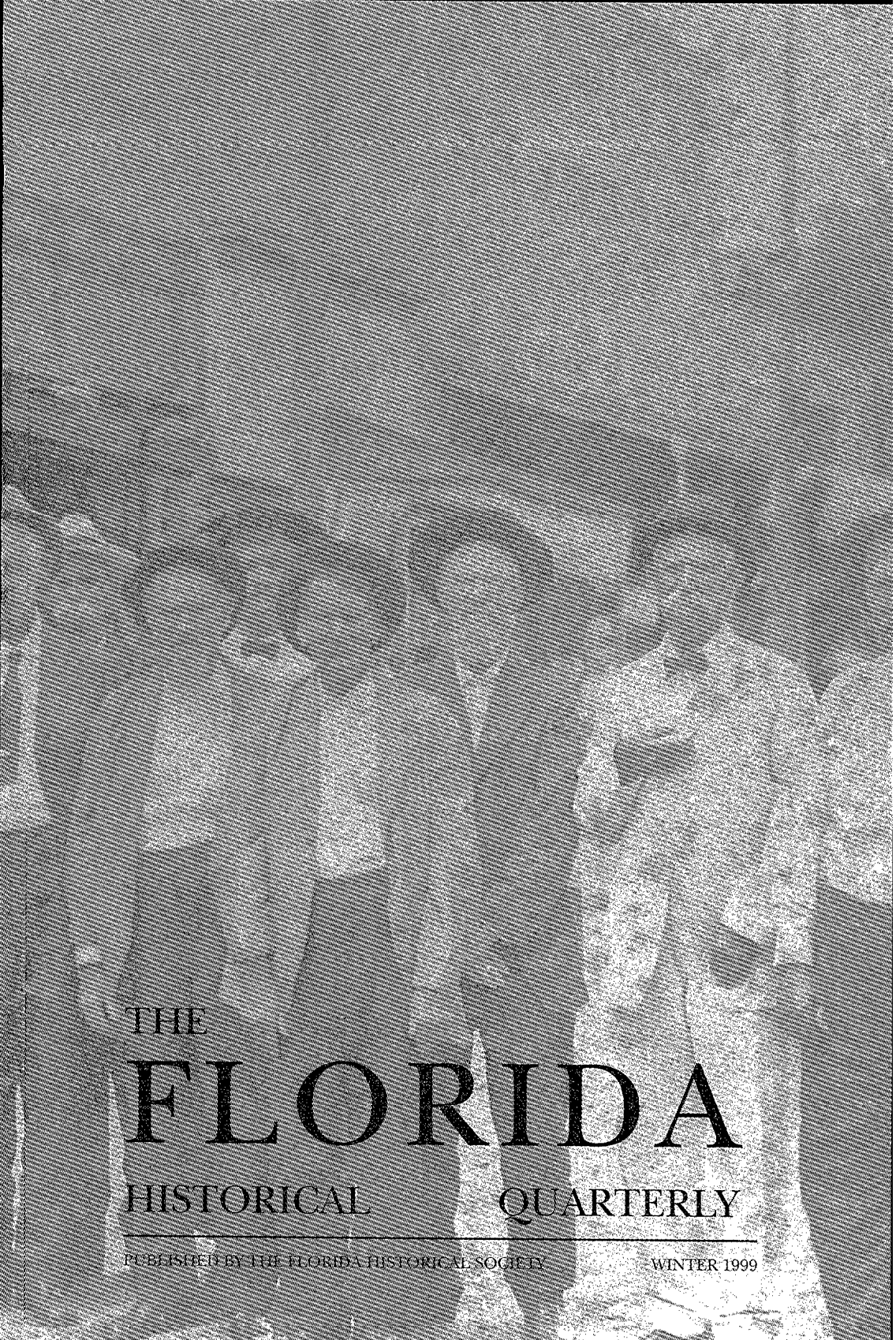

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COVER

Civil War veterans reunion on August 31, 1917, in Madison, Florida. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

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Special Issue

Florida In The Civil War

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Grander in Her Daughters: Florida's Women During the Civil War

by TRACY J. REVELS

"The citizens of the Flowery are determined to maintain their just rights at all hazards; and the fair daughters of Florida are prompt to encourage and cheer their bold defenders," the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported on February 2, 1861.[1] The newspaper not only relayed the latest happenings in the secession movement but prophetically established the trend for the historical view of women's lives during the Civil War.

Florida has received only slight consideration in the vast historical refighting of the war, and if the female "citizens of the Flowery" are mentioned at all, they are portrayed in the traditional roles of motherly matrons and beautiful belles, sending their men off to the front, tending their wounds, and mourning their deaths. A reconsideration of this stereotype is long overdue, for the daughters of Florida were not merely handkerchief-waving supporters of "The Cause." They were Confederates, but they were also Unionists, collaborationists, and neutral observers. They were slave owners and slaves, refugees and rebels. While historians are increasingly examining women's contributions to the Civil War, they often focus only on Confederate women or those who managed large plantations, missing the vast diversity of female experiences on the home front. As a small state, but one that endured a wide range of wartime events, Florida lends itself to the study of women's roles in the conflict. Heroines, cowards, and those who merely wished to be left alone mingled in a state that witnessed virtually every aspect of war, including invasion, occupation, and deprivation.

Florida was a small state in terms of inhabitants. The 1860 census tallied 41,128 white males and 36,619 white females, with a slave population of 31,348 males and 30,397 females. The free black population was minuscule, only 454 males and 478 females. Though

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1. *Philadelphia Inquirer,* February 2, 1861.

these figures reflected remarkable growth during the prosperous years of the 1850s, the northern press tagged Florida as "the smallest tadpole in the dirty pool of secession."[2] The population was clustered in the crescent known as Middle Florida. This region curved from the Panhandle to Ocala and represented the plantation belt of the state. Most Floridians resided on small farms, but the state's coastal towns were growing with diverse populations, including Yankee entrepreneurs and invalids. Women within the state lived in a variety of conditions, from frontier isolation to small town friendliness, and even the pretension of cosmopolitan sophistication.[3]

The move towards secession drew female support. Many undoubtedly echoed the politics of their menfolk, but they gave their thoughts unique expression. Helen, Maria, Margaret, and Florida Broward, daughters of Colonel John Broward of Duval County, sent a states' rights manifesto to the *Jacksonville Standard* on November 6, 1860. After apologizing for daring to speak publicly on political issues, the women took the "Submissionists" to task, asking whether Floridians would "still remain in the Union and trust the tender mercies of the Yankees and protect us by smoky resolutions and compromise, or will they avail themselves of the means given them by God and nature and defend themselves?" Pledging to imitate the Revolutionary matrons if war came, the Broward women urged secession and threatened to send their crinolines to timid politicians.[4] Other women attended public assemblies on the subject and took to wearing palmetto cockades in their hats as a symbol of support for South Carolina. In Pensacola, the many raucous secession meetings led a naval officer to conclude that "men, women, and children seemed to have gone mad."[5]

2. Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (Tampa, 1973), 1.
3. Canter Brown Jr., "The Civil War, 1861-1865," in Michael Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville, 1996), 231-33.
4. Samuel Proctor, ed., "The Call To Arms: Secession From a Feminine Point of View," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (January 1957), 266-70. Unfortunately, no copies of the *Jacksonville Standard* for this period exist, and it is not known whether this remarkable letter was ever published.
5. Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 137; Caroline Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida From the Treaty of 1763 to Our Own Times,* vol. 2 (DeLand, 1925), 51; Brian R. Rucker, "Blackwater and Yellow Pine: The Development of Santa Rosa County, 1821-1865," vol. 2, (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1990), 631.

When the secession convention assembled in Tallahassee on January 3, 1861, women packed the galleries and cheered the speakers. The vote for secession on January 10 met with feminine cheers. A day later, the first cannon salute to the new Republic of Florida was fired by Princess Achille Murat, widow of one of Napoleon's nephews and Tallahassee's most prominent socialite. Members of the convention entrusted the Ordinance of Secession to Elizabeth M. Eppes, a female descendant of Thomas Jefferson, who decorated the revered document with blue ribbon.[6] Women enjoyed the celebratory band concerts and fireworks displays held in Tampa and other cities. In the small town of Madison, Mrs. Enoch J. Vann hurrahed as fire-eaters with South Carolina pedigrees promised to drink all the blood spilled in the war.[7]

Not all Florida women, however, favored secession. Among those who attended the public meetings in Tampa was Catherine S. Hart, the wife of prominent judge and future governor Ossian Hart, who bemoaned the lack of a "Washington, Webster, or Clay" to cool tempers. In letters to relatives, she defended slavery but hoped disunion could be avoided. Octavia Stephens, a Boston native married to Florida planter Winston J. T. Stephens, shuddered to see militia troops drilling at the Duval County courthouse, declaring in a letter to her husband how grateful she was that he would never be in any military company. By the time her letter reached him, Winston had volunteered with the St. Johns Rangers and been elected first lieutenant. Ellen Call Long, prominent in Tallahassee society as befitted the daughter of former governor Richard Keith Call, disapproved of the antics of the women attending the secession convention. A number of Tallahassee's Unionist women held a wake for their nation at Lake Jackson Church, learning of the vote for secession just as their meeting was being called to order. Some mothers vowed to prevent their sons from enlisting. Women of all political persuasions worried about their families' safety. The thoughts of slave women were not

6. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes: or, Florida, New and Old* (1883; facsimile, Gainesville, 1962), 306; Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (1926; facsimile, Gainesville, 1968), 142; "Notes on Secession in Tallahassee and Leon County," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 4 (October 1925), 63-64.
7. *Jacksonville St. Johns Mirror*, July 17, 1861; William H. Trimner in Florida Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy Scrapbooks, vol. 1, (hereafter UDC Scrapbooks) Florida State Archives, Tallahassee (hereafter FSA).

recorded, but certainly they watched and waited, knowing that the outcome of the unfolding events would change their lives forever.[8]

The first actions of Florida's women were mainly symbolic, fitting within the nineteenth-century ideals of chivalry and honor. Women served as reminders to the men that they were fighting for more than cotton and states' rights. On April 2, 1861, the Gadsden Young Guards were treated to a supper organized by the women of Quincy. Each soldier was served by a young woman "as if she were his sister." The troop's commander promised, "Every man who was at the supper will consider that it is his duty to *fight and die,* if necessary, in defense of our country's rights and the honor of the ladies of Quincy." Along with farewell suppers, Confederate women graced podiums and platforms, presenting battle flags with designs restrained only by their creativity. The Young Guards carried a blue silk flag embroidered with a globe and eagle, and the state motto, "let us alone."[9] The St. Augustine Independent Blues displayed a banner with a palmetto and eagle, created by the ladies of the oldest city. The Franklin Rifles never carried their white flag into battle, perhaps because the seamstresses of Apalachicola had forgotten that white was the color of surrender. As soldiers departed, women surrounded them, often listening to or presenting maudlin speeches. They expressed, as young schoolmistress Sallie Partridge did in a speech to Captain Bradford's Madison volunteers, many "elegant, chaste and appropriate sentiments."[10]

With men marching away, women began to organize "thimble brigades," sewing circles that gave them both a patriotic and social outlet. Long after the war, a lady who identified herself only as Mrs. L. Thompson recalled the excitement among the women of Middleburg, who organized sewing, knitting, "and all other types of societies to relieve and lighten the burden of the brave men . . . ."[11] Women established soldiers' aid societies, spending evenings pre-

8. Catherine S. Hart to Charlotte Campbell, November 30, 1860, Dena E. Snodgrass Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville (hereafter PKY); Octavia Stephens to Winston Stephens, September 7, 1861, Stephens Family Collection, PKY; Long, *Florida Breezes*, 306.

9. *Qunicy Republic,* April 6, 1861.

10. Thomas Graham, *The Awakening of St. Augustine: The Anderson Family and the Oldest City, 1821-1924* (St. Augustine, 1978), 84; William H. Trimmer, untitled article, UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 1; T. C. Vann, "Captain Bradford's Company," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 1.

11. L. Thompson, "Reminiscences of the War," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 1.

Ellen Call Long, daughter of Governor Richard Keith Call and author of *Florida Breezes,* shown here C. 1880s. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

paring bandages, lint, and flannel bags for cartridges. This work received official sanction and praise from the state government. The legislature appropriated $10,000 in 1861 and $75,000 in 1863 for uniform materials, turning much of the cloth over to the ladies' military societies for manufacture into apparel. During 1862 and

1863 female societies produced 3,735 pairs of cotton drawers, 2,765 cotton shirts, 169 wool jackets, 809 pairs of wool pants, and 1,000 pairs of cotton socks. Governor John Milton expressed his thanks for the women's "generous, patriotic, and untiring efforts," but late in the war he called for a change in policy, leaving uniform distribution to the Confederate quartermaster. While Florida's Confederate women worked willingly, their products were not standardized, a common problem and concern in the ranks. Women continued to sew, especially for loved ones or local boys in the army.[12] Writing to Jesse Shaw Smith, his sister and personal tailor, Roderick Gospero Shaw of the Fourth Florida Infantry included patterns and descriptions of suits he desired, reflecting the Confederate propensity to design one's own uniform.[13]

Ladies' societies rarely coordinated their efforts, but Florida's women showed intriguing creativity in supporting "The Cause," especially when it came to fund raising. Tallahassee's ladies opened a special fund that soon included cash, jewelry, napkin rings, forks, spoons, and silver tongs in its treasury. Unmarried women organized a "Misses' Fair and Festival" to sell flowers, handicrafts, and a dinner advertised as "sufficient to tempt the appetite of a king." The event, a "perfect success," raised $1,450.[14] Bazaars, musical evenings, and amateur theatricals became common in Tallahassee and surrounding counties, providing an opportunity not only to raise money but to boost morale on the home front. A troupe of lady thespians from Jefferson, Madison, and Leon Counties performed adaptations of *King Lear,* the burlesque *Bombastes Furiosos,* and the melodrama Tampa to large crowds in the capitol building. Youthful performers, such as a young Tallahassee woman who gave a recitation "in cog" as Miss Nora Marshall, perhaps relished their moment on the stage. Children also contributed to musical evenings, which naturally drew rave reviews, no matter how talented the musicians.

12. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 171-72; Dorothy Dodd, "Florida in the War, 1861-1865," in Allen Morris, ed., *The Florida Handbook, 1961-62* (Tallahassee, 1961), 47-48; Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, 1943), 108-109.
13. Roderick Gospero Shaw to Jesse Shaw Smith, April 16, 1964, R. K Shaw Papers, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee (hereafter FSU).
14. Mary W. Keen, "Some Phases of Life in Leon County During the Civil War," *Tallahassee Historical Sociey Annual* 4 (1939), 26; *Tallahassee Sentinel,* April 28, 1863, May 6, 1863.

More importantly, every form of entertainment raised money for worthy causes: refugees, hospitals, and uniforms."

Florida's Confederate women also responded immediately to the provisioning of hospitals. Newspapers in the first months of the war carried open letters of thanks to women like Mrs. Daniel Ladd, wife of a prominent Leon County businessman, who had donated articles for the Tallahassee Guards' hospital. Ladies' hospital societies were organized, drawing up lists that resembled the one made by the Marianna Society, calling for linens, towels, and even a precise number of dippers, spittoons, and bedpans. Sue M. Archer remembered the transformation of the Planter's Hotel in Tallahassee, how the "corps of ladies" under the direction of Mrs. Delceda Pearce turned an unoccupied structure into "a comfortable and cheery place for the soldiers." Women also established wayside hotels or homes near depots to provide food and homelike comforts to traveling soldiers.[16]

During the war, many women served as amateur nurses, though not always with distinction. Common anecdotes poked fun at unattractive spinsters who tried too hard to imitate Florence Nightingale, only to cause more suffering to their charges. Most women seemed content to deliver food and clothing to hospitals, or nurse their own wounded at home. One woman, Mary Martha Reid, widow of territorial governor Robert R. Reid, won fame as the matron of the Florida hospital in Richmond. Since each state was responsible for its own facility, Reid worked tirelessly to make people aware of the hospital's needs. Known as "the mother of the Florida boys," Reid lost her own son, Raymond, in the Battle of the Wilderness near the end of the war.[17]

Support for the Confederacy centered in Middle Florida. Other regions, such as West Florida, Jacksonville and St. Augustine, held large Unionist populations. These people were unfortunate in their neighbors, for during the war many atrocities occurred. In

15. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journa(*, May 26, 1863, June 9, 1863; Samuel Proctor, ed., *Florida A Hundred Years Ago* (Tallahassee, 1963), n.p.; *Qunicy Dispatch,* April 21, 1863.
16. *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel,* August 26, 1862; J. Randall Stanley, *History of Jackson County* (Marianna, 1950), 179-83; Sue M. Archer, "The Soldiers Hospital," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 5; *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel,* November 17, 1862.
17. Johns, *Florida During the Civil* War, 172-73; Newspaper extracts, circa 1863, UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 6; Mary Martha Reid, "What I Know of the Travers Family" (Florida Historical Records Survey, 1937), 14; C. W. Maxwell, "The 2nd Florida Regiment at Williamsburg and Seven Pines," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 4.

Walton County, a Union officer reported that one woman had been brutally assaulted by Confederates demanding to know where her husband was hiding. When she refused to reveal his whereabouts, her tormentors unleashed their dogs on her and killed her two children. Other Unionist families found themselves under fire as they tried to reach Federal gunboats. In August 1862, a Union commander rescued four families on the Blackwater River, reporting that the "people were delighted to escape the tyranny of their oppressors, and now, for the first time in months, felt safe."[18]

In an amazing incident late in the war, the Confederate government dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Henry D. Capers to capture a band of Confederate deserters and Unionists who were hiding out in the Taylor and Lafayette County swamps. Unable to locate the men, Capers rousted their wives and children from their homes, burned the dwellings, then marched his prisoners back to Tallahassee. Held in hastily constructed stockades near Tallahassee, these unfortunate dependents quickly became a "nine days wonder" to local teenager Susan Bradford Eppes and other Confederate bystanders. After initial confrontations filled with threats of retribution, the women grew disheartened and accepted offers of food from concerned citizens. Outraged at Capers' action, Governor John Milton fired off notes protesting the idea of making war on women and children. The women also submitted a petition, arguing that they did not all agree with their husbands' choices, but as wives and daughters they were bound to obey the decisions of their men. On July 19, 1864, the families were transported to a Union blockading vessel off St. Marks.[19]

Many of Florida's important cities fell to Federal troops early in the war: St. Augustine, Key West, Pensacola, and Fernandina became Yankee strongholds and recreation areas during the conflict. For women of Unionist or collaborationist persuasion, the presence of Federal troops represented security and new opportunities. "There are about twenty five ladies in town, who have openly espoused the Union cause throughout the troubles," the Unionist St. Augustine *Examiner* reported on May 1, 1862, "and they deserve great credit for their courage and fidelity, sustained under the most perilous and trying circumstances." In the state's oldest city, Clar-

18. Rucker, "Blackwater and Yellow Pine," vol. 2, 694-96.
19. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 165-67; Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, 223-24.

Susan Bradford Eppes, author of *Through Some Eventful Years,* shown here 1864. *Photograph courtesy of the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

issa Anderson opened her plantation home, Markland, to Union officers. A northerner by birth, the attractive widow established "a charming atmosphere of culture and refinement," while her black cook became known as a seller of orange pies. Elite women like Anderson were able to serve as mediators between the troops and

townspeople, easing tensions during the occupation. Some young Minorcan women found romance with their guards, and less genteel relationships were established on a cash basis.[20] In occupied areas, the female population grew with the arrival of officers' wives, schoolteachers, and philanthropists, many of whom left observations– not always flattering– of the state and its natives.[21]

While the Confederate command did not fret about the taking of Florida's port cities, many of the female residents did, and they made their concerns known. The Federals who occupied St. Augustine encountered a constant barrage from the female "fire-eaters," often led by Mrs. Frances Kirby Smith, the mother of Confederate general Edmund Kirby Smith. Working within social structures that permitted them to engage in activities for which men would have been arrested, Confederate dames chopped down flagpoles, enacted public mourning for Confederate memorials, and challenged Union officers directly. Shortly after receiving the surrender of the city from Mayor Cristobal Bravo, Commander C. R. P. Rodgers found himself under attack by a virago. Informing him that the men of the city had acted like cowards, the woman declared that there were stouter hearts in other bosoms, striking her own for dramatic effect. Though Union officers dismissed these actions as women's "theatrical desires to portray themselves as heroines," such activities annoyed the Union leaders. When coupled with the suspicion that women were passing messages and aid to Confederates beyond the lines, the pantomimes became intolerable. Confederate families in Key West were nearly deported, and a number of women and children were forcibly removed from St. Augustine in February 1863. Many of these dislocated families later fled to Lake City and Madison.[22]

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20. *St. Augustine Examiner,* May 1, 1862; Thomas Graham, "The Home Front: Civil War Times in St. Augustine," in Jacqueline Fretwell, ed., *Civil War Times in St. Augustine* (St. Augustine, 1986), 34-35;James M. Nichols, *Perry's Saints, or The Fighting Parson's Regiment in the War of the Rebellion* (Boston, 1886), 180; Diary of Elias A. Bryant, 56-57, Lewis Schmidt Collection, FSA.
21. See Gerald Schwartz, ed., *A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawks' Diary* (Columbia, 1984) and Frances Beecher Perkins, "Two Years With a Colored Regiment: A Woman's Experience," *New England Magazine,* September 1897-February 1898.
22. *Philadelphia Inquirer,* March 20, 1862; *St. Augustine Examiner,* May 1, 1862; Graham, "The Home Front," 26-34, Omega G. East, "St. Augustine During the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 31 (October 1952), 82; Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912), 92-95.

The war came home for Florida's women by degrees, as prices inevitably rose and household management became a greater burden. During the conflict, "making do" became a theme of life. Florida's women encountered daily challenges to their flexibility and ingenuity. Women living in frontier conditions were probably better prepared for the rigors of deprivations than were their kinswomen who had become accustomed to stores and mills. Amanda Comerford's experience was typical. Her husband James E. Comerford enlisted in the 6th Florida Infantry in 1862, leaving Amanda on their Jackson County farm with a year's provisions, four small children, and a set of twins on the way. "It is difficult to describe my struggles to provide food and clothing for this large family," Comerford wrote. "I had to work on the farm during the day, go a long distance to milk, and a large part of the night was spent spinning and weaving to make cloth for wearing apparel. But somehow I managed to struggle through as did many other women during these trying times."[23] Some, like Mattie English Branch of Liberty County, helped look after "delicate" neighbors. Branch recalled making a circuit of her community, planting corn, potatoes, rice, peas, and pumpkins, because she "was young, healthy, and strong, and felt that [she] must do something for the general good."[24] But for every woman who set up a loom or managed a successful farm, there were others who lacked the education, skills, or aplomb to succeed.

Small luxuries and necessities long taken for granted were early casualties of the war. The price of calico cloth skyrocketed, and medicine became impossible to obtain. Women coped by repairing old dresses, "turning them out" until they resembled something different, if not exactly something new. Almost any food item could be substituted. When coffee grew scarce, Florida housewives brewed dried okra, acorns, or pumpkin seeds instead. Floridians were fortunate in the natural bounty of their land, so their diets were generally better than elsewhere in the Confederacy. Women in occupied areas were often forced to swallow their pride and trade with the Yankees for provisions. Holidays grew more dismal, leading some women to tell their slaves and children that Santa Claus had been shot by the Yankees. Schools closed and churches

23. "Experiences of Mrs. Amanda Comerford," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 1.
24. Mattie English Branch, "Story of Two Lovers," UDC Scrapbooks, vol 1.

lost ministers, disrupting the facets of life women considered sacred.[25]

A myriad of letters bear witness to the trauma of the war on the homefront. Naturally, most surviving letters are from soldier husbands or fathers providing general advice or responding to what must have been direct questions. Edmund Lee, a Tampa chaplain in the CSA, sent dozens of messages home to his wife, Electra, who apparently had little business experience. Many of the letters concern the sale of roof tiles, and Lee urged his wife not to allow herself to be cheated.[26] Farm men wrote of feeding and plowing schedules, and demanded to know what salt and pork were bringing on the market. Fathers prescribed for childhood ailments, one even telling his wife to inform their son that "he must not swallow any more tacks."[27] What have you done with my watch and your silver, don't buy a horse until you have to, talk to my sister who has "long experience" in making do-all were instructions from one absent husband in 1863.[28] Perhaps most perplexing to sheltered women were the complex financial arrangements, the seemingly endless lists of bonds, notes, and IOUs to be collected before the taxes could be paid.[29]

Wives and dependents of soldiers turned to the state for relief but found little. Midway through the war, Governor Milton ordered county officials to compile lists of soldiers' families in need of aid, a figure which leapt from 11,673 individuals in 1863 to over 13,000 by 1864. Efforts to secure corn, syrup, and other basic foodstuffs for these dependants were largely unsuccessful, and conditions worsened as the conflict progressed. Though the state spent $458,000 to aid families of men in the Confederate service-supporting approximately one noncombatant for every man it put in

25. Mary Louise Ellis and William Warren Rogers, *Favored Land Tallahassee: A History of Tallahassee and Leon County* (Norfolk, 1988), 68; Graham, "The Homefront," 30; Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, 253; Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 175-89.

26. Edmund C. Lee, *Civil War Letters* (Florida State Historical Records Survey, 1937), 13, 28-30.

27. Michael O. Raysor to Sallie Raysor, February 5, 1863, Michael O. Raysor Letters, PKY; Washington Waters to "Dear Wife," December 23, 1863, Washington Waters Papers, FSA; Samuel Augustus Palmer to Mary Rebecca Palmer, circa 1863, Palmer Family Letters, FSA.

28. Samuel Augustus Palmer to Mary Rebecca Palmer, circa 1863, Palmer Family Letters.

29. Hugh Black to Mary Ann Black, May 24, 1863, Captain Hugh Black Letters, Special Collections, FSU.

the field-letters and newspaper editorials constantly complained about the plight of the poor soldier's family. Other government efforts to provide assistance, such as distributing some $35,000 worth of cotton and wool cards, also met with criticism for the poor quality of the materials. By April 1864, Major C. C. Yonge, chief Confederate Quartermaster for Florida, warned Governor Milton that many families in the state were "perilously near starvation."[30] The condition of soldiers' families and lower-class whites in general was shocking even to invaders. In February 1864, a reporter for the *New York Herald* found the women near Baldwin to be dirty, gaunt, "wolfish and unwomanly." Soldiers shared his evaluation. "The Whites who are living here still are wretchedly poor," Lieutenant Charles Duren of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment wrote. "They are women and children– hardly enough clothing to cover their backs– and food I can not tell you what they live on. It is a pitiful sight."[31]

For many women, the greatest burden was simply the absence of a loved one. The dozens of letters between Julia and William Stockton of Quincy reveal a passion that was not dimmed by the war. "Dear Will, come home Darling," Julia urged in 1862, when it seemed likely that her husband, an officer in the 1st Florida Cavalry, would have a brief furlough. "Two or three weeks will be ages. I told you in my last letter how 'good' I would be."[32] As wives longed for physical contact, mothers worried about more than just their sons' health and survival. Sarah Ann Fletcher delivered numerous sermons to her two sons, Malcolm and John, noting in one letter, "let me beg of you to watch and pray lest you fall into bad practices, let me urge you then to seek religion there is no safety without it." The men were not oblivious to their womenfolk's fears, and they likewise worried for the health and safety of those left at home. While serving in the 3rd Florida Infantry, Michael Raysor of Jefferson County pleaded with his wife Sallie to look after her health, "for it is you that I live for." Thomas Clark, a soldier in the 5th Florida Infantry, shared a love of poetry with his wife Martha, and they

30. John F. Reiger, "Deprivation, Disaffection, and Desertion in Confederate Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (January 1970), 282-83; Dodd, "Florida in the Civil War," 48; Johns, *Florida During the Civil War,* 110-l 1.
31. *New York Herald,* February 20, 1864; Charles M. Duren to "Mother," February 15, 1864, Charles M. Duren Letters, PKY
32. Julia Stockton to William Stockton, February 12, 1862, Stockton Family Papers, FSA.

exchanged verses as well as letters. In one poem Clark empathized with his spouse's fears, taking the voice of a woman pleading with her husband not to become a soldier:

> An sentinel you'll be wounded
> In the Battlefield be slane
> My hart will Brake like thounder
> If I never see you a gain.

Exhausted from her labors on the farm, Sallie Raysor confessed plainly to her absent husband that "nothing but your presence could make me lively now."[33]

Bereavement stripped away the illusions of rapid, heroic triumphs. Learning that her fiance had been killed, Susan Bradford's cousin locked herself away in a room, staring forelornly at her trousseau. When Lieutenant Joel C. Blake of the Florida Brigade met a violent end at Gettysburg, his widow was shocked that she could not bring his body home for burial. Unidentified remains and unknown graves tormented many grieving families. Mourning clothes were increasingly in short supply, and newspapers began to criticize the ritual attire as wasteful. Women comforted each other, urging widows and orphans to accept death as the will of God. "Think of your husband as a rejoicing angel," Sallie Raysor's sister-in-law wrote, reminding her that "you dear Sallie had the satisfaction of nursing him, and doing all you could to smoothe his dying pillow."[34]

Not all women lived up to the favorite Confederate image of the stoic matron. Men did not have a monopoly on cowardice, avarice, or unpatriotic behavior. While sojourning in Madison during her exile from St. Augustine, Frances Kirby Smith reported that the local women were pretentious snobs, interested only in comparing themselves to others and parading in finery purchased from blockade runners. The *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal* scolded widows

33. See Stockton Papers; S.A. Fletcher to "Dear Sons," May 6, 1861, Zabud Fletcher Family Papers, FSA; Thomas J. Clark to Martha Ann Law Clark, circa 1862, Thomas J. Clark Letters, FSA, Sallie Raysor to Michael O. Raysor, December 26, 1861, and Michael O. Raysor to Sallie Raysor, January 17, 1863, Raysor Family Papers.

34. Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years,* 159-60, 168; J. Russell Reaver Jr., ed., "Letters of Joel C. Blake," *Apalachee* 5 (1957-1962), 8-9; Letter to Sallie Raysor, n.d., Raysor Family Papers.

who were planting cotton rather than corn. "Let not widows think to shield themselves in the manner under the plea of their helplessness," the writer warned, "a rich widow is by no means helpless . . . ." Another warning came from the Gainesville *Cotton States,* following a story of a deserter's execution. The man claimed he had been lured away from duty by his wife's pleading. "Soldiers' wives can not be too cautious in their letters to their husbands," the *Cotton States* argued. "They should not make them believe they are suffering when really they are not."[35]

The Civil War also had an immediate effect upon Florida's slave and free black populations. Approximately one-third of Florida's families owned slaves, and the majority of slaves were clustered in the "black arc" that extended from Gadsden eastward and southward to Alachua and Marion counties. How a slave reacted to the war depended upon temperament, conditions of enslavement, and knowledge of events. Many owners worked to keep their bondsmen ignorant of the war or told them exaggerated stories to instill fear of "devilish" Yankees, but few if any slaves were fooled by these fables. The war placed new burdens and expectations on female slaves. However, it also gave them new opportunities for rebellion and retribution, and ultimately freedom.[36]

Slave women retained valuable skills that plantation mistresses had forgotten, and Susan Bradford Eppes recalled black women instructing their mistresses in spinning and sewing, as well as sharing their herb lore for dyes and medicines. Like many southerners, Eppes remembered the slave women on her father's plantation as faithful servants who dutifully performed their tasks, but it does not take much imagination to wonder if the smile a slave woman wore while stirring black dye for her mistress's mourning dress was not exactly a sweet expression of sympathy.[37] Many female slaves discovered they were disposable property, as families unwilling to sacrifice prime field hands often sold women and children to pay

35. Joseph Howard Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.* (Baton Rouge, 1954), 329; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal,* April 4, 1863; *Gainesville Cotton States,* April 16, 1864.

36. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, 1956), 30; Edwin L. Williams Jr., "Negro Slavery in Florida: Part *II," Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (January 1950), 187; Joshua Hoyet Frier Memoirs, transcript, 13, Joshua Hoyet Frier Papers, FSA.

37. Susan Bradford Eppes, *The Negro of the Old South:* A *Bit of Period History* (Chicago, 1925), 109-11.

wartime debts. All females were expected to work harder than ever to support the cause that kept them enslaved, a fact noted sourly by a woman belonging to the Watkins family of Bartow. Loaned to another family to do laundry, on her return she commented to her young mistress, "Missis L. say your father he sending us to wash to help her husband fight to keep us slaves."[38]

With the war came new expressions of slave surliness and demonstrations of power. Flora and Jane, two teenaged maids at Slyvania, Governor John Milton's Jackson County plantation, exasperated Sarah Jones, the English governess who had come to teach the large Milton brood. Flora would allow the baby to scatter his toys, while Jane purposefully failed at simple assignments. Encouraged by Mrs. Milton to cuff them for disobedience, the young teacher was foiled when Flora simply ignored the blows and Jane turned on her with a gruff, "underground" voice, frightening her almost to tears.[39] The female house servants at Rose Cottage, the Stephens' farm, objected when Octavia Stephens' mother-in-law took up residence during the war. They complained constantly about having "two bosses" and extra work. Octavia Stephens' threat to beat them drew a tart response: one slave replied that she would rather be beat to death than worked to death. Numerous letters filled with sage advice from absent husbands indicate that white mistresses faced new challenges in slave management within the plantation household as well as in the fields.[40]

Slave women further violated white codes of civility by refusing to show sympathy for the Confederate cause. Sarah Brown, a Tampa slave who had experienced much brutal treatment, had no patience with her dewy-eyed mistress. When she found her weeping in fear for her husband, Brown took the opportunity to remind her how many times she had been beaten for similar behavior, and that crying "would not do her any good." Revenge was a common urge, even among the young, as Dr. Esther Hills Hawks, a Union physician with the troops during the 1864 occupation of Jackson-

38. *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel,* December 9, 1862; March 2 and 13, 1863; *Pensacola Weekly Observer,* June 9, 1861; Margaret Watkins Gibbs, "Memory Diary of Mrs. George Gibbs," n.d., St. Augustine Historical Society Library, St. Augustine.

39. Catherine Cooper Hopley (pseud. Sarah E. Jones), *Life in the South,* vol. 2 (London, 1863), 279-85.

40. Ellen Hodges Patterson, "The Stephens Family in East Florida: A Profile of Plantation Life Along the St. Johns River, 1859-1864" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1979), 51.

ville, soon learned. Sarah, one of Dr. Hawks' contraband charges, openly fantasized about rebuking her former mistress, whom she claimed had never given her enough to eat. Begging to be taught to write, Sarah admitted her chief desire was to pen a letter to her owner, describing all the good food behind Yankee lines. Freed slaves could not resist the opportunity to mock their former masters. In Key West, one female slave enjoyed leaning on a fence, watching her one-time mistress labor in her garden, then asking "how she liked it."[41]

Free blacks, though a minuscule portion of the state's population, also lived under oppressive conditions. During the war, at least in Confederate areas, free blacks had to remain circumspect. An 1861 law required them to register with a probate judge, pay a fee, and maintain a white guardian.[42] Free blacks in areas such as Pensacola and St. Augustine fared better, often finding jobs as cooks and domestics for Union troops. They were also eligible to receive rations from Union commissaries. Aunt Eliza, a former slave and cook at Ft. Jefferson, soon became a familiar figure, known as much for her odorous pipe, her missing teeth, and her much younger but terribly lazy lover, as for her turtle soup.[43]

Wartime confusion made the ultimate resistance to slavery-escape– easier. Like their male counterparts, many female slaves took advantage of the crisis to make their bid for freedom, frequently as family units with young children in tow. They often disappeared from refugee convoys and were not missed for several days. Occasionally they slipped across rivers and inlets on boats, making their way to Union occupied territories. Others were liberated by advancing Federal troops. Dr. Hawks interviewed contraband women in Jacksonville and came to the conclusion that they were "intelligent and active– many of them have picked up a little book learning. It is not uncommon to find a fair reader among those who have been slaves." An educated member of any escape party was an asset. The slave women who could read or

41. "One-Time Slave Sheds Light on Life in Tampa," *Tampa Tribune,* June 5, 1988; Schwartz, *A Woman Doctor's Civil War,* 69-70; Emily Holder, "At the Dry Tortugas During the War: A Lady's Journal," *The Californian Illustrated,* February 1892, 103.

42. Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Development in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 111-12, 121.

43. *Fernandina Peninsula,* August 13, 1863; "At The Dry Tortugas," 87-89.

forge passes were unsung heroines of Florida. Once free behind Union lines, women assumed domestic duties while their men were drafted for manual labor. Though some commanders sniffed at the squalor of contraband camps, others noted the determination, especially among the women, to see that their children received medical care and educational opportunities.[44]

Those who found freedom celebrated it vibrantly. In St. Augustine, black women marched with their children and spouses in the 1864 Emancipation Day parades. Mimicking white society, black matrons founded committees to oversee decorations and refreshments for various events. The *Peninsula* of Fernandina noted that two separate committees had been organized to plan the 1863 Independence Day celebration, and that all members were married ladies known to be excellent cooks and caterers. "The affair," the paper predicted, "promises to be a complete success."[45]

While slaves struggled for freedom, white women were introduced to the grisly realities of war when the battles came home. Chivalry broke down as the war progressed, and while most Union officers would not tolerate the molestation of women and children, they sanctioned raids on henhouses, larders, and barns. On occasion, a woman's pleading or perhaps her efforts to shame an overzealous commander saved a family from becoming homeless.[46] Black troops were frequently accused of insulting or harassing white women. In 1864, Dr. Esther Hawks witnessed the execution of three black soldiers condemned for committing an "outrage" on a white woman. She later confided to her diary that similar conduct, quite common among white soldiers, went unnoted and unpunished.[47]

Women witnessed battles, skirmishes, and bombardments. Maria Louisa Daegenhard of Tampa, a child during the war, frequently fled with her family when the city was shelled, and from

44. Mrs. L. Thompson, "Reminiscences of the War," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 1; Brian E. Michaels, *The River Flows North: A History of Putnam County, Florida* (Palatka, 1976), 99; Schwartz, ed., *A Woman Doctor's Civil War,* 77, 82.
45. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), *237; Fernandina Peninsula,* July 2, 1863.
46. Lillie B. McDuffee, *The Lures of Manatee: A True Story of South Florida's Glamourous Past,* 2d ed. (Atlanta, 1961), 142-43; Mary Crary Weller, *Reminiscences of the Old South From 1834 to 1866* (Pensacola, 1984), 13-14.
47. Kyle S. VanLandingham, ed., "'My National Troubles': The Civil War Papers of William McCullough," *The Sunland Tribune: Journal of the Tampa Historical Society* 20 (November 1994), 63-66; Schwartz, *A Woman Doctor's Civil War,* 61.

their refuge they watched the burning of the *Scottish Chief,* a famous blockade runner. Women listened to the guns of Olustee and quickly mobilized to provide food and medical supplies for the survivors, both Confederate and Federal. Afterwards, women wandered the battlefield, staring at the grim remains and questioning what purpose the conflict served. Natural Bridge, the concluding skirmish of the war in Florida, brought out morbid tourists, including women who asked to see the Federal bodies floating in the river.[48]

Whether the threat of death was real or imagined, many women fled from coastal areas, joining the mass exodus of humanity that created chaos for the Confederacy. Often these flights were rushed and desperate. Maria C. Murphy was caught in the frenzied Confederate retreat from Jacksonville in 1862, trying to calm three children, pack up her husband's medical library, and sell their furniture in a matter of hours. When she shifted her brood to a neighbor's home, she found the house filled with soldiers, and Murphy soon had the extra duty of baking biscuits for the departing troops. Equally heart-rending was the evacuation of Unionist families when Federal troops departed Jacksonville later that year. "None of these [families] had more than ten hours to make preparations for leaving homes they had occupied for years," the *New York Herald* reported. "It was sad to see them hurrying down to the wharf, each carrying some article too precious to forsake."[49] Inland towns such as Madison were inundated with refugees, and relations were occasionally strained when coastal sophisticates, such as Frances Kirby Smith, found provincial accommodations somewhat less than adequate for their refined sensibilities. Military husbands advised wives to evacuate at the first sign of danger, warnings that were sometimes ignored. The extreme to which evacuation could be planned was evident in Major George W. Scott's 1864 letter to his wife Rebekah, who lived near Tallahassee. Fearful of a Federal raid on the coast in retribution for the Confederate victory at Olustee, Scott penned a 2,200-word commentary on "how to escape the Yankees," giving Rebekah directions for packing, travel, and slave manage-

48. Maria Louisa Dagenhardt, transcript, Snodgrass Collection; "Recollections of Service," unpublished manuscript, nd., 88-89, Schmidt Collection, FSA; Mrs. Deliah Kelly, "My Experience," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 1; Johns, *Florida During the Civil War,* 205.

49. *Philadelphia Inquirer,* April 22, 1862; Mary E. Baker, untitled article, UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 5; Maria C. Murphy, "The First Day of the Evacuation of Jacksonville," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 4; *New York Herald,* April 22, 1862.

ment. He even included a sketch showing the proper construction of a tent.[50]

The spring of 1865 brought the battle of Natural Bridge, which saved Tallahassee from Union occupation and took on heroic proportions in the minds of Confederate Floridians, but the southern cause was already lost. In Tallahassee, Robert E. Lee's surrender coincided with yet another female-supported musical entertainment, a concert held in the house of representatives' chambers to raise money for soldiers' families. The news from Appomattox soon silenced the choruses of *Dixie* and *The Southern Marseillaise.*[51]

"To be a conquered people is a novel experience, and we have daily both amusing and mortifying incidents in our unadaptedness to the change," Ellen Call Long observed from her home in the state's occupied capitol soon after the surrender. "The women," Long reported, "are especially cantankerous, but General Vogdes . . . thinks a few fashionable bonnets will subdue them."[52] Many women feared for the safety of their sons, especially those who had worn the gray. Sarah Ann Fletcher took a decidedly dismal view, writing to her son, "if we are to be subjugated the negroes will be free and we will lose our land and everything else . . . . do not tell that you killed a Yankee for they might want to kill you for it." Reprisals were surprisingly few, and most Floridians began the process of recovery and reconstruction. However, according to 1866 reports of the Freedmen's Bureau, Florida's women remained more hostile and bitter than the men, especially the "old women and silly girls."[53]

The end of the war meant freedom for the slaves and new opportunities for education and employment, as well as new perils from racism. Schools in Jacksonville and Fernandina continued to flourish, often under the leadership of Yankee women who would make Florida their new home. Most women, no matter their race or class, simply got on with the business of living, often taking up new burdens due to the loss of men or changes in family fortunes.[54]

50. Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.,* 346; Clifton Paisley, ed., "How to Escape The Yankees: Major Scott's Letter to His Wife at Tallahassee, March, 1864," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50 (July 1971), 53-59.
51. Proctor, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago,* n.p.; Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years,* 265-67.
52. Long, *Florida Breezes,* 381.
53. S.A. Fletcher to "Dear Son," April 29, 1865, Zabud Fletcher Family Papers, FSA, Richardson, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida,* 5-6.
54. Sarah Whitmore Foster and John T. Foster Jr., "Chloe Merrick Reed: Freedom's First Lady," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71 (January 1993), 279-99.

As soon as the flags were furled, Florida's women began a new task, that of keeping the memory of the "gallant dead" alive and saving such treasures as Confederate banners and swords to be handed down along with the embellished legends of J. J. Dickison as "Florida's Swamp Fox" and the Home Guard and seminary cadets' "Cradle and Grave" defense of Natural Bridge. As early as June 1865, a group of Tallahassee ladies organized a Memorial Association to perpetuate the memory of the Confederate dead.[55] They did their job well, but in the process of honoring their menfolk, they diminished their own roles as providers, supporters, and survivors.

Neglected for decades, the women of the Confederacy reemerged in the twentieth century. Numerous articles and books now examine the lives of famous women, and journals and diaries, such as those of Mary Chesnut or Sarah Morgan, have become familiar to the general public as well as to scholars, Recently, historians Catherine Clinton and Drew Faust have debated the role of southern women in the war effort and its effect on them afterwards. Unfortunately, Florida's women remain obscure and rarely considered in general historical works. They are beginning to receive consideration in state histories but are rarely incorporated into the overall fabric of the Confederacy. Much work remains to be done in this area, to find similarities and differences to the life experiences of women in other states. While Florida's women certainly had many common bonds with their Confederate sisters, the high proportion of Unionists, the frontier nature of the state, and the occupation of key cities demand special consideration.[56]

55. Long, *Florida Breezes,* 385.

56. For general biographical studies of southern women during the Civil War, see Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton, *Women of the Confederacy* (Richmond, 1936) and Bell Irwin Wiley, *Confederate Women* (Westport, 1975). Two of the most famous diaries of southern women are C. Vann Woodward, ed., *Mary Chestnut's Civil War* (New Haven, 1981), and Charles Frost, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Sarah Morgan* (Athens, 1991). Recent works that consider women's roles and the war's impact on women include George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis* of *Southern Nationalism* (Urbana, 1989), Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds., *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York, 1992), and Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South and the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, 1996). Florida's women receive attention in two book chapters: Canter Brown Jr., "The Civil War, 1861-1865," in Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida* and Mary Ann Cleveland, "Florida Women During the Civil War," in James J. Horgan and Lewis N. Wynne, eds., *Florida Decades: A Sesquicentennial History, 1845-1995* (St. Leo, Florida, 1995).

Mrs. Enoch Vann, a United Daughters of the Confederacy historian, lived through the Civil War in Florida. As the years passed, she often bemoaned the lack of women in its story. She urged readers of her UDC letters to remember their own experiences during the conflict. "As grand as the South was in her sons," Mrs. Vann declared, "she was grander in her daughters."[57]

57. Mrs. Enoch J. Vann, "Reminiscences of the Battle of Olustee," UDC Scrapbooks, vol. 1.

Florida's Seed Corn: The History of the West Florida Seminary During the Civil War

by DAVID J. COLES

Most students of the Civil War are familiar with the role the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) cadets played in the 1864 Battle of New Market. The young soldiers fought valiantly in that southern victory and suffered more than fifty casualties, including ten dead or mortally wounded. Cadets from the South Carolina Military Academy in Charleston also saw active service, as did those from the Georgia Military Institute and the University of Alabama. Though lesser known than these famous schools, Florida's Seminary West of the Suwannee was one of only a handful of such schools still operating at the war's close, and its cadets were perhaps the last to surrender of any Confederate military school. A company of West Florida Seminary cadets fought in the Battle of Natural Bridge in March 1865, later earning a battle streamer for combat service. Though the cadets did not play a critical role in this eleventh-hour Confederate victory, the mere participation in battle of such young combatants provided a sobering indication of the impending southern collapse. After the war the cadets served as powerful symbols of the Lost Cause. For decades Floridians celebrated the cadets' victory at Natural Bridge and exaggerated their efforts out of proportion to their actual service. White southerners needed heroes, and the young boys who helped save Tallahassee in March 1865 seemed obvious candidates.[1]

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1. James Lee Conrad, *The Young Lions: Confederate Cadets at War* (Mechanicsburg, Pa., 1997), is the best overview of the participation of southern cadets in Civil War military operations. See also Bruce Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy: Southern Military Schools and the Confederate Army," *Civil War History* 43 (December 1997), 310-31. For a history of the West Florida Seminary during the Civil War years, see William G. Dodd, *History of West Florida Seminary* (Tallahassee, 1952), 1-29; David Coles and Robert Bruce Graetz, "The Garnet and Gray: West Florida Seminary *in* the Civil War," *Florida State* (April 1986), 2-4; and William R. Thompson "The Role of the Cadets of West Florida Seminary in the Battle of Natural Bridge," c. 1982, unpublished paper in possession of the author.

The existence of an institution such as the West Florida Seminary was not uncommon in the antebellum South. During this period, nearly one hundred military colleges, academies, and universities existed in the southern slave states, compared with just fifteen similar schools in the North. Not a single northern state established a state-sponsored military school, while most southern states boasted such institutions. The quality of these schools varied greatly. Some operated as true colleges, while others were the equivalent of today's secondary or even grade schools. According to one historian, "many antebellum schools calling themselves 'colleges' were in fact nothing more than glorified academies/high schools. Similarly, many of the antebellum academies and institutes, the period's equivalents of high schools, accepted students as young as twelve or as old as twenty."[2] The goal of these institutions was not to funnel graduated cadets into the regular army but to educate future leaders in the liberal arts, and particularly in science and engineering. Their teaching emphasis stood "upon sound moral/religious education . . . . The military aspect simply provided a system of discipline and instruction to further this goal."[3] The most respected southern schools operated in older states such as Virginia, but by the 1850s the residents of newer states like Florida became increasingly interested in establishing their own institutions. The origins of public higher education in Florida, and of today's Florida State University and University of Florida, date from 1851, when the state legislature authorized the establishment of "two Seminaries of Learning, one upon the east, [and] the other upon the west side of the Suwannee River."[4] Two years later the East Florida Seminary opened its doors in Ocala, while in December 1856, Tallahassee was selected by the legislature as the location of the

2. Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy," 325 n. 49. See also Conrad, *The Young Lions,* vii and passim.
3. Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy," 315. On the issue of southern culture and its martial nature, see John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861* (Cambridge, 1956), and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), passim.
4. *The Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida Passed* at *Its Fifth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, Nov. 25, 1850, and Ended Jan. 24, 1851* (Tallahassee, 1851), 97-101. For the beginnings of education in the capital city, see Bertram Groene, *Ante-Bellum Tallahassee* (Tallahassee, 1971), 131-37; and William G. Dodd, "Early Education in Tallahassee and the West Florida Seminary," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (July-August 1948), 2-27, 157-80.

Seminary West of the Suwannee. In order to obtain the school, the city of Tallahassee promised to provide financial support, as well as a school building and lot.[5]

The institution prospered in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. It occupied a building on the present site of Florida State University's Westcott Administration Building, which had originally been built to house a city-supported school called the Florida Institute. The city erected the structure in 1854-55 to entice the legislature to choose Tallahassee as the location of the West Florida Seminary, and the Florida Institute held classes there from 1855-57. Funding came from the state's Seminary fund, which accrued through the sale of lands donated by the federal government, as well as from a $2,000 annual stipend from the City of Tallahassee. A board of education administered the school's operation. Presbyterian minister Duncan McNeill Turner served as the board's first president, with D. W. Gwynn as secretary. Turner remained as president for only three months before resigning to become principal of the school, a position he held until 1860.[6]

During the 1856-57 academic year, seventy-six male students attended the Florida Institute and later the new West Florida Seminary. While no enrollment statistics are available for the 1857-58 school year, a major change took place on October 1, 1858, when the Tallahassee Female Academy merged with the Seminary. During this period female students were taught in a separate building and department known as the Female Institute. By midway through the 1858-59 year, attendance had risen to about 200 boys and girls, with both primary and secondary education offered. The school provided basic instruction in mathematics, reading, spell-

5. *The Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, Passed at its Eighth Session, Begun and Held* at *the Capitol,* in *the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 24, 1856* (Tallahassee, 1857), 28-29. Governor James Broome signed the relevant legislation on January 1, 1857, and the City of Tallahassee formally transferred the school property to the Seminary's Board of Education. Not everyone favored Tallahassee as the site for the school. Jackson County, which also hoped to house the school, opposed the selection.

6. Martee Wills and Joan Perry Morris, *Seminole History: A Pictorial History of Florida State University* (Jacksonville, 1987), 37-39; Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary,* 7-10, 109; [C. Thurston Chase], *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida: Showing the Results of the First Three Months after the Opening of the Common Schools* (Tallahassee, 1870), 11-12; Mark F. Boyd, *The Battle of Natural Bridge* (Tallahassee, n.d.), 22-23. This pamphlet was originally published as "The Joint Operations of the Federal Army and Navy near Saint Marks, Florida, March 1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 29 (October 1950), 96-124.

ing, and writing for the younger students, while more advanced scholars studied algebra, English, Greek, Latin, mental and moral sciences, modern languages, natural science, physical geography, and physiology. David Walker, the state superintendent of schools, reported in late 1858 that the Seminary was "doing well." He then noted "the awakening interest of our people in our common Schools and two State Seminaries, we may well hope that the time has almost arrived when all the children of Florida may and will be educated *in her own Institutions.*"[7]

The growing sectional crisis of the late 1850s led to increased interest in the South for the introduction of military instruction into the region's schools. Even though the schools' primary emphasis was to provide education for a civilian career, the military instruction received by the cadets could benefit the state militia in the event of a war with the North. In 1859, Principal Duncan Turner visited a number of military schools throughout the southern states and determined to add military training to the Seminary's curriculum. Turner appointed twenty-seven-year-old James H. Lane as professor of mathematics and tactics for the 1859-60 school year. A top graduate of VMI in 1854, Lane later matriculated at the University of Virginia before returning to his alma mater as an instructor. That same year George M. Edgar, an 1856 VMI graduate, served as professor of natural science, while H.B. Craig of Washington College taught Greek.[8]

In addition to obtaining qualified instructors, uniforming and equipping the cadets also concerned Turner. After making the decision to begin military instruction, he met with Florida governor James Broome, who indicated that the state would assist in providing the cadets with weapons and equipment. In December 1857 the state quartermaster general had provided the "Mayor and Council of Tallahassee" with 100 flintlock muskets. Some of these weapons may have been issued to the cadets later. While the type or

7. Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary,* 7-10; Wills and Morris, *Seminole History,* 37-39; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal,* September 3, 1859; Register's Report, November 1, 1858, in Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message, *A Journal of Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, at its Ninth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 22d, 1858* (Tallahassee, 1858), 16

8. Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy," 312-13; Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary,* 12-13, 117-18. Biographical information from Archives Alumni Files, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia (hereafter VMI).

style of uniform selected by Turner is not known, he did receive price quotes from a Baltimore manufacturer for dress uniforms of "blue broadcloth with gold lace and metal buttons," an undress uniform of "satinette," and a military cap. The total cost of the uniform came to almost $20 per cadet.[9] Evidently, they had been fully outfitted by July 1860 when a Tallahassee newspaper noted that "a detachment of young cadets from the State Seminary, commanded by Capt. N[icholas] W[are] Eppes," took part in "a fine military display" in honor of Independence Day.[10]

Unfortunately, Duncan Turner did not remain at the West Florida Seminary long enough to see the success of his efforts. A new principal, Philip A. Montague, replaced him as head of the school for the 1860-61 academic year. Professors Lane and Craig quickly ran afoul of the new administrator, apparently in a disagreement over the teaching of younger boys in the preparatory department. The two teachers resigned early in the school year, forcing Montague to scramble for replacements. In December 1860, he finally secured the services of another VMI alumni, James Lucius Cross, to replace Lane as military instructor. After leaving Tallahassee, Lane taught briefly at the North Carolina Military Institute before joining the Confederate army. He eventually rose to the rank of brigadier general and commanded a brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia.[11]

A native of Frederick County, Virginia, and a classmate of George Edgar's at VMI, Cross had taught in several schools in his home state before coming to Tallahassee. He was one of several VMI graduates who held positions of authority at the West Florida Seminary during the first years of its operations and who strongly influenced the school's development. In addition to his teaching duties, Cross later served as principal for part of the 1861-62 school

9. Dodd, "Early Education in Tallahassee," 175; Quartermaster General's Report, November 23, 1859, in Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, at an Adjourned Session, Begun and held* at *the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 28th, 1859* (Tallahassee, 1859), 7.

10. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal,* July 7, 1860.

11. Ibid.; D. H. Hill Jr., *North Carolina,* in Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History Extended Edition,* 19 vols. (1899; reprint, Wilmington, 1987-1989), vol. 5, 323-26; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 172-73; Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions From North Carolina in the Civil War 1861-'65,* 5 vols. (1901; reprint, Wendell, NC, 1982), vol. 1, 69-133, vol. 2, 465-84

year following the resignation of Montague. At first, neither the Seminary's academic standards nor the Tallahassee climate pleased Cross. His wife, Bettie, who had accompanied her husband, wrote to her mother in March 1861: "Mr. Cross is getting along very well at school," she explained, "but says he never saw such lazy boys as in this place. He is still as well pleased."[12] Three months later Mrs. Cross informed her mother that classes would end on June 25, "and if nothing happens we will leave here that same evening . . . for home. . . . It is so warm here, I will be so glad to get some mountain air & plenty of ice."[13]

During its 1860-61 session the Florida legislature formalized the introduction of military training at the West Florida Seminary, passing Chapter 1,122, "An Act to Amend the Act of 1851, Providing For the Establishment of Two Seminaries of Learning." This legislation authorized the West Florida Seminary Board of Education to "organize the said Seminary upon a collegiate and military basis, and to make for the government of said Institution such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act." It further authorized the granting of diplomas, though the first of these was not actually awarded until 1880.[14] In February 1861, shortly after the legislation's passage, the Seminary's Board of Education requested the school's faculty to "prepare a catalogue of Studies, Rules, Regulations &c. For the permanent organization of [the] Seminary upon a Collegiate and Military basis."[15]

Enrollment increased during the 1860-61 school year, with approximately 250 students receiving instruction. In the brief time since its formation, the West Florida Seminary had quickly established itself as perhaps the largest and most respected educational institution in the state. Like all southern institutions, however, the

12. Bettie Cross to Mother, March 11, 1861, J. Lucius Cross Correspondence, 1861-1865, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter FSU); Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary,* 14-15, 112.
13. Bettie Cross to Mother, June 17, 1861, Cross Correspondence. Sadly, Bettie Cross would never return to Tallahassee. She died of an unspecified illness in October 1861. See J. Lucius Cross to Francis Eppes, November 2, 1861, Cross Correspondence.
14. *The Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly of Florida, at its Tenth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 26, 1860* (Tallahassee, 1861), 70.
15. Minutes, February 23, 1861, Minute Book of the Florida Institute, 1856-1899, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, FSU.

school soon faced a major crisis, as civil war threatened to destroy the progress it had made.[16]

Florida seceded from the Union in January 1861 and joined the newly organized Confederate States of America the following month. The war had an enormous impact on the Seminary's operations. Most of the state's meager resources were directed toward the war effort with only secondary concern given to issues such as education. Shortly before secession the legislature raided the Seminary Fund to purchase arms and pay debts, and state funding remained unreliable for the rest of the war. The depreciation of Confederate currency became a problem as the conflict progressed. This forced the school's board of education, which during the war years was headed by President Francis Eppes, to increase tuition rates drastically. By the fall of 1864, tuition had risen to $160 for secondary school students and $120 for primary students, with the board reserving the right to raise tuition still more after the school's first session. Despite such increases, the board found it increasingly difficult to purchase supplies and books and to pay teachers' salaries. Additionally, with most adult males in the military, it became almost impossible to find qualified instructors and administrators. The war also affected enrollment, with the number of students who attended the school dropping from 250 students in 1860-61 to about fifty-eight in the 1864-65 academic year.[17]

The situation facing the Seminary's Board of Education in its efforts to keep the school open became critical in early 1862 when the Confederate government withdrew most of its troops from the state, necessitating the abandonment of Pensacola, Fernandina, and St. Augustine. For a time it appeared that Tallahassee itself might be threatened by Union forces. "In view of the recent disasters that have befallen our arms and the increased demand upon every man to engage in the service of his country," Principal Cross and his fellow Virginian, Professor Charles M. Gibbons, wrote to the board in February 1862, requesting that it "adopt some course" to enable them to join the army. They added, "in consideration of the financial condition of the School and imminent prospect of

16. Chase, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* 11-12.

17. Ibid.; Dodd, *History of West Florida Seminary,* 15-29; Minutes, September 23, 1864, and passim, 1861-65, in Minute Book of the Florida Institute. Conrad, *The Young Lions,* 63-70, provides an overview of the problems of shortages facing military schools throughout the South.

meeting the enemy at our very doors at no distant period we would respectfully submit to the Board the propriety of suspending the operations of the School." The board accepted their resignations and received contract releases from two other faculty members. The board members then reluctantly concluded "that the exercises of the Seminary is suspended for the present." The Male Department subsequently closed for the remainder of the school year. Some boys, however, were able to continue their studies at the Female Academy, which continued to operate.[18]

"The year 1862-63 was a succession of perplexities for the board," wrote school historian William Dodd. No principal could be found to run the Male Department for the 1862-63 school year despite the board's strenuous efforts and their offering of the position to six different men. Eventually, the board engaged several military officers who were in Tallahassee on convalescent leave to conduct classes in the Male Department. The Female Department, meanwhile, continued to operate under the direction of a Mrs. Case. Fortunately, in the spring of 1863, President Eppes obtained the services of a Colonel Bannister, then living in Virginia, to serve as principal for the next school year. A separate inquiry came from a former teacher, Captain Valentine Mason Johnson, who was appointed to serve as Bannister's assistant. Under the direction of Bannister, Johnson, and Case, the school reopened on September 1, 1863. Tuition was $15-25 per session, payable in advance.[19]

Captain Johnson ultimately emerged as the strongest force behind the school's continued operation. Born in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, in 1838, Johnson graduated near the bottom of his 1860 Virginia Military Institute class, ranking thirty-ninth of forty-one cadets. Following his matriculation, he came to Tallahassee, where he taught at the West Florida Seminary during the 1860-61 school year and served as a military aide to the Florida governor. After war broke out, Johnson returned to Virginia to raise a com-

18. Minutes, February 19, 21, 25, and March 3, 1862, in Minute Book of the Florida Institute; David W. Hartman and David Coles, comps., *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers, 1861-1865,* 6 vols. (Wilmington, 1995), vol. 1, 140-41, vol. 4, 1476. Cross served in the Second Florida Infantry and later as a staff officer, rising to the rank of major. Gibbons enlisted in the Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion. See also J. Lucius Cross to "My Dear Goff," February 25, 1862, Cross Correspondence, for details on his decision to enter military service.

19. Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary,* 20-22; Minutes, March-September 1863, Minute Book of the Florida Institute.

pany in the Thirtieth Virginia Infantry. The young officer received a furlough in early 1862 because of an illness in his family, and as a result he was dropped from his unit upon its reorganization. Johnson subsequently assembled a battery of artillery in southwest Virginia and participated in the Battle of Wytheville.[20] In 1863 Johnson's health failed, and he returned to Tallahassee to serve as assistant principal of the Male Department for the 1863-64 academic year. After Colonel Bannister's resignation in February 1864, Johnson was promoted to principal. He remained in Tallahassee until the war's close, working diligently to transform the school into a full-fledged military college.[21]

In late 1863, the Seminary's Board of Education sent a memorial to the state legislature, which they hoped would enable the school to operate for the balance of the war. The memorial requested that the school's official name be changed to "The Florida Collegiate and Military Institute" and that its teachers be commissioned into state service and exempted from Confederate conscription. A subsequent bill passed the state senate and house of representatives but was vetoed by Governor John Milton. The governor hoped to establish a military school at the state arsenal at Mount Vernon (now Chattahoochee); the West Florida Seminary's efforts interfered with his plans. "I cannot conceive of any benefit which the Institute could derive from a change of its name," Milton proclaimed in his stinging veto message, "and the change as proposed might invite future Legislation, expensive and useless to the State." He added, "I am unwilling and resolved not to commission a teacher or anyone else, to exempt such person from conscription, either as a Colonel, Major, Captain, or to any other military position. No man shall ever be authorized under a commission issued by me, to appear in a military uniform, except to fight for and defend the civil and political rights of the country; [and] certainly

20. Biographical information from Archives Alumni Files, VMI; Robert K. Krick, *30th Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va., 1985), 107; W. A. Pratt, "Commander of Battle of Natural Bridge in Early Florida History Known by Local Citizen, W. A. Pratt.," clipping from *Lake Worth Leader*, January 31, 1951, in Vertical File, Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter SLF); V. M. Johnson, "Recollections of the Wytheville Raid," *Confederate Veteran* 17 (July 1909), 335-37; William A. Pratt, "V. M. Johnson," *Confederate Veteran* 18 (January 1910), 35.

21. Archives Alumni Files, VMI; Krick, *30th Virynia Infantry*, 107; Pratt, "Commander of Battle of Natural Bridge in Early Florida History Known by Local Citizen."

not to manage children in their course of education." The senate then voted to sustain the governor's veto by a vote of 13-1. Only Senator David P. Hogue of the Eighth District voted to override Milton's veto.[22]

Rebuffed by the governor, the Seminary's board attempted in April 1864 to contact Confederate president Jefferson Davis for an exemption from conscription of students up to age seventeen. No record exists as to whether Davis received or responded to their request. Until the end of the war the Seminary, which, despite Milton's veto, became commonly referred to as the Florida Military Institute, faced the prospect of losing faculty and students to conscription. In August 1864, board president Francis Eppes, apparently after meeting with Johnson and the governor, was asked to "obtain from the authorities in Richmond permission for youths under 18 years of age to pursue their studies . . . until such emergency shall occur as to require their services in the field." The board would assure "that such youths shall be armed and disciplined and held subject to any requisition for military duty." Again, there is no record of the Confederate government's response to the request.[23]

The conscription issue affected all southern military schools during the war. President Davis initially hoped to avoid using such young boys as soldiers. "'In making soldiers of them we are grinding the seed corn,"' he declared in 1861. As the war progressed, military necessity forced the Confederacy to use cadets as soldiers.

22. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly, of the State of Florida, at the Twelfth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 16th, 1863* (Tallahassee, 1863), 197-98. In his 1863 message to the legislature, Milton stated "The conversion of the [Mount Vernon] Arsenal into a Military Academy has been, time and again, recommended." He added the property "should be made useful to the state; or, for a valuable consideration, should be transferred to the Confederate States, upon condition that a Military institute shall be established there." The standing committee of the state senate and house of representatives responded later in the session that "it is inexpedient at this session of the General Assembly to establish a military Academy at said place." *A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Florida at its Twelfth Session, begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee on Monday, November 16th*, 1863 (Tallahassee, 1863), 32-33, 163-64.

23. Minutes, April 2 and August 23, 1864, Minute Book of the Florida Institute; Dodd, *History of West Florida Seminary,* 15-27. For an overview of the problem of southern schools retaining students and teachers during the war years, see Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy," 325-30, and Conrad, *The Young Lions,* 29-90.

The superintendents of the University of Alabama and the Virginia Military Institute, among others, wrangled with the Confederate government over the conscription of older cadets. This became a larger issue in 1864 when the draft age was lowered to seventeen. State officials "found the whole attitude of the Confederate government toward the military colleges annoying and perplexing." As only a few such schools were still in operation, their value in providing training for future officers and drill instructors, who upon graduation could serve important roles in the army, would seem far more important than in providing a few young soldiers under the Confederate conscription laws.[24]

While the debate over conscription continued, Captain Johnson traveled to Richmond in late 1864 or early 1865 to purchase new accouterments for the cadets. In August 1864 he informed the board of education of his desire to "secure additional arms and accouterments for the use of the school, uniforms for the Cadets, and, indeed, to do everything that is necessary to make this school a first class Military Academy, an honor to the Board, and the pride of the State."[25] Despite the chronic shortages of essentials throughout the Confederacy, he managed to obtain at least some uniforms and equipment. In addition to their uniforms, the cadets were equipped with whatever weapons were available, perhaps .69 caliber smoothbore muskets, a type of weapon obsolete by the end of the war.[26]

As Johnson struggled to improve the quality of the Institute, the war moved closer to Tallahassee. Cadets began to perform military duties around the capital in early 1864. In February, when Middle Florida was threatened by a Federal advance from Jacksonville, a group of cadets assisted in the Confederate victory at the Battle of Olustee. "All troops, including Home Guards had been sent to Olustee," recalled Cadet William A. Rawls, and "all boys big enough to be allowed to go joined them, and went as part of their

24. Quoted in Conrad, *The Young Lions*, 157. See also pp. 51-53, 87-89, 152-56.
25. V. M. Johnson to Board of Education, August 7, 1864, in Minute Book of the Florida Institute.
26. *Catalogue of Uniforms: The Museum of the Confederacy* (Richmond, 1987), 8. One item of clothing, a uniform jacket worn by Charles L. Beard, survives today in the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia. The jacket was made in a shell pattern and is today a light brown color, faded from its original light gray. It is adorned with brass Louisiana state seal buttons and a carved bone badge in the shape of a heart, but without facings, piping, or similar insignia.

organization, Many of the Cadets went with them [including] Pros Demilly, Charley Pearce, perhaps Tom Myers, Herman Damon, and others."[27] Another participant was Cadet Captain John Wesley Wethington, a seventeen-year-old Jefferson County veteran who had already served two years in the Third Florida Infantry Regiment and the Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion and suffered a serious wound and capture.[28] Following Olustee, a number of northern prisoners were confined in Tallahassee. During the spring and summer of 1864 cadets guarded these captives and protected other locations in the town. William Rawls later recalled "that the Cadets were practically in the service of the Confederate States, and the State of Florida, for eighteen months, prior to the ending of the war. They did guard duty when there were no other troops available in Tallahassee, and guarded Federal prisoners in the military hospital, which is the Masonic building. I have walked post there, [as did] all other Cadets of the West Florida Seminary." In addition, the cadets guarded Union prisoners confined in the Baptist Church. "Afterward," Rawls continued, "they were called upon at any time they were needed to perform military duty."[29] Meanwhile, Captain Johnson trained the cadets in both military and academic pursuits. According to Rawls, Johnson "drilled them in military tactics five days in every week for eighteen months, and . . . taught

27. William A. Rawls to the Leon County Board of County Commissioners, September 24, 1919, in Alice P. Damon Pension File A02195, Series 587. State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files, 1885-1954, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter FSA).

28. John Wesley Wethington Confederate Pension File A07368, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files; Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, rolls 18 and 52, National Archives Microfilm Publication M251, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Wethington's military records are confusing. He stated in his pension application that in the fall of 1863, following his discharge from the Third Florida Infantry, he enlisted in Company C of the Fifth Florida Cavalry. The unit rosters, however, show only a John Q. Wethington in this company, and that individual was paroled in Tallahassee at the close of the war as a member of the Fifth Cavalry. John Wesley Wethington, meanwhile, was paroled at Tallahassee as a member of the cadets.

29. Alice P. Damon Confederate Pension File A02195. In *A Voice From Rebel Prisons; Giving* an *Account of Some of the Horrors of the Stockades* at *Andersonville, Milan, and Other Prisons. By a Returned Prisoner of War* (Boston, 1865), 6-7, a Union prisoner in Tallahassee described being guarded for part of his imprisonment "mostly by boys of twelve and fourteen years of age, and old men of sixty and seventy." See also David Coles, "Southern Hospitality: A Yankee Prisoner at Olustee, Tallahassee, and Andersonville," *Apalachee* 10 (1984-1990), 19-28.

them in the school room, and . . . knew every one of them better than our own mothers."[30]

The cadets most crucial test occurred in early 1865, when Tallahassee became directly threatened by Federal forces. At 9:00 p.m. on March 4, residents of the capital heard the whistle of an unannounced train on the St. Marks railroad, bringing word that a Union fleet had landed an invasion force on the coast at the St. Marks lighthouse. Brigadier General John Newton commanded the land portion of the joint army-navy expedition, which had originated at Union-occupied Key West. The Second and Ninety-ninth United States Colored Infantry Regiments, along with the Second Florida Union Cavalry, comprised the invading forces, while ships from the navy's East Gulf Blockading Squadron provided support. Although Newton later claimed that the primary goal of the expedition had been to capture the Confederate fort at St. Marks and to neutralize that location as a blockade running center, it seems likely that the capture of Tallahassee was also a possible objective.[31]

As Newton's forces moved northward, hoping to cross the St. Marks River at Newport and assault St. Marks from the rear, Confederate officials desperately gathered a force sufficient to delay the invaders. "The Militia were ordered out," wrote a correspondent of the Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* "and an unanimous and invincible response was made to the call. Every man and boy capable of bearing arms was at his post. Never, since the first commencement of the war, have the people exhibited a greater spirit."[32] The cadets comprised a portion of the troops called into service by Governor John Milton. Milton's decision was met with surprise and apprehension by many of the boys' families. Nevertheless, at noon on March 5, the cadet corps assembled at the school and marched to the state capitol, where they "were regularly en-

30. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* November 20, 1918.

31. United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereafter ORA), 128 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. 49, part 1, 57-70. The most detailed secondary accounts of the St. Marks Expedition and the Battle of Natural Bridge can be found in Robert Bruce Graetz, "Triumph Amid Defeat: The Confederate Victory at Natural Bridge, Florida, March 1865" (senior honors thesis, Florida State University, 1986) and David James Coles, "Far From Fields of Glory: Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War, 1864-1865," (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1996), 315-71. Another valuable source is Boyd, *The Battle of Natural Bridge,* 1-21.

32. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal,* March 11, 1865.

listed and sworn into Confederate service."[33] Following this, Captain Johnson led his young charges to the Tallahassee train station. Tallahassee diarist Ellen Call Long, daughter of former territorial governor Richard Keith Call, remembered that the boys "shouldered their muskets like veterans, and followed with the confidence of inexperience, which is usually more zealous than wise; but sometimes the one is needed more than the other."[34] Sue Archer, a student at the Seminary's Female Department and a sister of one of the boys, described the emotional scene at the station:

> Mothers and sisters went to the station to say good-bye to them. The little fellows were full of patriotism and seemed to feel no fear. One little boy barefooted and wearing the cadets' uniform stood apart from the others, and was crying; because Captain Johnson refused to let him go, as he was so young, and also because he was the only son of a poor blind woman. Captain Johnson told him that good soldiers did not cry, and that when he grew older he should go into the war.[35]

It is impossible to determine precisely the number of cadets that participated in the campaign. Years later, Cadet Charles Beard remembered that sixty-five of the young soldiers had served. Future Florida governor Francis Fleming, who fought in the campaign, noted a similar number. Fragmentary official records, however, indicate that only thirty-four males were enrolled in the school during the 1864-65 academic year, and not all accompanied the train. Captain Johnson apparently screened the cadets at the train station, preventing the youngest from going. Additionally, officials detained a number of the boys in Tallahassee for various purposes. Leon Countian Susan Bradford Eppes later recalled with some exaggeration that "[n]ot many [cadets] went, because none were permitted to go without a written permit from their parents and those who went are so proud and those who did not go are so

33. G. L. Baltzell and C. L. Beard, "Statement of facts about the Corps of Cadets Florida Military Institute," September 17, 1913, in George Lavan Baltzell Pension File A01592. Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.
34. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old* (1883; reprint, Gainesville, 1962), 375.
35. Susan Archer, "Reminiscences of the Battle of Natural Bridge," in M96-18, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Florida Division Scrapbooks, 1900-1935, FSA. Archer's account was later reprinted in *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, November 7, 1918.

chagrined. It is funny to hear them talk it over."[36] Another account refers to "the little boys of the school, too young to keep up on the march, [who] were left in Tallahassee to guard the fortifications and defend the city from attack. They were bitterly disappointed at being left, and some cried, thinking it hard they should have no part in the danger and glory of the day."[37] A reasonable estimate suggests that about twenty-five cadets were sent to help repel the invasion. This corresponds with Confederate veteran J. L. Blocker's recollection that between twenty and thirty cadets reinforced his unit during the campaign. Brigadier General William Miller, who commanded the Confederate forces in the campaign, later referred to "a company of cadets" as having participated in the fighting. The known ages of the young soldiers ranged from eleven to eighteen, with Franklin P. Damon, age eleven, and Henry Ware DeMilly, age twelve, the youngest cadets.[38]

After leaving Tallahassee, a train carried the cadets and other defenders south to Wakulla Station on the St. Marks Railroad. From there they marched the remaining six miles to the small village of Newport, where they joined forces with part of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington Scott's Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion and a small contingent of Confederate marines and militia. Scott's men had skirmished with the Federals the previous day, gradually falling back from the East River Bridge towards Newport. The Yankees hoped to cross the St. Marks River at the latter location, enabling them to move against St. Marks and perhaps Tallahassee.[39]

The cadets arrived at Newport late on the afternoon of March 5, marching past the few houses to a line of breastworks dug parallel to the river along its west bank, commanding the approaches to the

36. Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (1926; reprint, Gainesville, 1968), 261-62; Charles Beard Reminiscences, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Beard left the most detailed account of the cadets' service at Natural Bridge; *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat,* April 13, 1906; Chase, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* 11.
37. Typescript in Vertical File, Florida Collection, SLF.
38. William Miller, "The Battle of Natural Bridge," Records of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Anna Jackson Chapter No.224, M76-131, FSA. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* October 10, 1918. See the appendix for the known birthdates of the cadets.
39. William Miller Reminiscences, and Report of George Washington Scott to Major W. G. Poole, March 10, 1865, both in George Washington Scott Papers, M87-22, FSA, Coles, "Far From Fields of Glory," 336-38; Graetz, "Triumph Amid Defeat," 32-43; W. A. Rawls, "The Battle of Natural Bridge," typescript in vertical file, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, FSU.

only bridge. Scott's men had partially burned the span, but Union troops on the opposite bank still hoped to force their way across and a lively skirmish soon developed. Among the cadets at Newport and later at Natural Bridge was fifteen-year-old Charles L. Beard, who later wrote one of two surviving cadet accounts of the fighting. He recalled that the youngsters ran, two at a time, into the trenches as Union troops fired at them across the river. It was here that the cadets received their baptism of fire. Cadet John DuBose fell while entering the trenches and his comrades thought he had been shot, but they were relieved to discover that he had simply fallen in his haste to reach safety. Skirmishing between the two sides continued until darkness ended the fighting. The cadets remained in their trenches most of the night, while their commanders waited to see if the Federals would resume the action the next morning.[40]

General Newton, frustrated in his efforts to cross the St. Marks at Newport, learned from local guides of the existence of another crossing site upriver at the so-called Natural Bridge. There the St. Marks ran underground for a short distance, forming a perfect crossing point. Anticipating just such a move, Confederate General William Miller ordered Scott's Cavalry to Natural Bridge with orders to delay the Federals until reinforcements could arrive. At dawn the two forces clashed, with the Union troops unable to force their way across the bridge. Throughout the morning the adversaries skirmished and strengthened their positions, with the Federals making several additional attempts to storm the Rebel positions.[41]

The cadets, meanwhile, had remained at Newport until morning to guard against a renewed Union effort to cross the river at that location. They soon received orders to march to Natural Bridge to strengthen that position. Marching along the Old Plank Road, they heard the sound of cannon and musketry as the battle intensified. Upon reaching the site of a temporary field hospital about one mile from the battlefield, cadets Tod Archer and John Milton Jr. (the son of the Florida governor) were left to aid the wounded while the rest continued on. As they approached the field

40. William Miller Reminiscences, and Report of George Washington Scott to Major W. G. Poole, March 10, 1865, both in Scott Papers; Charles Beard Reminiscences

41. ORA, ser. I, vol. 49, part 1, 57-70; George Washington Scott to Major W.G. Poole, March 10, 1865, and William Miller Reminiscences, both in Scott Papers; William Miller, "The Battle of Natural Bridge;" Graetz, "Triumph Amid Defeat," 46-60; Coles, "Far From Fields of Glory, 338-46; Boyd, *The Battle of Natural Bridge,* 7-11.

the boys saw the tops of pine trees blown off by Union artillery; they also passed the body of a Confederate casualty being carried to the rear. Long after the war, a heated controversy ensued in a local paper when an anonymous writer claimed the cadets had become frightened and refused to advance after seeing the dead soldier. As no other account of the campaign includes anything but praise for the cadets, the charges must be treated with skepticism.[42]

Upon reaching the battlefield the cadets were placed near the center of the main Confederate line, a giant crescent with fields of fire converging on the Natural Bridge crossing. Their position was near the guns of the Kilcrease Artillery, commanded at Natural Bridge by Captain Patrick Houstoun. The cadets "were placed just to the left of Houstoun's Battery as an artillery guard and told not to fire a gun unless there was a charge made on the battery," remembered Cadet Lieutenant Byrd Coles.[43] The boys immediately dug trenches to protect themselves from Union fire. Cadet Beard wrote that the boys "were lined up with the troops already there, & at once went to work throwing up some kind of a breastwork. We polished our bayonets beautifully in the soft sand, and soon had each man a hole and a small pile of dirt in front of it."[44] After digging their makeshift trenches, Coles explained, "we had nothing to do but sit there and wait. The battle was principally an artillery engagement and most of the enemy's shots were directed that way. We amused ourselves watching the bark fly from the pine trees and twigs fall from bushes around us, and shake the sand that rifle balls would knock on us, from our breastworks."[45] A few of the boys may have been more daring. According to one unsubstantiated postwar account, during the fighting "eight or ten adventurous spirits among the cadets joined the pickets. In a short time the enemy advanced in force and the Confederate pickets were driven in, the cadets giving ground slowly and firing as they retired."[46] Artilleryman James Dancy witnessed an "amusing incident" that may have involved these cadets, or a similar group of young soldiers from the First Florida Reserves:

42. Archer, "Reminiscences;" *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* December 4, 1918; Charles Beard Reminiscences.
43. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* December 4, 1918.
44. Charles Beard Reminiscences.
45. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* December 4, 1918.
46. William Bauskett Papers, M81-6, FSA. Neither Charles Beard nor Byrd Coles mentions this incident.

> [T]he new issue boys were armed with old smooth, bore muskets, iron ramrod, shooting a ball and three buck shots. I was amused at four of these boys behind a small tree, the front one with one of these muskets along side of the tree, and the other three playing tag at his back. He fired the musket, which kicked him back, knocking those behind him down backward. All arose astonished; two of them ran off, and the other two stayed to reload the musket. They did not attempt to fire it again.[47]

The Confederate forces stopped each of the Federal attempts to cross Natural Bridge, inflicting heavy losses on the attackers. The worst fighting occurred in front of the main Confederate line in a dense hammock that covered the crossing. "We were looking for our fun when the niggers came out of the woods," Beard remembered, referring to the black soldiers of the Second and Ninety-ninth United States Colored Troops, "but the gallant boys in front held them back, & so we failed to get a shot." Though the cadets were not heavily engaged, their position remained under Union artillery and musket fire. "Occasionally a load of cannister would come along and remind us of the gun the enemy had got from our outpost– Their aim was high and only leaves & limbs would rattle down upon us– We suffered no harm except in the way of anxiety."[48] Though the cadets were well protected by their breastworks, Byrd Coles believed, "no doubt many of the cadets would have been struck if our teachers had not watched us constantly and made us keep behind cover."[49] Indeed, a veteran Rebel officer, Captain Lee Butler, fell, wounded in the arm, while standing near the cadets, shortly after boasting that "the bullet was not moulded to strike him again."[50] Years later Captain Johnson, in describing the battle to an acquaintance, remembered that "[t]he cadets were gallant under fire, but inclined to be impetuous, and it was with difficulty that [he] restrained them from unnecessary risks."[51]

By late afternoon Confederate reinforcements had arrived on the field. They charged across the bridge, driving the Federals back

47. James M. Dancy. "Reminiscences of the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (July 1958), 82.
48. Charles Beard Reminiscences.
49. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* December 4, 1918.
50. Charles Beard Reminiscences.
51. Pratt, "Commander of Battle of Natural Bridge in Early Florida History Known by Local Citizen."

a short distance. At this point General Newton, realizing that Natural Bridge, like Newport, was too heavily defended to cross, ordered a retreat back to the St. Marks lighthouse and the protection of the Union fleet. As firing still echoed through the woods, the cadets received orders to return to Newport, to guard against another Union attempt to cross there. They found, however, that the Yankees had had enough. Instead of engaging in more deadly pursuits, the boys used their rations of corn pone as ammunition in a mock battle among themselves. Their active duty had come to an end.[52]

The Confederate victories at Newport and Natural Bridge proved complete. Southern casualties numbered three killed and twenty-three wounded (three mortally), while Union losses totaled 148. The cadets suffered no casualties. While Susan Archer later recalled that a young drummer boy, Dick Frazier, died in a fall from a train headed towards Newport, evidently this youngster was not a cadet. With the battle won, part of the cadet company returned immediately to Tallahassee. At Bel Air enthusiastic civilians stopped the train, and the somewhat embarrassed cadets found themselves greeted as returning heroes. They were crowned with wreaths of wild olives and serenaded by young girls who sang several new stanzas, composed for the occasion by Miss Mag Brown, of the song "Dixie":

> The Young Cadets were the first to go
> To meet and drive away the foe . . .
> Look away! Look away! Look away for the land of Dixie!
> They met the foe down at New Port.
> And gave our men such good support,
> Look away! &c.
> They threw up breastworks with their hands.
> Breastworks of logs, pine knots and sand;
> Look away! Etc.
> And fought against the combined powers
> Of Yanks and Blacks and shrapnell [sic] showers
> Look away! &c.[53]

52. Charles Beard Reminiscences; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* December 4, 1918.

53. Archer, "Reminiscences." In 1909, a Jacksonville woman, Estelle Oltrogge, wrote her own poem honoring the cadets, which reads in part: "For see: Before the rise of sun who hither comes ?/A corps of young West Florida Cadets; none more/Than sixteen years could boast, and some eleven were-/Mere children, who with little sisters lately played." Estelle T. Oltrogge, "Battle of Natural Bridge," *Confederate Veteran* 17 (January 1909), 21.

The other cadets remained at Newport for several days, where they guarded two Confederate deserters who had entered Federal service and who subsequently had been captured during the campaign. Confederate officials tried and executed these two unfortunates, an event witnessed by the cadets. The boys then escorted a group of about twenty-five Union prisoners back to Tallahassee. Charles Beard sheepishly noted the enthusiastic welcome given the boys: "Many were the brave & even desperate deeds performed by the cadets according to stories current in Tallahassee upon our return– but no cadet was sufficiently damaged to need more than a good square meal to render him fit for duty."[54] The *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal* reported: "The cadets from the Florida State Seminary were in the fight and behaved in a most gallant manner. Their praise is on the lips of all who took part in the fight."[55] Shortly after the battle a lavish ceremony was held in the house of representatives' chamber in the state capitol. There the cadets received a company flag, made by Mrs. Elizabeth Douglas, "for the girls of Tallahassee and Bel Air," and presented by Miss Mattie Ward. Cadet Hunter Pope received the banner in name of his comrades. Unfortunately, Sue Archer later wrote that "[n]othing has been heard of the flag; no one knows what had become of it. It may have been left at the college [at the war's close], and taken possession of [by Federal troops] when they entered our city."[56]

The Confederate victory at Natural Bridge might have lifted the spirits of Floridians, but it did nothing to alter the South's rapidly sinking military fortunes. Less than one month after Natural Bridge the Confederate lines around Petersburg, Virginia, were broken, forcing the evacuation of both Petersburg and Richmond. On April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia surrendered at Appomattox Court House, and seventeen days later General Joseph E. Johnston capitulated in North Carolina with the remnants of the Army of Tennessee. The surrender of Confederate troops in Florida was included under the terms of Johnston's surrender. Consequently, Union Brigadier General Edward McCook occupied Tallahassee on May 10. Ellen Call Long re-

54. Charles Beard Reminiscences; "Statement of facts about the Corps of cadets Florida Military Institute," George Lavan Baltzell Pension File A0l592, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.
55. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, March 11, 1865.
56. Archer, "Reminiscences."

called that McCook "made a very modest entrance, respecting the humiliation of the people . . . [he] was very properly received by representative men of the place, and the courtesies due him were gracefully extended."[57]

Along with a large volume of supplies, the Federals captured and paroled approximately 8,000 Confederate soldiers in the state. Included in that number were twenty-four cadets from the Florida Military Institute.[58] Apparently some of the boys simply returned home after the surrender before being formally paroled, because a number of cadets known to have served do not appear on the Florida surrender lists. "The West Florida Cadets were in actual service at the close of the war," wrote William Rawls, "their guns were taken from them, and the school was closed by Gen. McCook."[59] An examination of various sources finds a total of forty-one cadets for whom there is a relatively reliable record of service during the war, although not all of these individuals fought at Natural Bridge. Another twenty without further documentation appeared on a postwar list compiled by Sue Archer. Undoubtedly many on Archer's list were from militia or home guard units, which in the last months of the war included teenage boys similar in age to the cadets. It appears possible that some younger militia or home guardsmen might have been unofficially attached to the cadets.[60]

The war's end proved traumatic for the young West Florida Seminary. The board of education attempted to keep the school running through the end of the 1864-65 year. Captain Johnson had resigned due to ill health in April 1865, and a Professor Melton replaced him as superintendent. On May 3, 1865, with the Confederacy's collapse imminent, the school's treasurer was informed that he should "receive until further instructed no currency except Florida Treasury notes in payment of Tuition fees."[61] Confederate script was no longer accepted. Upon their occupation of Tallahassee, Union troops occupied the school's buildings for use as a bar-

57. Long, *Florida Breezes,* 381; James P. Jones and William Warren Rogers, "The Surrender of Tallahassee," *Apalachee* 6 (1963-1967), 103-10.
58. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, M251, roll 104.
59. Alice P. Damon Pension File A02195, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.
60. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, M251, roll 104; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* November 7, 1918.
61. Minutes, May 3, 1865, Minute Book of the Florida Institute.

racks, remaining there some four months. "No great effort is needed," wrote school historian William Dodd, "to imagine the defacement and injury to the buildings, the broken window-panes, the removal or total destruction of the school furniture, and the utter and wanton ruin of the laboratory equipment."[62] By September, the Federal soldiers had "relinquished" control of the buildings, and the board "resolved that the school be reopened."[63] During the 1865-66 school year the Seminary enrolled 58 male and 27 female students, although the buildings were in a "scarcely habitable condition."[64]

The following year Major James Lucius Cross returned to the school as Superintendent and Professor of Mathematics and Tactics. It took years, however, for the Seminary to return to its pre-war status. Financial difficulties forced the school to close during the period 1868-69 and again from 1871-73. During this latter period Leon County operated the buildings as a public school. The West Florida Seminary continued in existence until 1901, when it became the Florida State College. Just four years later its coeducational status ended when the Buckman Act reorganized Florida higher education and the institution became the Florida Female College, renamed shortly thereafter the Florida State College for Women. The college returned to its coeducational mission after World War II, and in 1947 FSCW formally became The Florida State University.[65]

Despite these institutional changes, Tallahasseeans remembered the West Florida Seminary cadets' service during the Civil War. Beginning in 1885, the state of Florida granted pensions to ex-Confederates for Civil War service. Home guard units, including the cadets, became eligible two years later. Ultimately, sixteen former cadets applied for pensions, while several others endorsed the applications of their comrades. Tallahassee's local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy issued Southern Crosses

62. Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 27.
63. Minutes, September 13, 1865, Minute Book of the Florida Institute.
64. Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 27. In December 1865, J. Lucius Cross, who had returned to Tallahassee, reported hopefully: "The legislature will do something for the State School at this place and it is quite probable I will resume my old place there." J. Lucius Cross to Sister, December 29, 1865, Cross Correspondence.
65. Wills and Morris, *Seminole History*, 39-52; Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 112; see also Robin Jeanne Sellers, *Femina Perfecta: The Genesis of Florida State University* (Tallahassee, 1995)

of Honor to former cadets who applied for that award, and they received accolades as "The Youngest of the Young Who Wore the Gray."[66]

Despite this general acclaim, a surprising controversy concerning the cadets arose in Tallahassee in 1918, more than fifty years after the battle and near the conclusion of an even larger conflict then raging in Europe. It began on October 5, when the *Tallahassee Daily Democrat* published an appeal by Cade E. Shackelford, which called for the purchase of the Natural Bridge battlefield by the state and the erection of a monument to the southern soldiers who fought there. Shackelford exaggerated the role of the cadets in the battle, stating that "The Confederate troops that so nobly and successfully defended the capital city of their state, was largely made up of boys in their teens, at the time attending school at the West Florida Seminary, the military school of the state at Tallahassee."[67] One week later an anonymous writer known only as "An Old Confederate" wrote a scathing criticism of the cadets' behavior at Natural Bridge: "We had not intended ever to tell what we know of the West Florida Cadets," the writer contended, "but we believe in 'giving honor where honor is due' and the brave men who defended us at Natural Bridge shall not be defrauded on the pages of history for lack of courage on our part to speak the truth." In fact, "The true tale of the cadets is a pitiful one."[68] Upon marching to the battlefield, the Old Confederate continued, the cadets passed four men with a stretcher carrying the remains of the Second Florida Cavalry's Captain Henry K. Simmons, who had been killed during the fighting. The writer claimed that the cadets had panicked at the gruesome sight:

> It was a mistake to have taken these children into such a place; they trembled, they turned, their knees knocked together, some of them began to cry, and with one accord they broke ranks and ran. That had to be stopped– it

66. See the cadet roster in the appendix for a listing of those cadets who received pensions; Mrs. H. T. Cook, *Records of All Crosses of Honor Bestowed by Florida Division United Daughters of the Confederacy* ([Tallahassee?], 1966-1968), n.p., contains names of the former cadets who received a UDC Cross of Honor. The phrase "The Youngest of the Young Who Wore the Gray" is inscribed on a monument on the Natural Bridge battlefield.
67. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, October 5, 1918.
68. Ibid., October 12, 1918.

> might create a panic and the day be lost; so some of the other officers came to Captain Johnson's assistance, and by coaxing and forcing got them into line again, and with a guard in the rear they went forward not, however, to a very exposed position. Captain Johnson was terribly mortified, and so were the cadets at first, but on their return home the little girls of Bel-Air met the train with laurel wreaths for each young hero (?) and by the time they reached Tallahassee and were welcomed by their anxious relatives they were ready to forget what had happened and believe themselves all the little girls had said they were.[69]

The Old Confederate added that "In after years Captain [Patrick] Houstoun and Captain [Robert] Gamble agreed that the most unpleasant duty they had ever been called upon to perform was the forcing of these boys to go forward. They should never have been put to the test, they were too young and untried." What infuriated the writer most was the fact that some cadets had received Crosses of Honor from the United Daughters of the Confederacy and subsequently pensions from the State of Florida. "Others have used [the Crosses] to gain admission to the U[nited] C[onfederate] V[eteran] Camps and at reunion and conventions they disport themselves like human jackdaws in their borrowed plumage and brag and boast in a manner that the modest old veterans of the '60s would never be guilty of." In conclusion, the Old Confederate argued against appropriating money to build a monument at Natural Bridge, particularly while the country was in the midst of a larger struggle. Instead, the writer urged, "buy Liberty bonds . . . give— give— give to your utmost limit, until the hun is forced to his knees."[70]

Incensed by the "Old Confederate's" attacks, defenders of the cadets quickly rose to refute the serious charges. On November 7, Sue Archer, sister of a cadet and member of the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), wrote a long article about the cadets' role in the campaign. It was based on an earlier

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid. Two days earlier, Confederate veteran J. J. Blocker had also responded to Shackelford's article, correcting several errors. He did not, however, criticize the cadets, recounting instead their service at Newport and stating that all the Confederate soldiers, including "the boys from the college [did] our job." *Tallahassee Daily Democrat,* October 10, 1918.

work that she had prepared for the UDC archives. Archer also breathlessly attacked the "Old Confederate" and demanded that the UDC investigate the incident to determine his identity:

> It is hoped that the party who wrote the scrurrilous [sic] and cowardly article about our boys will be manly enough to acknowledge his mistake, under his own name, as a true Confederate would never have been guilty of writing so vile an article. He evidently did not go near enough to the battlefield to smell gun powder, else the fumes would have paralyzed his vile throat or choked him to death, ere he had the opportunity at this late date to villify our sons and brothers who had "passed over the river to rest under the shade of the trees."[71]

Others rose to defend the cadets' honor. Local historian Caroline M. Brevard commented in her own letter to the editor: "Never in the study of formal report, the reading of reminiscences or letters, or in conservation with persons knowing the history of the battle, have I met with the charge of misconduct on the part of the cadets. On the contrary, Gen. Miller, Governor Fleming, (who served as did Colonel Daniel) and all other participants in the battle whom I have consulted commend the boys who in their first battle behaved like veterans."[72] The same issue contains a comment from Mary Damon, the sister of a cadet. "They were the bravest of the brave," she recalled, "and wild with enthusiasm to go into battle, where they fought with the greatest courage."[73]

Two former cadets eventually entered the controversy. On November 20, William Rawls contributed a lengthy article, which included a letter from Jonathan S. Beard, a postwar friend of General William Miller and son of a former Confederate staff officer. Beard commented that Miller "had always spoke[n] in glowing terms of the West Florida Cadets, saying that they conducted themselves with great gallantry and with [the] coolness of veterans." Beard added that other officers, including the R. H. Gamble mentioned by the Old Confederate, had similar opinions about the cadets. "I have never heard in all of the more than half a century which has

71. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, November 7, 1918.
72. Ibid., October 26, 1918.
73. Ibid.

elapsed since the battle of Natural Bridge heard the courage, coolness and veteran services of the West Florida cadets at Natural Bridge questioned by man or woman," Beard concluded. Rawls then added his own defense of the cadets. Interestingly, he volunteered that the cadets' services "did not end with the war." During Reconstruction, Rawls claimed, "I believe that every cadet" was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. He then named five surviving cadets, himself included, who had belonged to the racist organization. The Klan, he proclaimed, contributed to "splendid results– a restored south, and white supremacy."[74]

Finally, in early December, former Cadet N. Byrd Coles added his comments to the growing chorus. Coles related the cadets' service at Natural Bridge, stating that while the young soldiers had not played a major role in the fighting, "if 'Old Confederate' had been with us I believe he would have thought our position was somewhat exposed." He added that:

> After the battle began General Miller came up and told Colonel Johnson that he had been up and down the line on a tour of inspection and concluded that he would rather "risk his carcass with these boys than any other of the troops on the field, and with Colonel Johnson's consent would make his headquarters behind our breastworks" which he did. Our general did not consider us "shaking cowards" then and often spoke of us afterwards as being a brave and manly set of boys.[75]

Coles also pointed out a major inconsistency in the story of the Old Confederate, who claimed that the cadets had initially become frightened after viewing the body of Captain Simmons. That officer had in fact been killed at Natural Bridge, but not until the latter stages of the fighting. By all accounts, the cadets had arrived on the field several hours earlier, long before Simmons' death. Coles stated that the cadets had not seen the fallen officer's body until the end of the battle, after they had been ordered to return to Newport by General Miller. "Some of the boys knew him personally, all of us by reputation," Coles recalled, "and there was a general expression of sympathy and regret, but no 'trembling and knee

74. Ibid., November 20, 1918.
75. Ibid., December 4, 1918.

knocking." 'With the battle already won, there seems little reason for the cadets to have panicked after seeing Simmons' corpse.[76]

After several weeks the controversy left the headlines. While the identity of the "Old Confederate" was never publicly revealed, it quite possibly was Tallahassee author Susan Bradford Eppes. A typescript copy of the Old Confederate article exists in the James Tillinghast Archer Papers at Florida State University. It contains handwritten comments, apparently by Susan Archer, stating the article was "Written by Mrs. Sue Eppes." "The aforesaid *'Old Confederate'* hadn't courage enough to write this under *her own name,"* Archer insisted. Eppes' attack on the cadets "was brought about in *after years.* Caused from a case of *Spite,* or pique, which was a personal matter, [and] had nothing to do with the war." Archer particularly condemned Eppes for not making her accusations "until Capt Houstoun & Capt Gamble were *dead,* & not here to refute these lies."[77]

76. Ibid. Charles Beard does describe the cadets viewing Simmons' body on their way to the battlefield, which is in agreement with the account of the Old Confederate (although he does not mention the cadets becoming frightened). It appears that Beard was mistaken, however, and that he may have confused Simmons with another Confederate soldier killed earlier in the fighting. Charles Beard Reminiscences.

77. Typescript located in James Tillinghast Archer Papers, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, FSU. In her 1926 book, *Through Some Eventful Years,* Susan Bradford Eppes did not repeat these charges against the cadets, although she did downplay their service at Natural Bridge. Eppes recalled that a cadet, identified only as Charley, stated: " 'we stayed right behind General Miller and his staff all the time,' 'Why was that, Charley?' I asked. 'So we could protect him,' was the proud answer. I did not dare to tell the dear little fellow that the commanding officer was supposed to occupy the safest position." Eppes, *Through* Some *Eventful* Years, 262. A typescript in the Susan Bradford Eppes Collection, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, FSU, is less critical than the "Old Confederate," but states that, after viewing Simmons' body, the cadets "faltered (poor little fellows) and how a few words from their battle scarred leader put fresh courage in their young hearts, how bravely they marched on mid the rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon." Eppes almost certainly authored this document. The only other criticism of the cadets came from J. C. Smythe of Fernandina. In 1909, Smythe learned that George Baltzell had applied for a Confederate pension. Baltzell "was never enlisted and mustered into state or C.S. Army," Smythe contended. Instead he "serv[ed] his time . . . in the Tallahassee High School." Some of the cadets served at Natural Bridge, but "a goodly number of others had a good time in [the] Capitol now this man claims that. . . makes him a Confed. Vet. And entitles him to wear the Bronze cross." J. C. Smythe to A. C. Croom, January 5, 1909, in George L. Baltzell Pension File A12247, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.

The fervor with which white Tallahasseeans defended the cadets is a potent example of the Lost Cause sentiment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The South may have lost the Civil War, but white southerners had fought valiantly to defend their way of life. Ultimately, as W. A. Rawls candidly admitted, white southerners had won the peace. Confederate veterans, including the cadets, had helped establish the Ku Klux Klan to end Reconstruction and hated Republican rule. Any criticism of the cadets represented an attack on the Lost Cause/Old South myth. Even if they had not played a major role in the war, the cadets had done their part in upholding the honor of the South. If the cadets had failed, then the Lost Cause view of the war– loyal Confederate soldiers, sacrificing civilians on the home front, and loyal, contented slaves– might also be questioned. In 1918 at least, Tallahasseeans were unwilling to accept that possibility.[78]

The Old Confederate controversy had at least increased interest in the neglected Natural Bridge battlefield. In 1919 a small monument was erected at the site, followed by a second in 1920. The following year the state legislature appropriated $5,000 to establish a park and erect a larger monument at the site. The local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy agreed to establish a committee to oversee construction of the park and monument. In 1922 the new monument was completed and the park dedicated. Former Cadet Byrd Coles was among those who attended the unveiling. The last known survivor among the cadets was D. Sheppard Shine, who died in Duval County in 1939. The widow of cadet William F. Quaile passed away in Tallahassee in 1969, making her the final survivor of that category. Today a number of descendants continue to live in Tallahassee and the surrounding region.[79]

A final commemoration of the cadets and the role of the West Florida Seminary in the Civil War came on March 6, 1957, on the

78. For an overview of this subject, see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York, 1987).

79. Chapter 8433, in *General Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida at its Eighteenth Regular Session (April 15 to June 3, 1921) Under the Constitution of A. D. 1885* (Tallahassee, 1921), vol. 1, 142-43; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, January 21, 1919 [sic, 1920], May 8, 1922; D. Sheppard Shine (A10524) and William F. Quaile (A10567), Pension Files, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.

ninety-second anniversary of Natural Bridge, when the Reserve Officers' Training Corps detachment at Florida State University received a citation and battle streamer from the State of Florida for its wartime service. The citation reads in part:

> In grateful recognition of the valiant service performed by the cadets of the West Florida Seminary, lineal predecessor to the present Florida State University, who fought with distinction during the Battle of Natural Bridge, Florida, . . . there shall be caused to be affixed to the staffs of the flags which bear the seal of the University, a streamer which bears the words Natural Bridge 1865, which streamers shall be permanently and continuously attached to the staff of these flags, now and hereafter, to serve as an inspiration to the students of that institution.[80]

80. Citation from Florida Secretary of State R. A. Gray, March 6, 1957, displayed in ROTC Building, Florida State University, Tallahassee. In the 1990s the ROTC Building of the campus of Florida State University was renamed the Harpe-Johnson Building, in honor of Captain V.M. Johnson and of a twentieth-century Air Force ROTC graduate who rose to the rank of general.

APPENDIX

ROSTER OF WEST FLORIDA SEMINARY CADETS KEY

(1) Listed in Florida Miscellaneous Compiled Service Records (on Tallahassee 1865 surrender rolls). From Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, roll 104, National Archives Microfilm Publication, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

(2) Pension Applicant. From State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files, 1885-1954, Series 587, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida.

(3) Pension Endorser. Same as above.

(4) Archer List. Published in Tallahassee *Daily Democrat,* November 7, 1918.

(5) United Daughters of the Confederacy Cross of Honor Recipient. From Mrs. H. T. Cook, *Records of All Crosses of Honor Bestowed by Florida Division United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Tallahassee?, 1966-1968).

(6) United Daughters of the Confederacy, Florida Division, Membership Applications. From M91-4, Florida State Archives.

(7) Other (mentioned in postwar accounts written by or about the cadets, including the Charles Beard Reminiscences and the various articles published in the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat).*

1. William Harrison Anderson (2, 3). Born August 1, 1848, in Madison County, Florida. Married Alice L. Polk in Levy County, January 5, 1902. Died November 13, 1916, in Levy County. He received a pension from the State of Florida (A10451), which indicated that in 1864 he initially served in John L. Miller's Company of the Madison County Home Guard. In October 1864, he enrolled in the West Florida Seminary. Anderson testified that he "was under Gen. Wm. Miller at Newport and Natural Bridge Mch 5, 6 & 7th

1865, at other times relieving Regular Troops in guarding RR bridges, commissary depots in Madison, and guarding Federal prisoners." He added, "We were never paroled but disbanded & went home after surrender." Anderson later belonged to Stonewall Camp No. 1438, United Confederate Veterans. [Endorsed Charles Beard's pension application].

2. Tod Archer (4, 7). Brother of Susan Archer, who wrote a detailed account of the cadets' service. Mentioned in Charles Beard's Reminiscences.

3. Private George Lavan Baltzell (1, 3, 4). Born November 26, 1848, in Leon County. Married Louise Wilson on November 15, 1886. Died in Nassau County on January 17, 1914. Baltzell received a pension from the State of Florida (A01592 and A12247), indicating that he enlisted at Tallahassee (no date), and was discharged or paroled on May 10, 1865. He stated that he served "around Tallahassee and in the Battle of Natural Bridge," and that his service ended with the "Disbanding of the Cadet Corps & breaking up of the Institute." [Endorsed pension applications of Charles Beard and Herman Damon]

4. Charles Locke Beard (2, 3). Born August 3, 1849, in St. Johns County, the son of John and Maria Beard. Died in Tallahassee November 12, 1914. After the war Beard lived for a time in Fernandina and received a pension from the State of Florida (A08244), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on March 5, 1865, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee on May 15, 1865. Beard added that "as a member of the Cadet Corps [I] did Guard duty at various times, over prisoners confined in Tallahassee. Was absent from Tallahassee for five days on the Expedition to New Port & Natural Bridge taking part in the battle at the Bridge & acting as one of the Escort that took the prisoners to Tallahassee . . ." In a pension endorsement Beard testified the cadets were assembled for drill daily and were never formally paroled. [Endorsed pension of Herman Damon and of Luther Tucker's widow]

5. Elijah J. Bryan (2). Born November 9, 1848, in Jackson County. Was living in Jackson County in 1908. Bryan received a pension from the State of Florida (A12277) in which he testified: "I

was a cadet in the Military School at Tallahassee Fla– Was ordered in to service under Capt Johnson and had active service at Natural Bridge, Fla. & New Port." He added that the cadets "Never received a discharge, but were ordered back to school."

6. Private W. W. Coker (1).

7. Second Lieutenant Nathan Byrd Coles (1, 2, 3, 4, 7). Born January 11, 1849. Married Eugenia Upshaw November 8, 1870. Received a pension from the State of Alabama for his service with the cadets, which indicated that he enlisted in Tallahassee in 1862 until "close of war (I think apl 1865)." Died at Clayton, Alabama on December 24, 1928. [Endorsed pension application of William A. Rawls]

8. Franklin P. Damon (2, 3). Born June 20, 1853, in Tallahassee. Married Alice Perry in Nassau County on April 16, 1885. Died December 31, 1917, or January 1, 1918, in Tallahassee. Damon's widow received a pension from the State of Florida (A02195), indicating that he enlisted on March 5, 1865, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in May 1865. Damon's wife testified that he served "with his company guarding prisoners, and doing other military duty for 17 months previous to enlistment, in the service of the Confederate States & the State of Florida."

9. Herman F. Damon (2, 3, 4). Born December 28, 1847, in Leon County. Living in Leon County in 1909. Damon applied for a pension from the State of Florida (D13236), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee, no date, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee on May 10, 1865. He testified: "I was in the Battle of Natural Bridge in command of Capt V. M. Johnson March 6th 1865 Captain of the Cadets of the Florida Military Institute."

10. Henry Ware DeMilly (2). Born March 26, 1852, in Leon County. Married Kate Graham on December 22, 1889 in Pike County, Alabama. Died January 9, 1930, in Leon County. DeMilly received a pension from the State of Florida (A10096), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on January 1, 1864, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee on May 13, 1865. He noted that he performed "Guard duty as cadet for state home service."

11. Sergeant Pros DeMilly (1, 4, 6). Born April 4, 1848, in Tallahassee. Married Emma Margaret Collins on June 4, 1879. Died in Tallahassee in 1905.

12. James B. Dickson (2, 3). Born January 27, 1850, in Jackson County. Married Mary Alice Edwards on November 30, 1927. Died between 1927-1929. He received a pension from the State of Florida (A10019), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on March 5, 1865 and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in 1865. Dickson testified that he "was present at the Battle of Natural Bridge, Fla. & saw active service therein." [Endorsed pension application of John Milton, Sr. and Elijah Bryan].

13. Sergeant John E. DuBose, Jr. (1, 4, 7).

14. Private Cornelius A. Fitt [also listed as Titt] (1).

15. Private T. P. Graham (1).

16. Private R. Lonnie Gunn (1, 4). 5'9", dark hair, hazel eyes, light complexion.

17. Sergeant Richard Hayward (1, 4).

18. Sergeant James S. Houstoun (1, 7). Charles Beard referred to Houstoun as first sergeant.

19. Private Jessie F. King (1, 4)

20. Private A. J. Lasseter (1).

21. Sergeant John P. McCall (1, 2). Born February 11, 1848. Living in Jefferson County in January 1899. Died July 16, 1901, and buried in Waukeenah Cemetery, Jefferson County. He applied for a pension from the State of Florida (D02074), which indicated that he enlisted in January 1865. His parole showed him as 5'6", dark hair, blue eyes, fair complexion.

22. Dan B. Meginniss / Maginnis (4, 5)

23. John Milton, Jr. [Listed as John Milton, Sr. in pension application] (2, 3, 4, 7). Born December 25, 1850, in Jackson County. Son of Florida Governor John Milton. Married Caroline F. Russ on December 16, 1874, in Jackson County. Died May 22, 1922, in Jackson County and buried in St. Lukes Cemetery, Marianna. Milton received a pension from the State of Florida (A02401), which indicated he enlisted at Tallahassee on March 5, 1865, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in 1865. Milton claimed to be "present at the Battle of Natural Bridge, Fla. and saw active service therein," and that at the close of the war he was "at home at Marianna, Fla." [Endorsed James D. Dickson's pension application]

24. Private Charlie T. Mims (1, 4).

25. Private [?] W. S. Murphey (1). 5'11", light hair, gray eyes, light complexion.

26. Second Lieutenant Thomas Perkins Myers (4, 5)

27. Private Egbert Nims (1, 2). Born May 6, 1847, in Leon County. Living in Colombia County in 1914. He received a pension from the State of Florida (A06539), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on March 4, 1865, and was discharged at Tallahassee. Nims testified that "on March 5th 1864 [sic] a detachment of Cadets went to a Station, New Port, to take charge of Federal Soldiers, captured at Natural bridge, and conveyed the prisoners to Tallahassee."

28. William Wightman Perkins (2, 3, 4, 5, 7) Born February 2, 1852 in Leon County. Died March 19, 1932. He received a pension from the State of Florida (A08478), which indicated that he enlisted in Tallahassee on March 5, 1865, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in May 1865. Perkins stated he was "In the service of the Confederate States at Tallahassee for the last eighteen months of the Civil War. Guarded prisoners, who were wounded, and sent to Tallahassee for treatment, notably those who were confined in the present Masonic building in Tallahassee, then used as a hospital[.] Did other military duty at Tallahassee. My company was in battle of Natural Bridge although I was not in the battle, but was detailed for other duty." [Endorsed the pension applications of John Milton, Sr., D. Sheppard Shine, Egbert Nims, William F. Quaile, William A. Rawls and Henry DeMilly]

29. Private Charles Courtney Pierce/Pearce (1, 4). Born September 16, 1849. Died July 7, 1889, in Leon County.

30. Second Sergeant Thomas Augustus Polhill (4, 7).

31. Private J. Hunter Pope (1, 4). 5 7", light hair, gray eyes, dark complexion.

32. William Francis Quaile (2, 3, 5). Born January 17, 1850, in Leon County. Married Myrtle R. Quaile (second marriage) September 1, 1918, in Leon County. Died January 10, 1935, and buried in Old City Cemetery in Tallahassee. Quaile's widow died in Tallahassee in 1969. Quaile received a pension from the State of Florida (A10567), indicating that he enlisted in October of November 1863 and discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in April 1865. [Endorsed the pension applications of D. Sheppard Shine, Henry W DeMilly, and Egbert Nim]

33. First Lieutenant Arthur L. Randolph (1, 4, 7). Born 1847 or 1848, the son of J. H. and M. E. Randolph. Died July 31, 1884, in Leon County.

34. William Andrew Rawls (2, 3, 4, 7) Born August 26, 1851, in Leon County. Married Mary Maxwell Flagg on January 1, 1880. Died December 5, 1926, in Leon County. Rawls received a pension from the State of Florida (A02731), which indicated that he joined the cadet corps at Tallahassee in September 1863, entered Confederate service in September 1864, and was discharged or paroled on May 13, 1865. Rawls testified that the cadets "Performed military duty in Tallahassee; guarding federal prisoners who were captured at the battle of Olustee Fla., in Feb 1864– Was detailed for separate duty when my company was in the fighting at Newport and Natural Bridge– March 5th and 6th 1865." In a pension endorsement Rawls testified that the cadets "were never regularly enlisted,' and that their service consisted of "responding to all calls for military service in and around Tallahassee during the last two years of the civil war." He added "We were never paroled." [Endorsed pension applications of William Perkins, William F. Quaile, James B. Dickson, and for the widows of Franklin P. Damon and Luther Tucker]

35. D. Sheppard Shine (2). Born October 12, 1851, in Leon County. Married Caroline M. Eppes on October 30, 1882, in Or-

lando. Died October 12, 1939, in Duval County. After the war he received a pension from the State of Florida (A10524), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on January 1, 1864, and discharged or paroled at Tallahassee on May 13, 1865. Shine noted that he served "as guard, and attendant to wounded soldiers," and an endorser testified that Shine was "a nurse to wounded soldiers brought to Tallahassee from the Battle of Natural Bridge."

36. Pratt Thompson (4, 5)

37. Private Luther Tucker (1, 2, 4). Born October 19, 1848, in Wakulla County. Married Jerusia Vause on April 4, 1866, in Wakulla County. Died March 20, 1911, in Wakulla County and buried in Vause Branch Cemetery, Sopchoppy. After the war his widow received a pension from the State of Florida (A01597), indicating that Tucker enlisted at Tallahassee in 1863 or 1864

38. Private D. M. Walker (1). Born April 18, 1850, the son of George Keith and Mary Dorothea Walker. Died Leon County on June 21, 1871.

39. Sergeant George R. Ward (1, 4).

40. Private John Wesley Wethington (1, 2, 3, 4) Listed as Cadet Captain in several accounts. Born in Jefferson County on January 15, 1847. Enlisted in Company H, Third Florida Infantry Regiment in July 1861. Was wounded in the face and leg at Perryville, Kentucky, and was captured by Federal troops and imprisoned at Cairo, Illinois. Wethington was discharged and joined Captain Gwynn's Company, Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion and fought at the Battle of Olustee. In his pension Wethington does not mention his service with the cadets at Natural Bridge. He was a member of the Patton Anderson Camp No. 59, United Confederate Veterans. [Endorsed the pension applications of William Perkins and of the widow of Franklin P. Damon]

41. Private John S. Winthrop (1, 7). Born March 31, 1848. Died February 11, 1920, in Leon County. His parole record lists him as 5'6", light hair, gray eyes, fair complexion.

The following individuals were listed as cadets in Sue Archer's postwar account. Their service, however, is not confirmed in pension or military records and should be considered tentative at best.

During the latter stages of the war, many teenagers served in Confederate militia and home guard units, as well as in the First Florida Reserves. These young soldiers could have easily been mistaken for cadets.

J. W. Adams
Jack Baker
Eddie Blake
Curtis Brown
John Call
Charlie Donaldson
Charlie Dyke
Charlie Ellis
Dick Frazier [Archer claims that Frazier was a "little drummer boy, who was killed by falling from a car loaded with lumber on St. Marks Railroad."]

George Houstoun
Miles Johnson
Charlie Munnerlyn
Lucien H. Raines
Henry Randolph
Sam Tonge
Milton Tucker
Sam Wethington

In addition, Geo. Augustin Maxwell and S.A. Northington received Crosses of Honor from the United Daughters of the Confederacy for cadet service but do not appear in any other known rosters of cadets; John F. DeMilly and George Lewis are listed as cadets in a November 20, 1918, Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* article by W.A. Rawls, but they do not appear on other rosters; and Bob Ledsmith, W.W. Pearce, and Dick Saunders appear on a list of cadets published in the Tallahassee *Democrat* on February 24, 1963, but they do not appear on other rosters.

Race and Civil War in South Florida

by IRVIN D. SOLOMON AND GRACE ERHART

Two Floridas shared one state in 1860, and the racial demographics and the mechanics of race relations differed significantly between the two regions. Most studies of slavery and race in Florida directly before and during the Civil War have dealt with the state's more densely populated and economically developed northern plantation region. Race relations in antebellum and wartime South Florida have received relatively little attention. From the outbreak of the Civil War through the early years of Reconstruction, however, the issues of race, slavery, and freedom profoundly shaped events from Tampa to Key West, developments compounded by the extensive Union deployment of African American soldiers at Fort Myers in the center of the region.

The racial demographics of North Florida's plantation cotton belt on the eve of the Civil War more closely resembled those of the Deep South states than those of the less-developed South Florida counties. Of the 104,424 whites and 61,745 slaves residing in Florida in 1860, the majority of both lived in the state's northern counties, particularly in the region between the Suwannee and Apalachicola Rivers known as Middle Florida. In many of the state's cotton-producing counties, slaves significantly outnumbered whites. The socioeconomic realities of plantation slavery defined relationships between the races there, much as they did throughout the Deep South. In the face of large, potentially dangerous slave populations, these relationships were based as much on the perceived need for social control as on raw economic exploitation.[1]

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1. Eighth Census of the United States (1860), State of Florida, Population By Age and Sex, and Slave Schedules, Florida. Alachua, Gadsden, Jefferson, Leon, Madison, and Marion comprised the white minority counties in 1860, Records of the Bureau of the Census, M653, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (hereafter NA); see Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1973), 10-11; Lula Dee Keith Appleyard, "Plantation Life in Middle Florida, 1821-1845" (master's thesis, Florida State College For Women, 1940), 2969.

Unlike the more mature plantation belt of northern Florida, the southern portion of the state remained a relatively undeveloped frontier. In 1860, the region had barely recovered from Florida's Indian wars, which ended in 1858. As the wars drew to a close, new settlers from the northern counties and neighboring Deep South states migrated to South Florida. Many of these pioneers were hardscrabble farmers who could not afford to invest in chattel slavery. While some sizeable farms, and even a few plantations, appeared in the region, most South Florida whites were small farmers, cattlemen, and individual slave owners, rather than elite planters.[2]

Hillsborough, Manatee, and Monroe constituted the major counties of South Florida on the eve of the Civil War. The most concentrated pockets of population were located on or near Tampa Bay and the Manatee River, and in Key West, the state's second largest city. The 1860 census counted 2,415 whites and 564 slaves in Hillsborough County, 601 whites and 253 slaves in Manatee County, and 2,302 whites and 451 slaves in Monroe County. Key West, which usually stood apart from these counties as a federal census entry, was home to 2,241 whites and 435 slaves. The city also included 156 free blacks who owned property worth over $12,000. Key West's free black population accounted for virtually the entire free black population of South Florida in 1860, and it similarly accounted for almost one-ninth of Florida's total free black population.[3]

The figure of the aristocratic planter that characterized land owners in the northern reaches of the state was essentially unheard of in South Florida. Most slave owners there engaged in field work

2. "Copy of Statement furnished Gov. John Milton showing the number and value of Slaves, Cattle, Sheep, Swine & Occupants in the State of Florida as taken in this office, Oct. 13, 1862," Comptroller's Office, Incoming Correspondence, 1845-1906, RG350, ser. 554, Florida Department of State, Division of Library and Information Services, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter FSA), 1-19. See Rodney E. Dillon Jr., "The Civil War in South Florida" (master's thesis, University of Florida, 1980), 1-9; Canter Brown Jr., *Florida's Peace River Frontier* (Orlando, 1991), 136-40.

3. Eighth Census of the United States (1860), State of Florida, Population By Age and Sex, Records of the Bureau of the Census, M653, NA, Sarah M. W. Guthrie, "Land of Promise, Land of Change: An Examination of the Population of Hillsborough County, Florida Based Upon a Statistical Analysis and Comparison of The Population Census Abstracts For 1850 and 1860" (master's thesis, Emory University, 1974), 52-71; Sharon Wells, *Forgotten Legacy: Blacks in Nineteenth Century Key West* (Key West, 1982), 20.

virtually shoulder-to-shoulder with their chattel. Because major plantations in South Florida were few, most slaves in this region worked at the task method of slavery, especially as individual field hands (often working alongside members of the master's family) or as domestic servants. Through the early years of the war, cotton, tobacco, and sugar represented the most profitable crops in Hillsborough and Manatee Counties, while ranching, fishing, and the production of salt and turpentine proved the most lucrative trades in upper Monroe County.[4]

Antebellum slavery in South Florida took a less severe form than that of the state's cotton belt. The scarcity of plantations and the intimacy of master and slave in South Florida probably accounted for this development; the more oppressive measures of social control that characterized the heavily black counties of Middle Florida seldom took root in the three lower counties under review here.[5] While traveling in South Florida prior to the outbreak of hostilities, Oliver Otis Howard, future Union commander, Freedmen's Bureau Commissioner, and Howard University namesake, noted the less virulent nature of slavery in the southern region of the peninsula. He wrote in a personal correspondence: "Slavery here is in a very mild form. You wouldn't know the negroes were slaves unless you were told. White men work with the negroes . . . at any trade."[6] Despite the less formal, more personal working relationships between the races, slavery in South Florida nevertheless retained its inherently dehumanizing character. Bondsmen in South Florida remained mere property with no more rights there than anywhere else in the South.

Key West, the southernmost city in the United States, reflected the vagaries of slavery in South Florida. In this island city about 300 miles south of the state's major population center, slaves labored as dock workers, day workers, skilled craftsmen, construction hands, and as servants to wealthy whites. Free blacks in Key West usually

4. "Copy of Statement furnished Gov. John Milton showing the number and value of Slaves, Cattle, Sheep, Swine & Occupants in the State of Florida . . ."; Dillon, "The Civil War in South Florida," 1-19; Brown, *Florida's Peace River Frontier*, 136 54.

5. See Brown, *Florida's Peace River Frontier*, 138-39; Appleyard, "Plantation Life in Middle Florida," 70-104. Through the late 1850s, the Gamble, Braden, and Gates family operations near the Manatee River region represented the few major plantations of South Florida in this era.

6. Oliver Otis Howard to Lizzie Howard, March 29, 1857, Oliver Otis Howard Papers, Special Collections, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine.

worked as skilled or semi-skilled laborers, finding opportunities in the urban environment that similarly attracted most free blacks across the state to towns and cities. Because of its large free black population, perceived prosperity and employment opportunities, and the presence of Union garrisons, Key West attracted many escaped and liberated slaves throughout the war.[7]

The island's sizable pro-Union population also proved to be a magnet for blacks seeking freedom, which resulted in the black population of Key West nearly doubling during the 1860s. In the spring of 1861, a Union commander noted: "We are on terms of friendship with the best portion of the citizens [of Key West], and all hope there will be no collision."[8] Later that summer, a *New York Herald* correspondent reported: "Key West has a thoroughly Union-loving population . . . ."[9] The Unionist Key West *New Era* perhaps best summed up this sentiment when it stated in 1862 that "we do not believe that there is a reasonable man in Key West but what sees, in the downfall of the Confederacy, the extinction of slavery."[10] The *New Era* also noted the determination of slaves to secure freedom once Union troops had proclaimed martial law in the island city:

> The usually quiet and monotonous life in this city has been broken . . . . There has been such an amount of talk about skedaddling, of late, [by] persons of African descent, who were formerly held up to service of labor . . . of all ages, sexes, sizes, and imaginable shades of color, house servants, laborers, . . . have left their masters' bed and board in search of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."[11]

Yet slavery continued to be a divisive issue in Key West through the early war years. Even after the outbreak of war in the spring of 1861, the federal government countenanced slavery in South Flor-

7. Ninth Census of the United States (1870), The Tables of Race, Nationality, Sex, and Selected Ages and Occupations, Population of Civil Divisions Less Than Counties, Table III– State of Florida, vol. I, Records of the Bureau of the Census, M653, NA. See also Julius J. Gordon, *A History of Blacks in Florida: An Analysis of Free Negroes Enumerated in the U.S. Census of 1850, 1860, in Florida* (Tampa, 1988), 97; Wells, *Forgotten Legacy*, 14-30.

8. J. M. Brannon to L. Thomas, March 13, 1861, United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereafter *ORA),* 128 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), ser. 1, vol. l, 360.

9. *New York Herald,* June 6, 1861.

10. *Key West New Era,* October 4, 1862. The Unionist *New Era* appeared in Key West in April 1862, supplanting the former secessionist paper *Key of the Gulf.*

11. *Key West New Era,* September 20, 1862.

ida by leasing black bondsmen from their masters to continue the work on Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas and Fort Taylor in Key West, both of which remained in Union hands throughout the war. The scarcity of local white laborers, most of whom worked in the extensive wrecking and salvage industry of the lower Keys, accounted for the slave labor demand in Key West and stimulated slaveowners to take advantage of the situation. Throughout 1861 and 1862, Department of War payroll vouchers for Fort Taylor alone averaged about forty-five slave laborers per month, a figure that represented about one-tenth of Key West's total slave population. Initially, masters received $20 per month for each slave, while the U.S. government supplied the slave's food, shelter, and medical care. Later, as the sectional fervor escalated in Key West, a standard pay of $1.12 per workday was substituted for both black and white laborers, raising the monthly wage of slaves hired out to over $36. Some slaves may have kept part of the wages owed their masters, but just as frequently a slave agent deceptively kept the bondsman's presumed pay for himself. At the outset of the war, a northern soldier observed such proceedings and recorded in his diary: "An 'agent' reserves one dollar and [a] half per day for this slave's services, and is not ashamed . . . to pocket the money."[12]

Following the outbreak of hostilities, the chronic shortage of white labor made slave labor extremely valuable to both the Union and the Confederacy. Non-traditional tasks such as conveying messages between masters, rounding up distant cattle, and securing stores characterized slave labor in both the panhandle and the southern reaches of Florida during the Civil War, although it is arguable that bondsmen in South Florida took on a much wider array

12. "View of Key West," *Harper's Weekly*, April 19, 1862, 34; J. St. C. Morton to W. H. French, April 22, 1861, L. G. Arnold to W. H. French, April 22, 1861, Letters Received, Department and District of Key West, 1861-1868, RG 393, NA; Work Returns, 1859-1861, 1861-1862, and Payroll Vouchers, Accounts Current, and Abstracts of Disbursement. Office of the Chief of Army Engineers, RG77, National Archives, Regional Archives Branch, East Point, Georgia; L. G. Arnold to Headquarters, April 20, 1861, found in Josiah Shinn, "Fort Jefferson and Its Commander, 1861-2," Lewis G. Schmidt Collection, FSA; William H. Foster, "This Place Is Safe: Engineer Operations at Fort Zachary Taylor, Florida, 1845-1865" (master's thesis, Florida State University, 1974), 89-111, 148, 188-90; *Key West New Era*, August 16, 1862; Albert Manucy, "The Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 21 (April 1943), 308-309; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 15, 1861; Ames Williams, "Stronghold of the Straits, A Short History of Fort Zachary Taylor," *Tequesta* 14 (1954), 14; Diary of Harrison B. Herrick, 110th NY Regiment (quotation), cataloged as "Sun, Sand and Soldiers," 1953, Oswego County Historical Society, Oswego, New York.

of duties during the conflict than their northern Florida counterparts. As white labor in South Florida became increasingly scarce after the institution of the Southern Conscription Act in April 1862, Confederate forces relied on blacks as seldom before. James McKay Sr., blockade-runner turned Confederate commissary agent, received orders to employ "Negroes as can be had" for cattle drivers. As an inducement, some Confederates went so far as to pay their servants for extra efforts. Robert Watson, a Confederate soldier temporarily stationed at Tampa, wrote: "We pay two dollars each a month for servant hire, they cook and wash for us and keep our house in order."[13] But the general refusal of Confederates to treat their slaves with any measure of human dignity hampered the effectiveness of their use in any great numbers.

The North vacillated on the questions of humane treatment and emancipation of slaves. Congress passed the Confiscation Act on August 6, 1861, authorizing the forfeiture of property, including slaves, used in "aiding, abetting or promoting" the war effort against the United States. But this statute proved ineffective in defining the status of slaves owned by non-belligerent Confederate sympathizers. On May 9, 1862, General David Hunter, commander of the Department of the South, declared free all slaves in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida based on the reasoning that "slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible . . ."; nevertheless, President Abraham Lincoln countermanded the order a mere ten days later. On July 17, 1862, Congress passed a Second Confiscation Act (technically the Militia Act), which freed slaves (termed "contraband") of disloyal owners. An executive order empowering federal authorities to impress property "necessary or convenient for any military or naval service for which it may be found competent" reinforced the act.[14] Still, by late 1862, the

13. Robert Taylor, *Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy* (Tuscaloosa, 1995), 106; Pleasant W. White to Joseph P. Baldwin, October 2, 1863, Pleasant W. White to James McKay Sr., October 2, 1863, box 2, Pleasant White Papers, Collection of the Florida Historical Society, Cocoa, Florida; Diary of Robert Watson (Florida Volunteer Coast Guard) (quotation), Key West Avengers, March 15, 1862, Schmidt Collection.

14. General Orders No. 11, May 9, 1862, *ORA*, ser. 1, vol. 14, 341; By the President of the United States of America: A Proclamation, May 19, 1862, *ORA*, ser. 3, vol. 2, 42-43; Militia Act of 17 July 1862, "The Negro in the Military Service of the United States, 1639-1886," 915-16, M858, RG94, Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served During the Civil War, NA. See also La Wanda Cox, *Lincoln and Black Freedom: A Study in Presidential Leadership* (Columbia, 1981), 7, 14-15.

North had promulgated no clear policy either on ending slavery or on the equitable treatment of freedmen.

The North's ambivalence on the race question also affected its military policies. Even though blacks aggressively petitioned the War Department for permission to enlist, Lincoln instructed the military branches to reject the mustering-in efforts of blacks. President Lincoln himself found slavery repugnant; however, in an effort to keep non-abolitionist northern whites and the border states loyal to the Union, he maintained throughout the first two years of the conflict that it was a "white man's war."[15]

President Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation in early 1863 notably raised black men's expectations to join the fray. Faced with an unpopular military draft and declining enlistments at the time of the Proclamation, Congress shortly thereafter passed a revised Militia Act, which allowed the military services to recruit "persons of African descent." That spring, the War Department issued General Order No. 143 creating the Bureau for Colored Troops, which eventually became the U. S. Colored Troops (USCT) branch of the U.S. Army. More than 186,000 black troops, serving in some 166 regiments, eventually saw action as USCT soldiers.[16]

The United States Navy, in fact, had already enlisted new black volunteers prior to the War Department's 1863 edict. The small, ship-poor Gulf Blockading Squadron began using blacks before most other naval squadrons. In September 1861, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles sent orders to Commander William W. McKean of the Gulf Blockading Squadron addressing the "large and increasing number of persons of color, commonly known as contrabands, now subsist[ing] at the navy yard and on board of ships of war." These slaves, he stated, could neither be discharged from service nor could they remain unemployed. If they were willing, Welles ordered, they should receive naval work and compensation, Like the army's policy in 1863, the navy's initial compensation for blacks was minimal in all duty areas. Secretary Welles directed that black sailors "be allowed . . . no higher rating than boys, at a com-

15. Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1953-1955), vol. 8, 2.

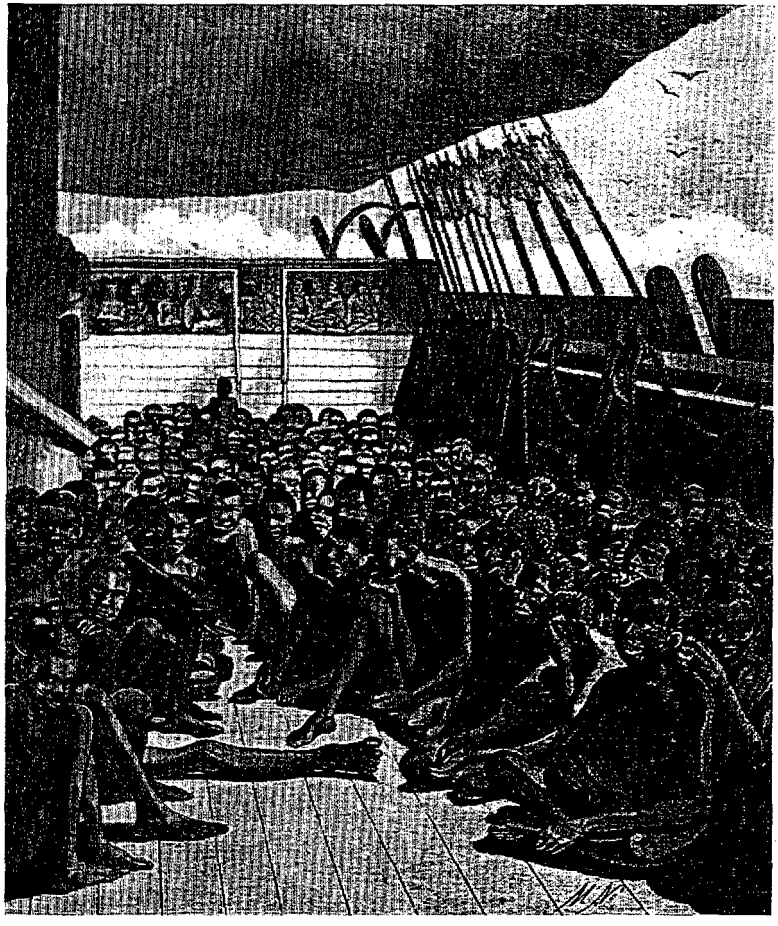
16. General Orders No. 143, May 22, 1863, *ORA*, ser. 3, vol. 3, 215-16; see Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York, 1966), 261-91; James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Blacks Felt and Acted During the War for the Union* (New York, 1991), 145-243. Blacks represented nearly ten percent of Union forces by war's end.

pensation of $10 per month and one ration per day," a rate and pay far below that of white sailors.[17]

When the GuIf Blockading Squadron reconfigured into the East Gulf Blockading Squadron (EGBS) and the West Gulf Blockading Squadron (WGBS) in early 1862, the Union navy changed its attitude toward enlisting blacks out of necessity. In July 1862, Welles sent a pointed note to both Flag-Officer James Lardner, commander of the EGBS, and to Flag-Officer David G. Farragut, commander of the WGBS. Welles wrote: "To supply your wants you will have to resort to the expediency of enlisting contrabands, as no more men can be sent you, Enlistments do not keep pace with the wants of the service."[18] Thereafter, the EGBS augmented its forces with local black recruits, particularly those familiar with Florida's long, irregular coastline and those experienced in sailing the unchartered waters of the southern peninsula and disparate Keys. Keeping with tradition, many of the black sailors who had joined the EGBS by 1862 served in integrated crews, such as that of the *James L. Davis,* which patrolled the waters off South Florida. Still, the number of black sailors remained small, their pay inequitable, and their status questionable until the Navy's ad hoc policy on black forces in the waters of the East Gulf changed wholesale as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation and Congress's subsequent actions in early 1863.[19]

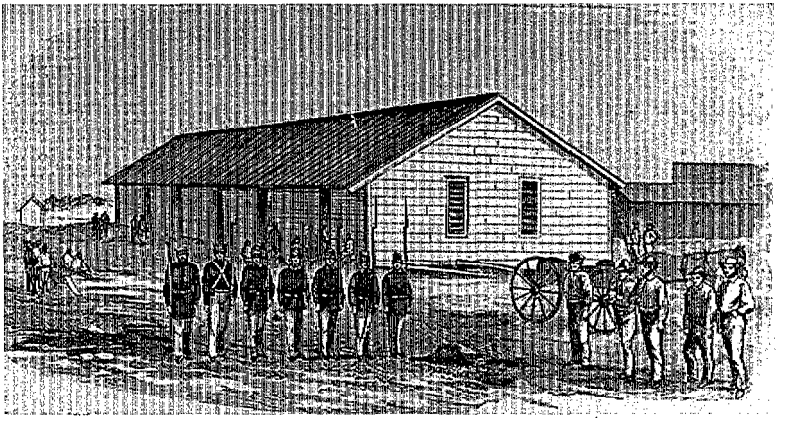
Florida blacks serving in the EGBS performed the unique duty of helping to suppress the African slave trade in the war years. Although outlawed in 1808, numerous records suggest that the clandestine slave trade continued along Florida's remote southern coast through the outbreak of the Civil War. In April 1860, the U.S.S. *Mohawk* captured the slave ship *Wildfire* and towed it to Key West. The *Wildfire*'s cargo of 350 Africans reposed at Key West's barracoons (special barracks built for receiving presumably ill slaves

17. Gideon Welles to William W. McKean, September 25, 1861, United States War Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of The Rebellion* (hereafter *ORN),* 30 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1894-1922), ser. 1, vol. 16, 689.
18. Gideon Welles to James Lardner and David G. Farragut, July 2, 1862, *ORN,* ser. 1, vol. 17, 269; David J. Coles, "Unpretending Service: The *James L. Davis,* The *Tahoma,* and The East Gulf Blockading Squadron," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 71 (July 1992), 44-45.
19. See Coles, "Unpretending Service," 45; George E. Buker, *Blockade, Refugees, and Contraband: Civil War on Florida's Gulf Coast, 1861-1865* (Tuscaloosa, 1993), 43-78.



The slave deck of the sailing ship *Wildfire*, brought into Key West on April 30, 1860. *Harper's Weekly*, June 2, 1860.

taken off slave ships) until they could be returned to Africa. In December 1860, two more slave ship prizes entered Key West's port, swelling the number of slaves captured to a reported 1,432. The *New York Times* noted in 1862 that South Florida rebels sought a reinstituted African slave trade, either by their own commerce or by foreign delivery. In June 1862, the U.S.S. *Amanda* captured an unnamed slaver in the South Florida waters; the "slave prize" had just unloaded between 750 and 800 slaves at Cuba and presumably was



The barracoons at Key West, where slaves were confined. *Harper's Weekly*, June 2, 1860.

searching the southern peninsula waters for ports at which it might curry new business for its illicit trade.[20]

Indeed, evidence suggests that slave ships operated along the South Florida coast during the early part of the war. In July 1861, Major William Henry French, then stationed at Key West, sent a message based on information gleaned from an informant to Flag-Officer William McKean, commander of the Gulf Blockading Squadron: "I have . . . information that a schooner fitted out as a slaver is in the Caloosahatchee River, awaiting to fill its crew and also for letters of marque from Montgomery [Alabama]. Her appointments, I am told, are full . . . ."[21] About three weeks later, the navy's attempt to capture a privateer (probably the same slaver reported in the Caloosahatchee) ended prematurely after Union forces realized that former United States Senator and now Confederate Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory had probably warned the ship's personnel of the impending Union expedi-

20. "The Africans of the Slave Bark 'Wildfire,'" *Harper's Weekly*, June 2, 1860, 344-46; *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships* (Washington, D.C., 1969), vol. 4, 408; Paul Silverstone, *Warships of the Civil War Navies* (Annapolis, Md., 1989), 93; Emily Holder, "At the Dry Tortugas During the War: A Lady's Journal," *The Californian Illustrated*, February 1892, 183. Emily Holder was the wife of Dr. Fred Holder. *New York Times*, March 13, 1862; Williams, "A Short History of Fort Zachary Taylor," 15; N. Goodwin to J. L. Lardner, June 18, 1862, and Joseph E. Jones to N. Goodwin, June 18, 1862, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 17, 265-66.

21. William H. French to William W. McKean, July 20, 1861, *ORN* ser. 1, vol. 16, 592.

tion.[22] Given South Florida's long and remote coastline, and its proximity to Cuba and other Caribbean slave ports, it is probable that the black sailors of the EGBS routinely patrolled and surveyed hostile or unidentified ships with the intention of freeing Africans from a destiny of bondage. Although few slaves appeared in the navy's monthly engagement enumerations, the fact that EGBS sailors accepted suppression of the African slave trade in southern Florida waters as an integral part of their duties lent an unconventional aspect to race issues in this region.

Whether they served in the federal navy or in the army, contraband were accepted into the military and workforce simply because unit commanders thought them to be resistant to the most feared "killer of the tropics"– yellow fever. Yellow fever epidemics swept Key West and the Tortugas with a vengeance in both 1862 and 1864. Probably introduced by prize ships captured upon returning from Cuban ports, these unprecedented "seasons" of yellow fever, as the military termed them, claimed a mortality of one-half of some units and proved just as deadly for the civilian and refugee population of the lower Keys. In the yellow fever epidemic of 1862, fully three-fourths of the Union garrison at Fort Taylor contracted the disease. During the outbreaks of 1864, Admiral Theodorus Bailey, commander of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, recorded a mortality rate at Key West of between twelve and fifteen persons per day. So severe was the outbreak that theater commander General Daniel P. Woodbury placed all of Key West under a rigid no-commerce quarantine, virtually shutting off trade and communications to the tiny island city.[23]

The pestilence similarly struck the civilian labor force attached to the fort. During the devastating yellow fever recurrence of 1864, eight "acclimated" contraband (blacks who had already recovered from the disease) were rushed aboard the schooner *James S. Chambers* to Key West to address the labor shortage. Major Wilder of the 2nd USCT wrote that he had lost "many dear friends" and more white officers to the malady "than are killed in half a dozen

22. William Mervine to Gideon Welles, August 17, 1861, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 16, 639.

23. General D. P. Woodbury, "Quarantine Regulations," March 15, 1864, Letters Received, Department and District of Key West, 1861-1865, RG 393, NA; Charles Smart, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D.C., 1888), vol. 1, 675-83; Theodorus Bailey to Gideon Welles, July 27, 1864, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 17, 737-39; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 26, 1862; Foster, "This Place Is Safe," 181. Native Key Westers often used local terms such as "yellowjack" or "the stranger's fever" to describe incidents of yellow fever.

fights." Despite strong evidence to the contrary, Wilder wrote in a letter home that "[s]carcely a man among the [black] privates has died from this disease."[24] So pervasive was the belief that blacks naturally resisted yellow fever that the Union shipped hundreds of contraband from South Carolina and Louisiana to Key West to ensure a reliable labor force immune from yellow fever for its military installations.[25]

Yellow fever proved particularly deadly at Fort Taylor. The military continually sought to address the problem of sick and emaciated soldiers at this southernmost fort by transferring in black troops whom they believed were immune to the disease. Yet the scourge of yellow fever proved color blind, as both white and black troops continued to succumb in high numbers to its debilitating and deadly attacks. Ironically, the myth of blacks' resistance to yellow fever also facilitated a dramatic increase in their numbers at Key West, much to the chagrin of southern sympathizers already tense because of the steady influx of displaced or escaped slaves following the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation in early 1863.[26]

News of the Emancipation Proclamation took almost a month to reach Key West, The first rumors of it incited amazement and excitement among the island's African American population and even led some to hoist flags, march in parades, and engage in other acts of defiance against their masters. One black at Key West "hoped the report would not prove a delusion. He and John had laid by money working after hours, and if it was true, they would like to get to one of the English islands and be 'real free.'"[27] Other

24. Theodore P. Greene to Gideon Welles, August 16, 1864, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 17, 744; John Wilder to Richard Wilder, July 25, 1864, Loomis-Wilder Family Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (New York, 1959), vol. 3, 1723; Williams, "A Short History of Fort Zachary Taylor," 19, 21. USCT troops in this theater died of disease at a rate of 5:l compared to battlefield wounds.

25. John Wilder to Richard Wilder, July 25, 1864, Loomis-Wilder Family Papers; D. P. Woodbury, Quarantine Regulations, March 15, 1864, Letters Received, Department of District of Key West, 1861-1865, RG393, NA.

26. "Key West in the Summer of 1864," *Key West New Era*, September 20, 1862; Smart, *Medical History*, vol. 1, 679. Key West's major cemetery interred fifty-three soldiers who died of yellow fever during one ninety-day period during the height of the outbreak. See St. Paul's Episcopal Church Burial Records, June to August 1864, Monroe County Public Library, Key West; Theodorus Bailey to Gideon Welles, July 27, 1864, *ORN*, ser. 1, vol. 17, 737-39.

27. Henry J. Hornbeck (47th Pennsylvania Volunteers), Diary, January 23, 1863, copy in the Monroe County Public Library; Holder, "At the Dry Tortugas During the War," 103 (quotation).

blacks at Key West may have looked to "Old Sandy," a wealthy local free black respected for his farming skills, as a possible role model or for assistance in their quest for freedom.[28] The prospects of joining the viable free black community of Key West as another "Old Sandy" proved a siren call to blacks throughout South Florida until war's end.

When verifiable news of the Emancipation Proclamation finally arrived in Key West on January 24, 1863, free blacks celebrated heartily. One observer recorded that blacks:

> had a procession, with music and banners flying. In the afternoon, the party of blacks had a gay and happy time in the barracoons, a short distance below Fort Taylor, on the beach. Mr. Custis, a rich shipmaster addressed them in a neat speech, welcomed them as citizens . . . Sandy, the aristocratic farmer was called upon and made a speech of the day. The days festivities concluded with dancing and music.[29]

Elsewhere in South Florida, blacks aspiring to freedom had to flee their masters or await Union occupation of the state in the spring of 1864 before such celebrations would occur.

Although slavery persisted in certain areas of Florida until the end of the war, many slaves in South Florida simply freed themselves. Bondsmen at Key West who had served in the Quartermasters Corps or who had labored to build Fort Jefferson fled to the Union forces there and refused to return to their former masters. Fearing their blacks would flee, slave owners elsewhere tried to move their property to inland areas supposedly safe from Union naval forays or army raids. Yet military records and personal accounts of the period repeatedly refer to the serious blow delivered to southerners by the wartime loss of their slaves. While exact numbers of escaped and freed slaves remain indeterminate, reports and personal accounts on both sides confirm the determination of slaves to achieve freedom by any possible mean.[30]

Slaves involved in Confederate maritime activities reflected this pattern as well. Confederate blockade runners who relied on

28. Hornbeck Diary, January 24, 1863.
29. Ibid.
30. See William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 218-42; and Cordon, *A History of Blacks in Florida,* for various biographies relating to former slaves of Hillsborough and Manatee Counties.

slaves as sailors and as dock hands for loading and unloading contraband cargoes in South Florida found their slaves all too eager to use the opportunity to escape. The number of slaves used in these operations was doubtless small, though, because of the runners' fear that bondsmen would attempt to escape to Nassau or Havana. One such black seaman was Thomas Valentine, who failed in his escape to freedom in Nassau aboard Robert Johnson's blockade runner, *Director,* in 1863.[31]

Confederate blockade runners also knew well the appeal that freedom in the British Bahamas had for their slaves. Cattle-runner James McKay Sr., for example, seldom took his five slaves as crewmen aboard his 450-ton steamer, *Salvor,* to British-dominated Nassau for fear they would desert. Instead, he normally sent his slaves ashore to his son's house near Key West prior to sailing for Nassau. After the *Salvor's* capture by the U.S.S. *Keystone State,* the elder McKay's friend and pre-war associate Major William Henry French, then stationed at Key West, tried to detain the ship at the island city, where a local ordinance prohibited slave testimony. Commander G.H. Scott of the *Keystone State* thwarted French's plans, however. He steamed with his prize for New York, where the testimony of the slaves was allowed.[32] Had French been successful, the *Salvor* possibly would have been handed back to McKay at Key West, as it had been on one earlier occasion.[33]

The course of bondage and freedom for blacks in Key West took a number of peculiar turns during the war. The 1861 edict that sought to evacuate from Key West all relatives of rebels caused some southerners to flee, taking their slaves with them. Other non-slaveholding whites, such as prominent citizen Asa Tift, likewise departed, choosing instead to forfeit their property rather than take the oath of Union allegiance. Still other citizens, usually Unionists, remained on the island and kept their servants throughout the war.[34]

31. I. B. Baxter to T. Bailey, October 3, 1863, *ORN,* ser. 1, vol. 17, 562-63.
32. G. H. Scott to Gideon Welles, October 25, 1861, Thos. Savage to William H. French, October 12, 1861, A. Patterson, *et al.,* to G. H. Scott, *ORN,* ser. 1, vol. 1, 109-13; see Canter Brown Jr. "Tampa's James McKay and the Frustration of Confederate Cattle-Supply Operations in South Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70 (April 1992), 420. The court-confiscated *Salvor* sold later that year for the respectable sum of $38,250.94.
33. Brown, *Peace River Frontier,* 147.
34. See Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and The New* (Gainesville, 1973), 90-98; Wells, *Forgotten Legacy,* 23-30.

But even before emancipation, slaves found ways to free themselves. Many blacks who served in the Quartermaster Corps or as nurses quickly fled their bondage when war broke out. They simply refused to return to their owners, whatever the nature of their service. As one Key West slaveholder lamented in September 1861: "All my slaves have run away." Recognizing the bondsmen's determination to taste freedom, the *New Era* went so far after the issuance of an early confiscation order as to predict the escape of every slave in Key West.[35]

Union troops at Key West moved quickly to enforce the First Confiscation Act, issued in August 1861. As early as the following month, a secessionist family, the Lowes, took some of their slaves to a local warehouse and prepared to ship them to Indian Key. Union forces kept watch, and when the secessionists attempted to load slaves on their schooner, the Federals confiscated them as contraband of war. The Lowes' bondsmen remained at Fort Taylor nearly a month. Upon their release in October, the blacks were warned by Union soldiers not to leave the safety of Key West. Although technically a measure to deprive southern sympathizers of slaves as a source of wealth, the enforcement of the First Confiscation Act helped strengthen the Union workforce at Forts Taylor and Jefferson. As a result, however, they sacrificed the loyalty of some Federal sympathizers, who saw black workers as economic competitors.[36]

Many local Unionists, although supportive of Federal efforts to suppress the rebellion, did not believe the war should be turned into a crusade against slavery. In some cases, the limitations of the Emancipation Proclamation helped to improve the situation. Unionist Judge William Marvin, who presided over the federal court in Key West until 1863, legally owned domestic servants. He did not release them until 1865, leading one Union officer to accuse Marvin of "ill-timed and injudicious impressment."[37] After releasing his slaves in Key West at war's end, Marvin rose to political

35. Wm. H. French to Geo. L. Hartsuff, May 20, 1861, *ORA*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 425-26; Theodorus Bailey to D. P Woodbury [first names], June 20, 1863, Letters Received, Department and District of Key West, 1861-1865, RG 393, NA; Henry M. Crydenwise Letters, 1861-1866, letter of June 25, 1862, Henry M. Crydenwise to Dear Parents, Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia; *Key West New Era,* August 16, September 13, and October 4, 1862.
36. Various letters relating to the workforce at Forts Taylor and Jefferson, 1861-865, District of Key West and the Tortugas, Department of the Gulf, Letters Received, RG393, NA.
37. M. C. Meigs to Wm. H. Seward, May 6, 1861, *ORA*, ser. 1, vol. 52, part 1, 139-40.

prominence in Reconstruction Florida and worked actively to ensure civil rights for the state's newly emancipated black population. Precisely why Marvin chose to retain his own "domestics" until 1865 in Key West remains an ongoing point of historical conjecture.[38]

Former slaves were as much a necessity in the work force at Key West and the Dry Tortugas during the war as they had been before it, for local white labor remained scarce throughout the war, and freedmen could not be easily induced to work at Forts Taylor and Jefferson.[39] Early in September 1862, Colonel Joseph S. Morgan, stationed at Key West, issued Order No. 50, which stated that, while no attempts would be made to lure slaves from their masters or to prevent them from returning voluntarily to them, no slaves would be forcibly returned to their masters either. Some accounts belie this: Key West resident Emily Holder, originally from New York, wrote of a former servant who "had to work on the fort." She also observed that "Colonel Tinnelle would not allow them [blacks], to leave Fort Jefferson, and many were still at work on the fort." A soldier in the 47th Pennsylvania Regiment described another such incident: "We had some excitement the other day caused by the quartermaster taking about twenty Negroes from their masters and setting them to work for Uncle Sam." Not surprisingly, even before the issuance of Order No. 50, some local whites hotly resented Federal support for blacks, free and otherwise. As one disaffected Key Wester wrote:

> for instance, a "Nigger" had an old grudge against you, he meets you on the street, he abuses you, if he thinks he can whip you he will do so, then he gets the "Provost Marshall," informs against you, that you not only was the aggressor but also spoke treason against the U.S. Etc. Whatever you, as a White man may say, is of no account, the "niggers" word is taken in preference to a dozen respectable white men. You are not allowed to make a defence [sic] . . . .[40]

38. Kevin E. Kearney, ed., "Autobiography of William Marvin," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (January 1958), 207, 213, 215-19.
39. E. D. Townsend to D. P. Woodbury, December 22, 1863, Letters Received, Department and District of Key West, 1861-1865, RG 393, NA, Williams, "A Short History of Fort Zachary Taylor," 14; Wells, *Forgotten Legacy,* 30; Foster, "This Place Is Safe," 180-211.
40. Holder, "At the Dry Tortugas During the War," 102-103; Christian Boye to My Dear Son (Frank Henry Boye), September 23, 1862 (quotation), Boye Folder, Research Division; St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Augustine, Florida; Dillon, "The Civil War in South Florida," 137-38; Wells, *Forgotten Legacy,* 25.

Despite the tensions in Key West, slaves there enjoyed some freedoms and amenities seldom realized in Florida. They had their own religious services, and some even attended white churches weekly. Often white soldiers stationed at Key West praised the local contraband. One Union soldier of the 90th Regiment, New York Volunteers wrote, "I was very much surprised at the intelligence which they displayed in their remarks and exhortations . . . here the slaves are dressed almost as nicely as their masters and enjoy great privileges." Later the same Northern soldier recorded, "I would just like to see a man whipping a Negro[.] I would try the virtue of my sword if he did not stop it."[41]

Most of the military action involving black troops occurred in the lower peninsula rather than in the Keys. On February 22, 1864, 900 volunteers of the Second United States Colored Troops arrived at Key West as replacements for the departing 47th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Upon the 47th's disembarkation, the Department of the Gulf command at Key West moved four black companies to nearby Fort Taylor, where many worked as "colored hands" to address the chronic labor shortage at the installation. There, according to Lieutenant Colonel John Wilder, the 2nd USCT commander at Fort Taylor, the unit's morale remained high, and its dress parade proved an unusually polished spectacle. Wilder described "long lines of dusky warriors . . . all covered with blue and glory and carrying Uncle Sam's muskets so polished and bright as to look like silver. Each man with shoes blacked, brasses polished, white gloved and clean, going through the manual of arms with alacrity and precision, not often seen in our armies."[42] Most of these proud soldiers of the USCT thereafter departed Key West for important action in the lower peninsula. By the conclusion of the war, the 2nd USCT had emerged as one of the most active of the twelve black regiments serving in Florida.[43]

Companies D and I of the 2nd USCT moved first from Key West to Fort Myers on April 20, 1864. The commander at Fort Myers, a derelict Seminole Wars post reactivated by the Union in January

41. Henry Crydenwise to Dear Parents, letters of February 5, 1862 and August 19, 1862, Woodruff Library.
42. John Wilder to Mrs. M. W. F. Wilder, August 14, 1864, Wilder-Loomis Papers; Foster, "This Place Is Safe," 233.
43. 2nd USCT Regimental Returns, M594, R206, RG 94, NA; "The Negro in Military Service of the United States, 1639-1886," M858, R3, Selected Records Relating to Black Servicemen, RGs 94, 107, and 153, NA; Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion: Regimental Histories,* vol. 1, 248; vol. 3, 1723.

1864, had requested the black troops in an effort to strengthen the post's defenses and to enhance his force's ability to interdict the South Florida cattle trade.[44] The appearance of large numbers of black troops notably altered the course of the war in South Florida. Not only did Confederate locals react with fury at the Union's audacity of stationing the despised black troops in the very heart of the lower peninsula, but slave owners also feared that black troops would place a priority on capturing and freeing bondsmen in this theater. For one local Confederate, "[i]t was a war . . . for possession of this country. The Federal troops mostly Negroes . . . made a move to go through the country to burn, destroy and capture everything from Ft. Myers to Jacksonville." A Union officer recorded a differing perspective of the event: "It made the Secesh here grind their teeth to see [black] soldiers . . . ." A Confederate "Home Guard" soldier recalled the event more emotionally; he observed local slaveholders "running helter skelter . . . back to their plantations to run off their negroes [sic]. I saw at once that we could do nothing to check the [Union] advance." Indeed, the slave owners' worst fears did materialize, as USCT troops eventually freed and enlisted over 1,000 former bondsmen in the state.[45]

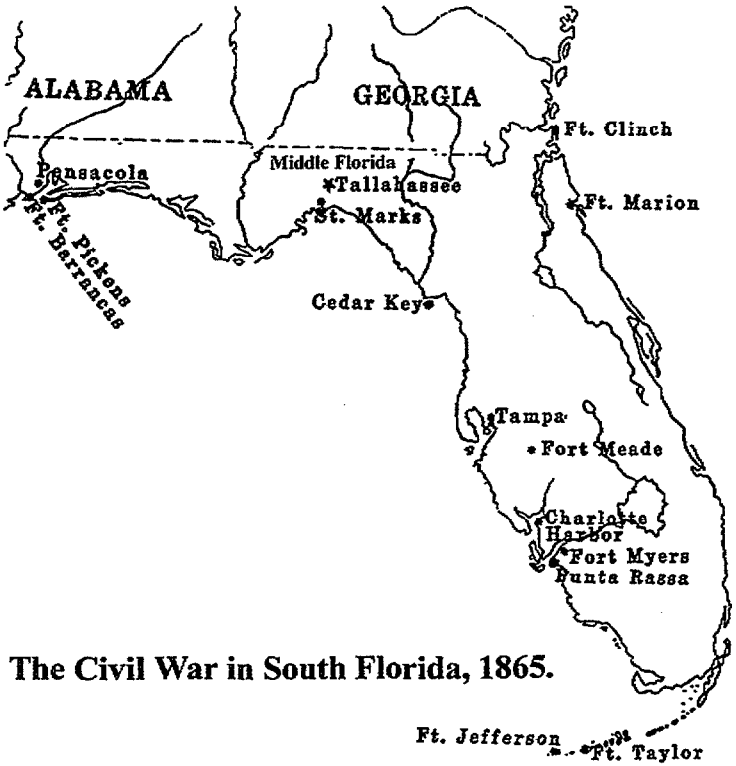
The USCT units at Fort Myers served in numerous hostile actions. Companies D and I, each composed of about seventy-five men, departed on expeditions into the heart of Confederate South Florida as early as April 1864. The black troops, often serving alongside the 2nd Florida (Union) Cavalry, participated in numerous minor actions and in such larger campaigns as those of Fort Brooke, Fort Meade, and Tampa Bay in May 1864.[46]

As the second largest town in South Florida behind Key West, Confederate Tampa provided a tempting target for Union naval raids on several occasions. Following the successful regarrisoning of Fort Myers with black troops in early 1864, and the troops'

44. Henry A. Crane to Henry W. Bowers, April 15, 25, August 15, 1864, District of Key West and the Tortugas, Department of the Gulf, Letters Received, RG 393, NA; D Company USCT, Regional Returns, Muster Rolls, 1864, M94-R206, Companies D and I, USCT, Annual Returns, 1864. RG 94. NA.

45. Frances C. M. Boggess, *A Veteran of Four Wars: The Autobiography of F. C. M. Boggess* (Arcadia, Fla., 1900), 69; John Wilder to Mother, May 22, 1864, Wilder-Loomis Papers; "Confederate Diary of Thomas Benton Ellis, Sr., Company C, Hernando Guards, 3rd Florida Infantry, July 1861-April 1865," 9, Manuscript Collection, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida; USCT General Descriptive Books, RG94, NA.

46. Companies D and I USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Rolls 1864, M594-R206, RG94, NA, Companies D and I USCT, Annual Returns, 1864, RG94, NA.



The Civil War in South Florida, 1865.

subsequent raids upon the Confederate cattle supply lines, Union plans turned toward capturing Rebel-held Tampa. In early May 1864, a Federal force that included eighty black soldiers of Company E of the 2nd USCT embarked on a variety of ships for Tampa. On May 6, 1864, black troops disembarked from the *James L. Davis* and its companion steamer, *Honduras,* and joined 200 other troops in the march to Tampa. After a local black told advance scouts that Tampa lay virtually defenseless, the Federals marched boldly in and captured the town. "They carried off all the Negroes," a young observer of these events recalled later.[47] Although only a frontier hamlet at the outset of the

47. Stark Fellows to Henry W. Bowers, May 10, 1864, *ORA,* ser. 1, vol. 34, part 1, 390-91; Dillon, "The Civil War in South Florida," 261-62; Coles, "Unpretending Service," 52-53; Edwd. Van Sice to T. Bailey, May 8, 1864, *ORN,* ser. 1, vol. 17, 694; Anthony P. Pizzo, *Tampa Town 1824-1886: The Cracker Village With a Latin Accent* (Tampa, 1968), 70 (quotation).

war, Tampa held a small black community. Tampa's six slaves and one free black not only attended a white church in the community but also received baptism as members of Tampa's First Baptist Church.[48] Baptism of blacks remained rare in Florida in this period, which suggests a social link between Tampa's white and black populations seldom realized in the slave states. Once again, the physical proximity of whites working with blacks in South Florida resulted in unconventional race relations.

With the capture of Tampa, black units for the first time participated in a decisive raid on a Confederate stronghold in Florida. Even late in the war, the few slaves in Tampa, combined with those of surrounding Hillsborough County, accounted for most of South Florida's bondsmen, valued at over $860,000.[49] Perhaps their determination to free the area's black population played a role in the USCT's successful occupation of Tampa. By all accounts, their conduct there proved exemplary. General Daniel P. Woodbury's official report states that the "colored troops on shore behaved remarkably well," but that the white troops, often former pro-Union refugees bent on revenge, "were not so easily controlled."[50] The black troops' good performance earned them the grudging respect of their white comrades in arms. In writing home to his family, a white soldier of the 47th Pennsylvania Regiment punctuated his letter with the following comment on the general conduct of white-black relations in South Florida: "[N]one of our army was fiting for niggers yet, bud I tell you that they are fiting for us and have saved a manny a lives of ours."[51]

Throughout their remaining actions in South Florida, the men of the 2nd USCT aggressively pursued three major objectives: to emancipate slaves, to destroy the plantations of slave masters, and to recruit and enlist former bondsmen as fellow soldiers.[52] A

48. Oliver Otis Howard to Lizzie Howard, March 29, 1857, Howard Papers; *Tampa Tribune,* September 20, 1953.
49. Dillon, "Civil War in South Florida," 288; Samuel Proctor, ed. *Florida One Hundred Years Ago* (Tallahassee, November 1964), 3; Ibid. (Tallahassee, October 1964), 4.
50. D. P. Woodbury to William Dwight, May 12, 1864, *ORA,* ser. 1, vol. 35, part 1, 389-90.
51. Reuben Keim to Friend Richard (Richard Long) (47th Pennsylvania Volunteers) May 27, 1863, Keim Folder, Schmidt Collection.
52. Companies D and I, USCT, Regimental Returns, Muster Roles, 1863-1864, M594-R206, RG 94, NA (former slaves frequently appear in these rolls as "contraband"); Henry W. Bowers to George P. Drake, August 6, 1864, *ORA,* ser. 1, vol. 35, part 1, 405-406.

Confederate observer of these events recorded: "In consequence of the operation of the enemy [out of Fort Myers] every man who could use a musket was placed in Service running Negroes from reach" of the black Union troops.[53] Indeed, these forays proved so nettlesome to the Rebels that they responded by creating the First Battalion, Florida Special Cavalry (known in South Florida as the Cow Cavalry) to meet the new military threat. Although the Cow Cavalry engaged primarily in guerrilla campaigns against the Union forces, its most notable action of the war resulted from the unit's failed attack on Fort Myers itself in an attempt to crush the despised black troops.[54]

A Confederate Cow Cavalry force of some 400 men attacked Fort Myers on February 20, 1865. The ill-planned "surprise" attack, anticipated by the fort's commander, quickly evolved into an artillery duel, which the cannoneers and marksmen of the 2nd USCT eventually won. A Confederate officer later recalled that "[i]t was seen that nothing was accomplished."[55] A *New York Times* reporter visiting the fort at the time of the battle wrote a long article about the Confederate defeat in this southernmost theater. He observed: "The colored soldiers [at Fort Myers] were in the thickest of the fight. Their impetuosity could hardly be restrained; they seemed totally unconscious of danger, or regardless of it and their constant cry was to 'get at them.'"[56] Following the day-long battle, the Confederate force retreated ignominiously northward, eventually disbanding and returning to their private affairs until war's end.[57]

The Battle of Fort Myers proved the final action for the USCT in South Florida. Shortly after this engagement, the fort suffered decommissioning, and its Union garrison was reassigned to more northerly theaters. Companies D and I joined with Companies A, B, and K of the 2nd USCT and departed the port of Puma Rassa at the mouth of the Caloosahatchee for Cedar Key in early March 1865. The seasoned troops of the 99th USCT soon joined the 2nd at Cedar Key. Thereafter, the combined units departed for critical action in Middle Florida, playing a leading role in the bloody battle of

53. J. L. Peterson to D. W. Gwynn, May 28, 1864, Correspondence, 1845-1906, Comptroller's Office, RG 350, ser. 554, FSA.
54. Brown, *Florida's Peace River Frontier,* 171-75.
55. Boggess, *Veteran of Four Wars,* 68.
56. *New York Times,* March 18, 1865.
57. F. A. Hendry, *A History of the Early Days in Fort Myers* (Fort Myers, 1985), 2-6; Bogges, *Veteran of Four Wars,* 68-74; Dillon, "The Civil War in South Florida," 305-12; Brown, *Florida Peace River Frontier,* 171-75.

Natural Bridge at the St. Marks River approach to Tallahassee on March 6, 1865. Despite the Union defeat in this action, the commander noted his troops had been "highly complimented by [the Commander of the Union forces] for good conduct in this battle."[58]

Following their service at Natural Bridge, the black veterans of South Florida remained in the state until they received mustering-out orders in late October 1865. Two units of the 99th USCT shifted back to South Florida (primarily to the Tampa Bay and Charlotte Harbor areas) to assist in postwar Union duties through 1866. Military pension records suggest that the USCT veterans who had fought in the southern peninsula during the war eventually settled in areas close to their original homes in Maryland and northern Virginia.[59]

The changes wrought from Tampa to Key West by the Civil War destroyed the peculiar personal relationship between the races that distinguished this region from the more northerly plantation belt of Florida prior to the conflict. While the war itself served as a catalyst to acts of courage and rebellion by individual blacks against white authority, arguably it was the appearance and actions of the USCT that more profoundly shaped the issues of race, slavery, and freedom in this southernmost theater of the conflict.

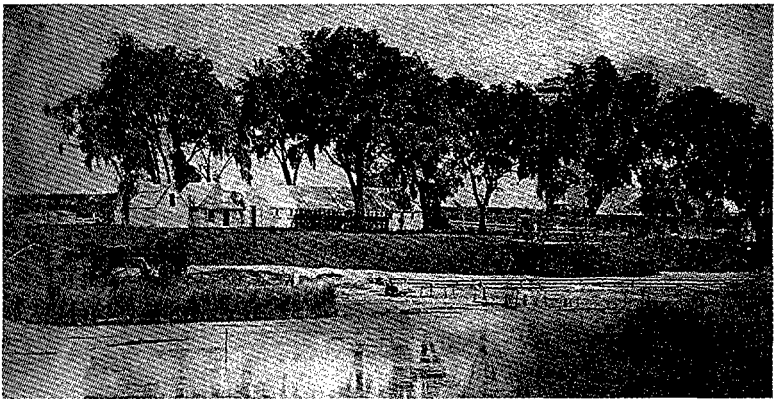
58. James Doyle to J. S. Ransom, March 15, 1865, A. T. Pearsall to A. Ransom, March 15, 1865, letters Received, Department and District of Key West, 1861-1868, RG 393, NA, Dillon, "The Civil War in South Florida," 313; John Newton to C.T. Christensen, March 19, 1865, *ORA*, ser. 1, vol. 49, part 1, 58-62.

59. USCT Order Books, 99th Infantry; USCT, 99th Infantry, Field and Staff; USCT Regimental Returns, February 1865-October 1865, M594-R206; USCT Muster Rolls, March-November-December, 1865, M594-R206; USCT Morning Reports, 1865, all in RG94, NA; War Department, Adjutant-General's Office, October 24, 1865, *ORA*, ser. 3, vol. 5, 158; John Newton to Headquarters, District of Key West and Tortugas, April 19, 1865, *ORA*, ser. 1, vol. 49, part 1, 66-68. Pension records reflect that many of the USCT veterans of the Battle of Fort Myers suffered deafness, chronic hearing problems, and vision-related disabilities after the war.

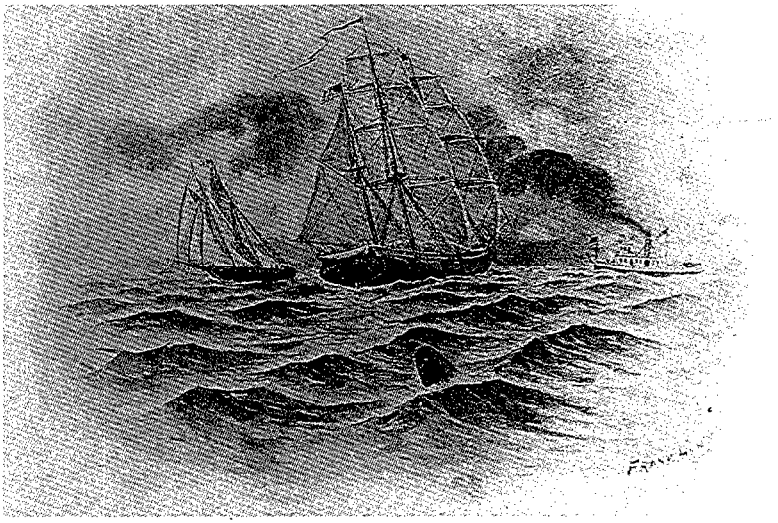
FLORIDA HISTORY THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHS:

THE CIVIL WAR

All photographs courtesy of
the Florida State Archives, Tallahassee

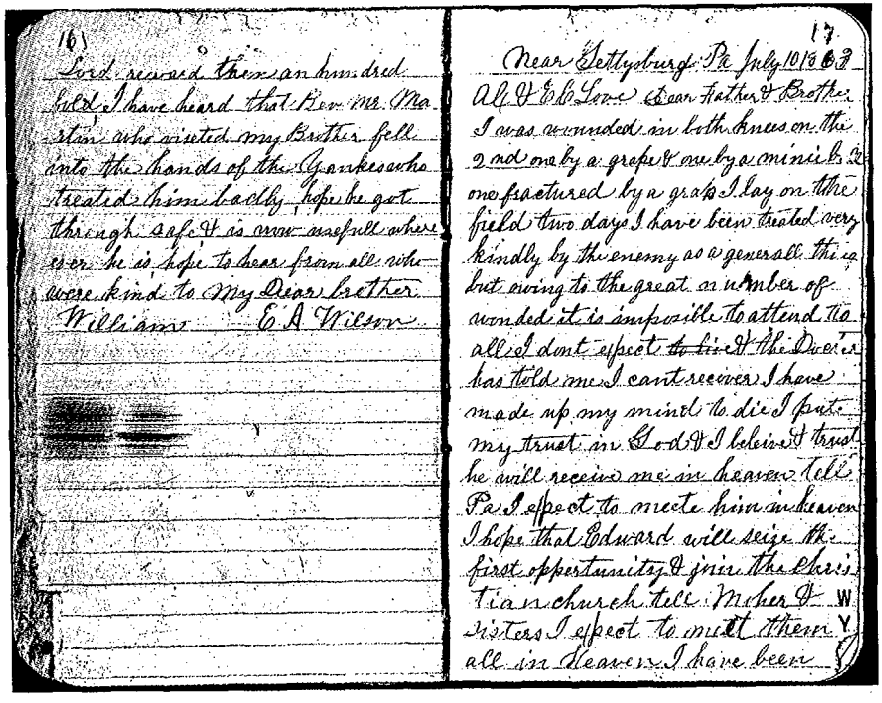


Camp of I Company, Florida 7th Infantry, Jacksonville.



United States Navy vessels blockading Tampa Bay, 1864.

Soldiers at Confederate Army battery, Pensacola Bay.



16

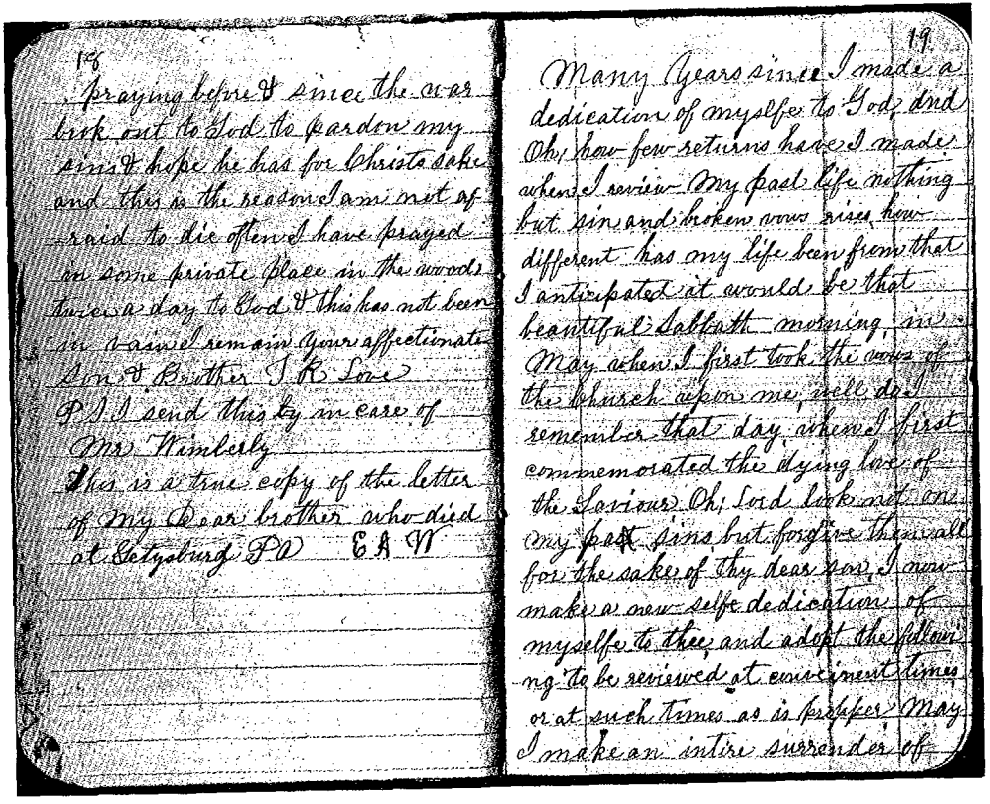
Lord reward them an hundred fold I have heard that Rev Mr. Martin who visited my Brother fell into the hands of the Yankees who treated him badly, hope he got through safe It is over useless where ever he is hope to hear from all who were kind to My Dear brother William E A Wilson

17

Near Gettysburg Pa July 10 1863

All & Edw Love Dear Father & Brother I was wounded in both knees on the 2nd one by a grape & one by a minie ball one fractured by a grape I lay on the field two days I have been treated very kindly by the enemy as a general thing but owing to the great number of wounded it is impossible to attend to all I dont expect to live & the Dr. has told me I cant recover I have made up my mind to die I put my trust in God & I believe it trust he will receive me in heaven tell Pa I expect to meet him in heaven I hope that Edward will seize the first opperstunity & join the Christian church tell Mother & Sisters I expect to meet them all in Heaven I have been

A Letter from Near Gettysburg, July 10, 1863, from Elizabeth Ann Love Wilson Diary, 1863.



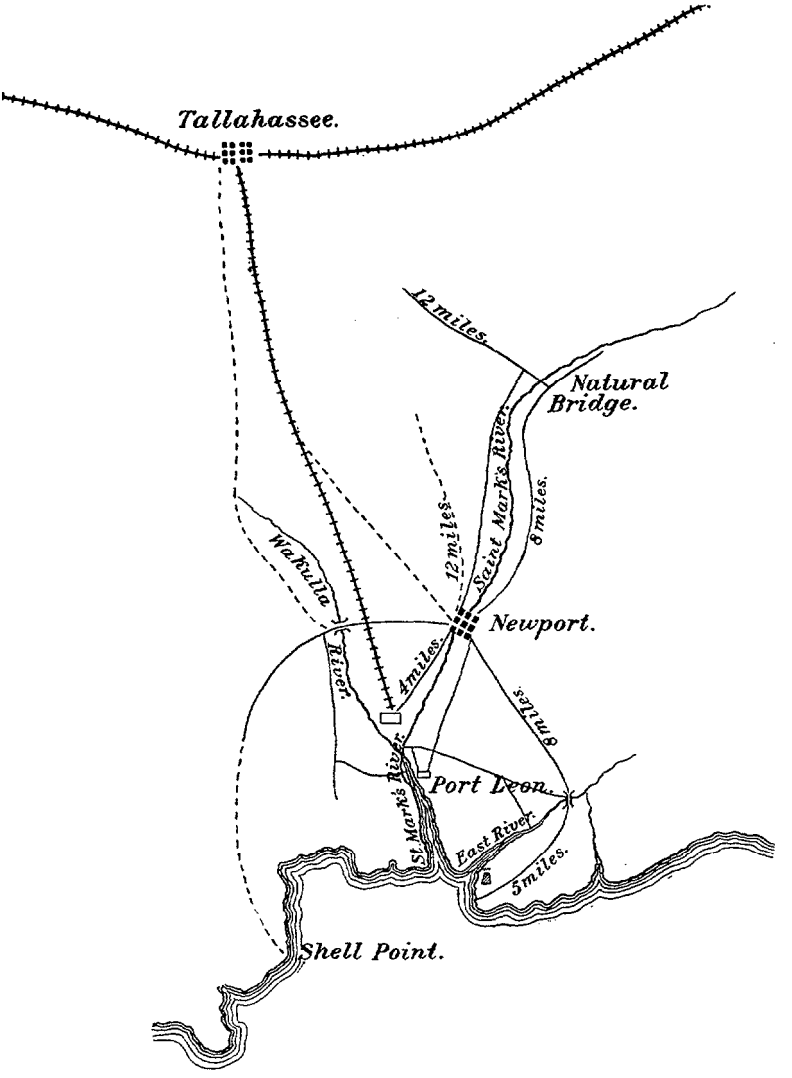
18

praying before & since the war
look out to God to pardon my
sins & hope he has for Christs sake
and this is the reason I am not afraid
raid to die often I have prayed
in some private place in the woods
twice a day to God & this has not been
so I remain your affectionate
Bro & Brother J R Love
P S I send this by in care of
Mr Kimberly
This is a true copy of the letter
of my Dear brother who died
at Gettysburg PA E A W

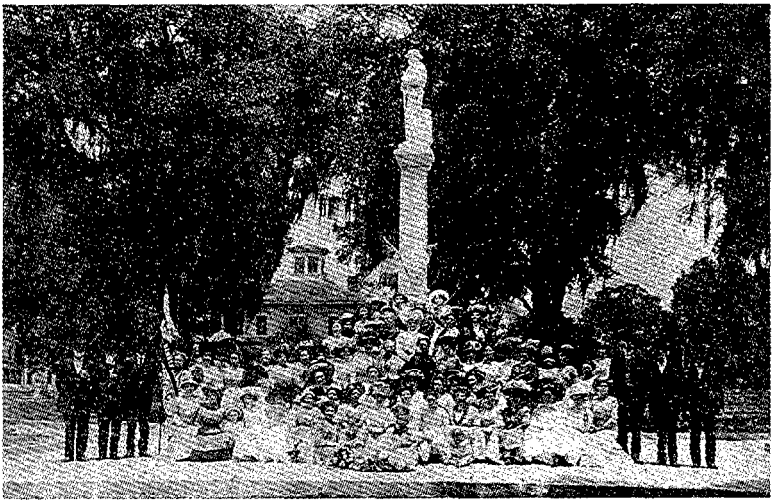
19

Many Years since I made a
dedication of myself to God, and
Oh, how few returns have I made
when I review My past life nothing
but sin and broken vows since how
different has my life been from that
I anticipated it would be that
beautiful Sabbath morning, in
May when I first took the vows of
the Church upon me, will do I
remember that day when I first
commemorated the dying love of
the Saviour. Oh, Lord look not on
my past sins but forgive them all
for the sake of Thy dear Son. I now
make a new self dedication of
myself to thee, and adopt the follow-
ing to be reviewed at convenient times
or at such times as is proper. May
I make an intire surrender of

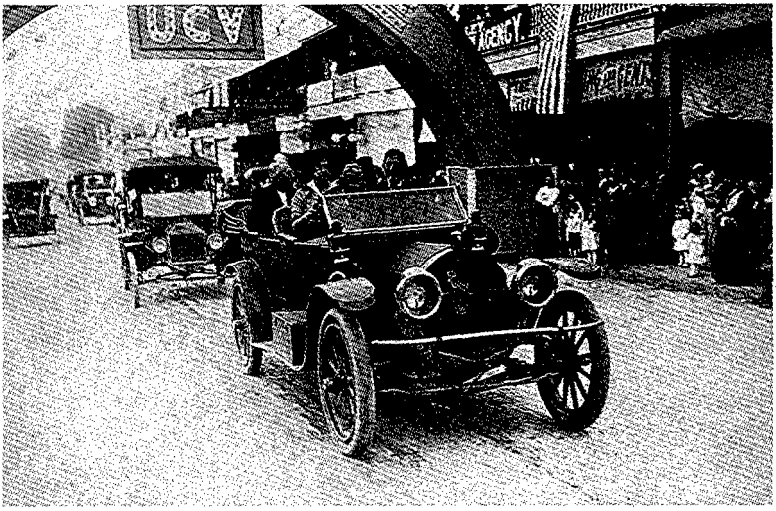
Major General John Newton, Federal Commander at the Battle of Natural Bridge, c. 1860-1865.



Map of Natural Bridge in Relation to Tallahassee and Shell Point, 1863.



United Daughters of the Confederacy and Confederate Veterans at Monument in Madison, Florida, c. 1900.



United Confederate Veterans parade at Lakeland, Florida, 1914

FLORIDA HISTORY RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This list represents those institutions and individuals that responded to our query based on last year's list. Those individuals who are conducting research in Florida history and would like to be included in next year's issue, please send your name, affiliation (if applicable), and research topic and status to our editorial office, or send us an e-mail message at *flhisqtr@pegasus.cc.ucf.edu*.

American University

Keith Halderman– "Marijuana and the Myth of Victor Licata" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Arkansas Archaeological Survey

Jeffrey M. Mitchem– "Expeditions to East Florida by Clarence Bloomfield Moore," edited & with new introduction; "Expeditions to West and Central Florida by Clarence Bloomfield Moore," edited &with new introduction (work in progress).

David S. Brose and Nancy Marie White– "The Northwest Florida Coast Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore," edited & with a new introduction (work in progress).

Auburn University

Robin F. A. Fabel (faculty)– "Angry Indians: Studies of Crises in the Pre-Revolutionary Era" (publication forthcoming).

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

Sheri Marie Shuck– "Power Brokers of the Southern Frontier: The Alabamas and the Coushattas, 1500-1859" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Broward County Historical Commission

Patrick Scott– "The First White Settlements in South Florida" and "South Florida in the Nineteenth Century" (continuing study).

California State University, Stanislaus

Bret E. Carroll (faculty)– "The Context of Cassadaga: An Historical Overview of American Spiritualism" (publication forthcoming).

Daytona Beach Community College

John J. Guthrie Jr. (faculty)– "Keepers of the Spirits: The Judicial Response to Prohibition Enforcement in Florida, 1885-1935" (published); "Cassadaga: The Continuing Story of a Florida Spiritualist Camp," with coeditors Phillip Charles Lucas and Gary Monroe (publication forthcoming).

Leonard R. Lempel (faculty)– "Race Relations and Politics in Daytona Beach, Florida, 1900-1940" (publication forthcoming).

Flagler College

Eugene Lyon (emeritus faculty)– "Pedro Menéndez de Aviles"; "Translations, Revillagigedo Archives"; "Libro de Armadas" (translation); and "Nuestra Señora de Atocha" (continuing studies).

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

Larry E. Rivers (faculty)– "The Peculiar Institution in Jackson County, Florida, 1824-1865" (completed); "The Role of Overseers and Drivers in Florida, 1821-1865"; "A Statistical View of Land and Slave Ownership in Florida, 1826-1865"; "The Role and Status of Antebellum Lawyers in Middle Florida, 1821-1865"; "The Role of Female Slaves on the Antebellum Florida Plantation" (completed); "Indentured Servitude on the Wirtland Plantation: An Experiment that Failed, 1833-1834"; "Regulation of Free Blacks in Territorial Florida, 1828-1845"; "John G. Riley: Education and Community Leader in Leon County, Florida" (completed); "Blacks in Antebellum Florida" (continuing study).

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Tallahassee

Charles R. Ewen– "Hernando de Soto Among the Apalachee: The Archaeology of the First Winter Encampment," with John H. Hann (published).

John H. Hann-"Chattahoochee River Forebears of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles, 1675-1775"; "Historic Era Aboriginal Peoples of South Florida" (continuing studies); "Cloak and Dagger in Apalachicole Province in Early 1686" (completed); "The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis," with Bonnie G. McEwan (published).

Bonnie G. McEwan– "Indians of the Greater Southeast During the Historic Period" (publication forthcoming).

James J. Miller– "An Environmental History of Northeast Florida: The Fairest, Frutefullest and Pleasantest of All the World" (published).

Roger Smith– "Pensacola's Tristan de Luna: The Latest Findings" (publication forthcoming).

Florida International University

Thomas Castillo– "Big City Days: Race and Labor in Progressive Era Miami" (master's thesis in progress).

Sherry Johnson (faculty)– "Casualties of Peace: The Florida Exodus, 1763-1784" (research in progress).

Kisha King– "The NAACP in Florida, 1940-1970" (master's thesis in progress).

Alex Lichtenstein (faculty)– "Trouble in Paradise: Race Relations, Labor Radicalism, and Anticommunism in Florida, 1940-1960" (research in progress).

Sallie Middleton– "The Cross-Florida Barge Canal: Waters of Strife" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Clarence Taylor (faculty)– "Black Leadership and Civil Rights in Cold War Florida" (research in progress).

Florida Museum of Natural History

Jerald T. Milanich– "Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present" (published); "A Very Great Harvest of Souls– Timucua Indians and the Impact of European Colonization"; "Chiefdoms and Chieftaincy Among Native Societies in Sixteenth-Century Florida"; "Laboring in the Fields of the Lord, Southeastern Indians and Spanish Missions"; "The Timucua Indians of Northern Florida and Southern Georgia" (publications forthcoming); "Maize Agriculture and the Precolumbian Belle Glade Culture" (continuing study).

Florida Southern College

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

James M. Denham (faculty)– "Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives, the Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams," with Canter Brown Jr. (study completed); "William Pope DuVal"; "A History of Florida Sheriffs," with William W. Rogers (continuing studies).

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

Keith Huneycutt (faculty)– "The Anderson-Brown Family in Frontier Florida, 1830-1861," with James M. Denham (continuing study).

Luis A. Jimenez (faculty)– "Operation Peter Pan [Cuban Children's Exodus] and the Testimonial Novel" (in progress).

Randall M. MacDonald (faculty)– "Frank Lloyd Wright's Legacy to Florida Southern" (publication forthcoming).

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

Florida State University

John Burnett– "The Life and Career of Methodist Bishop Edward J. Pendergrass, 1900-1995". (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

David J. Coles– "Florida Troops in the Union Army During the Civil War"; "The Florida Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg," with Don Hillhouse and Zack Waters; "Third Seminole War," with Jeanne and David Heidler (continuing studies).

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

Maxine D. Jones (faculty)– "S. D. McGill, Florida's Civil Rights Attorney"; "Black Women in Florida"; "African Americans in Twentieth-Century Florida"; "The Ocoee Massacre"; "The Pompano Boys" (continuing studies).

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

Merri Lamonica– "The Senatorial Career of State Senator Dempsey Barron" (Ph.D. dissertation completed).

George Phillippy– "Florida's Cabinet System to 1930" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Cecil-Marie Sastre– "Fort Picolata on the St. Johns River" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Jessica Slavin– "A Study of Poor Whites and Crackers in Florida, 1840-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

Valerie Sloan– "Lincolnville Stories" (master's thesis in progress).

Sally Vickers– "Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's Congresswoman and Diplomat" (publication forthcoming).

Gulf Coast Community College

R. Wayne Childers (faculty)– "Andrés de Arriola, Pensacola's Governor" in collaboration with William S. Coker (research in progress).

Historical Museum of Southern Florida

Christine Ardalan– "Black Nurses and Midwives in Miami, 1896-1960" (continuing study).

Cesar Becera– "Logging Industry in South Florida" (continuing study).

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

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

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

Christopher Kernen and Cesar Becerra– "Human Impact on Dade County Pinelands" (continuing study).

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

Arva Moore-Parks– "Dade County"; "Julia Tuttle"; "Mary Barr Munroe" (continuing studies).

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

William M. Straight– "The History of Medicine and Disease in Florida" (research in progress).

Steve Stuempfle– "Caribbean Percussion Traditions in Miami" (study in progress).

Historic Property Associates of St. Augustine

Sidney P. Johnston (senior historian)– "No Palaces Among Us: Cassadaga's Historic Architecture, 1895-1945" (publication forthcoming); "Bert Fish: Florida Lawyer and American Diplomat" (research in progress).

Indian River Community College

Robert A. Taylor (faculty)– "Lucius B. Northrop and the Second Seminole War"; "Lincoln's Loyalists in Florida"; "Governor Dan McCarty"; "Fort Pierce's Naval Amphibious Training Base, 1943-1946" (continuing studies).

Jacksonville University

Craig Buettinger (faculty)– "Slavery in the Florida Courts" (continuing study).

King's College London, Ontario

Eric Jarvis (faculty)– "Canadians in Florida, 1920-Present"; "A comparative Study of East and West Florida and the Old Province of Quebec, 1763-1783" (continuing studies).

Louisiana State University

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

Miami-Dade Community College

Paul S. George (faculty)– "A History of the Miami Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged" (completed); "A History of Gesu Catholic Church (Miami) and "A History of Catholicism in Southeast Florida" (research in progress); "Criminal Justice in Miami and Dade County Since the 1890s" (continuing study); "A History of Stiltsville", "A History of the Belcher Family", and "A History of the Frohock Family" (completed). "Port of Miami"; "Burdine Family"; "Miami Beach's Jewish Community," (continuing study for exhibition).

Museum of Florida History

Elizabeth A. (Betsy) Crawford– "The Florida Home Front During the Civil War (continuing study).

Clint Fountain and Erik Robinson– "Florida Furniture, Late 18th through Early 20th Centuries" (continuing study).

Robert B. Graetz– "Florida's Civil War Flags" (continuing study).

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

Kenneth Horne– "19th Century Civil War Music and Musical Instruments"; "St. Johns Midden Material"; "Credible Pirate Stories" (continuing studies).

Charles R. McNeil– "19th and 20th Century Tourism in Florida" (continuing study).

Erik T. Robinson– "Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century Art in and about Florida" (continuing study).

K. C. Smith– "Florida Maritime History" (continuing study).

Brent A. Tozzer– "Florida Folklife and Material Culture: Florida Sports" (continuing study).

Pensacola Junior College

Randall Broxton (faculty)– "The Waltons: Dorothy, George and Octavia (Walton LeVert)"; "Letters of Northwest Florida Pioneers"; "Escambia County Public Schools" (continuing studies). "History of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference" (work in progress).

Brian R. Rucker (faculty)– "Nixon's Raid and Other Precursors to Jackson's 1814 Invasion of Spanish West Florida"; "An Encyclopedia of Education in Antebellum Pensacola" (publications forthcoming); "Floridale: The Rise and Fall of a Florida Boom Community" (work in progress); "Antebellum Pensacola"; "History of Santa Rosa County" (continuing studies).

Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology

Antonio de la Cova (faculty)– "Colonel Henry Theordore Titus: A Florida Filibuster in Cuba, Bleeding Kansas and Nicaragua" and "José Marti's Fernandina Filibuster Fiasco of 1895" (continuing studies).

Seminole Tribe of Florida, Department of Anthropology & Genealogy

Patricia R. Wickman (Director)– "The Tree That Bends: Discourse, Power, and the Survival of the Maskókî People"; and "HTLV-II Risk Factors in Native Americans in Florida," with George W. Lowis, William A. Sheremata, Symalina Dube, Dipak Dube, and Bernard J. Poiesz (published); "Seminole Lives: The People and Their World, A Tour With Chief James Billie"; "Osceola: A Hero's Story" (for young readers); "Osceola's Journey: The Seminoles Revisit Charleston" film documentary (publications forthcoming); "The Old Ways Will Survive: Seminole Traditions Remembered"; "Between Two Worlds: The Betty Mae Jumper Story," with Betty Mae Jumper (continuing studies); "So You Think There's A Seminole in Your Family Tree?" (published).

Stetson University

Ann Jerome Croce and Paul Jerome Croce (faculty)– "Keepers of the Veil: Life Stories of Cassadaga's Senior Residents" (publication forthcoming).

Phillip Charles Lucas (faculty)– with coeditors John J. Guthrie Jr. and Gary Monroe, "Cassadaga: The Continuing Story of a Florida Spiritualist Camp" (edited volume forthcoming).

Tallahassee Museum of History & Natural Science

Linda Deaton– "The Florida Panther: Its Cultural and Natural History" (research in progress).

Tampa Bay History Center

Canter Brown Jr.– "Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867- 1924"; "Jewish Pioneers of the Tampa Bay Frontier"; and "Tampa Before the Civil War (published); "Genealogical Records of the African American Pioneers of Tampa and Hillsborough County" (publication forthcoming); "Cracker Times and Pioneer Lives, The Florida Reminiscences of George Gillett Keen and Sarah Pamela Williams," with James M. Denham (study completed); "Biography of John J. Dickison," with David J. Coles; "Founding of the AME Church in Florida"; "Biography of William H. Kendrick"; "Biographical Directory of the Florida Legislature, 1821-1920" (continuing studies).

University of Alabama at Birmingham

Raymond A. Mohl (faculty)– "Jews, Blacks, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960"; "Sunshine State/Sunbelt City: Essays on Modern Florida History"; "Shadows in the Sunshine: A History of Race Relations in Miami, 1896-1996"; (publications forthcoming); "Black Baseball in Florida" (continuing study).

University of Central Florida

Theodore Cedros– "Florida's Right-to-Work Amendment" (master's thesis in progress).

Todd Sebring– "The Ku Klux Klan in Florida, 1940s to the Present" (master's thesis in progress).

Imar DaCunha– "Public Amusements in Turn-of-the-Century Orlando" (master's thesis in progress).

University of Florida

David E. Ashwell Jr.– "The Closing of Lincoln High and the Problem of Integrating American Education, 1964-1972" (Ph.D. dissertation in progress).

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

David R. Colburn (faculty)– "A History of the Rosewood Episode of 1923," with Maxine Jones, Larry Rivers, and Thomas Dye (continuing study). "A Historical Perspective on Florida Since 1945" with Lance deHaven-Smith (publication forthcoming).

David P. McCally– ""The Everglades: Environmental Biography" (publication forthcoming).

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

Valerie Sloan– "Lincolnville Stories" (master's thesis in progress).

University of Miami

Greg Bush– Community oral history projects in East Little Havana, South Miami, Homestead and Miami; "The Miami Arena and the Culture of Spectacle"; and "Documentary History of Florida" (continuing studies).

University of South Florida

Kevin Archer (faculty)– "The New Town of Celebration" (continuing study).

Raymond O. Arsenault (faculty)– "A History of St. Petersburg, 1950-Present" (continuing study); "Short Season, Long Tradition: A History of Major League Baseball in Central Florida" (continuing study); "The Public Storm: Hurricanes and the State in Twentieth-Century America" (continuing study).

Ellen Babb– "Women in Pinellas County" (continuing study).

Evan Bennett– "The Impact of Interstate Highways Upon Small Town Life in Florida" (study completed).

Richard Blackmon– "History of the Florida Railroad Company" (master's thesis in progress).

Gerard Breslin– "Race and the St. Petersburg Police Department, 1945-1997" (honors program thesis completed).

Lynn Campbell– "A History of the Florida Lottery" (honors program thesis completed).

Naomi Chance– "A History of Sanibel Island" (master's thesis in progress).

Sheila Cohen– "Race, Gender, and Lynching in Florida" (master's thesis in progress).

Richard R. Deutsch– "A House Divided: The Early Jewish Community of Tampa" (master's thesis in progress).

Karen Dimond– "The Anti-Smoking Program in Florida" (honors program thesis completed).

Paul Dosal (faculty)– "History of Tampa's Cuban Community (continuing study).

Amy Goodden– "Judge James Sanderlin and the Civil Rights Movement in Pinellas County" (honors program thesis completed).

Stephanie Holder– "An Environmental History of Fort DeSoto" (honors program thesis completed).

Thomas Honsa– "Desegregation of the Florida National Guard" (continuing study).

Robert Ingalls (faculty)– "The Red Scare in Tampa" (completed).

R. E. Lee Irby– "The History of Aging in St. Petersburg (master's thesis in progress); "Cross-Florida Barge Canal" (continuing study).

Peter Klingman (faculty)– "Tampa Bay Politics"; "History of University of South Florida" (continuing studies).

Michael Lashbrook– "History of Tarpon Springs" (master's thesis in progress).

Gail Miller– "23lst Transportation Company (Pinellas County and the Vietnam War)" (honors program thesis in progress).

Donna Millott– "Race, Women, and Education in Tampa" (master's thesis in progress).

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

Maura Reedy– "Busing and School Desegregation in Pinellas County, 1971-1997 (honors program thesis in progress).

Barry Reese– "The Murder of Guy Bradley and the Plume Wars of South Florida" (continuing study).

Platon Rigos (faculty)– "Tampa Bay Politics" (research in progress).

Nano Riley– "Florida's Migrant Workers in the 1990s (honors program thesis in progress).

Patrick Riordan (faculty)– "The Formation of Seminole Identity" and "Native American History in Colonial Lower South" (continuing research).

James Schnur– "The History of the Johns Committee" (continuing study).

David Seth Walker– "An Environmental History of Cooper's Point" (continuing study).

William Watson– "The 26th of July Movement in Tampa" (master's thesis in progress).

Brent Weisman (faculty)– "Archaeological-Historical Profile of Anclote Key"; "Survey of Tampa's Afro-Cuban Community and Buffalo Soldier Site"; "Pioneer Settlement Site at Rookery Bay" (continuing studies).

Nancy White (faculty)– "Native Americans in Northwest Florida" (continuing study).

University of West Florida

William S. Coker (emeritus faculty)– "Andrés de Arriola, Pensacola's Governor" in collaboration with R. Wayne Childers; "Spanish Maps of Colonial Panzacola" (research in progress).

Jane E. Dysart (faculty)– "Antebellum Pensacola" (research in progress).

Sandra Johnson– "Illegal Trade Between the Spanish in Pensacola and the French in Mobile During the First Spanish Period" (master's thesis in progress).

Norma Harris– "'Native Americans at Santa Maria de Galve" (master's thesis in progress).

Independent Scholars, Researchers, Consultants, and Local Historians

Christopher A. P. Fitts– "Florida Towers" (publication forthcoming).

Jim C. Studnicki– "Perry's Brigade of the Army of Northern Virginia" (continuing study).

Sandra Thurlow– "Stuart on the St. Lucie" (continuing study).

BOOK REVIEWS

Lumbermen and Log Sawyers: Life, Labor, and Culture in the North Florida Timber Industry, 1830-1930. By Jeffrey A. Drobney. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997. x, 241 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. $39.95 hardcover.)

Awarded the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award for 1997.

Jeffrey A. Drobney's well-researched and well-written history of the development of North Florida's lumber industry in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a welcome addition to the state's history. Making use of manuscript collections from the University of West Florida, University of Florida, Florida State University, Florida State Archives, Forest History Society, and other depositories, his descriptions give life to an industry that was so much a part of the North Florida scene. Excellent photographs accompany a readable and organized text. It is more than a history of an industry, moreover, in that he properly ties the lumber industry to the more general question of federal and state land policy. Students of federal land policy are aware that the federal government regularly gave land to public land states of which Florida was one, but few are aware that Florida received the highest percentage of land of all public land states and the highest total acreage of all public land states save Alaska. Much of these state and federal lands encompassed great stands of yellow pine and cypress which became the basis of North Florida's timber industry.

As a part of his description of lumbering operations, Drobney is concerned with the industry's workers, and he analyzes in detail the myriad problems of wages, unions, working conditions, and race. Labor unions were not a factor in this agriculturally related industry comparable to the textile mills of the Carolinas or the Appalachian coal fields; nevertheless, company owners responded to attempts at unionization with politics, economic pressures, and, most effective, the company town. Carbur, Foley, Bagdad, Shamrock, and other company towns are described in detail. Carbur, a part of the Brooks-Scanlon and Burton-Schwartz companies, was a self-contained village with separate housing for black and white workers, a commissary known as the Carbur Mercantile Company,

a hotel, a theater, a doctor's office, segregated schools, and a train station. The magnitude of the company's business was demonstrated by Carbur's machine shop, which employed ninety men to keep the logging machines and other equipment in working order. Making use of oral histories as well as published and archival material, Drobney integrates the specialized company town of the North Florida timber industry into the general urbanization of the South in the twentieth century.

The work is not without weaknesses, but they are minor in contrast with its strengths. It is accepted that the convict-lease system was brutal, but Drobney's objectivity can be questioned by his willingness to accept as accurate sources such as Marc N. Goodnow's exposé in the *1915 International Socialist Review*. All in all, however, this is a good book, and readers will have a thorough understanding of North Florida lumbering from its technical to its human dimension.

Florida State University EDWARD F. KEUCHEL

An American Beach for African Americans. By Marsha Dean Phelts. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997. xi, 188 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, bibliography. $24.95 cloth.)

An American Beach for African Americans is a dedicated and sentimental account of the rise and decline of the coastal community of African Americans on the southern end of Amelia Island in the northeast corner of Florida. The author, Marsha Dean Phelts, is a librarian and long-time member of the Amelia Island community. Phelts's book is a labor of love intended as much as a plea for the salvation of the community as it is a recounting of the islanders' unique history. As she states, the book is written in the hope of conveying to the reader "the depth of feeling in our hearts and souls, and why we think it so important that an American Beach for African Americans be preserved for generations to come" (178).

The author's basic narrative approach has advantages and limitations. The general reader will find the narrative account easy to follow. It is an interesting story beginning with the early slaves on the island in the eighteenth century. Zephaniah Kingsley, Florida's wealthiest planter and slave owner, continued to make huge profits even after the ban on the slave trade went into effect in 1808. Since Florida did not become a U. S. territory until much later, the region

was perfectly positioned to become, as it did, a major port for the illegal importation of slaves. Amelia Island became a lucrative site for the depositing of slaves from Africa who would later be sold to all parts of the South. Serious historians will want to see the issue placed within the debate on interregional slave trading, but no such analysis is offered. Phelts does tell us that if a slave ship was stopped off the Florida coast its captain was subject to the death penalty. Captains hard pressed by the U. S. Patrol dumped their human cargo overboard. Needed is some sense of the extent of these diabolical actions, but no primary research is done to provide detailed figures.

Ironically, the heyday in the black community's development as an autonomous resort locale was during segregation. Amelia Island became a vacation paradise for African Americans under Jim Crow. Color-line restrictions from the late nineteenth through much of the twentieth century ironically worked to the advantage of the black community's development. With little or no other options available to them, black Floridians flocked to Amelia Island as a vacation heaven. The great educator Mary McLeod Bethune was a frequent visitor. The island could boast hosting such African American luminaries as Joe Louis, Cab Calloway, Ethel Waters, Billy Eckstine, Hank Aaron, and Ray Charles. Motels overflowed with visitors to the island in the 1940s and 1950s. It was an active environment, culturally alive with music and dance, ocean views, and thriving businesses. The Afro-American Life Insurance Company was the largest of the businesses and its founders, the Lewis family, among the community's most prominent residents. Evans's Rendezvous offered the best in entertainment. There was some discreet gambling on the island. Blacks played the numbers, the forerunner of today's lotteries. Good food was a hallmark of the resort community, and guests received the best fish, shrimp, crab, and other dishes made with a soulful flare. Phelts provides recipes for the reader to savor and try.

Disaster struck in September 1964 when Hurricane Dora blew into American Beach from the west coast of Africa destroying homes and businesses. The island only partially rebounded from this cataclysmic disaster. In the 1970s and 1980s, A. L. Lewis's grandchildren and great-grandchildren sold their beach homes and property. Surrounding areas have blocked off the beach with chain-link fences topped with barbed wire, built warehouses between them and the black community, planted tall shrubbery, and blocked off streets.

The Amelia Island experience may be unique but it is not atypical. The community has experienced a long history of problems with the law enforcement establishment, outsider pressures to control the community, a dwindling economic base, and a loss of many of its young adults and more affluent members. The community was never a large one. Phelts tells us late in the work that American Beach's permanent residents numbered thirty families. The author's call to arms is a familiar one to black communities nationwide. Phelts admonishes the American Beach residents themselves for the internal strife that threatens the demise of this unique African American island community and for pointing fingers and making petty claims about who cares more or less about preserving the community's cultural inheritance. Meanwhile, the encroachment of the large exclusive resorts continues, signaling the eventual demise of the American Beach's African American community unless the trend is reversed.

This is a useful account that will probably be of greater interest to lay readers than professional historians. The lack of an index also makes the book less useful to scholars. Despite these limitations, Phelts is to be credited for piecing together an important African American story that might otherwise have gone untold.

University of Miami DONALD SPIVEY

Alligators, Prehistoric Presence in the American Landscape. By Martha A. Strawn with essays by LeRoy Overstreet, Jane Gibson, and J. Whitfield Gibbons. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. xii, 227 pp. Preface, notes, list of plates, suggested readings, recording, and viewing, acknowledgments, index. $39.95 hardcover.)

Every region has one or more animal species that captures the human imagination as embodying the essence of that place. The species often has biological, economic, social, cultural, and perhaps religious significance, and its existence is interwoven with the history, development, problems, and conflicts of that place. In the Southeast, especially in Florida, one such animal is the alligator. In this book, author Strawn depicts the alligator's relation to the landscape and to humans through a collage of art, science, history, folklore, and local perspectives. The format consists of loosely

structured, generally impressionistic text adjacent to un-captioned photographs of alligators, their habitats, and the human society with whom alligators coexist uneasily. Also within the book are three special essays from the disparate perspectives of alligator hunter, anthropologist, and ecologist. Strawn attempts to "present visual and written materials that are loosely associated but with neither illustrating the other . . . This book is meant to be more than the sum of its parts." Her book is also a serious plea for a stronger land ethic and for more education and awareness of the needs of alligators and their wetland habitats.

The greatest strength of the book is the photography, her specialty, which shows the position and plight of alligators better than the text. The photographs are enlightening without appearing to be overly dramatic or staged. They show alligators in many contexts: as inhabitants of wetlands, on the cleaning table, and as cowboy boots. The photographs alone make the book worthwhile. The essay by alligator hunter LeRoy Overstreet also complements the photographs well and adds greatly to the flavor of the book.

Other aspects of this well-intentioned book, however, fall somewhat short of the photographs. The text is indeed impressionistic, but the result is much geographical chaos, discontinuity, and repetition amid modest information on alligators. Within a few pages, we jump from Florida to South Carolina to Louisiana and back again. It is difficult to get a sense of place when the place keeps changing. Discussion of legalized gator hunts and conservation plans, much like a gator in the glades, resurfaces periodically and unpredictably. The tone of the text also shifts repeatedly from semi-scientific to philosophical to poetic. Perhaps the author could have avoided such confusion and repetitiveness had she concentrated on one place, such as Florida, that wrestles with most of the critical issues between alligators and humans. The text also fails to give much information on the history and social significance of alligators. Readers seeking a more comprehensive treatment should try *V.* L. Glasgow's *A Social History of American Alligators* (1991).

In addition, the extensive use of the land ethic ideas of Aldo Leopold, while laudably normative, stays at a philosophical, almost mystical, level inconsistent with the historical and present realities of coexistence between humans and alligators. In Florida, alligators are usually admired from a safe distance, as from elevated nature walkways, or as cute and cuddly stuffed animals, novelty restaurant fare, university team mascots, or from perusal of attractive books like

Strawn's on penthouse coffee tables. Meanwhile, the real alligators suffer as their snake- and mosquito-infested habitats are drained, cleared, and sanitized for housing developments, retirement condominiums, golf courses, and agriculture. The real and important challenge is to educate people that these same forbidding habitats and the alligators inhabiting them deserve protection for their own sakes. That may require more intensive, down-to-earth salesmanship than even the most ardent time-share salesperson could muster. It has often been said that land developers and entrepreneurs like Hamilton Disston, Carl Fisher, and Barron G. Collier promoted Florida as a warm, wonderful, natural human paradise by selling illusion over reality. As it is with Florida, so it is with alligators. This contrast between the fabricated image of alligators and their tenuous existence in imperiled wetlands makes the alligator the animal best embodying the essence of real versus imagined Florida in prehistory, in history, and today. Strawn could have emphasized these points more than she did and perhaps had a stronger, more ironic text.

University of Idaho DENNIS L. SCARNECCHIA

Jannus, An American Flier. By Thomas Reilly. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997. xii, 236 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.)

The University Press of Florida has recently published two books on the history of early aviation. A biography of pioneer pilot Hugh Robinson written by this reviewer was published in 1995. Thomas Reilly's extraordinary new book tells the story of the early days of aviation through the career of Tony Jannus.

Jannus first flew a homemade airplane on November 11, 1910. In those days almost every airplane was an experimental project. Flights were a mere circus act as nobody had found a practical use for this new invention. Aviation was in its infancy in those days, and many pilots like Jannus learned to fly simply by doing it. A small but elite group of people had a dream of what flying could mean to the world, and Tony Jannus was one of them. They envisioned that their flying machines could be used for transportation, military bombing and spying, airmail, and many other projects, and it was up to them to convince the public of the machine's many applications.

Reilly describes the incredible skill that Tony Jannus had to have in order to stay alive as aviation blossomed. The pioneer had

to be part dreamer, teacher, inventor, test pilot, mechanic, performer, businessman, and writer. Every flight was dangerous; crashes and deaths among fliers were daily occurrences.

The author describes beautifully the events leading to the first parachute jump by Albert Barry in March of 1912 in St. Louis, Missouri, as well as the many flying expositions that were held to help pay the aviators' living expenses and finance their research. Reilly succeeds in conjuring the flavor of how exciting and dangerous these expositions were. Tony Jannus's flight from Omaha, Nebraska, to New Orleans covering 1,973 miles in 1913 shows his daredevil skill and determination.

Reilly does an exceptional job explaining how the world's first commercial airplane was built and how Jannus was the first pilot to carry passengers. This was done in 1914 on a flight from St. Petersburg to Tampa, Florida, in the Benoist flying boar. Soon thereafter Jannus became the first commercial pilot in the United States to be awarded a federal license to operate an airplane. He was truly the father of commercial piloting.

This book makes us realize that Tony Jannus, like all of the members of the small elite cadre of early pilots, was a famous man of his time. Like the astronauts of today, he had a faithful entourage of supporters. The author reminds us that most of the early aviators paid for their fame and fortune with their lives. Tony Jannus unfortunately lost his life in an airplane crash in Russia at the age of twenty-seven.

Thomas Reilly has done a wonderful job documenting and describing the colorful story of Tony Jannus. The book is well organized with many fascinating photographs. The historical events are accurately portrayed, and one gets the feeling of what it was like to be a part of the dangerous and exciting process of man first learning to fly.

Coral Gables, Florida GEORGE VERGARA

Conquistador in Chains: Cabeza de Vaca and the Indians of the Americas. By David A. Howard. (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1997. xiii, 260 pp. List of maps, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 paper.)

The Spanish conquistador has been the subject of controversy ever since he set foot in the so-called New World. Critics of Spain's

conquest of the Americas portray the Spanish conquistador as a cruel, greedy, malicious, treacherous, and lecherous individual who was ready to cut a defenseless native in half with his sword. Apologists for the Spanish *conquista,* on the other hand, acknowledge the conquistador's excesses and abuses but point out that he, like all Europeans, was a product of his time and environment.

This lucidly written and superbly documented book portrays Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca as a truly noble and humane individual who firmly believed that a just conquest could be best accomplished through an adherence to Christian principles and human rights. While Howard maintains that for the conquered, a "just" conquest is no less a conquest and imperialist conquests are to be avoided, he, on the other hand, convincingly paints Cabeza de Vaca as an individual committed to kindness and compassion even in conquest.

A preface and introduction, twenty-seven short chapters, and a conclusion are the substance of this interesting and useful study. The first five chapters, based on the latest historical research, concentrate on narrating Cabeza de Vaca's journey in North America (1528-1535). This journey amidst hardship and misfortune is one of the most remarkable in the history of the New World. The author indicates that Cabeza de Vaca's experience living as a virtual slave of the indigenous people of North America had a profound impact on his life and led to his personal and spiritual transformation.

The next four chapters provide a detailed examination of Cabeza de Vaca's appointment as governor and *Adelantado* of the Río de la Plata and end with his arrival in Asunción, Paraguay, on March 11, 1542. Cabeza de Vaca's one-thousand-mile march from Santa Catalina to Asunción without losing a single man was remarkable, and the author credits the conquistador's leadership and diplomacy for this success

The remaining chapters analyze Cabeza de Vaca's tenure as governor and *Adelantado* of the Río de la Plata (1542-1544); his overthrow by disgruntled colonists on grounds of sedition and abuse of royal authority; his return to Spain in chains and the subsequent trial by the Council of the Indies (1545-1551) that resulted in Cabeza de Vaca's banishment from the Río de la Plata. This section of the study is the most interesting because it depicts Cabeza de Vaca's government as progressive and reformist. Upon reaching Asunción he gave orders for the clergy to take the natives under their care and enacted laws compensating natives for their labor.

Furthermore, concubinage between native females and Spaniards became illegal. In addition, he also reduced the taxes on the poor and Crown officials were to pay their share.

Using primary sources from the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville and the *Archivo National* in Asunción, Howard analyzes Cabeza de Vaca's policies and concludes that what he tried to do in the Río de la Plata region was to ensure the natives' protection provided by Spanish law and the Catholic faith. He accurately points out that these policies led to his overthrow because his compatriots regarded them as obstacles to their self-interest and their rights as conquerors.

The conclusion summarizes the figure of Cabeza de Vaca for what he was: a man of noble qualities who, like his compatriots, believed in glory and riches but who, unlike them, tried to practice justice for all. Professor Howard is to be congratulated for producing a fascinating study that is essential to understanding Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Spanish colonial history.

University of Central Florida JOSÉ B. FERNÁNDEZ

Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs. By Kathleen M. Brown. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. Acknowledgments, illustrations, tables, abbreviations and notes on the text, introduction, afterword, notes, index. $49.95 hardcover, $19.95 paperback.)

Kathleen Brown's book is one of the most important books about colonial American history to appear in the last ten years. Her goals are ambitious: she aims at nothing less than upsetting traditional explanations of slavery's development in Virginia, patriarchal relations in the Chesapeake, and conventional roles and work available to colonial women. Her work challenges dominant interpretations put forth by Winthrop Jordan, Edmund Morgan, Rhys Isaac, Allan Kulikoff, Lois Carr and Lorena Walsh, among others. To accomplish so much, Brown has written more than a social history of Virginia women; she explores masculinity and male roles as well, crafting an all-encompassing study of gender that shows the close connections between gender relations and the rise of slavery and political stability in the Old Dominion before 1750.

Brown's book is among the new Atlantic World histories that root their subjects in a solid understanding of extant cultural norms

and political practices in Europe and Africa to better explain the colonial American scene. Indeed, this book truly is Atlantic history, for Brown draws upon the most recent work in English religious, cultural, and political history to inform her narrative of Virginia. Her first target is the "gender frontier," the boundary of colonization which was shaped by masculine and feminine terminology. In her first three chapters, Brown elegantly details the transformation of existing gender relations in England, in which English women could either be hardworking, virtuous "good wives" or troublesome, licentious "nasty wenches." English good wives worked hardest within the home, while nasty wenches found work (and trouble) outside the house, in public spaces. Eventually, good wives and property-holding patriarchs became the norms for English identity as they colonized Ireland and Virginia. "The discourses of gender that infused English discussion of social order and political authority gradually infiltrated the language of colonialism" (15).

Englishmen viewed the people (and lands) they conquered as feminine, intended for domination and thus eligible for one of two extant designations: good wife or nasty wench. Neither native peoples nor African servants accepted such designations knowingly (or in some cases willingly, as Brown suggests in her re-telling of the Pocahontas story). In the mid-seventeenth century, Virginia Englishmen began reinterpreting women's work, particularly after many English women ceased to do manual labor in the tobacco fields and were replaced by African servants. Virginia Englishwomen became exclusively "good wives," and Africans, not surprisingly, became "nasty wenches." Chapters four through seven persuasively detail this transformation of African racial identity, from servant to slave and from "other" to wench. Brown also describes the changes wrought in the identities of white women, free black men, and white men of upper and lower class, most notably during Bacon's Rebellion in the 1670s. Challenges to upper class male authority occurred not just in the 1670s but also when those same men sought validation politically and socially in London, causing some "anxious patriarchs" concern about their own colonial (and thus feminine) backgrounds.

Brown's analysis of race as a socially constructed category is strongest in chapter four, where she presents the legal limitations slowly entangling African women, and subsequently defining all Africans as slaves, between 1640 and 1670. (Brown's work also confirms main points made in the *William and Mary Quarterly*'s January

1997 issue, which focused on the social construction of race in the colonial world.) Brown is careful to note that English gender attitudes did not create slavery, but they did shape the "legal and intellectual framework within which slavery emerged" (112). Acknowledging the importance of the tobacco economy and the presence of African workers, Brown's use of gender as an analytical tool is not deterministic but illustrative of the colonizer's mindset.

Good Wives is remarkably free of theoretical jargon, which some may find surprising, given how well-informed Brown's analysis is by the work of Jurgen Habermas, Michel Foucault, Gerda Lerner, and Edward Said. If one could fault Brown at any point, it would perhaps be her (over) reliance on the diaries of William Byrd II in her later chapters, a man who could best be described as over-sexed. Although she warns her readers about his shortcomings, Brown depends upon Byrd to make her case about the anxiety felt by patriarchs as they were thwarted at home and abroad. Brown is most successful in her complication of the Carr-Walsh explanation of women's work in the colonial world, for she proves that the standard narrative of declining women's power in the seventeenth century must be linked to the femininization of African work and the rise of slavery. *Good Wives* sets a higher standard for new histories of women, slavery, and Virginia; it will become required reading for historians in all these fields.

Florida State University SALLY E. HADDEN

Spirits of the Passage: The Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century. By Madeline Burnside and Rosemarie Robotham. Foreword by Cornel West. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997. 192 pp. Foreword, introduction, photographs, illustrations, maps, afterword, endnotes, acknowledgments, index. $35.00 hardcover.)

The *Henrietta Marie* was a seventeenth-century English vessel that carried more than four hundred slaves to the New World on two voyages in 1697 and 1700. After delivering its human cargo to Jamaica in 1700, the *Henrietta Marie* struck a reef during a storm and sunk off of the Florida Keys. The position of the vessel was determined in the 1980s; later, divers excavated most of its artifacts. The *Henrietta Marie* represents the earliest slave ship ever recovered and the only one to be fully examined. Many of its artifacts comprise "A Slave Ship

Speaks: The Wreck of the *Henrietta Marie,"* a national touring exhibition that has drawn impressive crowds at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida in Miami as well as other museum venues.

The story of the *Henrietta Marie* and much more are contained in *Spirits of the Passage: The Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Seventeenth Century.* Madeline Burnside, executive director of the Mel Fisher Maritime Heritage Society in Key West, which organized the aforementioned exhibition, and Rosemarie Robotham, an editor at *Essence* magazine, coauthored the text while Cornel West, eminent Harvard academic and director of that institution's Afro-American studies program, has provided an insightful foreword to the work. Other contributors are responsible for fascinating profiles on people, places, and events involved in the insidious slave trade and additional elements of this tragic story. The book's format resembles that of a coffee table book, but its detail is rich and highly factual, while its perspective is broad, taking the reader from the origins of slavery to the presence of enslaved peoples in the western hemisphere in modern times. The *Henrietta Marie* is employed as the point of departure for this captivating study, providing, as its authors maintain, "a window onto a particular moment in slavery's centuries-long multi-layered history."

Although much of the story is familiar, it bears retelling since the legacy of slavery and the racial problems tangentially related to it continue to bedevil this nation. Moreover, while the activity of European slavers in West Africa, the horrors of the Middle Passage, and the brutal exploitation of human laborers on vast plantations in the Caribbean and elsewhere have been heavily documented, other parts of the sordid story are less well known to the general reader. The book succeeds admirably here as it provides impressive commentary on the West African Igbos, their rich culture, and their accomplishments as farmers, which made them highly coveted as plantation laborers. *Spirits of the Passage* also explains graphically the rise of trading forts, the work of European slavers and native collaborators alike, who provided the former with easy access to slave markets in West Africa. One of the most riveting topics addressed in *Spirits of the Passage* treats the "African brain drain," a reference to the "depopulation" that set in along the West African coast as the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and other western slavers relentlessly fed the New World's seemingly insatiable appetite for bondspeople over a period of four centuries, draining the continent of fifteen million people, thereby causing an enormous

loss of talent for a region of the world heretofore proud of its historical record and accomplishments.

The most poignant portion of the study treats the horrific Middle Passage with African captives, en route to enslavement in the New World, packed like sardines in the fetid holds of ships. Those "fortunate" enough to survive eventually reached their final destination, often the highly profitable sugar plantations of the Caribbean. The book is especially strong in this area, detailing the differences between early and later versions of slavery, and placing within the context of early slavery in this hemisphere miscegenation, slave revolts, and communities of runaway slaves, the "maroons."

Spirits of the Passage contains handsome illustrations with highly informative captions, helpful timelines, and fascinating sidebars. The writing is crisp and, in parts, impassioned. This impressive study is a welcome addition to the corpus of works treating one of history's most tragic developments.

Historical Association of Southern Florida PAUL S. GEORGE

Lighthouses & Keepers: The U. S. Lighthouse Service and Its Legacy. By Dennis L. Noble. (Annapolis: U. S. Naval Institute Press, 1997. xv, 248 pp, Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations of military ranks, maps, notes, glossary of nautical terms, selected bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

Those interested in lighthouses and maritime history will enjoy reading Dennis Noble's *Lighthouses & Keepers* and will want a copy for their libraries. The book discusses the technological changes in aids to navigation and helps the reader understand lighthouses as part of the nation's oldest federal maritime organization. The book covers most aspects of the lighthouse service from 1789 until 1939, when the lighthouse service became part of the U.S. Coast Guard.

Dennis Noble's easy-to-read style is that of a kindly teacher sharing what he knows about a subject he loves. The author received his doctorate in history from Purdue University, served in the U.S. Coast Guard, and has published several books on related subjects.

The first two chapters make *Lighthouses & Keepers* worth its price. Four men, Stephen Pleasonton, Winslow Lewis, Augustin-Jean Fresnel, and George R. Putnam are discussed in detail. Their politics, rivalries, strengths, and weaknesses greatly influenced the develop-

ment of the U. S. Lighthouse Service. One is surprised to learn the degree to which high government officials were involved in the operation of the early lighthouse service. Presidents George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson personally approved lighthouse contracts and appointments to lighthouse positions.

Many readers will start by turning to the maps at the back of the book. Florida fans will find six of the state's lighthouses shown on a map entitled "Principal Lighthouses of the South Atlantic Coast." Unfortunately Jupiter Inlet is misnamed *Juniper* Inlet. The map entitled "Principal Lighthouses of the East Gulf Coast" shows the remaining Florida lighthouses, sweeping from Pensacola to Key Biscayne then to Dry Tortugas, but completely ignores Hillsboro Inlet Lighthouse.

Florida's Sand Key Lighthouse is one of seven chosen by Noble as representative light structures. Rebecca Flaherty assumed duties there after her husband's death. During a storm in 1846, Rebecca and her children took refuge in the lighthouse and died when the brick structure toppled and was swept away. Lieutenant George G. Meade, who later gained fame in the Civil War, supervised the reconstruction of Sand Key lighthouse, using a steel tower with screw-pile design which anchored it to the coral rock. Although Sand Key itself ultimately washed away, the tower remains.

The attack on Cape Florida Lighthouse by Seminole Indians in 1836 is covered in chapter four. Most Florida history buffs are familiar with the story of how the keeper and his African American helper became trapped in the lighthouse when it was set afire by the Indians. Rather than using primary documents, Noble cites an article by Truman R. Strobridge, which contains a most fascinating Florida tidbit. Apparently the direction of the Cape Florida lighthouse was turned over to a black woman. Unfortunately Noble does not investigate this further.

Dennis Noble calls his book "a one-volume synthesis" and indeed it is. By using secondary resources combined with original research, he is able to cover much that will interest and enlighten his reader. Some of the material, like the preceding Strobridge quote, makes us want to know more.

Each of the book's nine chapters has extensive endnotes with many primary sources cited, but citations like "clipping file" and "Sand Key File, Historian," disappoint the reader who wants to check sources.

Stuart, Florida SANDRA HENDERSON THURLOW

Transforming the Cotton Frontier: Madison County, Alabama, 1800-1840. By Daniel S. Dupre. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. xiii, 269 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, bibliography, index. $40.00 cloth.)

Madison County, Alabama, with its good farm land, modern industrial and space programs, and beautiful hills and valleys, is the heartland of North Alabama. The same was true in the early 1800s. Settlers began moving into the Great Bend of the Tennessee River Valley in the early nineteenth century. As a part of the Mississippi Territory, Madison County was organized in 1808, the second county in Alabama. Huntsville, organized in 1810, became the county capital. Despite transportation problems and the panic of 1819, growth and progress came rapidly. By the 1830s, Madison County had five towns and a population of about 28,000, of which forty-eight percent were slaves. The county had numerous small farms, large cotton plantations, industries, commercial establishments, roads and a canal, churches, schools, stable governments, and other qualities that clearly indicate that Madison County had progressed from Indian territory to a stable, orderly, civilized society.

But this is not Dupre's story. He does not offer the reader a general local history of the early years of Madison County, Alabama. He aims at a more significant target. Dupre sees Madison County, Alabama, as "an excellent lens through which to view America's transformative revolutions: the unraveling of old ties and the knitting of new ones" (3), i.e., the transformation from republicanism to liberalism. To tell the story his way, he examines selected areas of Madison County history in roughly chronological order. Included are settlement patterns, the impact of the panic of 1819 and land relief acts that followed, internal improvements (Muscle Shoals and Fearn Canals), banking, crime, religion, factional and party politics, the threat of slave disorders, and other subjects. Little emphasis is placed on progress, and topics such as Huntsville as the state capital and the growth of industry are barely mentioned.

Dupre finds early Madison County a divided, polarized "community" wherein the people were filled with tensions and fears as they struggled to reconcile clashes resulting from their desire for subsistence and commerce, representation and democracy, and liberty and the restraints necessary for order and stability. It is not surprising that this work reveals far more controversy and conflict

than consensus on the "Cotton Frontier." Yet, according to Dupre, in the late 1830s the forces of nationalism "bound together the diverse segments of the community."

Since the 1970s several scholarly works have been published treating various aspects of America's transformation from a rural subsistence way of life to a market economy. Dupre relies heavily on this branch of historiography. Unfortunately, one is forced to conclude that this work started with too many preconceived conclusions drawn from sources unrelated to Madison County, Alabama. Also, while the use of an extensive collection of primary and secondary sources relating to Madison County is a definite plus in evaluating this work, the heavy reliance on newspapers, especially editorials and letters to the editors, does weaken the readers' confidence.

Nevertheless, this work has much to commend it. While not a general local history, it contains much information that is not readily available elsewhere. It is interesting and well written with a valuable introduction and epilogue. This work is not for the general reader, but scholars will find it stimulating and thought provoking. It should find a place in academic libraries.

University of North Alabama KENNETH R. JOHNSON

Plain Folk of the South Revisited. Edited by Samuel C. Hyde Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. xix, 288 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, contributors, index. $55.00 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

Since the 1970s much of the writing of the South's and indeed the nation's history has been the product of the history profession's continuing fixation on race, class, and gender. The second element of this august trinity is the subject of the ten essays in this collection, which emanated from a symposium held in the spring of 1996 at Southeastern Louisiana University. Ever since Professor Frank L. Owsley published *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1949), historians have debated the meaning of the term. Owsley's plain folk were neither large-scale planters nor poor whites, but an independent people constituting an uncelebrated– and until then unstudied– middle class, a group that made up the bulk of the Old South's voters, and eventually its Civil War soldiers.

Depictions of plain folk have fluctuated variously between two false images: the happy carefree yeoman living in a kind of idyllic dream world without debts or other worries of any kind; and the other equally stereotypical characterization of a barbarous, uncivilized, lazy, indolent, slothful, and of course, a uniformly depraved, degenerate, and racist people. Though such images provide convenient vehicles for both southern romantics and Hollywood script writers, such one-dimensional portraits offer little in the way of any real understanding. Both John Boles and the collection's editor, Samuel Hyde, are determined to, in Boles's words, "complexify the term, to show that the plain folk were more varied, more complex, than the popular usage suggests" (x).

An excellent overview of the best current scholarship precedes these ten essays, which offer a number of interesting, surprising, and often contradictory perspectives on plain folk in the nineteenth-century South. Jerah Johnson probes the origins of plain folk architecture. Bradley Bond sheds new light on livestock herding, farming, and lumbering in the Mississippi piney woods. Sally McMillen explores southern women and the Sunday School Movement, finding that the movement gave women's lives a new sense of power and meaning. Their work in this arena, she contends, proved a major vehicle for improving, uplifting, and saving the next generation. Lacy Ford examines the constitutional conventions in Virginia, Mississippi, and Tennessee, discovering that plain folk in those states insisted on a definition of political citizenship based on race and gender rather than class. Grady McWhiney explores the ethics of honor and courage among southern Civil War soldiers, finding both ethics commonly shared between Crackers and Cavaliers. Samuel Hyde offers interesting insights on plain folk violence in Louisiana's Florida parishes. While laying bare the roots of New South demagoguery, Michael Kurtz asserts that the vile art spoke to the real, unaddressed needs and aspirations of plain folk voters.

Three of these essays reach beyond the traditional boundaries of scholarship to explore African American influences on plain folk, indeed one essay even goes so far as to suggest that the culture of both groups was in many respects virtually indistinguishable. Gary Mills, using the same kind of research methodology as Owsley, sketches out the lives of free blacks in antebellum Alabama. He discovered that "almost 50 percent of Anglo Alabama's free Negroes were either *illegally manumitted* or *illegally residing* within the state.

They lived as free because society allowed them to exercise privileges beyond the law. Community recognition became a defacto right" (165). Bill Malone contends that plain folk music was not Celtic and Anglo-Saxon alone but borrowed liberally from all traditions including African American. J. William Harris challenges long held assumptions of the New South's African Americans as mere victims of peonage. From careful study of mobility patterns among black sharecroppers, Harris found that "moving on" was "perhaps the single most important weapon they had in their struggle" (125). The ease with which they could find new situations placed implicit limits on planters' power to coerce them.

Not since the publication of Grady McWhiney's provocative yet controversial *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa, 1986) has there been anything calculated to stimulate as much debate as what appears here. Finally, while there is much in this fine collective study that will be of interest to cultural and social historians, this work virtually ignores Florida sources and contributions to the plain folk experience. But this continuing professional and institutional bias that discounts Florida's relevance to southern history is less a slight than an opportunity. For scholars willing to explore the varied lives of this elusive group in Florida, the potential harvest is even richer.

Florida Southern College JAMES M. DENHAM

Shades of Blue and Gray: An *Introductory Military History of the Civil War*. By Herman Hattaway. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997. xii, 281 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, glossary, index. $29.95 cloth.)

Shades of Blue and Gray is a marvelous distillation of Herman Hattaway's years of research and thought on the Civil War. In less than three hundred pages, he treats the important battles and campaigns, identifies their significance, and offers insights into the major characters involved in the decision-making process. Accomplishing this with such brevity is a remarkable feat. Hattaway eschews meticulous details, guiding the reader along with an engaging writing style that is both sweeping and authoritative. A prominent theme throughout is the influence of technology on Civil War strategy. In some ways, this book serves as an abridgement

of his noteworthy 1983 study, co-authored with Archer Jones, entitled *How the North Won,* but its analysis reflects more recent scholarship.

This is not, however, just a synthesis, for the author provides ample points of interest for the Civil War student to ponder. For example, Paddy Griffith, in his 1989 book *Battle Tactics of the Civil War,* contended that First Bull Run had a psychological impact on both sides because it buoyed southerners and depressed northerners in such a way as to positively influence the outcome of future battles for Confederates in the eastern theater. But Hattaway argues that the opening battle actually gave the South "false assurance" while it prodded the North to "greater . . .efforts" (72). With regard to Gettysburg and Vicksburg, traditionally regarded by scholars as the turning point of the war, Hattaway contends that those battles in July 1863 are more accurately viewed as the beginning of a new phase of the war that he calls the "long pull." He does, however, view Chickamauga as a turning point because of the way the South failed to capitalize on its victory.

The author also offers keen assessments of important individuals. Abraham Lincoln was too quick to replace generals in the eastern theater early in the war. One of Jefferson Davis's primary failures was his inability to "convey an adequate element of civil religion" (154). In addition, Hattaway portrays James Longstreet favorably and attributes the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg to Robert E. Lee. Hattaway proclaims Nathan Bedford Forrest a brilliant military man, "but in no way a military professional. He could *not* have managed a modern army" (168).

The book is divided into four parts and contains a total of fifteen chapters. The author uses a chronological approach, and he employs skillful transitions to move the reader back and forth between the eastern and western theaters. Of particular interest are sections on women who served in both armies and on the development and use of submarines. The prologue and epilogue are useful to the student of military history. The former traces the embryonic development of professionalism prior to the war, and the latter treats the far-reaching advances made in professionalism afterward. In both instances, Hattaway gives significant attention to European military developments, which had a profound influence in the United States.

Shades of Blue and Gray is an excellent introduction to mid-nineteenth-century U. S. military history. It will be helpful to both under-

graduate and graduate students, and is written in a style that will appeal to the casual reader. Hattaway offers numerous titles as "Suggested Readings" at the end of each major division and a glossary of military terms in the back of the book for beginners. The University of Missouri Press has produced a handsome volume that will, no doubt, find a place on the shelf of many Civil War scholars and enthusiasts.

Lipscomb University TIMOTHY D. JOHNSON

Pickett's Charge in History & Memory. By Carol Reardon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. x, 285 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.)

With a plethora of books on the American Civil War, and Gettysburg in particular, one might wonder, why another? There are, however, a few works that are valuable for readers who truly want to understand the nation's great conflict. This book falls into that category, for Professor Reardon's treatment of Pickett's charge is more than just a history of that famous event. She has endeavored to tell us why we remember this brief episode with near religious reverence. Although any serious scholar recognizes the relationship between myth and reality, the author has taken one easily recognized wartime scene and has analyzed how memory and history mesh to create perceptions that do not always have a basis in historical fact.

Even readers with only a casual interest in the Civil War recognize Pickett's Charge. But how much of what we know about the event is actually true and how much is postwar construction? As the author notes, "The two forces [memory and history] have blended together so seamlessly over the years that we cannot separate them now" (3). This is not the fault of modern historians, for the mythology surrounding Pickett's charge began as soon as the battle ended. The two sides left the battlefield with conflicting memories: northerners had been victorious, the South had failed. Newspapers, of course, reflected these different points of view. While the northern press gloried in the great victory, the southern, primarily in Richmond, played up the sacrifice of the Confederate soldier. These initial images made a lasting impression. Once the war was over these recollections could be transferred to the emerging Lost Cause. Pickett's men became heroes. If they did not remember the charge exactly as it happened, they certainly remembered it as they "considered it ought to have been" (63).

Following the war, Gettysburg slowly changed from "a" turning point to "the" decisive turning point in the conflict. If the North saw it as a great triumph, then the South needed to find something redeeming in defeat. One of the goals of the Southern Historical Society, founded by unreconstructed Virginians after Robert E. Lee's death, was to absolve Lee of any responsibility for the loss at Gettysburg. As a result of the postwar campaign of Virginians, Lee became a southern hero. Although he had lost the battle in 1863, Lee won the literary war in the history books.

The three days of fighting in Pennsylvania became a focus of contradictions. Not all northerners acknowledged the battle's significance. Union veterans from the western armies never understood how Gettysburg took on such monumental proportions. Gettysburg, it was argued, was "merely a sample of what came before and followed after" (127). Nonetheless, it was impossible not to recognize that it did take on an almost mythical magnitude even though participants could not always agree on the story. In the South arguments arose over which units participated in the charge and how many were actually from Virginia. Even the name Pickett's Charge outraged those who claimed that the troops from Tennessee, Mississippi, and North Carolina deserved equal recognition.

To try and counter the influence of Virginians, the *Confederate Veteran,* first published in Nashville in 1893, emphasized the western theater. But in popular memory, the charge at Franklin, Tennessee, although exacting a heavy cost, never equalled the one at the Gettysburg. Pickett's men, not those in the West, became the heroes of the Lost Cause, and early on the Pennsylvania battle eclipsed all others and won a special place in memory. American history texts, even those written by northerners, seemed to accept the Virginian version of the event. This often worked to the advantage of northerners who could then inflate the number of attackers thus making it a more spectacular victory. In the 1870s and 1880s that figure ran as high as 25,000. When "history and popular memory clashed, history rarely won" (183). Pickett may have lost in 1863, but after the turn of the century, he and his men decisively won the war for popular memory.

Professor Reardon has taken one event and analyzed the tension between memory and history. As a study in the understanding of how we look at the events of the past, this book is invaluable.

Georgia College & State University ANNE J. BAILEY

Under the Guardianship of the Nation: The Freedmen's Bureau and the Construction of Georgia, 1865-1870. By Paul A. Cimbala. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1997. xxiii, 395 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, list of abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $60.00 hardcover.)

Almost fifty years have passed since George Bentley provided an overview of the Freedmen's Bureau and its operations during Reconstruction. Several studies of various southern states have been completed since then, but Paul Cimbala has set a new standard with this monograph. Diligent primary source research, keen analysis, and a fine narrative style are blended here to produce the definitive work on the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in Georgia.

The Freedmen's Bureau served various functions in the postwar South. None was as important as overseeing labor contracts between white landowners and former slaves. In an economically devastated region, the Bureau also made invaluable philanthropic and educational contributions. The agency distributed much needed food and clothing during the war's immediate aftermath. The men representing the organization headed by General Oliver O. Howard also were instrumental in providing freedmen educational opportunities. How these and other developments played out in Georgia is the subject of the aptly entitled *Under the Guardianship of the Nation.*

In Georgia, as elsewhere, the promise of the Freedmen's Bureau exceeded the results. The admirable vision of uplifting a race was met by harsh reality. If whites accepted emancipation, they did not concur with any arrangement that fully incorporated the exslaves into society. Overcoming a racist mindset, as Cimbala points out, was difficult, dangerous, and ultimately impossible. Despite the efforts of Bureau officials, blacks did not receive economic justice at the hands of their landlords.

Field officials in Bainbridge, Albany, Rome, and elsewhere across the rural hinterland that was Reconstruction Georgia often encountered an angry and intransigent white population. A wide spectrum of conscientiousness existed among Freedmen Bureau officials. All were hardly selfless ideologues driven by missionary impulses. Whatever the degree of their commitment, agents labored in "a hostile environment" (77). With the advent of congressional, or radical, Reconstruction in 1867-1868, Bureau officials

made Republican converts of the freedmen. Cimbala rightly points to the critical political role Bureau agents played in this conversion. Their success alienated a white Democratic population in fundamental philosophical disagreement with the Fourteenth Amendment and the premise of congressional Reconstruction. Efforts by the Bureau to educate the black population were similarly met with suspicion and sometimes open hostility. In this even-handed treatment, Cimbala also establishes that the freedmen sometimes proved difficult to help. Ex-slaves frequently reneged on labor contracts and abrogated new responsibilities.

The strengths of this work are numerous. The time Cimbala spent examining the vast collection of Freedmen's Bureau Papers is obvious. Writing with flair, the author provides a welcome change from the academic and stilted prose sometimes found in scholarly works. For instance, Cimbala relates the importance of labor contracts and typically offers insight. In his presentation, the labor contract becomes "a piece of paper well known to ante-bellum Yankee farmers . . . but heretofore unnecessary in the economic relationships between the South's ex-masters and ex-slaves" (131). The author may be commended for providing vignettes of officials of greater and lesser importance. The reader learns that Athens-based officer John J. Knox suffered complications from a Civil War neck wound and that local white attitudes exacerbated his discomfort. The effective use of quotations provides a true appreciation of Bureau activities. With good reason agent James Davison in Greensboro allowed, "I am tired out and broke down" and compared his work load to that of a "pack horse" (64-65).

It is difficult to find fault with this study. Out of necessity, *Under the Guardianship of the Nation* is written from the top down, that is, from the perspective of Bureau officials. It would be interesting to know how blacks perceived the agency. Cimbala and others can only speculate because freedmen left so few written records.

The University of Georgia Press complements the book with an exceptionally attractive dust jacket and set of illustrations. Paul Cimbala's research is exhaustive; he resurrects the Bureau on a grassroots level, fleshes out the organization with people and names, and succeeds brilliantly. Unfortunately, the Freedmen's Bureau was not that successful. As the author concludes, the organization represented "an imperfect, short-lived institution, its functions severely limited by nineteenth century attitudes[, and that] explains much of its failure to alter the economic, legal, and political

landscapes of Georgia." In Florida, the Freedmen's Bureau awaits a historian. The merits of this work are such that the Georgia story does not need to be retold.

Gainesville College WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS JR.

Cullen Montgomery Baker, Reconstruction Desperado. By Barry A. Crouch and Donald E. Brice. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. xvi, 190 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations used in notes, introduction, essay on sources, index. $34.95 hardcover.)

For most people in the American South, the decade following the Civil War was a difficult time. The turmoil of the war and the ragged efforts to "reconstruct" the defeated region left emotions exposed and loyalties uncertain. In these troubled times numerous "outlaws" took advantage of the unsettled conditions to loot, plunder, and kill individuals while using the war or its aftermath as an excuse.

Most of these desperados haunted an area approximately one hundred miles either side of the ninety-fifth meridian from Natchitoches, Texas, in the South to St. Joseph, Missouri, in the North. The northern region, especially with the work of the James, Younger, Dalton, and Doolin gangs, has been well known and documented. However, less known, and not as well publicized, is that band of outlaws who operated from the tri-state region of Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana during and immediately following the war. This book by two authors, Barry A. Crouch and Donald E. Brice, with deep ties to Texas, does much to draw attention to the Ark-La-Tex area.

The central character in Couch and Brice's monograph has few redeeming social qualities. Born Cullen Montgomery Baker in Weakley County, Tennessee, the future desperado's family moved to Red River County, Texas, in 1839 when he was only four. Using federal census data, fragmentary newspaper and folk tradition accounts, the authors reconstruct Baker's formative years before the Civil War. While documentation is limited, available evidence indicates that the Baker family did not own slaves and were on the lower end of the economic scale in a region that was still largely wilderness. The family's economic and social standing apparently worsened in the decade prior to the war as an increasing number of slave holding families moved into the central Red River Valley.

Beyond correcting the historical record about Cullen Baker's life, the authors are also concerned with what motivated his crime-filled career. The first objective is no easy task. The nature of Baker's activities, the lack of a written tradition in frontier regions, and the abnormal times of war and reconstruction combined to obscure the subject. To the authors' great credit, they have cut through much of the legend, myth, and rumor surrounding Baker and his gang of outlaws to provide readers with a historically credible account. They are to be commended for engaging in this most difficult research.

Extant records show Baker growing to adulthood on his father's hardscrabble farm in Northeast Texas. He had little formal schooling, his mother died before he was a teenager, and he was painfully aware of his "lower-class" standing. He enlisted in the Confederate Army in the summer of 1861 but deserted his unit after only a few months of service. Within the year he re-enlisted in a new unit but received a "disability discharge" again with only a few months of service. Returning to East Texas, he became involved in a crime spree that lasted for the balance of the 1860s and at times involved a gang of up to one hundred members. Initially targeting former slaves, agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and local units of the U. S. Army, Baker increasingly attacked anyone who resisted his criminal acts. The authors believe that by the time of his death at the hands of a vigilante group in January 1869, Baker had killed at least fifteen men– but not the seventy-six that legend has attributed to him.

Why Baker turned to a life of crime is more difficult for the authors to sort out: The image of Baker depicted in this account is that of a "loner" whose lower-class upbringing left a permanent scar on his psyche. The first sign of trouble came at age sixteen when a group of youths taunted and jeered the future desperado for his "homemade clothes" and uncouth manner. Baker attacked the group's leader and "would have stomped him to death" had not adults present intervened. Following the incident, Baker began to drink alcohol excessively. Two years later a saloon fight resulted in Baker receiving a blow to the head with a hatchet that "may have disturbed a mind that already leaned toward instability" (33). Whatever the reason, the balance of his life was marked with increasingly pathological, sadistic behavior.

The picture of the post-Civil War South presented in this book stands in sharp contrast to the image of a "New South" built around

industrialization, urbanization, and middle-class political values. The raw edge of the frontier provides a discordant note to those leaders bent on fashioning a new society for the defeated South. Not a pretty picture but essential to the historical record.

University of Arkansas at Little Rock C. FRED WILLIAMS

The Trial of Democracy: Black Suffrage & Northern Republicans, 1860-1910. By Xi Wang. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1997. xxv, 411 pp. List of tables, preface, introduction, appendices, abbreviations, notes, selected bibliography, index. $58.00 hardcover.)

When, in December 1863, Representative James M. Ashley, an Ohio Republican, proposed that black males be allowed to vote in southern states when they were restored, a majority of Republicans disagreed. They were united on emancipation but were reluctant to connect black freedom with black enfranchisement. Yet by March 1865 they concurred with Senator Charles Sumner that blacks' votes were as essential as their muskets and mandated black suffrage in the congressional plan to reconstruct the South. Determined to make black voting a permanent right, the party engineered the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which authorized the federal government to prohibit states from denying suffrage to blacks on account of color, race, or previous condition. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century every Republican administration shared the notion that the government must safeguard the political rights of black citizens, although all did not sincerely strive to enforce it.

Republicans quickly learned that passing the Fifteenth Amendment was easier than enforcing it. Two themes are evident in this study. Democrats almost unanimously opposed black suffrage, and Republican opinion was variable. A majority of Republicans favored enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment, but a few, Wang says, were uncertain of the value of racial equality, and some had reservations about the proper sharing of power between the state and federal governments. This became clear between 1870 and 1872 when the Republicans, in response to the Ku Klux Klan, fraud, and intimidation of black voters, attempted to create federal machinery for implementing the Fifteenth Amendment. These

"Enforcement Acts" provoked fierce debate among Republicans, not so much over the correctness of black suffrage but over constitutional issues. Some Republicans, believing that suffrage remained a state matter except for color and race qualifications, were reluctant to support legislation that extended federal power to regulate suffrage and elections. Despite the constitutional scruples of some members, the party passed five laws designed to protect black voters.

Enforcement never fully protected blacks' right to vote, and after the Democrats gained a majority in the House in 1875, the Republicans seldom controlled all three branches of government, so any new attempts to protect blacks were stymied. When Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew the few remaining U. S. troops from the South in 1877 the Enforcement Acts were totally ignored. Wang claims, however, that Hayes did not completely abandon blacks. The president naively "hoped to achieve a united country on the basis of the Reconstruction principle of equal rights," (149) and he prevented Democrats from gutting the Enforcement Acts after they won control of both houses in 1878. Four times he vetoed bills to repeal the Enforcement Acts. Not a single Republican voted with the Democrats to override Hayes's vetoes.

The Republicans continued to call for fair and free elections but made no effort to pass new legislation until 1890 when Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts proposed a bill to provide for effective enforcement. The Lodge Federal Elections Bill passed the House by a vote of 155 to 149, with two Republicans and 147 Democrats voting no. A few silver Republicans joined Democrats in the Senate to prevent the bill from being brought to a vote. This ended the Republican fight to ensure black suffrage. In 1892 the Democrats won both houses of Congress and the presidency, and they remained determined to nullify federal enforcement, even though most southern blacks were disfranchised. Although Republicans united against it, President Grover Cleveland signed an act on February 8, 1894, repealing all previous Enforcement Acts. Fortunately, the Democrats were unable to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment, which provided the vehicle for black reenfranchisement in the twentieth century.

The Trial of Democracy is a comprehensive analysis of the effort and ultimate failure to implement and protect black suffrage. Professor Wang carefully traces Republican factionalism and the intense debates over the constitutional and political issues of black

suffrage, racial equality, and the sharing of power between state and federal governments. The book is balanced, thoughtful, well researched and written, and is a worthy addition to Reconstruction literature.

Florida State University JOE M. RICHARDSON

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 14, April-August 1868. Edited by Paul H. Bergeron. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997. xxxi, 590 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, symbols and abbreviations, short titles, chronology, appendices, index. $49.50 hardcover.)

During the five months from April through August 1868 – the period covered by the fourteenth of a projected sixteen volumes of his papers – Andrew Johnson continued to experience a frustrating presidency. True, when impeached, he escaped removal from office, but only by the margin of a single vote in the Senate. He remained powerless to halt the Reconstruction program of his Republican enemies in Congress who, over his veto, readmitted a batch of six southern states reorganized under the congressional plan, with suffrage for black men. And he failed to get the Democratic nomination for a reelection that would have vindicated him in his long losing struggle with Congress.

Nevertheless, Johnson could get a sense of vindication from many of the letters that came to him from admiring citizens– or flattering job-seekers. Such correspondence predominates in this volume as in previous volumes of the series, letters *from* Johnson being relatively scarce. "To lessen that problem," the editors notes, "we have searched for and included newspaper interviews, speeches, proclamations, and official messages."

Among the job-seekers was only one of the seven Republicans who voted for acquittal at the impeachment trial– Senator Edmund G. Ross of Kansas– who sought a place for one of his friends. But Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, who presided at the trial, afterwards recommended two men for government positions, neither of whom received an appointment. Chase waited until after the Democratic nominating convention, at which he was considered a possible contender himself. "So long as letters from me could be construed as prompted in any degree by political wishes," he ex-

plained, "I refused all requests to write you in behalf of any one recommended for office."

Johnson's chances for the nomination seemed, according to some of his correspondents, to improve steadily from April onward. The "feeling throughout the country" was growing in his favor, a Democratic newspaperman in Indiana assured him. His "triumphant vindication before the Court of Impeachment" seemed to improve his prospects, and his popularity, he was told, made them excellent by the time the Democratic convention met.

When New York City Democrats asked permission to nominate him, Johnson replied: "the approval of the people is all that is requisite to make me feel that the efforts I have made to restore the Union on the basis of justice and conciliation have not been altogether vain." He was encouraged to believe that Horatio Seymour, if nominated, would not accept but would decline in his favor (Seymour, of course, did no such thing when nominated).

Having no sympathy with the reconstructed state governments, Johnson did not respond when Henry C. Warmoth, the carpetbag governor of Louisiana, asked him for U. S. troops to preserve order and protect "Union men" who were victims of "horrible outrages" perpetrated by the Democrats. Warmoth estimated that 150 had been murdered in a month and a half. Johnson, however, also heard from several Louisianans who reported that the "so-called" governor was grossly exaggerating.

One appreciative southerner praised Johnson in terms that he might well have applied to himself. "If Daniel Webster was entitled to the Soubriquet of being the Great Expounder of, I think Andrew Johnson deserves the title of being the Great defender of the Constitution," a Georgian wrote. "In after years when the impartial historian writes a truthful history of the country the acts of your administration will stand out in bold relief challenginging *[sic]* the admiration of the world especially those who favor constitutional Liberty."

As these samples suggest, this collection adds richness to the context of the Johnson presidency, though it does not provide the "impartial historian" with reasons to revise the prevailing account or rehabilitate his reputation. The editing continues to be excellent, with careful identification of even the most obscure persons and explication of even the most obscure allusions.

South Natick, Massachusetts RICHARD N. CURRENT

Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction. By Laura F. Edwards. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997. xvi, 378 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.)

Laura F. Edwards' *Gendered Strife and Confusion,* an in-depth analysis of Reconstruction-era Granville County, North Carolina, begins with an accusation of rape. Late in 1864, Susan Daniel, in Edwards' phrasing a "common white," accused two slaves, William and Henderson Cooper, of attacking her. The case, entangled first in Confederate and later in Reconstruction politics, illustrates Edwards' claim that historians' categories– public and private, freedom and slavery, and even black and white – fail to capture the experiences of particular southerners politicizing and contesting these very concepts. The crime of rape, Edwards argues, linked the private household to the public sphere, highlighting the ways that familial and labor relationships in one sphere legitimated legal and political rights in another. Since gender grounded the private authority that in turn founded public authority, Edward reasons, gender was as important as race and class in shaping the political terrain across the Reconstruction South.

In this new narrative, marriage rights, apprenticeship laws, and contested conceptions of labor, manhood, and womanhood are as important as party politics. Reconstruction begins in households, in whites' efforts to recreate their homes and African Americans' attempts to create their first autonomous families. Whites advocated legal marriage for the freedpeople, for example, as a way to impress upon black men their duties and obligations to care for black women and children. African Americans, on the other hand, embraced legal marriage as an important tool as well as a symbol of their freedom, and as a way to force whites to acknowledge black parental rights and household independence within the polity. In much the same way, Edwards explores the shifting and contested meanings of labor and employment as elite whites, African Americans, and common whites struggled to recast economic relationships in a world without slaves.

For Edwards, the reconstruction of gender relations is crucial to the politics of Reconstruction. She contrasts elite whites' conceptions of manhood and womanhood with those of African Americans and common whites. Elite southerners, Edwards argues, shifted from explicit endorsements of racial and class hierarchies

to a "rhetoric of individual achievement" (125) in which the reward for "character" was the wealth that in turn legitimated privilege and authority. In a shift that paralleled the development of middle-class cultural hegemony in the North, elite whites universalized their particular normative gender roles as "best men" and "cheerful wives," obscuring but not erasing racial and class inequalities. Poor whites and freedpeople struggled to articulate conflicting conceptions of manhood and womanhood. Yet like elites they relied on gender difference to ground both the larger social order and their claims for greater rights within it. This strategy, in effect a kind of working within the system, had its cost: "the patriarchal framework African Americans and common whites had so skillfully used to push their interests into public space could just as easily work against them" (217). Using the uncontested inequality of men and women in the household to legitimate inequality between different types of men in public, by the mid-1880s elite whites within the Democratic Party "argued that 'the best' men represented everyone's interests" (219). In this narrative, Reconstruction ends not with the withdrawal of federal troops but with the disenfranchisement of African American and some common white men.

By narrowing her focus to one county, Laura Edwards is able to describe in great detail a broadly defined political culture that includes men and women of both races and all classes. Her work adds to the complicated picture of the post-Civil War South that has emerged as historians attempt to unite the methodologies of African American history and women's history with more traditional approaches to the study of the region.

University of Virginia GRACE ELIZABETH HALE

A Devil and a Good Woman, Too: The Lives of Julia Peterkin. By Susan Millar Williams. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997. xx, 343 pp. Preface, a note on the language, afterword, key to abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.)

The 1929 Pulitzer Prize for literature was awarded to a forty-nine-year-old South Carolina tidewater plantation mistress for her second book, *Scarlet Sister Mary,* written about her black servant, Mary Weeks. Though it was a novel of African American life on

Lang Syne Plantation in the early twentieth century, it contained enough truth about the real Mary that the Weeks family took offense at the book's depiction and made her leave the plantation. The author and her white employer, Julia Peterkin, achieved literary fame in her time for this work, a previous collection of short stories, and the 1927 fictional account of a male employee on her land, *Black April.* Yet, despite acclaim from the publishing world for her unique ability to write about rural southern blacks with such sensitivity, and criticism from the white supremacist South for having portrayed blacks as fully human, Julia Peterkin's writings, extraordinary for her time and place, were forgotten.

Susan Millar Williams, in *A Devil and a Good Woman, Too: The Lives of Julia Peterkin,* provides historians of the South, women, and literature with a well-researched, fine study of a paradoxical woman who, until she began writing at the age of forty, lived a fairly conventional life as a wealthy South Carolina matron on her husband's plantation. At that point, her years of experience observing, befriending, and working with the community of African Americans who labored on the coastal lands of Lang Syne led her to write about their lives in such a way that, at first, no one could discern Peterkin's race. No one before had conveyed the rich, textured lives of rural southern black people, nor had any writer successfully rendered their Gullah language into print. And certainly no white southerner of either sex had ever appreciated and written about black culture as equally valuable and complex as the dominant white race.

Peterkin's stories and novels made her a celebrity, brought her into the glitzy New York publishing circles, and led to friendships with such eminences as H. L. Mencken, whom she considered the "father" of her books. Her connections in the greater world beyond South Carolina also changed her life in other ways. She met a younger man, Irving Fineman, who fascinated her. Several years later, they embarked upon a long term, long distance love affair. However, Peterkin kept this intense relationship hidden from her family and refused to divorce her husband despite Irving's pleas. Williams discovered their intimate relationship in letters written over the course of many years.

After the astonishing success of *Scarlet Sister Mary,* Julia Peterkin wrote *Bright Skin,* published in 1932, her final novel about blacks. Williams described another manuscript that Peterkin labored over, wrote and rewrote about whites and their lives, but, the author asserts, Peterkin failed miserably in her efforts to write com-

pellingly of the planters because she could not bring herself to confront her own complicity in white supremacy. She could never stretch that far. Only in the Gullah voice of her black servants could Julia Peterkin find her own voice, Williams argues. However, Peterkin's literary racial progressivism did not last. She returned to her conservative southern elite roots, her radical renditions of African American life ended, and, according to her biographer, Julia Peterkin faded into obscurity and was lost to history. Williams argues that her decline from prominence resulted when the racially progressive circles she moved in eventually rejected her for her conservatism, and South Carolina, ashamed of her because of her early books' serious, humane depiction of blacks, gladly forgot this particular native daughter. Now, in this volume, Julia Peterkin, is brought to life and to the attention of scholars and the public. She is well worth meeting.

Jacksonville State University SUZANNE MARSHALL

Southern Odyssey: Selected Writing by Sherwood Anderson. Edited by Welford Dunaway Taylor and Charles E. Modlin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997. xxv, 251 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, chronology, notes, index. $29.95 cloth.)

Sherwood Anderson was one of those American writers most often associated with a very particular time and place – in his case with the Midwest in the early years of this century. First gaining renown as a short story writer, Anderson found some commercial success as a novelist in the 1920s. When another midwestern writer, Ernest Hemingway, praised Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio,* Anderson came to be seen as a major figure in American letters. The subsequent decline in his literary fortunes (including a vicious parody by Hemingway) seemed for some to call into question the significance of his contribution. This volume by two of the most important Anderson scholars, Welford Dunaway Taylor, Bostwick Professor of English at the University of Richmond, and Charles E. Modlin of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, presents a collection of Anderson's later work, much of which was written in or about the South. While not claiming Anderson as a "southern writer," the authors do manage to alter the narrow context in which Anderson has often been lodged.

There are some pieces here that are small, unpretentious, and astonishingly good and some which are just the opposite.

Anderson had a sentimental attachment to the South from his childhood. His father claimed to be connected to an old *southern* family – a claim made by characters in several Anderson novels. While his father's claim may have been more wished for than real, Anderson never forgot it, and when he set out to change his life in 1924, he moved to the South and lived first in New Orleans for a brief time, and then in Virginia where he bought a farm and eventually purchased both newspapers in the small town of Marion.

The book makes clear Anderson's talent as a journalist; in fact, the most effective pieces in this book are non-fiction. A series on southern labor issues, like "Lumber Camp," "O Ye Poets," and "Night," are clear, compelling, and concrete. He keeps the focus on the real and refrains from generalizing. His style works best in this kind of work– indeed Orwell would have found this prose as "clear as a windowpane." His sympathies are manifest without becoming maudlin, and he allows the reader to confront the world he presents without the interference of a omniscient and intrusive interpreter. For the historian or the general reader these pieces are useful in reflecting upon the individual impact of real events.

Unfortunately, the excerpts from his fiction– even the short fictional pieces that were published in newspapers– do not fare as well. There is a portion of a chapter from *Dark Laughter,* the first of his novels with significant southern content, which now seems sadly dated in style and content as well as overtly racist. Anderson tries to create a textured southern landscape and instead sounds like one of those travel pieces from the turn of the century in which tourists are invited to hear the gentle darkies singing down by Ole Man River.

Taylor and Modlin make clear in their excellent introduction that they do not claim that Anderson was a "southern writer." Indeed, this book may be most useful in illustrating the difference between literature that happens to be set in a particular location and work in which language, character, landscape, and texture create a very particular world. The closest Anderson comes to doing this is in the Midwest of *Winesburg, Ohio.* His southern pieces, except for an embarrassingly florid piece on New Orleans, could be located anywhere.

It is somewhat dangerous to comment on the racial attitudes of writers from the past. The editors here make the best case one can for Anderson – that he was sympathetic to African Americans even while stereotyping them as noble savages deeply in touch with the "natural life." Certainly Anderson lacks any real knowledge of the external or internal lives of African Americans in the South during this period.

Southern Odyssey is a well-edited and thoughtful book that should be very useful to Anderson scholars and to those interested in defining what southern writing is and is not in the twentieth century.

University of South Carolina Thorne Compton

"We *Ain't What* We Was": *Civil Rights in the New South.* By Frederick M. Wirt. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997. xix, 286 pp. Table of contents, list of figures and tables, foreword by Gary Orfield, acknowledgments, appendices, notes, index. $49.94 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

"We Ain't What We Was" attempts to accomplish two separate tasks. First, it is an in-depth examination of Panola County, Mississippi, and the changes in its citizens and institutions over a quarter of a century as the result of implementation of federal civil rights laws. Second, it treats Panola County as a metaphor for change throughout the South. The first task is very well accomplished. The attempt to link change in Panola County to regional change is only partially successful.

In the late 1960s Frederick Wirth began a series of field trips to the Black Belt county. His interviews with blacks and whites and his observations of that period were the basis of his work, *The Politics of Southern Equality.* They form the benchmark material against which change in the county is evaluated.

Wirt's second foray into the county began in 1989. He conducted almost one hundred interviews with blacks and whites from a wide variety of educational and occupational backgrounds. In addition, a sample of 1,200 students in the county's three public school districts completed questionnaires about their racial and political attitudes, and a content analysis was conducted on the weekly newspapers going back to 1960. Local histories were also examined.

The assessment of change within the South is based on statistical analyses and on a review of recent literature focusing on political, social, and economic changes in the region. The literature cited is rather limited in scope, and the author too selective in its use and too far reaching in his conclusions. For example, he argues that private school attendance is not as great as many authors suggest, but his evidence for this statement is one study; alternative in-

terpretations are not footnoted. Most of the studies he examines focus on separate aspects of southern politics in broad overview. Few are state-specific examinations of recent history and politics.

Despite the author's failure to adequately document southern-wide interpretations, the examination of Panola County is fascinating and makes the book worthwhile reading. Wirt documents the fact that the civil rights laws of the sixties resulted in an evolutionary change in basic attitudes in Panola County. These attitude changes extend across age cohorts and affect the operation of political, economic, and educational institutions. They represent more positive views of other racial groups, acceptance of change as both inevitable and in many ways desirable, and a turning away from confrontational decision making to coalition building.

An important aspect of change has been the shift in political power from whites to blacks made possible by the federal legislation extending voting rights. As black voters grew in number, white candidates began to court their votes. Initially, black leaders endorsed those white candidates who approached them for support and promised to represent the interests of black constituents. As blacks gained political confidence and voting numbers, they began to run for office, and finally, to win office.

Change was aided by another set of federal legislation as well – the anti-poverty programs of the Great Society and various intergovernmental grant-in-aid programs supportive of economic development. The anti-poverty programs improved economic conditions of the poor, white and black, while the economic development monies benefitted communities willing to accept color-blind decision making by local government officials supported by the business community. Legislation outlawing racial discrimination in hiring and promotion practices, affirmative action programs, and desegregated educational institutions further improved the everyday life of Panola County's citizens.

Wirt is able to document change throughout Panola County even though the county has had two separate cultural traditions (one more agricultural, the other more urban and industrial). Change has been faster in the more urban-industrial area, but the agricultural society has changed as well.

The book is suitable for a general readership as well as specialists in southern history and politics.

Auburn University, Montgomery ANNE PERMALOFF

BOOK NOTES

New Titles

Civil War Stories. By Catherine Clinton. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998. Pp. 144. $14.95 paper.)

The significance of the Civil War in American history stretches far beyond the period's various sieges and campaigns. Catherine Clinton's slender but rich new work is composed of three essays which explore the social repercussions of America's greatest conflict. The essays, which were originally prepared for the 1996 Averitt Lecture Series at Georgia Southern University, examine the wartime divisions between two sisters, the postwar fate of southern orphans, and the means by which South Carolina women (black and white) came to understand the war in its aftermath.

Georgia Odyssey. By James C. Cobb. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998. Pp. 168. $12.00 paper.)

Cobb's book proves that state histories do not have to be the stuff of graduate student nightmares. Clear, fast-paced, and thoroughly engaging, it is the sort of work that reminds readers of the narrative power of well-written history. In chronicling Georgia's development from its days under the Union Jack to its recent raising of the Olympic flag, Cobb intentionally uses broad strokes. The result is an expansive mural that allows readers to see the connections between such historically distant figures as George Whitefield and Martin Luther King Jr.

Chained to the Rock of Adversity: To Be Free, Black, & Female in the Old South. Edited by Virginia Meacham Gould. Southern Voices From the Past: Women's Letters, Diaries, and Writings Series. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998. Pp.168. $17.50 paper.)

"I write you these few lines to let you know that we are all just tolerable, for I can't say well, for we are not, for Ossy, he has got the mumps." It is the sort of opening that many a nineteenth-century southern woman might have penned to a friend or family member. And, indeed, Emma Hoggatt— the letter's author— was a southern

wife and mother, but she was also a free black woman, and, as such, not at all typical in the antebellum South. *Chained to the Rock of Adversity* is a collection of letters and diary entries chronicling the lives of two free black families in pre- and post-Civil War Natchez, Mississippi.

Theodore O'Hara: Poet-Soldier of the Old South. By Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes Jr. and Thomas Clayton Ware. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998. Pp. 224. $32.00 cloth.)

Ever since Homer poets have immortalized warfare in verse. Few poets, however, have themselves chosen to take up the martial spear. Theodore O'Hara was both a composer of Mars-inspired poetry and a Confederate Army volunteer. Born in Kentucky in 1820 to first-generation Irish immigrant parents, O'Hara's restless spirit led him through a number of careers including teacher, lawyer, and newspaper editor. His success as a poet was, like all his undertakings, uneven. "The Bivouac of the Dead" published in 1850 and later used to memorialize soldiers slain in the Civil War remains his signature work.

Reprints

Letters of a Civil War Nurse: Cornelia Hancock, 1863-1865. Edited by Henrietta Stratton Jaquette. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. Pp. 184. $9.95 paper.)

The American image of the benevolent field nurse is largely a product of the Civil War efforts of Clara Barton and other "angels of the battlefield." Cornelia Hancock, who served as a Union nurse from Gettysburg until the end of the war, compiled an exemplary service record, but more than that, she brought a genuine compassion to the bloody field hospitals. Her letters reveal much about the life conditions (or semblance thereof) on the front lines. Hancock's Quaker background inspired an abhorrence of war (she referred to it as "the business of maiming men") which is evident throughout her correspondence.

Turned Inside Out: Recollections of a Private Soldier in the Army of the Potomac. By Frank Wilkeson. (1886; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. Pp. 255. $11.95 paper.)

In his introduction to Frank Wilkeson's 1886 Civil War memoir, historian James McPherson explains that the book's modern title refers to what was done to the pockets of dead soldiers by "battlefield ghouls." It is an eerie visual that reflects the author's macabre landscape. Wilkeson joined the Army of the Potomac near the war's end, but still managed to see combat in both the Wilderness Campaign and the Battle of Petersburg. His descriptions of battlefield carnage– like those in Remarque's *All Quiet On the Western Front*– remain among the most terrifying ever written.

New in Paperback

The Citizen Soldier: The Memoirs of a Civil War Volunteer. By John Beatty. (1879; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. Pp. 393. $16.00 paper.)

Bankers, by and large, are not given to snap decisions. However, when John Beatty learned of President Lincoln's post-Fort Sumter call for military volunteers, he placed his brother in charge of the family bank, raised a company of men, bid farewell to his wife, and arrived at Fort Jackson in Columbus, Ohio– all within a week. Soon after he was mustered out, Beatty began keeping a private diary. His keen observations on everything from troop movements to mosquitoes make his memoir a worthwhile read, but it is his reflections on the war itself (he called it "a blind and uncertain game at best") that lend the work a special significance.

The Confederacy's Greatest Cavalryman: Nathan Bedford Forrest. By Brian Steel Wills. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. Pp. 480. $19.95 paper.)

In Brian Steel Wills's thoroughgoing biography, Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest is described as an "enormously complicated individual." And, indeed, Forrest's mighty oak-like rise from the Tennessee backwoods to the height of Memphis society suggests a certain complexity of character. But, overall, Forrest wore his emotions– and his prejudices– on his sleeve. On the battlefield, Forrest's men feared his wrath more than the enemy and their sworn obedience to him resulted in both inspired combat (Battle of Brice's Cross Roads) and ignominious slaughter (Ft. Pillow Massacre).

HISTORY NEWS

Conferences

"PLANTERS IN PARADISE: FLORIDA'S PLANTATION ECONOMY

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

April 29-May 1, 1999
Daytona Beach Holiday Inn
Sunspree Resort

Room Rate: $72.00, Single or Double

Call for Papers

The annual meeting of the Florida Conference of Historians will be held in Fort Myers, April 15-17, 1999. This year's conference theme is "History Rejuvenated: Trends, Themes, and Interpretations." Paper proposals from all areas are welcome. The deadline for paper proposals is February 25, 1999. For more information, contact Dr. Irvin D. Solomon, History Program Director, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Meyers, Florida 33965-6565, phone (941) 590-7176, or e-mail: irvs@fgcu.edu.

Lecture Series

The Florida Lecture Series at Florida Southern College in Lakeland will host a trio of distinguished speakers beginning in January. On January 28, Steven B. Rogers, Senior Historian for the United States Justice Department, will deliver a speech entitled "The United States' Search for Gold and Other Stolen Assets." On February 25, retired civil rights leader Robert W. Saunders will be featured in a conversational program. And on March 25, Doris Weatherford, Professor of Women's Studies at the University of South Florida, will deliver a speech exploring the women's suffrage movement in Florida.

Awards

The Florida Historical Society is currently accepting nominees for essay prizes to be awarded at the 1999 Annual Meeting.

The Leroy Collins Graduate Essay competition is open to all graduate students in all universities. Eligible are papers written on Florida history topics which are the result of in-class assignments. The papers must be properly footnoted, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed in the calendar year prior to the submission date. The award for this category is $200 and a plaque.

The Carolyn Mays Brevard Undergraduate Essay competition is open to all undergraduate students in all universities, colleges, and community colleges. Papers are to be written on Florida history topics, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed within the calendar year prior to the submission date. The prize consists of a $200 stipend and a plaque.

The Frederick Cubberly High School Essay competition is open to all high school students in Florida in grades 8-12. The papers are to be written on Florida history topics, be the result of in-class assignments, be properly footnoted, show evidence of substantial scholarship, and be completed within the calendar year prior to the submission date. The Cubberly award carries a $250 stipend and a plaque.

The procedures for submitting papers for consideration are the same in all three above categories. Applicants should send five (5) copies of their paper, along with a cover letter detailing the class for which it was written, and a resume. A valid telephone number and address should be included. The awards will be made at the Society's annual banquet in April 1999 in Daytona Beach and the winner is expected to attend. Entries should be mailed to: The Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, Florida, 32935, and must be received by 5:00 p.m. on March 15, 1999.

Patrick D. Smith, author of the award-winning historical novel *A Land Remembered,* has been selected for induction into the Florida

Artists Hall of Fame during 1999. Established in 1986, the Florida Artists Hall of Fame is the highest and most prestigious cultural honor bestowed upon an individual artist. Smith is the author of five other novels, numerous short stories, essays and articles. He currently resides in Merritt Island.

Exhibits and Tours

Historical Museum of Southern Florida's Historic Tours

Bonnet House/Ft. Lauderdale Beach Bus Tour, March 27, 1999, 10:00 a.m.

Brickell Avenue Walking Tour, April 11, 11:00 a.m.

Historic Gesu Church Tour, April 15, 4:00 p.m.

"Art Deco on the Bay" Boat Tour, April 18, 10:00 a.m.

"On the Road to Cutler" Bus Tour, May 2, 10:00 a.m.

Coconut Grove Walking Tour, May 8, 10:00 a.m.

Miami River Boat Tour, May 23, 10:00 a.m.

Metrorail Tour of Greater Miami, June 12, 10:00 a.m.

Stiltsville/Key Biscayne Twilight Boat Tour, June 27, 5:00 p.m.

For further information on these and other creative tours call (305) 375-1625 or contact by e-mail: marketing@historical-museum.org.www.historical-museum.org.

The Jay I. Kislak Foundation has completed plans for a traveling exhibit designed to celebrate the cultural history of Florida and the Caribbean. *"Continuity and Change"* will present the art, music, literature, crafts and cultural artifacts of Florida, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and the Bahamas and explore the ongoing process of adaption, assimilation, interpretation, and invention that is the essence of the American cultural experience. Further information on this exhibit or on the Kislak Foundation is available through their website: http://www.jayikislakfoundation.org.

The Sixth Annual International Miami Map Fair will be held at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida, Miami, February 6-7, 1999. The Fair will feature workshops and lectures, panel discussions, and antique maps for sale by prominent international dealers. The keynote speaker will be Philip Burden, author of *The Mapping of North America*. To obtain registration materials or information on general admission call (305) 375-1492 or e-mail your request to mapfair@historical-museum.org.

Booksellers from Maine to Illinois, from Maryland to Florida will be displaying thousands of books, maps, documents and other ephemera at the Fifth Annual Antiquarian Book Fair February 12, 13, and 14, 1999. The fair will be held at the Village Antiques Mall, 405 N. Highland Street, Mount Dora. The fair begins at 5:00 p.m. on Friday, February 12, and runs until 9:00 p.m. Sessions on Saturday and Sunday and run from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. and from 12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. respectively. Admission for all persons over 12 is $2.00, except for $5.00 early admission on Friday, which is good for all three days. Part of the admission goes to benefit the W. T. Bland Public Library.

The Koreshan Unity Foundation, Inc., recently donated some 900 artifacts to the state park at Estero that was once the site of the turn-of-the-century utopian Koreshan Settlement. The artifacts have been on loan and housed in various historic buildings at the park for over 35 years. The Koreshan settlement in Estero is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. For further information on the Koreshan State Historic Site contact the park manager at (941) 992-1607.

A series of six programs and a traveling exhibit, exploring the "Back to Africa" movement of the 1890s will be presented in north central Florida towns from September 1998 through 1999. The programs, funded by a grant from the Florida Humanities Council and sponsored by the Matheson Historical Center, will be presented by scholars in black history. Each lecture will focus on different aspects of the movement and will be accompanied by a traveling exhibit. For further information on scheduled dates and towns contact the project director at (352) 475-2670.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
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 $25, 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) 690-1971; Fax: (407) 690-0099; E-mail: wynne@metrolink.net. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should also be directed to Dr. Wynne.