published by the University Press of Kentucky in 1983, was reviewed in Volume LXIII, No. 1 (July 1984) of the *Quarterly*. A revised edition of this important work has just been released by the same press. It is available in cloth cover for \$32.95 and paperback for \$14.95.

A History of Ten Baptist Churches of Which the Author Has Been Alternately a Member was first published in the 1820s by John Taylor, a pioneer Baptist farmer-preacher. It has long been recognized as an indispensable source for first-hand information about the religious life of the early American frontier. In the book Taylor recounted the experiences of Baptists in Virginia who championed the cause of liberty. He then chronicled the movement of many of those Baptists to the wilderness of central and northern Kentucky where their church communities both struggled and flourished. *Baptists*

on the American Frontier is a revision of Taylor's book and the first-ever annotated one. It features a logical division of Taylor's sentences and paragraphs, a full bibliography of relevant historical works, tables outlining frontier religious rhetoric, and an extensive system of annotation that clarifies and corrects Taylor's accounts. *Baptists on the American Frontier* edited and introduced by Chester Raymond Young, is the annotated third edition of Taylor's original work. It has just been published by Mercer University Press, 6316 Peake Road, Macon, Georgia 31210-39601. Fax 912-752-2264. The price is \$39.95.

HISTORY NEWS

The University Press of Florida has announced a new series devoted to "Florida History and Culture." Co-edited by Raymond Arsenault and Gary Mormino, both professors of history at the University of South Florida, the series will include standard academic monographs, works of synthesis, carefully selected works of popular history, memoirs, and anthologies. While the series will feature books of historical interest, the coeditors encourage authors researching Florida's environment, politics, literature, and popular or material culture to submit their manuscripts for consideration. Authors interested in contributing to the "Florida History and Culture" series should send inquiries to: Professor Raymond Arsenault, 264 Davis Hall, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg, Florida 33701, Telephone: 813-893-9555; or, Professor Gary Mormino, Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida 33620, Telephone: 813-974-2808.

Dr. Paul S. George, past-president of the Society, and member of the social science department of Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus, was recently named editor of *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida*. Long-affiliated with the Historical Association of Southern Florida and well-known for his scholarly publications on the region, Dr. George has gained local, national, and even international notice for his walking tours of Miami. He is well-equipped to be editor of the highly respected *Tequesta*.

On March 9, 1996, the Junior Service League of St. Augustine, Inc., held its fourth annual St. Augustine Lighthouse Festival. The celebration was based on a Victorian theme, reflecting the era when the tower was first lit in 1874. The Lighthouse Festival serves as a way for the Junior Service League to thank the community for its continuing support of the St. Augustine Lighthouse. About 5,000 people usually attend these annual events.

At its annual banquet and awards dinner in November, 1995, the Tampa Historical Society recognized preservationist Stephanie

Ferrell by presenting her the 1995 D. B. McKay Award. The award was made by county historian Hampton Dunn.

The Tampa Bay History Center's History and Heritage Museum and Library is scheduled to open in the summer of 1996 at the Tampa Convention Center Annex at 225 South Franklin Street. This interim mini-museum will provide 2400 square feet of exhibits and changing displays.

Organized in 1995, the Boca Grande Historical Society celebrated its second year with a photographic exhibition entitled "Looking for Gasparilla: Memories of a Town" in February 1996 at the Boca Grande Community Center. The exhibit told the story of a small village which came into existence around 1900, flourished for a while, then declined and ceased to exist by the mid-20th century. Sallie VanItallie, who led a group of volunteers in preparing the exhibit, said "No trace of Gasparilla village remains today - except as recorded through photographs collected and preserved by one family." Over 600 people visited the exhibition with the result that the Society experienced a three-fold increase in size to nearly 100 family memberships. The Society is planning another exhibition for next season.

The historical *Encyclopedia of African American Associations* is seeking scholars interested in contributing assigned entries. This single-volume reference work will include associations established by African Americans and interracial groups working in the interest of African Americans. For a list of entries and further information please contact Nina Mjagkij, History Department, Ball State University, Muncie, IN 47306, or 00n0mjagkij@bsuvc.bsu.edu

Obituary

Willam D. Miller biographer of Dorothy Day, died at Lloyd, Florida on December 11, 1995 at the age of 79. A native of Jacksonville, Miller graduated from the University of Florida and received his M.A. in History from Duke University. After taking his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina, where he studied with Howard K. Beale and J. Carlisle Sitterson, Miller began a long and distinguished teaching career at Memphis State University. He had two tenures at Marquette University between which he was at Flor-

ida State University where he helped to found and then direct the American Studies Program.

Author of six books and scores of articles and essays, Miller's early career focused on the Progressive Era in the South. *Memphis During the Progressive Era, 1900-1917* (Memphis and Madison: The Memphis State University Press and the American History Research Center, 1957) and *Mr. Crump of Memphis* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964) were recognized for their scholarship and established Miller as a writer of grace and eloquence.

His mature writings reflect Miller's growing interest in social and intellectual history, and his commitment to Catholic social thought. A convert to Catholicism, Miller befriended Dorothy Day, co-founder of the Catholic Worker Movement, and this led to his writing of *A Harsh and Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement* (New York: Liveright, 1973) which was translated into Italian and published in Italy in 1975. This was followed by *Dorothy Day: A Biography* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1982) now recognized as the definitive biography of Dorothy Day, and *All Is Grace: The Spirituality of Dorothy Day* (New York: Doubleday, 1987).

After retirement Miller continued to write and publish, producing what many of his students see as the book most representative of his teaching, his philosophy of history, and his interest and fascination with Henry Adams: *Pretty Bubbles in the Air: America in 1919* (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1992). At the time of his death Miller was working on a personal memoir to be titled, *Growing Up in Jacksonville*.

William Miller was a teacher of extraordinary dimensions, an inspiration and guide to many who knew him beyond the classroom, and a human being of unlimited goodness and unqualified generosity. A Southerner by birth and a Catholic by choice, William Miller was an intellectual in the finest sense of the word. Thoughtful, reflective, and devoted to the life of the mind, he viewed history as an artform seeking an understanding of the human condition as a basis for authentic community.

He was dismayed by the tendency in contemporary works of history to accept "process" and work within its confines, and talked always of the need for the historian to get outside of time. It was in this view that the ideas of Henry Adams, Dorothy Day, and Peter Mauren most obviously affected his view and practice of history.

Beyond that he was able to combine in his own life the qualities of teacher and historian, the philosophy of the Catholic Worker

movement, and the teachings of the Catholic Church. He was passionately committed to the dignity of other human beings. He attracted a large and eclectic following by the force of his personality, and some members of that following became his graduate students and today seek to follow his example in university teaching.

He is survived by his wife Rhea Bond Miller, seven of their eight children, and thirteen grandchildren.

DENNIS B. DOWNEY AND RICHARD C. CREPEAU

MINUTES OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY BOARD OF DIRECTORS
January 20, 1996

The Board of the Florida Historical Society met at the Holiday Inn on Merritt Island on Saturday, January 20, 1996, for its semi-annual meeting. In attendance were:

Marinus Latour, President	Larry Rivers
Larry Durrence, President-Elect	Jim Roth
Raymond Arsenault	Dan Schafer
Patti Bartlett, Secretary	James Schnur
Bill Coker	Jerrell Shofner, <i>Quarterly</i>
Mike Denham	Patrick Smith
Jose Fernandez	Robert Taylor
Maxine Jones	Cynthia Trefelner
Jenifer Marx	Ted VanItallie
Marilyn Potts, Finance	Nick Wynne, Executive Director

1. The meeting was called to order at 10:15 a.m. Marinus Latour reviewed notable changes in the Society since our last meeting in May 1995.
2. Executive Director Nick Wynne reported on moving our offices and items from the University of South Florida in Tampa to Melbourne. Wynne and a crew of temporary workers packed and moved 175 boxes of back issues of the *Quarterly*, office furniture, unaccessioned documents, files, and other materials. The cost was around \$3,000 and took four days to complete. Items moved from Tampa are currently stored in the Educational Annex at Roesch House. The organized collection of materials is still located in the Special Collections Department of the USF Library and, according to our agreement with USF, can remain there until the end of the Summer 1996. Wynne thinks the university will grant us an extension of time if we need it. Alternative storage spaces have been identified and will be used if necessary.
3. No lease between the City of Cocoa and the Society for the old Federal Building has been worked out as of yet, but staff workers for the City have assured Wynne that the action will be completed in 3-5 weeks. Once the lease is signed, the Soci-

ety can apply for preservation grants to fund the renovation of the building to library specifications. Because of the need to administer the FHS library as a separate entity, Milton Jones, the Society's attorney, has suggested the creation of another 501 (c) (3) corporation to oversee the facility. A motion to do this was made by Patti Bartlett and seconded by Jenifer Marx. Marx asked if the creation of a new corporation would prevent our using available FHS funds for the library and vice-versa. Wynne assured her that this could be handled, if necessary, internally. The motion was approved unanimously.

4. Wynne indicated that if everything went as planned, the library could be opened by the end of 1996. Jose Rivera, a local contractor, has agreed to do the renovations for the cost of materials and labor, and *Scotty's* has agreed to provide the materials for cost. John Parks, the architect of the Roesch House, will do the preliminary drawings for free. Brevard Community College has agreed to renovate one room of the building as a distance learning classroom.
5. Wynne reported on the status of the Rosseter Trust endowment. The nieces and nephews of Miss Carrie have brought suit for \$200,000 against her former nurse. Both Milton Jones and Marinus Latour feel that one of the family's purposes may be to obtain nuisance money.
6. Larry Durrence reported on the 1996 FHS budget. Copies of the proposed budget were provided to the Board members and showed a projected deficit of about \$8,000 between anticipated revenue and projected expenses. Dr. Wynne explained that the Society's cash problems are typical of state societies. Some of the projected deficit can be explained by the failure of the 1995 meeting to show a positive balance and the limited response to the 1995 Annual Appeal, which generated only about \$6,000. The Society is negotiating with the Kislak Museum and with Sotheby's to sell the cigar lithographs acquired four years ago.
7. Board members suggested that alternative income sources should be explored, including sponsored issues of the *Journeys* magazine. Increased membership would also alleviate some of the projected deficit. Patrick Smith noted that the Brevard County area was responsive to fund-raising activities, and he and Wynne agreed to meet in the future to discuss some of them. Ted VanItallie suggested that the Society con-

tact industry leaders and ask them to support specific programmatic activities. He suggested that a list be created to provide potential sources of corporate support. After further discussion, a committee was appointed to develop a fund-raising program and to submit it to the Board at its May meeting. Larry Durrence will chair the committee, and Cynthia Trefelner, Ted VanItallie, Jenifer Marx, and Patti Bartlett will serve as members.

8. Wynne asked the Board to approve the establishment of a "line of credit" with a local bank to be used if needed. Jenifer Marx made the motion for approval; Bill Coker seconded the motion; and the Board unanimously approved the proposal.
9. An invoice for \$1,000, submitted by Sam Proctor for compensation for serving as interim editor of the *Quarterly* after the death of George Pozzetta, was brought to the attention of the Board with a request for approval/disapproval of payment. After much discussion, Jenifer Marx made a motion to disapprove the payment of the invoice. Robert Taylor seconded the motion. The Board voted unanimously in favor of the motion. Nick Wynne was instructed to write a letter (with the assistance of Milton Jones) to Dr. Proctor informing him of the Board's decision.
10. Jerrell Shofner reported on the status of the *Quarterly*. The Spring issue is ready, but Dr. Shofner asked that an effort be made to solicit more articles for future issues.
11. Bill Coker reported on the status of the Search Committee's efforts to find a permanent replacement for Dr. Shofner as editor.
12. President Latour handed out committees assignments for 1996.
13. No further business was brought up. The Board adjourned at 1:00 p.m. The Board then went to lunch and visited the Cocoa Federal Building library site.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .

1996

Sept. 7-10	American Association for State and Local History	Nashville, TN
Oct. 10-13	Oral History Association	Philadelphia, PA
Oct. 25-27	Southern Jewish Historical Association	Miami, FL
Oct. 30- Nov. 3	Southern Historical Association	Little Rock, AR

1997

Jan. 2-5	American Historical Association	New York, NY
April 17-20	Organization of American Historians	San Francisco, CA
TBA	Florida Anthropological Society	TBA
May 29	FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION	Jacksonville, FL
May 29-31	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 95TH MEETING	Jacksonville, FL

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 THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$35; family membership is \$40; library membership is \$45; a contributing membership is \$50 and above; and a corporate membership is \$100. In addition, a student membership is \$15, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, FL 32935. Telephone: 407-259-0511 or 259-0694; Fax: 407-259-0847.. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.

