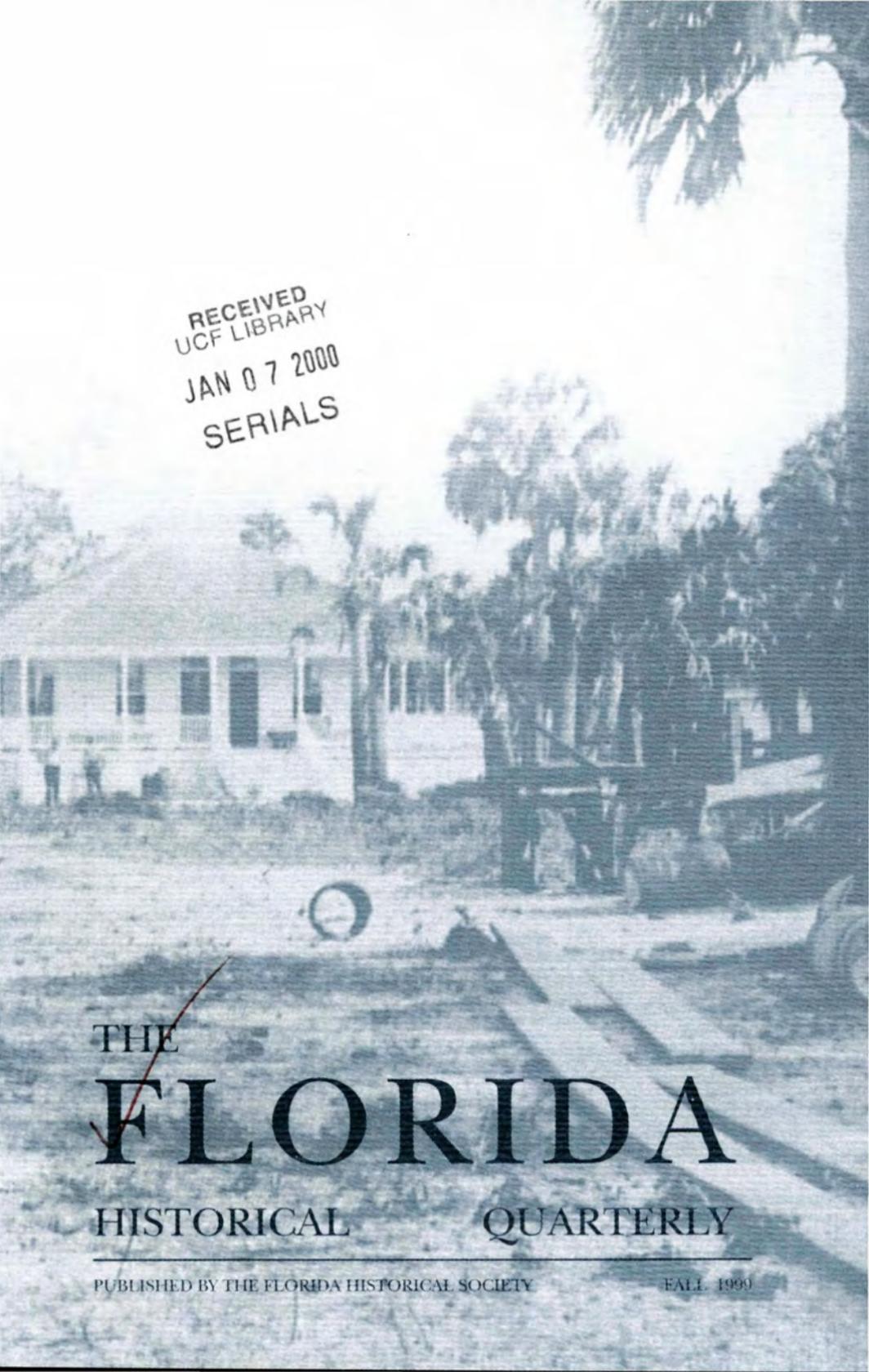


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**FLORIDA**  
HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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FALL 1999

#### COVER

Work crews construct two homes for lighthouse keepers on Ancote Keys, 1887. *Photograph courtesy of the National Archives and Record Service, Washington, D.C.*

# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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# Table of Contents

## ANLCOTE KEYS LIGHTHOUSE: GUIDING LIGHT TO SAFE ANCHORAGE

*Geoffrey Mohlman* 159

## UNMASKED: THE AUTHOR OF *NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE TO THE SPANISH MAIN IN THE SHIP "TWO FRIENDS"*

*Patrick W. Doyle* 189

## GIVEAWAY FORTS: TERRITORIAL FORTS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF FLORIDA

*Ernest F. Dibble* 207

|                                |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| BOOK REVIEWS .....             | 234 |
| BOOK NOTES .....               | 264 |
| HISTORY NEWS .....             | 269 |
| DIRECTORS MEETING MINUTES..... | 274 |
| A GIFT OF HISTORY .....        | 289 |

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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## Anclote Keys Lighthouse: Guiding Light To Safe Anchorage

by GEOFFREY MOHLMAN

Lighthouse. The term conjures mixed images—from the romantic to the horrific—of solitude, dense fog, blood-thirsty ghosts seeking revenge, gold-hungry pirates, reliability, safety, kissing lovers silhouetted by a beautiful sunset, or of a light keeper fighting the frigid raging waters of the North Atlantic in a seemingly futile attempt to save a shipwrecked damsel. Thanks to films such as John Carpenter's *The Fog* or Steve Sekely's 1963 science fiction classic *Day of the Triffids*, many of these visions persist in the American imagination. Although the noted lighthouse historian Francis Ross Holland Jr. asked forgiveness "for puncturing a few balloons of [lighthouse] romance," the balloons that remained afloat are as important as those that crashed to the ground.<sup>1</sup>

Lighthouses stimulated the development of Florida by providing safe passage to the ships and boats that brought goods and people to the land of flowers. When the United States acquired Florida, lighthouses helped guide the territory from an ailing Spanish outpost to one of the nation's most prosperous states during the twentieth century. Anclote Keys gave birth to a lighted aid to navigation in the middle of the country's lighthouse experience. Located on Florida's Gulf Coast near Tarpon Springs, Anclote Keys lighthouse embodies some romantic notions of lighthouses while refuting others. As the government erected the lighted beacons, the structures and the people who tended them became intimately linked to the communities that developed around the aids to navigation. The government intended Anclote Keys lighthouse to function as a small coastal light and as a marker for the Anclote River. Its importance grew during the early part of the twentieth century when Tarpon Springs entered the world market as the largest producer of sponges. The light served as a beacon to weary spongers returning from months at sea. The light keepers, when not conducting routine maintenance upon

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Geoffrey Mohlman is an architectural historian for Southeastern Archaeological Research, Inc.

1. Francis Ross Holland Jr., *America's Lighthouses* (New York, 1988), ix.

the lighthouse, saved stranded boaters and served as tour guides to visitors interested in the light. Sadly, as improvements in lighthouse technology improved after World War II and Tarpon's sponge industry suffered setbacks, Anclote's lighthouse importance waned. Finally, in 1985 the Coast Guard decommissioned the lighthouse, but Tarpon Springs residents rallied to save the structure. Today, Anclote Keys lighthouse is a shell of its former self, but the battle continues to return the structure to its days of glory.

Though the Spanish invaded Florida in 1513 and established a permanent settlement nearly fifty years later, the state has a young legacy of lighthouse development. Rumors persist that the Spanish used watchtowers at St. Marks and St. Augustine as lighthouses sometime before 1819; however, little evidence exists backing such suppositions.<sup>2</sup> A structure that might have been used as an aid to navigation definitely existed in St. Augustine, but the question remains whether the Spanish operated it as a harbor beacon or a watchtower. This dearth of lighthouses is astounding considering that today Florida, a 58,560-square-mile peninsula with more than 1,000 miles of coast, is home to over thirty lighthouses.<sup>3</sup>

After the United States wrested control of Florida away from Spain in 1821, the federal government began constructing masonry lighthouses around the peninsula's 1,300-mile coastline, the first being at St. Augustine. As early as 1822, the government authorized a lighthouse survey of Florida, sparking the erection of aids to mariners along the keys. Even with this small building boom, Florida's lighthouse construction lagged behind that of the Northeast due to its small population—in 1821 Florida had less than 8,000 residents—and weak political influence at the federal level. Additionally, many parts of Florida, because of the lack of bedrock and the threat of hurricanes, presented an obstacle not overcome by engineers until 1836. Masonry structures were practical for sections of Florida but left much to be desired in other areas. When Englishman Alexander Mitchell designed a structure made of iron piles screwed into the sand, lighthouse engineers in Florida and other Gulf Coast states breathed a sigh of relief. The technology was imported to Florida and resulted in the erection of twelve screwpile lighthouses, the first being Carysfort Reef Lighthouse in

2. David L. Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico* (Alexandria, 1997), 1; Elinore DeWire, *Guide to Florida Lighthouses* (Englewood, 1987), 10-11.

3. Michael Gannon, *Florida: A Short History* (Gainesville, 1993), 34.

1852. Following closely on the heels of Carysfort Reef, the government established an iron screwpile lighthouse on Sand Key in 1853. The first Gulf Coast screwpile lighthouses were built at Galveston Bay, Texas, in 1854.<sup>4</sup>

Technological innovations such as screwpile lighthouses spurred the development of Florida's lighthouses. An 1851 federal government survey recommended building lighthouses fifty miles apart, allowing a mariner to travel the entire Gulf Coast in sight of a lighthouse. Old lights were gradually outfitted with Fresnel lenses and new lighthouses begun. Developed by the French physicist Augustin Fresnel in 1822, the Fresnel lens consisted of prisms that gathered the previously unused rays of light into a single beam, magnifying many times their original intensity. Fresnel could control the strength of the light thus creating a range of lenses. A first-order lens was the most powerful and the sixth-order lens, utilized predominantly in harbor lights, the weakest. Because it produced a far superior range and intensity of light than that of other contemporary light technology, Europeans quickly adopted the Fresnel lens. Not until the organization of the Light-House Board in 1852 did the United States actively pursue the use of the Fresnel lens.

The Civil War brought a halt to lighthouse construction throughout the South, and the Light-House Board did not get back on track until the 1870s. Along with screwpile lighthouses, the introduction of cast-iron skeletal structures in 1873 in Louisiana caused a rebirth of lighthouse construction. By 1887, the United States had a total of 899 lighthouses and lighted beacons, with twenty lighthouses in the Seventh District (the district including Anclote Keys). Two years later Florida boasted twelve first-order lights, more than Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York combined.<sup>5</sup> In all, the federal government built

4. Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico*, 7, 24, 29; DeWire, *Guide to Florida Lighthouses*, 10-15; Cannon, *Florida*, 30; Holland, *America's Lighthouses*, 120-21, 131; Dean Love, *Lighthouses of the Florida Keys* (Key West, 1992), 91, 98-100; Kevin M. McCarthy, *Florida Lighthouses* (Gainesville, 1990), 1-2; National Maritime Initiative, *1994 Inventory of Historic Light Stations* (Washington, 1994), 51, 58.

5. Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico*, 7-9, 20-21; DeWire, *Guide to Florida Lighthouses*, 10; D. P. Heap, *Ancient and Modern Light-Houses* (Boston, 1889), 161; Holland, *America's Lighthouses*, 18-23; United States Treasury Department, Light-House Service, Light-House Board, *Annual Report of the Light-House Board to the Secretary of the Treasury for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1887* (Washington, 1887), 7, 12, 65 (hereafter USLHB, *Annual Report*).

thirty-seven Florida lighthouses, with thirty-three (including rear range lights) standing today. Of the state's lighthouses still in existence, four were lit between 1800 and 1849, twenty-three between 1850 and 1899, and six between 1900 and 1949. Yet because of storms and shifting sands, many lights had to be rebuilt; much of this work occurred during the latter half of the nineteenth century. With advancements in technology, especially the adaption of electricity and the development of lenses powered by light bulbs instead of oil wicks, lightkeepers' jobs were slowly phased out. As the twentieth century and its lighthouse automation technology matured into adulthood, it was no longer necessary to have full-time keepers living on the lighthouse reservation, filling the lamps with oil, trimming the wicks, and lighting the lamps. Automation of Florida's lights was a twentieth-century phenomenon. Seven lighthouses were automated between 1900 and 1949 and nineteen since 1950.<sup>6</sup>

Anclote Keys lighthouse bore witness to many of these technological advancements. Lying in the Gulf of Mexico off Florida's west coast, Anclote Keys (a cluster of islands that includes Anclote Key, North Anclote Key, North Keys, and Dutchman Key) is approximately seven miles west of Tarpon Springs, a community known for its Greek population and the sponge industry. Anclote Key, the main island where the lighthouse stands, consists of approximately 180 acres and is 2.5 miles long. Presently, Pinellas and Pasco Counties split the island, with the lighthouse reservation on the southern end falling in Pinellas and the rest of the island in Pasco.<sup>7</sup> The only known inhabitants of the island included seventeenth-century pirates and the lighthouse keepers.<sup>8</sup>

The Spanish term "Anclote" means "safe anchorage," denoting the protected sound east of the keys. In 1682, two hundred years

6. DeWire, *Guide to Florida Lighthouses*; Holland, *America's Lighthouses*, 212-13; National Maritime Initiative, *1994 Inventory of Historic Light Stations*, 47-64. The National Maritime Initiative does not list dates for automation of seven lights.

7. At present the island is only accessible by boat, although plans for a causeway connecting to the mainland have been discussed on and off since 1977.

8. Mark F. Boyd, "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (July 1936), 5; *St. Petersburg Times*, July 12, 1977; Neil Hurley, "Anclote Keys Light," c. 1990s, unpublished manuscript in author's possession; untitled and unauthored manuscript about Anclote Keys, Anclote Lighthouse History—letters file, Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society (hereafter TSAHS); United States National Park Service, Williamsport Preservation Training Center, *Anclote Key Light Station, Anclote Key, Pinellas County, Florida, Condition Assessment Report* (Frederick, Md., 1996), 13.

before the erection of the lighthouse, four hundred French and English pirates used the island as a base of operations, capturing seven trading ships and pillaging the countryside. These pirates even raided a Spanish fort at St. Marks, burning it to the ground. From their island base, the buccaneers plundered Florida's interior and took prisoners while planning to invade St. Augustine. Finally, a group of Timucua Indians overran the pirates at a hacienda along the Suwanee River, ending the band's reign of terror.<sup>9</sup>

Like the rest of Florida, Anclote Keys received consideration as a lighthouse contender only after the United States took control of the peninsula. The process moved slowly. In 1851, the newly formed Light-House Board proposed constructing a lighthouse with a first-order lens on Anclote Keys. Out of thirty-three recommended lights arranged in order of importance, Anclote ranked second to last. On December 10, 1856, the board applied for reservation of Anclote Keys for lighthouse purposes. Notwithstanding the low priority, the board's proposal prompted the Treasury Department to remove the keys from public sale in 1866, yet due to a technicality they were not officially withdrawn. On January 9, 1878, the islands were temporarily set aside by the Commissioner of the General Land Office from a request made by the Secretary of the Interior.<sup>10</sup>

Local agitation for an Anclote Keys lighthouse helped spur the Light-House Board to act on its previous recommendation. Captain Samuel Edward Hope moved to the mouth of the Anclote River in August 1878, and in time a village would form there called Anclote. A former land surveyor for the federal government and a veteran of the Third Seminole and Civil Wars, Hope ran and won a term in the state legislature in 1879. Serving on the Committee on

9. Boyd, "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache," 5; Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico*, 37; Allen Morris, *Florida Place Names* (Sarasota, 1995), 7.

10. Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico*, 37; Executive Order by President Grover Cleveland, February 1, 1886, Record Group 26 (RG 26), entry 66, box 34, file Anclote Keys Fla. 11/2, National Archives and Record Services; Peter C. Hains to Treasury Department, Light House Board, December 31, 1877, RG 26, entry 66, box 34, file Anclote Keys Fla 11/2; A. A. Jones to the Secretary of Commerce, circa 1914, RG 26, entry 50, box 1022, file 1624-1626; "Report of the Officers Constituting The Light-House Board, February 6, 1852," Serial Set 642, House Executive Documents No. 55, 32<sup>nd</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Volume 7, 1851-1852 (Washington, 1852), 128, 130.

Railroads and Canals, Hope wrote a resolution requesting Congress to build a lighthouse on Anclote Keys. On January 16, 1879, the resolution unanimously passed the Florida House. It took the federal government another eight years before it built the lighthouse.<sup>11</sup>

In 1884, the Light-House Board requested \$20,000 to erect a lighthouse on the south end of the key. On March 3, 1885, the board received from Congress a \$17,500 appropriation, but this was not enough to finish the job. Modeled after the iron skeletal lighthouse at Cape San Blas, Florida, which cost \$35,000, the proposed Anclote Keys lighthouse was more costly than the allocated amount. Consequently, the board asked Congress to set aside an additional \$17,500, which it received on August 4, 1886. During the interim, President Grover Cleveland, on February 1, 1886, declared Anclote Keys a permanent lighthouse reservation.<sup>12</sup> The reservation's legal description encompassed the entire main island currently known as Anclote Key.<sup>13</sup> Several months later the Light-House Board sent out bid requests on the metalwork for Anclote's lighthouse, and on October 13, 1886, Colwell Iron Works, in New York City, signed the contract for a sum of \$10,700, promising to deliver the material to the keys by March 1, 1887.<sup>14</sup>

From lumber to bricks, the federal government favored companies in New Orleans, Louisiana, when providing contracts for Anclote Keys. After receiving proposals for constructing the keep-

11. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of the State of Florida, at Its Tenth Session* (Tallahassee, 1879), 71; "Captain Samuel E. Hope," *Dixie*, April 17, 1915, 1; Joe Knetsch, "Forging the Florida Frontier: The Life and Career of Captain Samuel E. Hope," *The Sunland Tribune* 20 (November 1994), 32-38; "Samuel Edward Hope," c. 1919, Samuel E. Hope file, TSAHS; Gertrude K. Stoughton, *Tarpon Springs Florida: The Early Years* (Tarpon Springs, 1975), 4-5.

12. "Anclote Keys light-station, Fla.," RG26, clipping file; Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico*, 37; Executive Order by President Grover Cleveland, February 1, 1886; "\$17,500 in Annual Estimates 1886-7," RG26, entry 72, box 3, book 1; McCarthy, *Florida Lighthouses*, 97; Stoughton, *Tarpon Springs Florida*, 1975, 19; United States National Park Service, *Anclote Key Light Station, Anclote Key, Pinellas County, Florida, Condition Assessment Report*, 13.

13. Executive Order by President Grover Cleveland, February 1, 1886.

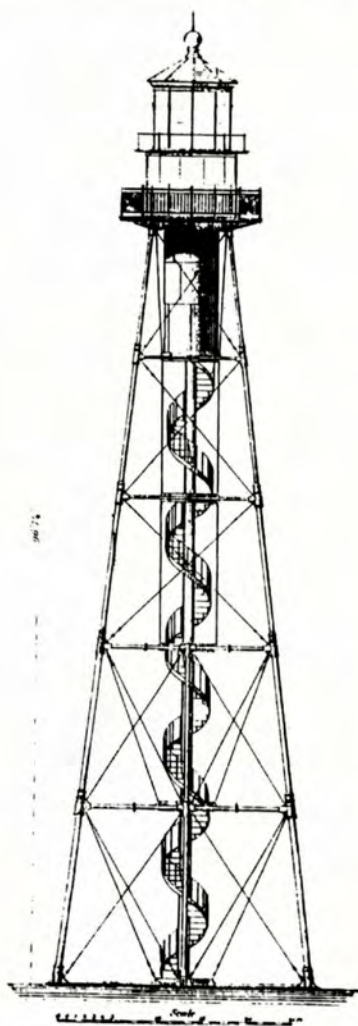
14. "Abstract of Lighthouse Contracts, Volume 2, 1877-1897," 95, RG26; "Anclote Keys light-station, Fla.," RG26, clipping file; Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico*, 37; "Metal-Work for Anclote Keys Light-House, Florida. September, 1886," Anclote Lighthouse History—letters file; Stoughton, *Tarpon Springs Florida*, 19.

ers' dwellings the government decided to contract for the lumber but hired local labor to build the structures and the outhouses. Things appear to have gone smoothly with this arrangement despite the initial construction proposals' inflated costs. The lighthouse tender *Arbutus* transported the work crews out to the southern portion of the south key where they erected the houses and poured the square concrete foundation for the lighthouse, but Colwell Iron Works failed to deliver the lighthouse materials by March 1. Three months later, in June 1887, the metal work arrived, but it took another month to get the materials on the island. Besides the two keepers' homes and the lighthouse, a wood oil house, wood boat house, wood wharf, and plank or shell walks were erected on the island. Finally, on September 15, 1887, Keeper James Gardner lit the light.<sup>15</sup>

Standing 103 feet tall, the lighthouse's design allows the winds and possible waves to pass through it with little resistance. Additionally, the cast-iron skeletal design reduced weight to a minimum, allowing a structure to be built in locations with shifting sands like Anclote Keys. The skeletal tower supports a central cylinder encasing the stairs leading to the lantern. Anclote is typical of other skeletal lighthouses, built upon a concrete foundation. Ralph Eshelman, a preeminent lighthouse historian, believes that workers sunk a twenty-one-foot caisson ten feet into the ground, filling it with Portland cement, thus establishing the central pier. They created seven more piers, forming the foundation for the erection of the lighthouse's central cylinder and the skeletal supports. The lighthouse was a brown pyramidal iron structure with a black lantern—the lantern is the section of the lighthouse housing the lens—consisting of a third-order Fresnel lens with a fixed white light and a red flash at thirty-second intervals. Its focal plane was 101½ feet above sea-level with a range of sixteen nautical miles.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, the two keepers' frame houses were one-story tall, had five rooms each, were painted white, and had green shutters. The houses were located approximately fifty feet northwest of the tower.

15. "Anclote Keys light-station, Fla." RG26, clipping file; Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico*, 37; Anclote Keys Lighthouse Logs, September 1887, RG26, entry 80, box 10, book 1; USLHB, *Annual Report*, 66, 69.

16. The focal plane is the height of the lighthouse, measured from the average high tide to the center of the light itself.



*Design for Proposed 3<sup>rd</sup> Order Light-House for Ancote Keys, Fla.*  
*7<sup>th</sup> Dist. 3 A*

NO. 21 1885  
 U.S. COAST GUARD

1885 design for proposed third lighthouse for Ancote Keys, Fla. Photograph courtesy of U.S. Coast Guard, Seventh District Office of Aids to Navigation, Miami, Fla.

Behind each house stood a 4000-gallon wood cistern raised two feet off the ground that collected rain water from the roofs.<sup>17</sup>

Anclote Keys lighthouse fell within the Light-House Board's Seventh District, which extended from Cape Canaveral, on the east coast of Florida, to the Perdido River, on the Gulf Coast of Florida. When the board constructed Anclote Keys' light, the Seventh District consisted of twenty lighthouses and lighted beacons with a light also under construction at Mosquito Inlet.<sup>18</sup> They intended the Anclote lighthouse as a small coastal light and a marker for the Anclote River. However, its importance grew during the early part of the twentieth century when the little town of Tarpon Springs entered the world market as the largest producer of sponges.<sup>19</sup>

The area that became Tarpon Springs was, like much of Florida, a sparsely populated frontier during the middle of the nineteenth century. The first white settlers to the area arrived in the late 1860s and 1870s. In 1881 Hamilton Disston bought four million acres of Florida real estate, including the area that became Tarpon Springs, for twenty-five cents an acre. The following year, Disston's employee, Major Mathew Robinson Marks, platted the town of Tarpon Springs, and people began arriving in the years to come, growing to five hundred people by 1891. While the settlement that became known as Anclote had a promising future in pioneer days, that changed in 1887 when the railroad arrived at Tarpon Springs, three miles east of Anclote. Following the discovery of sponges off Florida's west coast, John Cheyney founded the Rock Island

17. "Description of Light-House Tower, Buildings, and Premises at Anclote Keys, Florida, January 6, 1888," RG26, entry 63, box 5, volume 4, 1885-1889; Light-House Board, "Notice to Mariners, (No. 23, of 1887)," Anclote Lighthouse History—letters file; Richard Johnson, President, Egmont Key Alliance, to author; December 16, 1997; United States National Park Service, *Anclote Key Light Station, Anclote Key, Pinellas County, Florida, Condition Assessment Report*, 12-13; Charles Ledyard Norton, *A Handbook of Florida* (New York, 1891); Light-House Board, "Notice to Mariners, (No. 32, of 1887)," Anclote Lighthouse History—letters file. Cipra, *Lighthouses, Lightships, and the Gulf of Mexico*, 37, and National Maritime Initiative, *1994 Inventory of Historic Light Stations*, 48, state that the skeleton and cylinder were painted dark brown while the lantern was painted black. It appears that the Notice to Mariners' description was wrong. For an excellent detailed architectural description of the lighthouse consult United States National Park Service, Williamsport Preservation Training Center, *Anclote Key Light Station, Anclote Key, Pinellas County, Florida, Condition Assessment Report*.

18. Mosquito Inlet is known today as Ponce de Leon.

19. USLHB, *Annual Report*, 1887, 65; United States National Park Service, *Anclote Key Light Station, Anclote Key, Pinellas County, Florida, Condition Assessment Report*, 12.



of gathering sponges, through diving, would be a profitable technique to utilize in Florida. Consequently, Greek immigrants began arriving in Tarpon Springs in 1905, and two years later nearly 1,500 Greeks lived in or around the bustling town. For the next forty years, people would know Tarpon Springs as the "Sponge Capital of the World." During Tarpon Springs' hey day, the lighthouse on Anclote Keys served as a guiding light to the weary spongers. In 1947, a blight spread through the gulf's sponge beds, destroying Tarpon Springs' primary source of income. While the town survived, the sponge industry never recovered, and many of the townspeople turned to tourism to pay the bills.<sup>20</sup>

According to all available historical records, no women worked as keepers on the island.<sup>21</sup> Although the wives and children of keepers lived on the island and worked on the lighthouse, they were not official governmental employees. The duration that each of the station's five keepers worked on the island varied greatly, from James Gardner's seven months to Robert Meyer's thirty-five years. Meyer served two separate terms as the keeper on Anclote. His first stint totaled almost twenty-three years and his second term came to twelve years, eight months. Only Thomas Moody came close to Meyer, residing on Anclote for nine years. Like the keepers, the assistant keepers varied greatly in their stay on the key, with B. F. Meyer there only two months and T. G. Thompson there for ten years.<sup>22</sup>

Appointed on June 28, 1887, the first light keeper, James Gardner, took control of the island Wednesday, August 3, 1887, from Wright Schamburg, the engineer in charge. While the crews worked on the lighthouse, the keeper painted the boat, cleaned the house floors, and did various other jobs. By Sunday, Gard-

20. Norton, *A Handbook of Florida*, 237; "Report of Lieut. Col. W. H. H. Benyaured, Corps of Engineers, December 27, 1897," *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898, Report of the Chief of Engineers Part 2* (Washington, 1898), 1361-1362; *Sunland Tribune*, January 12 and May 25, 1878; Stoughton, *Tarpon Springs Florida*, 5-21; William N. Pantazes, "The Greeks of Tarpon Springs: An American Odyssey," *Tampa Bay History* 1 (Fall/Winter 1979), 24-31.

21. For a good review of women light keepers consult Mary Louise Clifford and J. Candace Clifford, *Women Who Kept the Lights*, (Williamsburg, 1993).

22. Neil E. Hurley, *Keepers of Florida Lighthouses, 1820-1939* (Camino, Calif., 1995), 15-16; Registers of Lighthouse Keepers, 1845-1912, 153, RG26, Microfilm Publication M1373, roll 3, North Carolina through Texas.

ner wrote "mosquitoes very bad, hot and sultry." In October the keepers could not work because the mosquitoes became so numerous and vicious, a common problem in Florida. On Anclote Keys the keepers eventually "live[d] in smoke" to fend off the insects while they were outfitting the houses with screens. The lens and lamp arrived on August 10, requiring the full attention of the keeper and Mr. Flanigan, the lampist, for the next week, putting it together and installing it in the lantern room.<sup>23</sup>

This small key played an important role in the lives of residents on the mainland. Assistant keeper Samuel E. Hope Jr. joined Gardner on August 26, 1887. Hope's father was Captain Samuel Hope, the state legislator who composed the bill requesting Congress to build a lighthouse on Anclote Keys. During September the keeper and his assistant spent nearly every day, except Sunday, which was a day of rest, putting the station in order. The two spread crushed shells out along the walkways between the houses and the lighthouse, built plank walks from the tower to the wharf and oil room, coal-tarred the railing around the watch room and tin gutters on houses, as well as painted and cleaned.<sup>24</sup>

Getting the station fully operational continued until the end of the year. In late October and November, the keepers cleared ground for a garden, built a fence around it, and shortly thereafter planted cabbages and tomatoes. To supplement their food supply further the men constructed a chicken house. In order to continue receiving provisions they rebuilt the wood wharf just a few months after it had originally been erected. Regular maintenance duties also began with dusting and polishing the lens, the spare lamp, and the plate glass, cleaning the lens carriage wheels, straightening up the houses, and painting the boat.<sup>25</sup>

23. Anclote Keys Lighthouse Log, August 1887, October 1887, February 1888, RG26, entry 80, box 10, book 1; Elinor DeWire, *Guardians of the Light* (Sarasota, 1995), 11; Hurley, *Keepers of Florida Lighthouses*, 15-16; *The Islander*, April 24, 1886. First quotation from August 1887, and second quotation from October 1887, Anclote Keys Lighthouse Logs, RG26, entry 80, box 10, book 1.

24. Anclote Keys Lighthouse Logs, August and September, 1887, RG26, entry 80, box 10, book 1.

25. *Ibid.*, August-December 1887, January 1888; "Description of Light-House Tower, Buildings, and Premises at Anclote Keys, Florida, January 6, 1888," RG26, entry 63, box 5, volume 4, 1885-1889.

## Anclote Keys Lighthouse Keepers &amp; Assistant Keepers

| Name                           | Position                         | Appointed  | Released        | Yearly Salary |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|
| James Gardner                  | Keeper                           | 6/28/1887  | 1/27/1888       | \$600         |
| Samuel E. Hope, Jr.            | Assistant Keeper                 | 7/25/1887  | 2/2/1888        | \$400         |
| "                              | Keeper                           | 2/2/1888   | 10/1/1889       | \$600         |
| Jordan W. Hope                 | Assistant Keeper                 | 2/16/1888  | 10/1/1888       | \$400         |
| James M. Baggett               | Assistant Keeper                 | 9/21/1888  | 10/1/1889       | \$400/450     |
| "                              | Keeper                           | 10/1/1889  | 6/30/1891       | \$600         |
| Robert S. Meyer                | Assistant Keeper                 | 10/10/1889 | 7/1/1891        | \$450         |
| "                              | Keeper                           | 7/1/1891   | 6/11/1914       | \$600/640/720 |
| T. G. Thompson                 | Assistant Keeper                 | 1891       | 1901            | unknown       |
| George M. Angus                | Assistant Keeper                 | 5/11/1892  | 4/1/1898        | \$490         |
| Thomas S. Coleman              | 1 <sup>st</sup> Assistant Keeper | 4/2/1898   | before 1901     | \$490         |
| B. F. Meyer                    | Assistant Keeper                 | 3/10/1901  | May 1901        | \$490         |
| John Peterson                  | Assistant Keeper                 | 4/15/1901  | 10/1/1904       | \$490         |
| David D. Klinger (or Kluigner) | Assistant Keeper                 | 4/15/1904  | February 1911   | \$490/570     |
| Osborn C. Johnson              | Assistant Keeper                 | 2/15/1911  | 6/30/1912       | \$576         |
| Clifton H. Lopez               | Assistant Keeper                 | 1913       | after July 1914 | \$504         |
| Thomas A. Moody                | Keeper                           | 6/11/1914  | 7/1/1923        | \$648         |
| Robert S. Meyer                | Keeper                           | 7/1/1923   | 2/28/1933       | \$900         |
| J. L. Pippin                   | Keeper                           | 2/28/1933  | unknown         | unknown       |

The primary source for this table is Hurley, *Keepers of Florida Lighthouses, 1820-1939*, 15-16. Also consult "Anclote Lighthouse Keepers," Anclote Lighthouse History-letters file; J. W. Fath to Gertrude K. Stoughton, June 25, 1971, Anclote Lighthouse History-letters file; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, February 7, 1933; Registers of Lighthouse Keepers, 99,153,156, 168, RG26, Microfilm Publication M1373, roll 3, North Carolina through Texas

Yet it was not all work and no play for the keepers. Although there is no mention of a member of a keeper's family residing on the island until November, four days before the first lighting of the lens, a large party visited the station. This soon became a weekly event. The largest group came from Clearwater and totaled forty people. Usually, the island received tourists on Sunday, sometimes two or three different groups on the same day. Between August 1887 and July 1888, more than forty parties journeyed to the key, including two appearances by Captain Hope, who came to see his son. During one week in March 1915, over one hundred people from twenty-one states and one country went to the island. Shortly after the turn of the century the keepers constructed a picnic area for use by both residents and tourists. Visitors made it to Anclote either by taking a steamer from Cedar Keys, sixty miles north of the

lighthouse, or by taking a stage coach from Tampa to Tarpon Springs and then riding in a small boat for six miles. Besides visits from pleasure seekers, the keeper received a total of nine separate work visits, mostly from lighthouse inspectors.<sup>26</sup>

With traffic from tourist craft and sponge boats, accidents occurred. Anclote keepers and their assistants helped stranded boaters and occasionally had the gruesome duty of retrieving drowned victims from the ocean. In one instance, in September 1918, Keeper T. A. Moody rescued two men from a capsized sloop and towed a sponge boat and a schooner back to safety after a hurricane ripped through the area. On January 2, 1933, twenty-one picnickers visiting the island were startled out of their New Year festivities when their boat exploded while docked at the lightstation's pier. Vasilios Christou, the boat's owner, suffered severe burns before jumping off the boat into the water. Keeper Robert Meyer telephoned Tarpon Springs, requesting help. A doctor and nurse had to be transported by boat to the island. After prepping the victim's burns, the doctor allowed a Coast Guard boat that happened to be nearby to transfer Christou and the tourists back to Tarpon Springs.<sup>27</sup>

The keeper and the assistant keeper occasionally left the island. From August to July, the keeper departed the island a total of fifty-five times, slightly more than once a week, journeying to Tarpon Springs, Anclote, Dunedin, and Yellow Bluff. The assistant keeper traveled to the mainland forty-seven times. For both men some of these trips were work related—picking up and dropping off mail, acquiring provisions, and filing monthly reports. Personal excursions off the island included attending church, voting, visiting family and friends, and conducting private business. Consequently, work occupied life on the island during most of the week, but weekends, especially Sundays, provided a respite from the daily toils with

26. Anclote Keys Lighthouse Logs, August 1887 to July 1888, RG26, entry 80, box 10, book 1; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, March 12, 1915; Betsy Tongay, unpublished autobiography about life on Anclote Keys, c. 1986, 4, lighthouses file #3, Hampton Dunn Collection, Special Collections, University of South Florida (hereafter USF).

27. *Tarpon Springs Leader*, January 3, 1933; R.S. Meyer to Superintendent of Lighthouses, Key West, Fl, January 2, 1933, RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E; *Lighthouse Service Bulletin*, December 2, 1918, 55-56, copy courtesy Neil Hurley in author's possession.

the arrival of tourists. Additionally, work trips to the mainland afforded lighthouse employees a chance to visit friends or family.<sup>28</sup>

Even with providing life saving help, the men at Anclote did not get rich from their service. During the early nineteenth century the average keeper in the United States received a miserable \$200 to \$250 a year, but by the 1850s, keepers' salaries rose to between \$400 and \$600 per annum. Congress controlled the pay of keepers, and by the Civil War they received a \$600 annual salary, remaining at that rate until the twentieth century. Working under a bifurcated pay system, the keepers received approximately \$200 more a year than their assistants.<sup>29</sup> Despite the impoverished salary, both received free room and board. Still, their provisions had to be supplemented by growing vegetables, raising hogs and chickens, fishing, and hunting. For the year 1902, the Light-House Board provided what it considered "good, substantial, and wholesome food" that included such staples as beef, pork, potatoes, sugar, and coffee and stressed that it in no way would pay for luxury food items.<sup>30</sup> The provisions and pay supported not only the keepers but their families as well.

At the light station family life flourished with marriages and births. Jordon Hope, an unmarried assistant keeper, left the island for Tarpon Springs on June 28, 1888, and came back the next day with his bride, A. M. Mickler. Wives were not the only family members to reside on the key. In 1887, Samuel Hope's sister, Clara, lived with him for several months until she married James Baggett on January 11, 1888. Light keeping also proved to be a perilous profession, and, sadly, deaths occurred. James Baggett took over as keeper on October 1, 1889, and in the log entry five days later, he wrote "[my] baby was taken very sick at 5 p.m." The following entry stated, "Baby boy died this morning at 2:30 o'clock. Keeper & wife went over to bury him today." Baggett returned to Anclote on October 8

28. Anclote Keys Lighthouse Logs, August 1887 to July 1888, RG26, entry 80, box 10, book 1; "Description of Light-House Tower, Buildings, and Premises at Anclote Keys, Florida, January 6, 1888," RG26, entry 63, box 5, volume 4, 1885-1889. In 1887 Yellow Bluff was a small community of 200 people located on the Gulf of Mexico about 24 miles northwest of Tampa. For more details on Yellow Bluff consult *Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1886-1887*, Florida State Gazetteer 1886-1887 excerpts historical file, Quintilla Geer Bruton Archives Center, Plant City, Fla.

29. Holland, *America's Lighthouses*, 43.

30. *Instruction to Light-Keepers: A Photoreproduction of the 1902 Edition of Instructions to Light-Keepers and Masters of Light-House Vessels* (Allen Park, 1989), 27, n.p. (last page of book).

and went to work the next day. In less than a year the Baggetts had an addition to their family. The Baggetts were not alone in their suffering. Assistant keeper George Angus died in 1897 from a fall on the island, and shortly thereafter his family moved to Key West.<sup>31</sup>

Risk of life and limb were not the only difficulties keepers confronted. Anclote Keys keeper Thomas Moody had an early run-in with bootlegging investigators. During the summer of 1920, O. P. Hilburn, Federal Prohibition Director of Florida, accused Moody of "manipulating the flashes of his light in such a manner as to signal smuggling vessels as to favorable opportunities for approaching the shore . . ."<sup>32</sup> By October William Demeritt, Superintendent of Lighthouses at Key West, had decided to "give this old employee the benefit of the doubt, but in the meantime . . . keep him under observation and should there be any occasion for it, further report will be made."<sup>33</sup> The federal government never proved its case against Moody.

Robert Meyer is an exception among Anclote keepers for longevity of service. Robert's uncle and father, Frederick and Benjamin Meyer, bought land from Captain Hope and moved their families in 1868 from Marion County to the north shore of the Anclote River. Shortly thereafter, yellow fever killed both men, but the families remained. Born on February 4, 1868, Robert Meyer spent nearly his entire life in the Tarpon Springs area, remaining until his death on January 31, 1945. Robert's first work experience on the island involved helping to construct the keepers' homes, work he performed along with his younger brother Wyatt. He began

31. Anclote Lighthouse Logs, November 1887, January 1888, June 1888, October 1889, August 1890, RG26, entry 80, box 10, book 1; James M. Baggett and Clara V. Hope, Marriage License, January 11, 1888, Hillsborough County Marriage Records, book G, p. 80, Special Collections, USF; Jordan W. Hope and Mrs. A. M. Mickler, Marriage License, June 28, 1888, Hillsborough County Marriage Records, book G, p. 149; McCarthy, *Florida Lighthouses*, 98-99; *St. Petersburg Times*, May 7, 1981; *The Suncoast News*, November 14, 1984; "Samuel Edward Hope," 244-45, Samuel E. Hope file; United States National Park Service, *Anclote Key Light Station, Anclote Key, Pinellas County, Florida, Condition Assessment Report*, 15. Two dates exist for Mr. Angus' death. Hurley, *Keepers of Florida Lighthouses, 1820-1939*, 15, and "Registers of Lighthouse Keepers," 99, state that Mr. Angus was "removed" in April 1, 1898. However, the *St. Petersburg Times*, May 7, 1981, date the death in 1897. A possible answer for the discrepancy might be that it took the government several months after Mr. Angus' death to remove him from its records.

32. Commissioner of Lighthouses, Washington, D.C., June 21, 1920, RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

33. William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, Washington, D.C., October 8, 1920, RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

working as a light keeper at the age of twenty-one, serving on the island for thirty-five years. His only break in service on the key came between 1914 and 1923 when he transferred as keeper of Anclote River lights. Because he took charge of the river lights, the pay of the new keeper and assistant keeper at Anclote Keys was cut to \$648 and \$504 respectively per annum.<sup>34</sup> Replacing Thomas Moody, Meyer returned as Anclote Keys keeper on July 1, 1923, after the light was converted from kerosene to acetylene gas. Because of the technological improvements of acetylene gas the lighthouse no longer needed to be attended during the night. Consequently, Meyer did not have an assistant, and he had the added responsibilities of caring for nine minor lights in the Anclote Anchorage and on the Anclote River. In return for the added work with less help, Meyer's pay increased to \$900 a year.<sup>35</sup>

Meyer's daughter, Betsy, had fond memories of the key, and her experiences most closely match the idealized notions of life for a keeper. For keepers the lighthouse was their job, but for children it was a huge toy, as revealed by Betsy Meyer's memory that "the tower, with its 105 steps stood sentinel over us all, even though I thought it was special playground equipment for me to walk and balance from one post to another." She ran up and down the stairs, only taking rests at the windows. Her father affectionately named her "Merry Legs" for all of her running. When not playing in the lighthouse, Betsy and her brother Gus traveled the beach, entertaining themselves with the numerous fiddler crabs that scurried away from their feet. At dusk, Mary would walk to the end of the dock and watch the "glorious sunset that made one know God was in his heavens and I, in my own small way, in mine."<sup>36</sup>

34. *Clearwater Sun*, November 5, 1984; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, January 17, 1914; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, January 27, 1914; Acting Commissioner of Lighthouses to Lighthouse Inspector, Key West, Florida, January 31, 1914; George Havenner to Commissioner of Lighthouses, February 17, 1914. All in RG26, entry 50, box 1022, file 1624-1626. George Havenner to Commissioner of Lighthouses, February 17, 1914, RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E; Stoughton, *Tarpon Springs Florida*, 6-7; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, February 7, 1933, and February 2, 1945. Tongay, untitled autobiography about life on Anclote Keys; untitled typed speech given on January 27, 1985, to the TSAHS, Meyer Family file, TSAHS.

35. Commissioner of Lighthouses to Secretary of Commerce, March 1, 1923; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, February 7, 1923; Form 80 "Recommendation as to Aids to Navigation," February 23, 1923. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1071E-1072C.

36. Tongay, untitled autobiography about life on Anclote Keys.

Like the personnel, the station underwent changes. In early January 1888, Captain W. L. Fisk, lighthouse engineer, and A. C. Bell, lighthouse surveyor, conducted the first of several inspections of Anclote Keys. Fisk described the key as a 177-acre island with an outer edge of white sand and shell and a marshy interior. Approximately 125 acres consisted of tress, mostly yellow pine, palmetto, mangroves, and cedar. He noted that the base of the lighthouse stood 242 feet beyond the high water mark. Fisk characterized the station as healthy, and, because of its newness, absent of disease.<sup>37</sup>

Between 1888 and 1893 only minor repairs occurred at the station. However, in 1894 the Light-House Board contracted out to build a new brick oil house. Although there are rumors that a cannon was placed on Anclote Keys to protect the island from an invasion during the Spanish-American War, there is no mention of it or of any Spanish attack in the *Annual Report of the Light-House Board* or in the Anclote Lighthouse Logs. Because of the salt air, the lighthouse and surrounding buildings required constant and regular upkeep. In 1899 workers added a kitchen to the "main dwelling," and an additional 200 feet was added to the wharf.<sup>38</sup>

On the eve of 1913, William Demeritt, Lighthouse Inspector from Key West, evaluated Anclote Keys. Due to erosion, only 82 feet of land lay between the lighthouse and the ocean. Unlike Fisk's 1888 report, Demeritt's observed that during rainy season malaria-infected mosquitoes from the island's brackish marsh threatened the keepers. Demeritt registered other routine repairs and the introduction of cement-curbed brick walks that replaced the worn out wood plank walks.<sup>39</sup>

Anclote Keys did not weather the Great Depression well. In 1931, William Demeritt reported the station in dismal condition. "This is the worse looking station in the district," he noted, "and it should be provided with modern conveniences and made compa-

37. Anclote Lighthouse Logs, January, 1888, RG26, entry 80, box 10, book 1; "Description of Light-House Tower, Buildings, and Premises at Anclote Keys, Florida, January 6, 1888," RG26, entry 63, box 5, volume 4, 1885-1889.

38. "Anclote Keys light-station, Fla.," RG26, clipping file; McCarthy, *Florida Lighthouses*, 98; Stoughton, *Tarpon Springs Florida*, 20.

39. "Description of Anclote Keys Light Station, Florida, December 31, 1912," RG26, entry 63, box 2, file Florida.

rable with every other station in the district."<sup>40</sup> In response, concrete cisterns replaced the worn out wood tanks, a concrete septic tank was built, new bathroom fixtures were installed, a chicken run erected, and the porches were screened.<sup>41</sup>

Along with the grounds of the station, the light went through many changes due in part to technological innovations since first being lit. Throughout the world, governments continually tested new technologies and alternative fuel sources to increase light intensity and to provide a more reliable and longer lasting energy source. In early 1888, the third-order light had a colored glass chimney flashing red every thirty seconds, taking six minutes to complete a revolution. Once wound, the clock lasted five hours, moving the entire Fresnel lens, but the keepers generally wound it every four hours. The French company Henry Lapante made the Fresnel lens in 1884.

A kerosene oil powered Funcks float lamp with two wicks produced the light, and the station had another lamp in reserve. The glass chimney dimmed the light, reducing the distance at which it could be seen by mariners. By 1913, instead of a red flash, Anclothe showed a white light from a 200,000 candle power incandescent oil vapor lamp, flashing white every thirty seconds. Five years later the light changed to a white group flash every thirty seconds. The light continued to be fueled by kerosene until June 1923 when it was converted to acetylene gas. On June 27, 1923, the government installed an electric generator for the dwellings, and four days later Robert Meyer returned as keeper, but without the help of an assistant keeper, whose position had been eliminated. The Coast Guard took control of all lighthouses in 1939, and on August 1, 1944, Captain William Wishar at the Coast Guard's Seventh District submitted a "Request for Work Authorization" to electrify the light. The Coast Guard also contemplated installing a 375-mm lens from a spare acetylene lantern, but neither change occurred. In 1944, one white flash every five seconds characterized the light. On April 23, 1963, the Coast Guard ordered the Anclothe light changed from acetylene to electric, increasing it to 25,000 candlepower but still utilizing the third-order lens. By 1970, the light underwent another change with a white flash every six seconds. One of the last changes

40. Form 80, "Recommendation as to Aids to Navigation," November 6, 1931, RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1071E-1072C.

41. *Ibid.*

before abandonment occurred in November 1976, when a 250-mm acrylic lantern replaced the Fresnel lens, reducing the nominal range of the light from 15 miles to 12 miles. In 1982 the Coast Guard replaced the 250-mm lens with a plastic 150-mm lens.<sup>42</sup>

A less obvious, but nonetheless important, change that had a tremendous impact upon Tarpon Springs' residents occurred when the federal government contemplated selling lands not in use by the lighthouse service. As early as 1914, the Department of the Interior probed the possibility of restoring to entry sections of Anclote Keys. Anclote was not alone in this sell off, for portions of Captiva Island, Amelia Island, Mosquito Inlet and St. Augustine lighthouse reservations, all in Florida, were considered for sale.<sup>43</sup>

But the wheels of bureaucracy turned slowly. In 1923 the Bureau of Lighthouses decided to put up for sale the major portion of Anclote Keys beginning 500 feet north of the lighthouse along with the three keys near the lighthouse. Possibly trying to cash in on Florida's land boom, the bureau also tried to rid itself of sections of

42. "Aids to Navigation Operation Request," April 23, 1963; J.R. Finelli to Commander, Seventh Coast Guard District, Miami, Fla., November 30, 1976, "Anclote Key Lt." historical file, U.S. Coast Guard, 7<sup>th</sup> District Office to Aids to Navigation, Miami, Fla.; and "Request for Work Authorization," August 1, 1944, copies courtesy Neil Hurley. "Description of Light-House Tower, Buildings, and Premises at Anclote Keys, Florida, January 6, 1888," RG26, entry 63, box 5, volume 4, 1885-1889; "Description of Anclote Keys Light Station, Florida, December 31, 1912," RG26, entry 63, box 2, file Florida; Mark G. Eckhoff to Gertrude K. Stoughton, June 2, 1971, Anclote Lighthouse History—letters file. Form 70, "Recommendation as to Aids to Navigation," October 19, 1911, and Form 80, "Recommendation as to Aids to Navigation," November 8, 1923, both in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1071E-1072C; Hurley, "Anclote Keys Light;" Timothy Johnson, "Original and Present Physical Appearance," c. 1988, Lighthouse file #3, Dunn Collection; United States Department of Commerce, Lighthouse Service, *Light List Atlantic and Gulf Coast of the United States* (Washington, 1918), 312-13; United States Department of Transportation, United States Coast Guard, *Light List Volume II, Atlantic and Gulf Coast of the United States* (Washington, 1970), 13; United States Treasury Department, United States Coast Guard, *Light List Atlantic and Gulf Coast of the United States* (Washington, 1944), 440-41; United States Treasury Department, United States Light-House Board, *List of Light-Houses, Lighted Beacons and Floating Lights of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Coasts of the United States* (Washington, 1902), 196-97. Incandescent oil vapor lamps (a.k.a., I.O.V.) were introduced to American lighthouses in the later part of the 1800s. Still utilizing kerosene, the lamp first converted the fuel to a gas before burning it, forming a brighter and more powerful light while using no additional fuel.

43. Acting Secretary of the Interior, August 22, 1914; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, August 10, 1914; A. A. Jones to the Secretary of Commerce, c. 1914, all in RG26, entry 50, box 1022, file 1624-1626. Unauthorized correspondence discussing the sale of lighthouse reservations, c. 1915, RG26, entry 66, box 34, file Anclote Keys Fla 11/2.

Sanibel Island, Estero Island, Captiva Island, La Costa Island, Umbrella Keys, and Cape Romano. A tax appraisal of Anclote Keys valued the land at \$10 an acre, but Thomas Moody, the "bootlegging" keeper, appraised the property at \$100 an acre. Taking Moody's evaluation, the bureau calculated the property was worth \$15,500. Moving with uncanny swiftness, the bureau requested bids for Anclote Keys throughout Florida post offices and newspapers, and in several Chicago and New York City newspapers by the end of the year. Despite such intense advertising, the only bid received by February 1924 was for \$1,201 by S. M. Regar, a Tampa businessman. They quickly rejected his bid.<sup>44</sup>

The bureau readvertised Anclote for sale the following winter, receiving several bids. Yet, all offers were again rejected and the bureau put the land back on the market in late 1925.<sup>45</sup> When the bureau opened the bids on February 16, 1926, George Emmanuel was the highest bidder, hands down. Moving to Tarpon Springs in 1905, Emmanuel became an important and well-respected figure as a leader in the Tarpon Springs Sponge Exchange, as a real estate investor, bank director, and as a local politician, serving as city commissioner. Emmanuel was no stranger to Anclote Keys, visiting it as a tourist and taking business partners there. Seeing a money-mak-

44. Form 25, "Survey of Public Property"; Form 114, "Abstract of Bids," February 18, 1924; Commissioner of Lighthouses to Secretary of Commerce, February 23, 1924; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, February 18, 1924; William Demeritt to S. M. Regar, July 1, 1924; William Demeritt to S. M. Regar, July 12, 1924; W. S. Erwin to Commissioner of Lighthouses, May 16, 1923; W. S. Erwin to The Federal Real Estate Board, March 19, 1923; E.C. Gillette to Superintendent of Lighthouses, July 8, 1924; S. M. Regar, to Superintendent of Lighthouses, Key West, Fla., June 28, 1924. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

45. Form 114, "Abstract of Bids," February 18, 1925; Commissioner of Lighthouses to Superintendent of Lighthouses, Key West, Fl, December 10, 1924; Commissioner of Lighthouses to Herbert J. Drane, March 3, 1925; Commissioner of Lighthouses, March 24, 1925; Commissioner of Lighthouses to Herbert J. Drane, May 5, 1925; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, February 19, 1925; William Demeritt to S. M. Regar, February 24, 1925; William Demeritt to S. M. Regar, May 18, 1925; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, May 5, 1925; Herbert J. Drane to Commissioner of Light Houses, February 28, 1925; Herbert J. Drane to Commissioner of Lighthouses, May 4, 1925; George M. Emmanuel to Herbert J. Drane, February 26, 1925; H. B. Haskins to Commissioner of Lighthouses, December 6, 1924, RG26; G. R. Putnam to Secretary of Commerce, February 26, 1925; George R. Putnam to Herbert J. Drane, May 16, 1925; S.M. Regar to William Demeritt, May 15, 1925. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

ing potential, George Emmanuel proposed to pay \$35,200, nearly \$12,000 more than the next highest bid.<sup>46</sup> The government quickly grabbed at the inflated bid. Emmanuel tried to cash in on Anclothe's tourist draw. The February 16, 1926, edition of the *Tarpon Springs Leader* trumpeted "Anclothe Key to Be Bathing Resort. Syndicate of Local Business Men State That \$250,000 Will Be Spent to Make Island Beautiful Resort." This consortium of local financiers included Emmanuel, John Cheyney, J. C. McCrocklin, president of First National Bank, Ernest R. Meres, vice president of First National, and some unidentified New York-based entrepreneurs. Shortly after the announcement, the syndicate got caught in the cataclysmic downward spiral of Florida land values.<sup>47</sup>

They quickly tried to extricate themselves from the bid by writing to their United States House of Representative contact Herbert J. Drane. Emmanuel proposed to pay part of the amount due every three months for the next year and a half instead of the stipulated full amount upon notification of completion of the deed. This was the beginning of a year-and-a-half attempt by George Emmanuel to renegotiate the deal. The government flatly rejected Emmanuel's proposal, notifying him on May 7, 1926, that the deed was ready to be delivered upon receipt of \$31,680.<sup>48</sup> When it did not receive payment by June, the government reconsidered its stand, acquiescing to Emmanuel's proposal for a new payment plan. The bureau realized that Florida's real estate conditions were dismal, and that if Emmanuel could pay—even under revised terms—it was in the government's

46. Form 114, "Abstract of Bids," February 17, 1926; Acting Secretary of Commerce to Thomas Bell, c. November 1925; Thomas Bell to Secretary of Commerce, November 17, 1925; J. S. Conway to Herbert Rumrill, October 8, 1925; J. S. Conway to Herbert Rumrill, October 19, 1925; William Demeritt to Harry Lewis, June 25, 1925; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, October 13, 1925; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, February 20, 1926; J. Walter Drake to Thomas Bell, November 24, 1925; Harry Lewis to Superintendent of Lighthouses, Key West, Fla., June 24, 1925; G. R. Putnam to Secretary of Commerce, March 2, 1926; Herbert Rumrill to Commissioner of Lighthouses, October 6, 1925. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E. *Tarpon Springs Leader*, March 12, 1915, January 8, 1924, and June 17, 1954; "Mr. and Mrs. George Emmanuel," unauthored manuscript, George Emmanuel file, TSAHS; Stoughton, *Tarpon Springs Florida*, 47-48, 58, 69.

47. *Tarpon Springs Leader*; February 17 and 26, 1926.

48. The difference between the bid of \$35,200 and the payment of \$31,680 is accounted for by the fact that bids would only be accepted if a cashier check or cash for ten percent of the total bid was deposited. The already deposited ten percent was deducted from the total amount George Emmanuel and his partners owed.

best interest to renegotiate. Yet every time the parties agreed upon a payment scheme, Emmanuel demanded a new plan.<sup>49</sup>

On November 6, 1926, James O'Hara, Acting Solicitor of the Department of Commerce, granted permission to put Anclothe Keys back up for sale. George Emmanuel caught wind of this and wrote U.S. Senator Duncan Fletcher, requesting him to "look into the matter," which he did five days later. George Putnam notified Senator Fletcher on January 12, 1927, that if Emmanuel could pay the full amount by February 1, the deed to the property would be his, but the bureau would grant no further extensions.<sup>50</sup> The deadline came and went with no receipt of payment. In February George Bean, Republican National Committee member from Florida, requested an extension, stating that Emmanuel proposed to pay through annual installments. This proposition was rejected one day before bids were opened for Anclothe Keys. The bureau then discovered that no one submitted a bid; this news, however, did not change their decision. Part of the reason not to reconsider the offer may lay with Robert Meyer, Anclothe keeper, whose local origins provided him intimate details of the people and surrounding communities. In a report to the Superintendent of Lighthouses, Key West, Meyer stated that Emmanuel's "finances are uncertain—have to force him to meet obligations . . . unless it is to his advantage to do so. Understands that money he handles belongs to his

49. H. B. Bowerman to Superintendent of Lighthouses, Key West, Fl, May 25, 1926; William Demeritt to George Emmanuel, March 9, 1926; William Demeritt to George Emmanuel, May 7, 1926; Herbert Drane to Commissioner of Lighthouses, March 6, 1926; George Emmanuel to William Demeritt, March 6, 1926; George Emmanuel to William Demeritt, June 2, 1926; G. R. Putnam to Herbert Drane, March 9, 1926; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, June 9, 1926; William Demeritt to George Emmanuel, June 28, 1926; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, August 10, 1926; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, October 14, 1926; George Emmanuel to William Demeritt, August 2, 1926; George Emmanuel to William Demeritt, September 2, 1926; G. R. Putnam to Secretary of Commerce, June 16, 1926. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

50. J. S. Conway to Superintendent of Lighthouses, Key West, Fl, December 14, 1926; George Emmanuel to Duncan U. Fletcher, December 22, 1926; Duncan U. Fletcher to George Emmanuel, December 27, 1926; Duncan U. Fletcher to George R. Putnam, December 27, 1926; Duncan U. Fletcher to William Demeritt, December 27, 1926; James J. O'Hara to Assistant Secretary of Commerce, November 6, 1926; G. R. Putnam to Duncan Fletcher, January 12, 1927. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

wife and he is at present heavily involved— man of considerable personality and shrewd business ability.”<sup>51</sup>

After the bureau rejected his offer, a federal court convicted George Emmanuel on March 10, 1927, of attempting to smuggle illegal aliens into the United States. Emmanuel received a \$500 fine and was sentenced to fifteen months in jail. Notwithstanding such trials and tribulations, Emmanuel continued to request a reconsideration of his proposal to purchase Anclote Keys. Once again the bureau said no, biding its time until land values rebounded. Emmanuel appears to have recovered from his real estate losses and to have survived the conviction, for he continued to be successful and highly respected in Tarpon Springs, if not with the Bureau of Lighthouses.<sup>52</sup>

George Emmanuel's delays, the bust of the Florida land boom, and the onset of the Great Depression all thwarted the bureau's efforts to sell Anclote Keys. On August 11, 1938, the Department of Agriculture inquired into the possibility of having the key transferred in the hope of creating the Anclote Migratory Bird Refuge. In little more than one month, on September 14, the Secretary of Agriculture received title to the excess property. Thus ended the Bureau of Lighthouse's twenty-five-year quest to relinquish control of the land. Had they waited a few more months it would no longer have been the bureau's concern, for on July 1, 1939, the United States Coast Guard officially took control of the nation's aids to navigation.<sup>53</sup>

51. "Dodger," February 12, 1927, copy courtesy Neil Hurley; George Bean to Commissioner of Lighthouses, February 5, 1927; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, February 12, 1927; W. P. Harman, February 14, 1927; G. R. Putnam to G. W. Bean, February 9, 1927; G. R. Putnam to Secretary of Commerce, February 9, 1927; G. R. Putnam, February 15, 1927; G. R. Putnam to Secretary of Commerce, March 3, 1927; Commissioner of Lighthouses to Assistant Secretary Drake, February 14, 1927; W. P. Harman, February 2, 1927; W. P. Harman, February 5, 1927; W. P. Harman, February 12, 1927; L. W. Lawrence, February 5, 1927; G. R. Putnam to Assistant Secretary of Commerce, February 17, 1927; William Demeritt to Lighthouse Commissioner, February 14, 1927; William Demeritt to Lighthouse Commissioner, February 14, 1927. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

52. *Tampa Tribune*, March 9-12, 1927; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, March 11, 1927, and January 6, 1935; George Bean to George Putnam, June 20, 1927; J. S. Conway to George Bean, July 2, 1927; William Demeritt to Commissioner of Lighthouses, June 28, 1927, RG26; L. W. Lawrence, June 21, 1927. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

53. C. J. Peoples to the Secretary of Agriculture, September 14, 1938; Daniel Roper to the Acting Director, Bureau of Budget, December 16, 1938; James Silver, April 28, 1939. All in RG26, entry 50, box 831, file 1072E.

Shortly after the Coast Guard took over control of Anclote Keys lighthouse, the nation was thrown into the maelstrom of World War II. On February 12, 1942, the Coast Guard transferred Francis Earl, a Texan, to the island. For the next several months Earl and two other Coast Guard men were under the tutelage of the lighthouse keeper, who trained them how to care for the light and the surrounding station. The Coast Guard personnel lived in one house while the keeper lived in the other. Periodically, the men would take a boat into Tarpon Springs to get supplies or for liberty, providing a respite from their secluded island life. Yet this came to an end during the early fall of 1942 when the Coast Guard set up a base in the Seabreeze Building in Tarpon Springs. The eighty-five men stationed in Tarpon Springs, along with the Coast Guard lightkeepers, were housed in the Villa Plumosa Hotel. Consequently, the men took turns traveling to the island, serving in shifts and returning to the mainland when their day's work was finished.<sup>54</sup>

For the next four years Earl, along with the two other men, took turns tending the light, caring for the buoys along the Anclote River, and watching for enemy ships and planes. From their post they could watch the combat training exercises of American pilots. In one instance, the Coast Guard men observed the practice maneuvers of more than two hundred Flying Fortresses, Mustangs, Warhawks, and Thunderbolts. However, this may have been the only excitement the men received. War restrictions permitted few visitors to the island. Additionally, no families resided on Anclote. While on the island, these men's experiences reflected the lonely images associated with keepers' lives. During his watches at the top of the lighthouse, Earl spent much of his time writing letters to friends and family. Despite the social solitude, Earl had fond memories of tending the light. He enjoyed it so much that he volunteered for permanent duty on Anclote, remaining there until 1946. After getting out of the Coast Guard, Earl served as Tarpon Springs postmaster for many years.<sup>55</sup>

By 1946, the Coast Guard stationed five men on the island. At war's end, the Coast Guard shut down its Tarpon Springs base, relocating to St. Petersburg, thus eliminating any readily available housing on the mainland. Although the Coast Guard was contemplating the automation of the lighthouse during this period, the station still

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54. Vera Earl, telephone interview by author, November 11, 1997.

55. *St. Petersburg Times*, January 4, 1994, and May 30, 1995; Stoughton, *Tarpon Springs Florida*, 107; Earl, interview.

had the two keepers' houses, a wood storeroom, a wood boathouse, a brick engine room, a wood outhouse, and a chicken house. The government equipped the keepers' houses with metal fold up beds, chairs, tables, a file cabinet, a couch, a twenty-gallon water heater, a kerosene powered refrigerator, and a Sears & Roebuck kerosene fueled range. A twelve-volt generator supplied power for house lights and the R.C.A. radio, and hand pumps supplied water.<sup>56</sup>

The Coast Guard abandoned the station on November 5, 1952, thus beginning the station's downward slide that continued into the 1990s. In a site survey done months before abandonment, all buildings that existed in 1946 were present in 1952, including the picket fence. By 1956, the keepers' homes suffered at the hands of vandals but were still considered in good shape. This, however, would not remain the case. One well-meaning camper started a cooking fire in one of the houses, burning through the floor, revealing the earth below. Either from malice or carelessness, other visitors burned both keepers' homes to the ground. Vandals broke the lighthouse windows, covered the structure with graffiti, and hurled the light's batteries from atop of the tower.<sup>57</sup>

While vandals were having a field day on Anclote, in 1960 the State of Florida gained control of Anclote's wildlife refuge. Additionally, the Coast Guard grappled with maintaining the light while protecting the remaining structures. In the early 1970s, members of the Coast Guard's Aids to Navigation Department visited the station every three months to check the 112 batteries, to clean the lens, and to do other maintenance work. If left alone, the batteries provided nearly two years of power to the light. To fight off the invaders, the Coast Guard erected a chain link fence around the station and welded the tower's door shut. Even these measures did not stop people from getting into the tower and tearing out the bulbs and damaging the lens. Between June 18, 1980, and May 12, 1981, the Coast Guard spent well over \$4,000 repairing the light.<sup>58</sup>

56. "Supplement to Form No. USO-13," c. 1946, RG26, entry 66, box 34, file Anclote Keys Fla. 11/2.

57. *Clearwater Sun*, November 5, 1984; *Tampa Tribune*, November 23, 1995; *St. Petersburg Times*, February 9, 1958; Hurley, "Anclote Keys Light;" "Title 'A' Property Report," RG26, entry 66, box 34, file Anclote Keys Fla. 11/2.

58. *Suncoast Shopper & News*, July 6, 1977; *St. Petersburg Times*, January 16, 1972, March 20, 1977, and October 18, 1994; *Tampa Tribune*, March 1, 1962; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, July 5, 1984; M. E. Gilbert to Commander, Seventh Coast Guard District (oan), June 24, 1981, "Anclote Keys Lt." historical file, copy courtesy Neil Hurley.

The situation reached a crisis point in 1984. Responsible for five lighthouses and hundreds of smaller aids to navigation along 400 miles of Florida's west coast, Chief Boatswain's Mate Ernest Costa of the Coast Guard Aids to Navigation Team at St. Petersburg bemoaned the time and money involved in repairing vandals' handiwork on Anclote. Chief Costa's crew trekked from Clearwater to the island eight times in the preceding year to fix the light, spending nearly \$1,000 a visit. In October 1984, the Coast Guard began looking for a local government, historical society, or other organization to lease the lighthouse for twenty-five years. Despite having offers, within six months they officially decommissioned the station.<sup>59</sup>

In November 1984, the Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society, with impetus from Timothy Johnson, a local lighthouse enthusiast, began the long, frustrating journey of preserving the lighthouse. While the historical society organized its resources to save the lighthouse, the Coast Guard turned off the light on November 9, 1984, to see if anyone complained. No one did; consequently, on March 4, 1985, the Coast Guard permanently discontinued the light. Johnson began preparing a National Register Nomination for the lighthouse, and the historical society even solicited a volunteer, Richard Hauge, to live on the island to protect the structure from vandals. They had dreams of turning the property into a park. Yet land ownership disputes stymied their efforts. Despite having the desire, it took the Coast Guard nearly ten years to turn the property over to the United States Bureau of Land Management (BLM). The historical society's efforts are reminiscent of George Emmanuel's failed efforts to purchase the island. No matter how hard the society tried, their efforts came to naught.<sup>60</sup>

59. *St. Petersburg Times*, October 29, 1984; Donald P. Hogue to Lieutenant Lou Montello, November 8, 1984; L. R. Montello to Donald P. Hogue, January 24, 1985; R. C. Nichols to Commander, Seventh Coast Guard District (oan), July 6, 1984, all in "Anclote Keys Lt." historical file; McCarthy, *Florida Lighthouses*, 100; United States National Park Service, *Anclote Key Light Station, Anclote Key, Pinellas County, Florida, Condition Assessment Report*, 14-15; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, July 5 and October 24, 1984.

60. "Aids to Navigation Operation Request," December 18, 1984; R. L. Boatright to George Percy, August 6, 1985; Ed C. Hoffman to Norma Wrigley, March 8, 1985, all in "Anclote Keys Lt." historical file; *St. Petersburg Times*, February 11, 1985; Hurley, "Anclote Keys Light"; *Clearwater Sun*, November 5 and 28, 1984, December 27, 1984, and June 16, 1986; *Suncoast News*, February 10, 1990; Lary McSparren, interview by author, July 19, 1997; *Tarpon Springs Leader*, November 7, 1984.

Stepping into the process during the early 1990s, local businesswoman Pat McSparren spearheaded the reinvigorated campaign to save the light. In 1994 McSparren and her husband, Lary, founded the Anclote Keys Lighthouse Restoration Committee. During the summer of 1994, at the prompting of McSparren, Representative Mike Bilirakis organized meetings between federal and state officials and local citizens in the Tarpon Springs Cultural Center to iron out how to transfer the lighthouse from the Coast Guard to the BLM and then to the State of Florida. These meetings were shining, but sadly rare, examples of interagency cooperation. Before the Coast Guard could transfer ownership, an environmental survey had to be completed to determine if soil pollutants existed. In October a government contractor announced that they removed 107 batteries and 1,775 pounds of battery refuse from the key but that no serious mercury or lead soil contamination had occurred from leaking batteries.<sup>61</sup>

Following quickly on the heels of the contractor's report, the restoration committee held a concert at Sunset Beach Park to raise funds on Saturday, November 26, 1994. They collected a total of \$15,000, enough to pay to transfer the lighthouse to the BLM and execute a condition assessment. In August 1995, after the Coast Guard overcame all the bureaucratic roadblocks, the BLM obtained ownership of the lighthouse.<sup>62</sup>

Following the transfer, a three-hour fund-raising cruise on the dinner boat *Casablanca* was launched on September 16, 1995, raising \$2,000 for the lighthouse. Coupled with the cruise, the committee held a second benefit concert on November 25, 1995. Between the two events a survey team from the National Park Service visited the island, accessing the condition of the lighthouse and determining future preservation actions. Part of the money raised from the cruise and the concerts funded the \$6,400 report, completed in April 1996. On March 30, 1996, the BLM transferred ownership of the lighthouse to the state at a ceremony held at the old train depot at Tarpon Avenue and the Pinellas Trail. Federal, state, and local

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61. Commander Coast Guard Group St. Petersburg, Fla., to Commander Coast Guard District Seven, Miami, Fla., April 19, 1994; Commander Coast Guard Group St. Petersburg, Fla., to Commander Coast Guard District Seven, Miami, Fla., April 21, 1994, both in "Anclote Keys Lt." historical file; *St. Petersburg Times*, January 3, August 1, and October 18, 1994; McSparren, interview.

62. *St. Petersburg Times*, November 26, 1994, January 10 and 20, 1995, September 15, 1995; McSparren, interview.

officials attended the meeting along with an enthusiastic public. As part of the snowballing success of the preservation effort, through the crusade of Senator Jack Latvala the 1996-97 state budget included \$75,000 to begin restoration work on the lighthouse. One-third of the revenue was allocated in a Department of Environmental Protection grant for a historical and archaeological survey of the lighthouse grounds.<sup>63</sup>

Current preservation objectives include having the lighthouse listed on the National Register of Historic Places, a process that began in 1984. The McSparrens plan to use the money from the state budget to begin the long process of repairing damaged sections of the lighthouse and removing rust from the iron structure, a project estimated to cost \$250,000. An additional \$200,000 is required to repair and refurbish the lighthouse to its original condition, minus the third-order lens. If other money is forthcoming, the McSparrens desire to rebuild the keepers' houses as they existed in the 1920s or 1930s, turning one into a park ranger residence. By keeping a ranger on site, they hope to deter vandals from ruining the preservation effort. Following in the footsteps of lighthouses across the country and at least five Florida lighthouses—including Key West, St. Augustine, Ponce de Leon Inlet, Jupiter Inlet, and Garden Key lighthouses—the other Anclothe keeper's house will be utilized as a classroom or museum detailing the history of the lighthouse.<sup>64</sup>

A groundswell of local support underlies preservation efforts of Anclothe Keys lighthouse. According to Tarpon Springs City Commissioner Dudley Salley, the lighthouse should be preserved because of its symbolism for the Tarpon Springs community, "The silhouette of the lighthouse is identified as Florida heritage," Salley acknowledged. "Anclothe Key fits into that."<sup>65</sup> As a romantic symbol of Florida heritage, the Anclothe lighthouse has enjoyed a level of public support that otherwise might not have been forthcoming. These images inspire people to volunteer their time, sweat, energy, and money to save the light.<sup>66</sup> Summing up this sentiment,

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63. *Tampa Tribune*, November 23, 1995, March 29 and May 4, 1996; *St. Petersburg Times*, September 15 and November 24, 1995, and May 3, 1996; McSparren, interview. This grant supported research for this article.

64. *St. Petersburg Times*, January 10, 1995; *Tampa Tribune*, August 25, 1996; McSparren, interview. As of this writing the National Register Nomination for Anclothe Key Lighthouse had been sent up to the state but has not yet been approved.

65. *St. Petersburg Times*, January 3, 1994.

66. McSparren, interview.

Bernie Higgins, a local musician, stated, "I have memories of the lighthouse blinking on and off and just going out there on the island . . . I want to save it for my children and grandchildren. . . . It's more romantic than logical."<sup>67</sup>

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67. *Tampa Tribune*, November 23, 1995.

## Unmasked: The Author of *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the Ship "Two Friends"*

by PATRICK W. DOYLE

In 1819 John Miller of Burlington Arcade, Piccadilly, London, published the *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the Ship "Two Friends"* for an anonymous author, a young Englishman.<sup>1</sup> The author, calling himself the "Narrator," recounted his earlier voyages to Madeira Island, the Dutch island of St. Thomas, and Spanish East Florida. The *Narrative* paints a revealing portrait of northeast Florida during the waning years of the Second Spanish Period. In his introduction to the 1978 republication of the *Narrative* John W. Griffin posed two candidates, both named John Miller, for authorship; however, he concluded "[w]ithal the author . . . remains anonymous."<sup>2</sup> The Narrator's anonymity has persisted, but overlooked sources render his identification possible.

The knot of anonymity begins to unravel with the coincidence of a place and date: St. Augustine, Spanish East Florida, February 1818. The Narrator described his arrival in St. Augustine on the eve of Carnival 1818 and his meeting with José Coppinger, the governor and military commander of Spanish East Florida, in order to conclude "some arrangements."<sup>3</sup> The Narrator disclosed elsewhere that he received a grant of a "considerable tract" bordering Lake George.<sup>4</sup> On February 26, 1818, Coppinger granted lands near

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1. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the Ship "Two Friends"; The Occupation of Amelia Island by M'Gregor, &c.—Sketches of the Province of East Florida; and Anecdotes Illustrative of the Habits and Manners of the Seminole Indians: with an Appendix, Containing a Detail of the Seminole War, and the Execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister* (London, 1819; facsimile ed., with an introduction and index by John W. Griffin, Gainesville, 1978).
2. John W. Griffin, introduction to *Narrative*, 3.
3. *Ibid.*, 163. Ash Wednesday in 1818 was on February 4. Robert Hunt Lyman, ed., *The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1936* (New York, 1936), 114. Accordingly, the day before Carnival was February 2, 1818.
4. *Narrative*, 125, 150.

Lake George to Joseph Freeman Rattenbury.<sup>5</sup> This coincidence is the first link suggesting that the Narrator was Rattenbury.

The 1819 publication "Remarks on the Cession of the Floridas" by J. Freeman Rattenbury is the Rosetta Stone connecting the Narrator to Rattenbury.<sup>6</sup> Rattenbury's authorship of the *Narrative* can be established because the works express common themes, contain identical or similar phraseology, and refer to the same arcane naval fact. Rattenbury also wrote *Edgar and Ella, a Legendary Tale of the Sixteenth Century*, which contains a poem providing a peculiar, but firm, connection between Rattenbury and the Narrator. Finally, land grant records and travel documentation solidify the Narrator's identity as Rattenbury.<sup>7</sup>

Presentation of the proof requires framing the *Narrative* and "Remarks" into an historical context and detailing the pertinent content of each. The *Narrative* was written when the Napoleonic wars had ended, and British veterans faced bleak economic prospects at home. At the same time the Spanish Crown, weakened by the wars and beset by rebellions in Latin America, scanted resources to East Florida, including troops.<sup>8</sup> These ingredients fermented into the historical brew of the *Narrative*.

British veterans, returning home without prospect of employment, became targets of recruitment by agents of the Latin American insurgencies who promised volunteers pay and upgrades in rank. However, most promises were false, and the volunteers were soon resented by the indigenous forces.<sup>9</sup> Though the Narrator never reached the Spanish Main, he was one of many who was recruited but soon disillusioned.

Spanish East Florida had already suffered the indignity of the abortive invasion of 1812 under General George Matthews, a former governor of Georgia, whom the United States government

5. United States Work Projects Administration, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, vol. 1, Unconfirmed Claims (Tallahassee, 1940), 262-63.

6. J. Freeman Rattenbury, "Remarks on the Cession of the Floridas to the United States of America and on the Necessity of Acquiring the Island of Cuba by Great Britain," *The Pamphleteer* 15 (London, 1819), 261-80.

7. J. F. Rattenbury, *Edgar and Ella, a Legendary Tale of the Sixteenth Century in Three Cantos and Other Poems* (London, 1822), 137-38.

8. *Narrative*, 3; L. David Norris, "José Coppinger in East Florida, 1816-1821: A Man, A Province, and a Spanish Colonial Failure" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Illinois University, 1981), 197; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables, 1971), 103.

9. *Narrative*, 8, 47, 187.

tacitly promoted but eventually disavowed.<sup>10</sup> The occupation of Amelia Island in 1817 and 1818 was even more humiliating for the Spanish because it was carried out by freebooters or pirates on behalf of mock governments.

On June 29, 1817, Gregor MacGregor, a Scotsman who had served under Simón Bolívar, easily seized the island with a small force of men, many of whom had been recruited from ports of the United States. MacGregor proclaimed he was "duly authorized by the constituted authorities of the Republics of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, New-Grenada and Venezuela," raised the "Patriot" flag, and declared independence of the Floridas. When promised goods, money, and men did not materialize but discontent did, MacGregor resigned on September 4, 1817, and withdrew. Military command passed to Jared Irwin, a former congressman, and the civil command passed to Ruggles Hubbard, a former sheriff from New York. Luis Aury, a French-born pirate, arrived on September 21, 1817, just after a miserable failure by Spanish troops to retake the island. Raising the flag of the Republic of Mexico, Aury assumed military command and appointed Irwin as his adjutant-general while Hubbard retained the role of civil governor.<sup>11</sup> The Narrator arrived at Amelia Island shortly thereafter; he did not like what he found.

Appreciation of the evidence establishing Rattenbury as the Narrator requires a summary of the *Narrative*. The Narrator compiled the work at the request of friends who wanted an "account of the ill-fated expedition," and his purpose in doing so was "to describe the miseries of my comrades, and our disappointments. . . ."<sup>12</sup> The Narrator was predisposed to leave England for personal reasons: "[t]he loss of a beloved parent and some circumstances of a painful and distressing nature over which I had neither controul or influence."<sup>13</sup>

The Narrator, induced by exaggerated accounts of insurgent successes in the Spanish Main reported in the *Morning Chronicle* and beguiled by agents for the Republic of Venezuela, booked passage on the schooner *Two Friends*. The ship left Portsmouth on July

10. Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, 106-107.

11. *Charleston Courier*, July 14, 1817; Griffin, introduction to *Narrative*, 12-13, 15-16. Norris, "José Coppinger," 273; Tebeau, *A History of Florida*, 111-12.

12. *Narrative*, v, 5.

13. *Ibid.*, 4.

31, 1817, with eighty passengers aboard, many of whom were army and navy veterans of the Napoleonic wars. The anticipated voyage to the Spanish Main—as was to have been directed by the Venezuelan agent upon arrival in St. Thomas—ended ingloriously at that island: the Venezuelan agent never appeared; the *Two Friends* absconded in the night.<sup>14</sup> Unaware that MacGregor had already left, the American consul recommended that the Narrator and twenty-nine companions join MacGregor; thus encouraged, they booked passage to Amelia Island on the American schooner *Mary*.<sup>15</sup>

In late October 1817 the Narrator landed on Amelia Island; he was crestfallen to learn that MacGregor had already departed.<sup>16</sup> The Narrator and others met Aury who expressed disappointment the *Mary* had not brought “privates as well as officers.” The Narrator quickly discovered that knavery, not gallantry, was the order of the day; he depicted Aury’s followers as “the refuse of all nations.”<sup>17</sup>

Though Aury had the island and its town, Fernandina, under his control, he was vexed by disputes between his own “French” party and the “American” party.<sup>18</sup> The alienated residents of Fernandina, wanting to oust Aury and the French party, solicited the Narrator and others to assist them in this effort. The Narrator approached Irwin, Aury’s adjutant-general, to enlist his support, but to the Narrator’s chagrin, Irwin declined. The disgusted Narrator retreated to nearby St. Marys, Georgia, but he returned to Amelia to defend, unsuccessfully, a British officer against a charge of “treasonable practices” before a court martial convened and controlled by Aury. Following the court martial, the Narrator fought with M’Donald, an Aury supporter and a detested fellow passenger on the *Two Friends* and the *Mary*, resulting in the Narrator’s brief arrest and subsequent banishment.<sup>19</sup>

14. *Ibid.*, 5, 9, 12, 42, 48-49, 191.

15. *Ibid.*, 53-54.

16. Griffin puts the date as October 25, 1817, but the date of arrival can only be approximated. The Narrator arrived in St. Thomas on September 25, 1817. The voyage from St. Thomas to East Florida took fourteen days, but no departure date is given. Griffin, introduction to *Narrative*, 17; *Narrative*, 38, 76. A report from St. Marys dated November 1, 1817, stated that twenty-eight English officers arrived from St. Thomas. *Charleston Courier*, November 7, 1817. The Narrator related that two of the thirty adventurers on the *Mary* disembarked before arriving at Amelia. *Narrative*, 76-78.

17. *Narrative*, 78, 96.

18. Griffin, introduction to *Narrative*, 17; *Narrative*, 96-97.

19. *Narrative*, 99, 107.

The Narrator returned to St. Marys where he accepted an invitation from Coppinger, extended through the surveyor general of East Florida, to meet with the governor in St. Augustine.<sup>20</sup> In conferring with Coppinger, the Narrator volunteered to assume command of a raid to eject Aury, but Coppinger, though initially receptive, declined.<sup>21</sup> Informed that Aury had learned of the Narrator's offer to assist Coppinger, the Narrator returned to St. Marys overland to avoid capture by Aury's forces. The Narrator then sailed from St. Marys to Charleston in December 1817.<sup>22</sup>

The United States had grown impatient with the privateering and smuggling of the so-called patriots, and on December 23, 1817, United States army and naval forces, without resistance, overtook Amelia under authority of a secret act and resolution of Congress, enacted in 1811, but only disclosed shortly after the takeover.<sup>23</sup> In mid-January 1818, the Narrator, desiring to return to East Florida to complete "some arrangements" proposed to Coppinger on his earlier visit, accepted an offer of passage from Charleston to Amelia Island extended by Captain Kearney, the commander of the *Enterprise*, a U.S. brig of war.<sup>24</sup> Upon returning to St. Marys from Amelia, the Narrator made a second visit to St. Augustine, arriving on the evening of February 2, 1818.<sup>25</sup> After the "object of his visit" was "satisfactorily arranged," he sailed from St. Augustine to Charleston; thereafter, he proceeded "through the United States."<sup>26</sup>

The negotiations between the United States and Spain over an acceptable treaty whereby the Floridas would be ceded to the United States by Spain form the backdrop to Rattenbury's "Remarks." John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, and Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister in Washington, negotiated the treaty, which was signed on February 22, 1819, and ratified by the United

20. *Ibid.*, 113. The royal public surveyor general was George J. F. Clark. Griffin, introduction to *Narrative*, 18; Norris, "José Coppinger," 163.

21. *Narrative*, 113, 128. The Narrator was accompanied by at least one fellow adventurer since he used plural pronouns in describing his arrival, and at the time of his departure he was accompanied by two other officers who "were equally averse with myself to fall into the power of the pirates." *Ibid.*, 116, 130.

22. *Ibid.*, 129, 146, 150.

23. Griffin, introduction to *Narrative*, 20.

24. *Ibid.*, 150.

25. See note 3 above.

26. *Narrative*, 181-82. Probable other areas visited were Georgia, the Carolinas, and the Hudson River area of New York. *Ibid.*, 156, 158, 134.

States Senate on February 24, 1819. After the Senate ratification, Adams realized that he had blundered over a provision in the treaty providing for recognition of grants made before January 24, 1818, and that two of the largest grants made in December 1817 would have been upheld. Adams had understood during the negotiations that land grants made after August 11, 1802, would be invalid.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, he maneuvered to negate these large grants.

The treaty provided a six-month period for acceptance by Spain. However, it was not until October 24, 1820, that Spain approved it. At the same time King Ferdinand, to Adams's relief, renounced the troublesome grants. Since the time set for acceptance had expired, a second ratification was required, and the Senate did so on February 19, 1821.<sup>28</sup>

Rattenbury wrote "Remarks" just before and after the expiration of the initial six-month time limit for Spain's acceptance; he passionately hoped that Spain would reject the treaty. In "Remarks" Rattenbury argued against Spain's cession of the Floridas to the United States and for Spain's cession of Cuba to Great Britain should the Florida cession occur.<sup>29</sup>

Rattenbury asserted that the United States wanted the Floridas as a means toward improving national security, advancing toward future naval pre-eminence, and eliminating a perceived threat to the federal system—possible separation of the western and Atlantic states. Rattenbury emphasized that the victorious enemies of Napoleon had entered into an alliance and warned the United States that a forcible seizure of the Floridas could result in war with that alliance. If there were a war, then taxation would be necessary to finance it, and there would be a disruption of agricultural exports that would fall more heavily upon the western states because of their reliance on the southern ports. The western states would then question a policy benefitting the Atlantic states at their expense. The result, he contended, would be that the western states would have to swallow the policy of the Atlantic states or secede from the Union. Rattenbury argued that the Atlantic states combined both

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27. Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), 334-39.

28. *Ibid.*, 338, 352.

29. "Remarks" was a republication with amendments of articles appearing in the *Morning Chronicle* in August and September 1819. "Remarks," 262.

commercial and agricultural pursuits, suited to become a maritime power, while the western states depended solely on agriculture.<sup>30</sup>

Rattenbury was angry about attempts to set back the date of recognition of land grants; he vented against Adams:

[H]e demanded the abrogation of all grants made . . . subsequent to the year 1802, and the excuse offered for this infamous proposal to violate the rights of individuals, was, that in that year, the subject of cession of the Floridas had been *agitated* by the two governments.<sup>31</sup>

The main proof of Rattenbury's authorship of the *Narrative* is the identical or similar phraseology in the *Narrative* and "Remarks." The excerpts that follow show the unmistakable connection.

Excerpt from *Narrative*:

The bays of Appalache and Tampo, and Charlotte's harbour, on the west of this province, are admirably situated for naval stations; particularly the bay of Tampo, capable of receiving the whole of the British Navy.<sup>32</sup>

Excerpt from "Remarks":

The latter bay [bay of Spiritu Santo] includes that of Tampo, presenting a noble and spacious harbour, completely sheltered from the influence of the north-west wind, and capable of receiving the whole of the British Navy.<sup>33</sup>

Excerpt from *Narrative*:

To foreigners, grants of land are very liberal; a considerable tract was assigned to me on the borders of Lake St. George, one of the finest parts of the province, on the river

30. "Remarks," 263, 268-69, 271.

31. *Ibid.*, 264; emphasis in the original.

32. *Narrative*, 82-83. Curiously, Tampa is spelled correctly in the Appendix. *Ibid.*, 188 n.

33. "Remarks," 272.

St. John's, abounding with live oak, cedar, and cypress; the soil congenial to the cultivation of cotton, rice, sugar and other important products.<sup>34</sup>

Excerpt from "Remarks":

[The St. John's River] passes through and is fed by several lakes, the most considerable the lake of St. George . . . the shores abounding on either side with immense forests of live oak, cedar, cypress, pine, and other valuable trees; the soil congenial to the production of cotton, rice, tobacco, coffee, sugar, and other important products. . . .<sup>35</sup>

Excerpt from *Narrative*.

[Describing rice swamps] The action of the sun upon these decayed vegetable substances produces putridity, creating the miasmata so fatally and widely destructive to the white inhabitants of the states of the Carolinas and Georgia. . . . This destructive vapor does not exist in the province of East Florida, or is dissipated. . . .<sup>36</sup>

Excerpt from "Remarks":

[T]he salubrity of the climate [in East Florida is] equal to any in the world, and far superior to that of the Southern States of North America, being entirely free from the pestilential miasmata which rise from the low ground of the Carolinas and Georgia, and prove so extensively destructive to their white inhabitants.<sup>37</sup>

34. The reference is to Lake George identified as *Laguna San Jorge* on a survey prepared by Andres Burgevin for Rattenbury. *Spanish Land Grants*, vol.1, 263; Unconfirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, Record Group 000599, Carton 8, Unc. R1, Document No. 5, Florida State Archives; *Narrative*, 125.

35. "Remarks," 273. The tree sequence is repeated in the *Narrative*. "the immense forests of live oak, cedar, cypress and pine" and "immense woods of live oak, cedar, cypress, and pine." *Narrative*, 81, 134.

36. *Narrative*, 156-57.

37. "Remarks," 273.

Matching phraseology of lesser significance occurs in passages describing the St. Johns River and the town and harbor of St. Augustine.<sup>38</sup>

Common themes also connect the *Narrative* and "Remarks": the execution of Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, the internal politics of the United States, and the maritime contest between the United States and England. The words used by the Narrator and Rattenbury to express these themes are similar.

Arbuthnot and Ambrister, British nationals, were executed in West Florida on April 29, 1818, following conviction by a court martial convened by General Andrew Jackson. The *Narrative* strikes a theme of anger about this incident, characterizing it variously as "the murder of our unfortunate countrymen," a "barbarous act of a vindictive foreigner," "judicial murder," and an "atrocious murder of our unhappy countryman."<sup>39</sup> Rattenbury reprised the theme in "Remarks," stating that "the unexpiated murder of Arbuthnot and Ambrister . . . remains a foul charge against the American character, and an insult to our own" and that the hands of United States troops were "red with the blood of our murdered countrymen."<sup>40</sup> The Arbuthnot and Ambrister executions became a *cause celebre* in England.<sup>41</sup> Although fiery denunciations about them alone are not persuasive in the establishment of the author's identity, the reference contributes to the task when coupled with other repeated themes.

The internal politics of the United States, namely the distinction between the Atlantic states and the western states, form a second common theme. The Narrator asserted that if the United States obtained the Floridas, then it would give the "Atlantic States . . . a decided influence over those of their western territory, uniting their destinies by a gordian knot, which the latter will never be able to sever."<sup>42</sup> In "Remarks," Rattenbury averred that acquisition of the Floridas by the United States would "consolidate and strengthen the North American Union, by uniting the destinies of the Western and Atlantic states, rendering the former dependent

38. *Narrative*, 134; "Remarks," 272-73 (as to the St. Johns River); *Narrative*, 116-17; "Remarks," 272 (as to the town and harbor of St. Augustine).

39. *Narrative*, vii-viii, 196-97.

40. "Remarks," 265, 279.

41. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 6th ed. (New York, 1958), 170.

42. *Narrative*, 82.

on the latter. . . ." Rattenbury theorized that if the United States acquired the Floridas the western states would be at the mercy of the Atlantic states because the Atlantic States would then control the sea trade routes of the agricultural products of the west.<sup>43</sup>

The third common theme is the contest between the United States and England for maritime superiority. The Narrator foresaw the impending rivalry between Great Britain and the United States for naval supremacy. Given the strategic character of East Florida from its position on the Gulf Stream and proximity to the West Indies, the Narrator contended that if the United States possessed the Floridas and war occurred the British navy would be unable to protect English trade. He declared that perhaps only England could successfully contend with the United States the possession of the Floridas; he proclaimed that "[n]aval pre-eminence is our legitimate ambition. . . ."<sup>44</sup> In "Remarks," Rattenbury detailed the importance of the Gulf Stream and emphasized that upon the United States' acquisition of the Floridas, English trade in the Gulf Stream and with the Island of Jamaica would face "certain destruction" in wartime.<sup>45</sup>

The most peculiar tie between the Narrator and Rattenbury involves the thinness of the lips of caucasian Americans. The Narrator asserted that "the lips of the natives of North America are much thinner than those of Europeans."<sup>46</sup> In Rattenbury's argument to his poem "The Seminole Maid" he pronounced: "It is a singular, but undoubted fact, in the physiology of the people of the United States, that their lips are thinner than those of Europeans, often presenting a deformity of feature."<sup>47</sup>

Other links connecting the Narrator to Rattenbury are a common experience and knowledge of an obscure naval matter. Rattenbury acknowledged in "Remarks" that he, too, was "intimately acquainted with the character of the Floridas, from personal observations." As earlier stated, the U.S.S. *Enterprise* under the command of Captain Kearney carried the Narrator from Charleston to Amelia Island. In "Remarks," Rattenbury revealed knowledge of the *En-*

43. "Remarks," 266, 268-69.

44. *Narrative*, 81-83.

45. "Remarks," 266.

46. *Narrative*, 165.

47. J. F. Rattenbury, argument to "The Seminole Maid," *Edgar and Ella*, 138. According to Rattenbury New Englanders were the worst afflicted by this deformity. *Ibid.*

*terprise* and Captain Kearney, and even the mission of the *Enterprise* following the occupation of Amelia Island.<sup>48</sup>

The concluding evidence identifying Rattenbury as the Narrator lies in further information about the land grant and documentation of Rattenbury's departure from St. Augustine meshing with information provided by the Narrator. The extent of the land grants to the Narrator and Rattenbury correspond as do the dates. Rattenbury's grant included 25,520 acres near Lake George, large enough to qualify as the Narrator's "considerable tract" at the same location.<sup>49</sup> The Narrator's references to his "arrangements" or the "object" of his visit in connection with his visits to St. Augustine most probably refer to the land grant.<sup>50</sup>

The Narrator's departure from St. Augustine at the conclusion of his second visit was by a schooner that arrived in Charleston thirty hours later.<sup>51</sup> On Wednesday, March 4, 1818, the *Charleston Courier* reported that the schooner *Alert* had arrived from St. Augustine after a thirty-hour voyage and that among the passengers was a "Rattenburg."<sup>52</sup> Despite this spelling, it is unlikely that this passenger was other than Rattenbury. This report allows the conclusion that the Narrator spent a month in St. Augustine during his second visit, ample time to arrange for the land grant.

The biographical information on Rattenbury is sketchy. The son of Joseph F. Rattenbury Sr. and Elizabeth Rattenbury, Joseph Freeman was christened at Marazion, a chapel in the parish of St. Hilary in Cornwall, England, on February 17, 1784.<sup>53</sup> Rattenbury was a descendant of the House of Hesse; his lineage is best described in his own words:

A prince of the House of Hesse Rottenburg Rhinfels about the latter end of the reign of our Henry the 8th, having had the misfortune to kill the son of the prince of Hesse Cassel, fled to England, to avoid the resentment of the

48. "Remarks," 266, 272. The Narrator was five days at sea with Kearney and received the "kindest attention from him." *Narrative*, 150. Rattenbury also mentions Aury, the takeover at Amelia, and the harbor at Amelia Island. "Remarks," 262-63, 272.

49. *Spanish Land Grants*, Vol. 1, 263.

50. *Narrative*, 129, 150, 181.

51. *Ibid.*, 181-82.

52. *Charleston Courier*, March 4, 1818.

53. Baptismal record, Parish of St. Hilary, Cornwall, England. Copy in possession of the author.

reigning family; he settled in Cornwall, where his descendants were, for several generations, considerable land proprietors, and matched with the principal families of that and the neighbouring county.<sup>54</sup>

Little is presently known about his childhood or early manhood, but it is apparent that he received an education in the classics and learned French and Latin, and he also travelled extensively in Europe. Before 1817, he was, or sought to pursue a career as, a lawyer.<sup>55</sup> While Rattenbury did not affirm he had been British officer or a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, the probabilities are that he was because he volunteered to serve in a military capacity in the cause of the insurgents, offered to lead a raid against Aury, and travelled with passengers who were veterans. Rattenbury began his voyage on the *Two Friends*, just fifty-three days after the death in Plymouth of his seventy-one-year-old Quaker father, his "beloved parent," on June 8, 1817.<sup>56</sup>

Rattenbury was bearded, relatively thick-lipped, not physically imposing, and, at the time of the *Narrative*, in his early thirties. He was well-off for he had to pay for passages on many voyages and travel in the United States. He preferred obtaining bed and board, and he travelled with more baggage than he could carry.<sup>57</sup> He had a fondness for women and spirits; he even carried a supply of whiskey and Madeira wine while in Florida. These inclinations are reflected in *Edgar and Ella* in which he wrote two Anacreontic poems and one entitled "To Woman." His description in the *Narrative* of a stop at a grog shop in Cowford is particularly revealing: "[t]he night was passed in noisy mirth, drinking, and gambling, vices too prevalent."<sup>58</sup>

Rattenbury displayed a talent for imagery in the *Narrative*. He described dolphins "sporting across our bow with the velocity of

54. J. F. Rattenbury, argument to "Edgar and Ella," *Edgar and Ella*, 3-4. The Narrator refers to the Elector of Hesse. *Narrative*, 188.

55. *Narrative*, 102.

56. *Plsmouth and Dock Telegraph and Chronicle*, June 21, 1817.

57. *Ibid.*, 131-33, 137-38, 141-42, 152, 154 (bed or board); *Ibid.*, 137, 155, 157, 161 (baggage). Rattenbury made a single reference to camping and no reference to fishing or hunting though he noted the abundance of fish and game. *Ibid.*, 138, 144, 158.

58. *Ibid.*, 135.

thought." Even more picturesque is his description of crossing the St. Johns River:

The noise of the oars, as they cut their liquid way, rousing the echoes of its banks, were answered by the noisy cadence of the negroes' boat-song, amusing and beguiling our way.<sup>59</sup>

While in Florida Rattenbury had moments of bittersweet recollection of the people and places he had left behind, also described in an imaginative way:

I wandered at the discretionary pace of my horse, enjoying the woody scenery, broken at intervals by views of the Atlantic ocean, across whose waves my imagination painted those beloved friends, for whose happiness my heart constantly and fervently aspirated [*sic*]. There is a melancholy pleasure in recreating the scenes of happier days, and in visiting in idea, those haunts endeared by circumstances of early and tender attachment.<sup>60</sup>

Rattenbury did not reveal his marital status at the time of his Florida adventure, but given his sometimes personal comments, it is reasonable to assume that, if married, he would have revealed it in some manner. Nonetheless in 1822, when Rattenbury sailed from London to New York City, he was accompanied by a wife, Anna Maria, age eighteen.<sup>61</sup>

Rattenbury was given to embellishment on occasion. Just after release from his arrest on Amelia Island, he boasted "I had accidentally a brace of loaded pistols in my pocket, which had escaped the scrutiny of my gaolers, each having a small dagger."<sup>62</sup> In the argument to the poem "The Seminole Maid," he declared that in winter of 1817 he was with an armed party that encountered a Seminole

59. *Ibid.*, 74, 152-53.

60. *Ibid.*, 159-60.

61. New York, New York Index to Passenger Lists 1820-1846, Roll M 261-79, Manifest 2532, American Genealogical Lending Library, Boutiful, Utah. This source indicates that Rattenbury was thirty-five years old on April 15, 1822, but assuming his christening was in the same year as his birth, he was thirty-eight years old. This list misspells Rattenbury as "Rattenberry."

62. *Narrative*, 111.

hunting party.<sup>63</sup> If this incident occurred, it had to have been at the time of his first visit to St. Augustine. Yet, in the *Narrative* Rattenbury makes no reference to it and admitted in connection with his second visit "on my former visit . . . I had been disappointed in my desire to see some aborigines. . . ." On his second visit, the only Seminoles he encountered were in St. Augustine.<sup>64</sup>

Rattenbury's portrayal of a young Seminole female accompanying the hunting party supposedly encountered diverged markedly from his depiction in the *Narrative*. In the argument to "The Seminole Maid" Rattenbury described a Seminole female about fourteen years old:

[She] was extremely handsome: her attire left little of nature to the imagination; she wore a short petticoat . . . the upper part of her body was entirely naked, save when her long black tresses . . . screened from intrusive glances the lovely contour of her bosom. . . .<sup>65</sup>

Rattenbury's assessment in the *Narrative* of the young Seminole women he saw in St. Augustine was less generous: "Some of the young squaws, were tolerably agreeable, and if well washed and dressed, would not have been uninteresting. . . ."<sup>66</sup>

Rattenbury must have been considered a person of some importance since he was offered passage on a U.S. Navy vessel and carried with him at that time letters of introduction to Colonel James Bankhead, the U.S. Army commander at Amelia. Furthermore, on his second visit to St. Augustine he was a courier of "dispatches from the Spanish minister at Washington."<sup>67</sup>

Rattenbury was compassionate about the treatment of the Africans and seemingly opposed to slavery. He credited the Spanish for their humane treatment of "negroes" compared to the "disgraceful and morbid selfishness of the possessors of this unfortunate race in other countries." More pointedly, he observed:

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63. J. F. Rattenbury, argument to "The Seminole Maid," *Edgar and Ella*, 138.

64. *Narrative*, 164.

65. Rattenbury, argument to "The Seminole Maid," *Edgar and Ella*, 138.

66. *Narrative*, 166.

67. *Ibid.*, 150, 161.

Here [in Spanish East Florida] they continue long in one family, grow up with the rising generation, partake of their sports, sympathize in their griefs, and become identified with every member of their families.<sup>68</sup>

While expressing appreciation for kindnesses extended to him by Americans, Rattenbury was rankled that the people of the United States did not like England:

I cannot repress the expression of my regret, that their hatred to the English, as a nation, is the most fixed, and rooted of their resentments: leading them into the indulgence of feelings, upon political subjects, ungenerous and unjust.<sup>69</sup>

He concluded this observation with the quotation "*Oderint dum metuant*" ("Let them hate, as long as they fear").<sup>70</sup>

The land grant venture shows that Rattenbury had an entrepreneurial bent. Rattenbury discussed the land grant proposal with Coppinger during his first visit. On February 18, 1818 — during his second visit to St. Augustine — he petitioned for 100,000 acres declaring his intent to bring settlers with their families from Great Britain, Ireland and other places and "negroes from Africa." Because the enterprise entailed his going to Europe, he asked three years' time to complete the conditions; however, Coppinger allowed only 50,000 acres and two years' time.<sup>71</sup>

In 1818 or 1819 Rattenbury agreed to convey to Horatio S. Dexter an undivided 2,000 acres of the 11,000 acres near Lake George known as the Volusia tract. Within the same time period he also agreed to convey an undivided 3,500 acres of the Volusia tract to Peter Mitchell, Anthony L. Molyneux, and Ogden Day & Company.<sup>72</sup>

Rattenbury undertook to recruit settlers upon his return to England. He promised 500 acres to James Riz of Liverpool and nine others, including Riz's parents, provided they would settle on his

68. *Ibid.*, 125-26.

69. *Ibid.*, 182.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Spanish Land Grants*, vol. 1, 262.

72. *Ibid.*, 74-75, 234-35.

land. When the immigrants arrived they were prevented from settling by the Indians; consequently, they bought land at Picolata where Riz's parents died of fever. Rattenbury was accused of deceiving Riz by denying the existence of the fever; this accusation rings true given his opinion about the absence of the "miasmata" in East Florida.<sup>73</sup>

James Alexander, describing himself as *apoderado* (proxy or attorney) for Rattenbury, represented Rattenbury's interest locally after his departure. His name appears in a petition to archive a plat; moreover, the land grant records show that he had acquired an interest in the Rattenbury grant. Rattenbury's land claim named the claimants as Rattenbury and "his associates, the heirs of the late James Alexander."<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately for Rattenbury, his land grant came just a month and a few days shy of possibly being confirmed. Claims by Rattenbury's grantees were also rejected, even though they claimed to have made improvements and to have brought slaves and livestock to the property.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, Rattenbury parlayed his experience in East Florida into representation of English peers in connection with their own claims. In 1823 he submitted claims from London for the Earl of Grosvenor, the Marquis of Hastings, Lord Rolle, Lord Templeton, and the Marquis of Waterford.<sup>76</sup>

As previously noted, Rattenbury divulged that "painful and distressing" personal circumstances prompted his journey. The text reveals clues about the nature of those circumstances. The Narrator, in relating an example of vengeance as practiced by the Seminole Indians, expanded upon that subject:

[I]f the operation of this passion could be confined within the bounds of just retribution, its exercise might be rendered beneficial to the community, and the certainty of punishment, might deter those insidious villains, who destroy the peace of individuals and society, by blasting characters with the pestilential breath of scandal, sheltered by irresponsible situations from that punishment, their

73. *Ibid.*, 100.

74. *Ibid.*, 262; Unconfirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, Record Group 000599, Carton 8, Unc. R1, Document No. 1.

75. *Spanish Land Grants*, vol. 1, 74-75; 234-35.

76. *Ibid.*, 156, 166, 270, 305, 336. In the claims submitted for the Marquis of Hastings and for Lord Rolle, Rattenbury is identified as an "attorney." He could have been acting under a power of attorney.

crimes deserve, but which their cowardice would have withheld them from committing, had they been otherwise circumstanced. These injuries are frequently more seriously destructive to the individual than the loss of health and property.<sup>77</sup>

Rattenbury implies that a "villain" accused him of being involved in a scandal, but the accusation was legally privileged; the privilege concept fits his words "sheltered by irresponsible situations." Generally, a legal privilege to make an otherwise defamatory statement applies to a legally protected person or communication. For example, the privilege would apply to a statement made by a high ranking government official or in a judicial proceeding or a military communication.<sup>78</sup> To Rattenbury a defamatory remark protected by a privilege was a "crime" that could be avoided or punished by "prompt and just retaliation." But he concluded that because of the "depravity of human nature," individuals could not be entrusted with "the task of vengeance."<sup>79</sup>

Rattenbury thought the press should operate as the corrective mechanism by exposing the truth about an accuser, but it could not do so because of the "doctrine that the truth of a statement cannot be admitted to repel the charge of libel," a doctrine he characterized as "at once monstrous and absurd, abhorrent to every sentiment, and repugnant to the dispensation of justice."<sup>80</sup> In other words, if the press printed a truthful but defamatory accusation, the press would nonetheless be subject to prosecution.

James Freeman Rattenbury, an insurance broker and merchant, of Cophall Court, London, underwent a bankruptcy in 1811. On September 7, 1811, he was required to undergo a last examination and "surrender himself, and Make a Full Disclosure of His Estate and Effects."<sup>81</sup> It is uncertain, however, whether this was Rattenbury or his father. If it were Rattenbury, then conceivably

77. *Narrative*, 172-74.

78. *American Jurisprudence*, 2d. ed., vol. 50 (Rochester, 1995), "Libel and Slander," §273 at 538-39, §275 at 543-44, §288 at 572-73, §297 at 589-92.

79. *Narrative*, 173-74.

80. In common law criminal libel prosecutions, the maxim "the greater the truth, the greater the libel" developed based on the premise that a truthful accusation was more likely to provoke retaliation than a false one. George Chase, ed., *Commentaries on the Laws of England* by Sir William Blackstone (abridged), 4th ed. (New York, 1938), 682-83 n. 7.

81. *London Gazette*, September 3, 1811.

this was the event about which he was so disturbed, but it occurred six years before his voyage and lacks the immediacy suggested in the *Narrative*. The actual circumstances about which Rattenbury was so distressed remain an alluring mystery.

Although the specific reasons for Rattenbury's decision to publish the *Narrative* anonymously are unknown, one can consider likely motives. One motive could have been to shield himself against the charge of hypocrisy. In the *Narrative* he condemned the *Morning Chronicle* for printing misleading accounts of the insurgents and, possibly, of printing articles of "foreign manufacture."<sup>82</sup> Yet, upon his return to England, Rattenbury wrote articles for the *Morning Chronicle*. Also hypocritical was his seeming condemnation of slavery, yet he proposed bringing slaves from Africa in connection with his land grant.<sup>83</sup> He also may have been reluctant to rekindle any publicity concerning the scandalous conduct referred to earlier. He might have feared that derogatory statements about the Spanish in the *Narrative* would jeopardize Spanish cooperation in the land grant affirmation process. He wrote that the Spanish considered "themselves degraded by every act in which personal labour is concerned, and averse to all bodily exertion," and he referred to the "imbecility" of Spanish commanders.<sup>84</sup> While a reference appears in "Remarks" about "the proverbial indolence of the Spaniards," it was not with the edge expressed in the *Narrative*.<sup>85</sup>

In the *Narrative* Joseph Freeman Rattenbury gifted a portrait of Spanish East Florida in 1817 and 1818 that depicted Seminole Indians, agricultural practices, backwoods inhabitants, the piratical activities on Amelia Island, and the town and society of St. Augustine. Rightful recognition can now be given to him for his legacy.

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82. *Narrative*, 191-92.

83. *Spanish Land Grants*, vol. 1, 262.

84. *Narrative*, 119-20, 81. This comment was not directed at Coppinger; Rattenbury had the highest regard for him.

85. "Remarks," 275.

## Giveaway Forts: Territorial Forts and The Settlement of Florida

by ERNEST F. DIBBLE

**I**n the history of American continental and overseas expansion, sometimes the lone hunter and trapper went first, or the isolated farmer. Other times the missionary or the businessman or the railroad line arrived in advance of settlers. However, sometimes the navy or the army preceded settlement and occasionally even preceded the legal possession of the territory. Military forts have played a role in the settlement of many American frontiers, but on scarcely any frontier did forts play such a pervasive and significant role as they did in Florida. The United States Army preceded settlement into most sections of the territory. Military forts often became havens for settlers who were already in the vicinity or were attracted to the area by the safety that forts provided. Thus the many forts the army built as it explored and fought to subdue the Seminoles became safe havens for the white settlers who either preceded or followed the army.

The very definition of Florida as a frontier prompts a review of the role played by forts in the peopling of the territory. Massive fortification of the territory occurred during the Second Seminole War. As a result Florida became the "nation's most fortified state."<sup>1</sup> So many forts also became towns that the role of the army and navy in this regard forces reevaluation of the significance of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842.

Because the American army preceded the American flag by a number of years, the story of its forts antedates the 1821 acquisition of Florida. After General Andrew Jackson trooped into Florida in 1818, he blew up the Negro Fort and created Fort Gadsden. It was maintained in defiance of Spanish sovereignty. He also seized Fort San Marcos de Apalache (built by the Spanish in 1672) in April 1818, and the United States forces remained until 1819, when it was returned to Spain and re-garrisoned by Spanish troops. It was

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1. Allen Morris and Joan Perry Morris, *Florida Place Names: Alachua to Zolfo Springs* (Sarasota, 1995), xii.

transferred to the United States when Spain relinquished Florida in July 1821 and garrisoned until 1824 (and occasionally thereafter).<sup>2</sup> The American flag also flew over Fort San Carlos on Amelia Island in 1817; the fort became United States property in 1821, although it apparently was abandoned not long afterwards.<sup>3</sup>

Fort San Marcos de Apalache and Fort San Carlos were not the only Spanish forts that continued to exist for use by Americans in 1821. A watchtower, built as part of the defenses of St. Augustine in 1569, was converted into the Spanish fort called Matanzas in 1736. It was in ruins but not yet abandoned before the United States took over Florida. It was turned over to the United States on June 4, 1821, a month before the change of flags. However, the United States found it neither usable nor necessary and abandoned it shortly after its takeover.<sup>4</sup>

The French built *La Caroline* (later Fort Caroline) in 1654 about five miles from the mouth of the St. John's River. After the Spanish conquered the fort they renamed it Fort San Mateo, and a fort in the same location still existed when the British left Florida in 1783. Although the United States did not inherit a fort in the location, it did inherit a history sufficient to inspire creation of the Fort Caroline National Memorial in the 1950s.<sup>5</sup>

The most well known of all the Spanish forts was, of course, Castillo de San Marcos, a stone fort built at St. Augustine in 1672 to replace an earlier wooden one. Renamed Fort Marion upon acquisition by the United States, it was in very poor condition and had not been usable for many years. After the Second Seminole War began, residents from many miles around abandoned their homes and flocked to Fort Marion. The fort itself did not afford the protection desired, but the gathering of troops in St. Augustine did.<sup>6</sup> The national government appropriated fifty thousand dollars for repair in 1836, spent mostly on the seawall. During the war it was used for military offices, a drill ground, hospital, prison, and a major ordnance depot. Fort Marion gained national attention be-

2. Mark F. Boyd, "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (July 1936), 25ff.

3. Hale G. Smith and Ripley Bullen, *Fort San Carlos* (Tallahassee, 1971), 31ff.

4. Luis Rafael Arana, "The Fort at Matanzas Inlet," *El Escribano* 17 (1980), 23-26.

5. Charles E. Bennett, M. C., "Fort Caroline, Cradle of American Freedom," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (July 1956), 3-14.

6. Rogers W. Young, "Fort Marion During the Seminole War, 1835-1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 8 (April 1935), 194 ff.

cause Osceola, Wild Cat (Coacoochee), and other Seminole chiefs were jailed there, although twenty made a newsworthy escape.<sup>7</sup>

When the United States acquired Florida in July 1821, these forts were taken over as part of the possession of all Spanish governmental properties. In his 1818 report to General Andrew Jackson, Captain James Gadsden noted the significance of the Spanish forts west of the Suwannee. He declared that Fort Carlos de Barrancas provided an "imposing command on the entrance to Pensacola Bay" and recommended that improvements be made. Gadsden declared Fort Gadsden to be "invaluable as a depot for an army operating in the Floridas," and he characterized Fort St. Marks as rundown, incomplete, and in need of enlargement.<sup>8</sup> Implicit in this report is the assumption that the United States would retain Florida in 1818, or would soon acquire it. To Gadsden and Jackson, Florida and its forts were necessary for America's coastal defenses. These Spanish forts, together with the American forts constructed during the Second Seminole War, would bring into prominence the role of forts in the settlement of the Florida territory.

The forts of Spanish origin were seacoast or Gulf Coast forts that were augmented during the territorial period for defense against a possible foreign enemy. Additions made included St. Francis Barracks in St. Augustine and Forts Pickens and McRee near Pensacola and the Pensacola Navy Yard.<sup>9</sup>

During the territorial period, the army constructed about 250 forts.<sup>10</sup> Many directly influenced settlement patterns in various

7. Ibid.; Kenneth W. Porter, "Seminole Flight from Fort Marion," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 22 (January 1944), 113ff. See also M. L. Brown, "Notes on U.S. Arsenals, Depots, and Martial Firearms of the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (April 1983), 445-58, on Fort Marion as a major ordnance depot.

8. Captain James Gadsden, "The Defenses of the Floridas: A Report of Captain James Gadsden, Aide-de-Camp to General Andrew Jackson," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (April 1937), 242ff.

9. Ernest F. Dibble, *Antebellum Pensacola and the Military Presence* (Pensacola, 1974), 7ff. See also James C. Coleman, *Fort McRee: A Castle Built on Sand* (Pensacola, 1988). Fort McRee is often misspelled McRae, perhaps confusing it with Fort McRae, a Second Seminole War Fort and site of the present town of McRae.

10. Francis Paul Prucha, *A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789-1895* (Madison, Wisc., 1964), 139-41, lists 140 forts created in Florida. Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (1898; facsimile reprint, Gainesville, 1974), 264-69, list 138 forts. In the latter two sources, several forts are listed that date after Florida gained statehood. Robert B. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts: The Military, Pioneer, and Trading Posts of the United States* (New York, 1988), 143-213, lists about 250 so-called forts created during the Second Seminole War. A few were fortified towns or plantations.

parts of the territory. In the context of this study, it matters little whether a fort was considered permanent, such as a coastal defense fort, or temporary, such as a supply depot, or rapidly established to follow the course of battle, but whether it was a base for the settlement of people in the vast unknown wilderness of the Florida hinterlands. As early as 1822, one commentator stated that although it was one of the earliest parts of America to be discovered by Europeans, Florida "seems to have been destined to be last known."<sup>11</sup> Indeed, as late as 1837, General Thomas Sidney Jesup stated that "we have perhaps as little knowledge of the interior of Florida as of the interior of China."<sup>12</sup>

How many forts were built during the territorial period has been difficult to determine because just about any structure was called a fort. For example, Fort Jupiter was established in 1838, three miles from the mouth of Jupiter Inlet. It was a stockade, but apparently the men who built it were so proud of their work that it was "designated Fort Jupiter."<sup>13</sup> In addition, many plantations, such as Bulowville and Dunlawton, and towns such as Jacksonville became fortified and were sometimes called forts for awhile. However, to disregard these temporary forts would be to ignore the origins of settlements.

The reasons for the creation of so many forts are easier to discern. Inhabitants pressured the government for protection and provisions. General Thomas S. Jesup's strategy of conducting a seven-pronged campaign into the interior, which had no depots or towns or roads, further prompted the development of forts. Jesup complained that he and other commanders were the "only commanders who have ever been required to go into an unexplored wilderness, to catch savages, and remove them to another wilderness."<sup>14</sup> Forts and roads had to be built as the army moved. General Zachary Taylor reported early in 1838 that he had built or rebuilt fifty-three forts, four thousand feet of bridges, and about one thousand miles

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11. William Hayne Simmons, *Notices of East Florida* (1822; facsimile reprint, Gainesville, 1973), 22.

12. Thomas S. Jesup to the Secretary of War, April 9, 1837, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, 28 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1934-1969), vol. 25, 385-86.

13. Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, ed. James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1953), 201.

14. Thomas S. Jesup to the Secretary of War, March 14, 1838, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 25, 495.



Map of Florida Forts 1839

of wagon roads.<sup>15</sup> He continued to build forts and roads until he left command. He had begun to create four hundred-square-mile

15. Reported in a number of publications, including Francis Paul Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846* (New York, 1969), 295.

(twenty-mile square) military districts across Florida from the Suwannee River to the St. John's River, with a fort in each district. Between 1839 and 1840, he built thirty-five numbered forts in these districts.<sup>16</sup> With several vessels to protect the coast, Taylor felt sure that the forts would give "sufficient security to permit settlers to return to their homes."<sup>17</sup> At the time Taylor left, in May 1840, General Alexander Macomb was ordered to leave all of Taylor's forts intact and to continue building a chain of forts from the St. John's River to Tampa Bay and to construct roads between them.<sup>18</sup>

Fort building during the Seminole wars was based not on any consistent policy or plan but upon expediency. The forts of Florida and the Gulf Coast were built "in response to immediate and particular needs."<sup>19</sup> Indeed, one of the expediencies upon which the decision to built forts was made must have been the outcry of citizens for protection. Of course, the army had to carry "an enormous load with them . . . encumbered with a heavy baggage train" because there was "no chain of forts or settlements."<sup>20</sup> General Jesup's strategy was based upon orders to establish forts from Tampa Bay to the Withlacoochee River, not just in order to provide his troops with supply depots but also to "ensure safety for the settlers."<sup>21</sup> The United States Army in the antebellum period was not so professionally immune from public pressure that it could disregard the many petitions that flowed to Washington from Floridians demanding protection. The building of forts was thus in part a response to such "expediencies."

Fort Brooke was officially authorized in 1823. Colonel George M. Brooke went to Tampa Bay the following year and built Cantonment Brooke (renamed Fort Brooke in 1835). It remained an important center of activities during the Second Seminole War, with

16. Numbered forts are listed in Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94 (RG 94), *Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, ca 1700-1900*, microfilm M661, reel 3, 217.

17. K. Jack Bauer, *Zachary Taylor: Soldier, Planter, Statesman of the Old Southwest* (Baton Rouge, 1985), 90.

18. The Secretary of War to the Commanding General, [Poinsett to Macomb], March 18, 1839, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 25, 597ff, 598. Silas Bent McKinley and Silas Bent, *Old Rough and Ready: The Life and Times of Zachary Taylor* (New York, 1946), 101, states that Taylor created seventy forts.

19. See John K. Mahon, "The United States Army in the Gulf Coast Region," in William S. Coker, ed., *The Military Presence on the Gulf Coast* (Pensacola, 1978), 93.

20. Woodburne Potter, *The War in Florida* (1836; facsimile reprint, Gainesville, 1966), 166.

21. Michael G. Schene, "Fort Foster: A Second Seminole War Fort," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (January 1976), 319.



Illustration of Fort Brooke, 1837. Photograph courtesy Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

four thousand or more troops stationed there at times. Although the hurricane of 1848 leveled much of the fort, it remained open until the War Department gave it up in 1883. At that time, the reserved land of the fort was opened for homesteading.<sup>22</sup> As one author stated, "Due to the trade and protection offered by Fort Brooke, Tampa was born and slowly grew."<sup>23</sup>

Practically any fort built attracted "camp followers," and Fort Brooke displayed this tendency. As Colonel Brooke explained in 1828, several people had settled near the fort and were selling whiskey to soldiers and Indians, besides cutting wood.<sup>24</sup> Brooke asked for guidance because he felt he lacked the authority to drive the settlers off, and the nearest civilian court at that time was in St. Augustine. That same year a general store was set up. When General Duncan L. Clinch relocated to Fort Brooke in 1829, he noted the

22. See James W. Covington, "The Establishment of Fort Brooke: The Beginnings of Tampa, From Letters of Col. George M. Brooke," *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April 1953), 273-78, and James W. Covington, "The Final Years of Fort Brooke," *Sunland Tribune* 7 (November 1981), 41-42.

23. Covington, "The Establishment of Fort Brooke," 273.

24. George M. Brooke to the Adjutant General, June 6, 1828, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 24, 23.

"number of families" living nearby.<sup>25</sup> By mid-1835 at least twenty or thirty families resided near the fort.<sup>26</sup> About a hundred others also lived northward along the banks of the Hillsborough River and approximately a dozen stores existed.<sup>27</sup>

Just west of Tampa, in present Clearwater, Fort Harrison was built in 1841. It was a temporary post, named for President William Henry Harrison. An additional encampment, named Camp William Henry Harrison, was located on Clearwater beach. Fort Harrison was a center to treat ill soldiers and was headquarters for the United States Sixth Infantry for close to six months in 1841, with about 550 men in residence during July 1841. Fort Harrison was abandoned on November 1, 1841, and later the land and buildings of the fort were claimed and awarded to a settler, James Stephens.<sup>28</sup> The buildings may have been wiped out by hurricane forces in 1841.<sup>29</sup> An early settler, Odet Phillippe, came in the 1830s and established a sutler's store and so was directly connected with army forts. The next group of settlers, in the early 1840s, occupied land in Clearwater within several miles of Fort Harrison. Even as an abandoned fort it served as a magnet to attract settlers.<sup>30</sup>

Fort King was first established in 1825 as Camp King, an Indian agency with a council house. It became an official military post in 1827 but remained a location for a number of Indian councils. In 1829 removal of the garrison at Fort King aroused panic and prompted a petition from the citizens of Alachua County. The citizens' spokesman, James Dell, expressed his concern that males could not leave their homes and families in such a sparsely populated county. The petition asked that Micanopia (Micanopy) be garrisoned by troops that were not needed at Fort Brooke.<sup>31</sup> Fort King was not sufficiently centrally located, but a fort at Micanopy

25. Rembert W. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (Gainesville, 1963), 63.

26. Donald L. Chamberlin, "Fort Brooke: Frontier Outpost, 1824-1842," *Tampa Bay History* 7 (Spring/Summer 1985), 11, 14.

27. Frank Laumer, *Massacre!* (Gainesville, 1968), 12.

28. W. L. Straub, *History of Pinellas County Florida* (St. Augustine, 1929), 35.

29. Don Sheppard, "Historic Sketch of Fort Harrison," 1967, 11-12, unpublished paper, Heritage Village, Largo.

30. W. L. Straub, *History of Pinellas County Florida*, 33-35.

31. In this instance, settlers caused a fort to be built instead of a fort attracting settlers. See Frank Morotti Jr., "Edward M. Wonton and the Settling of Micanopy," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73 (April 1995), 471. Morotti states that about two hundred residents lived in the area of the Arredondo Grant in October 1824.

would allow families to flee "to a place of safety." The males of the county would be available for militia duty "to fight the battles of [their] country." The petition enclosed with the letter to President Andrew Jackson was signed by 126 citizens of Alachua County.<sup>32</sup>

Fort King was the center of Major General Macomb's attempt to parley for peace with the Seminoles in 1839 and the center for much activity and movement to and from other forts in the area. It was especially important in the early part of the Second Seminole War, but when the center of military activity moved eastward and southward, it was abandoned, reestablished, and then ordered abandoned again.<sup>33</sup>

Fort Micanopy was built and in 1839 General Macomb noted "a small village—some eight or ten houses beside the Garrison."<sup>34</sup> Not all the villages that grew in or around the forts were small. Indeed, one contemporary observer noted that from late 1835 "the forts and fortified villages throughout Florida were crowded by settlers and their families."<sup>35</sup>

In the meantime the army abandoned Fort King for a second time in March 1843.<sup>36</sup> The closed fort, however, was designated the first county seat of Marion County, and the first Board of County Commissioners dated its minutes from Fort King. This board changed the name of the site to Ocala, but the "trading post and small cluster of settlers remained."<sup>37</sup> The Fort King post office was renamed Ocala in 1847.

About twenty miles northwest of Fort King, Fort Drane was built in 1835. It was constructed on General Duncan Clinch's plantation, Auld Lang Syne. When completed, because of the threat of Indian attacks, "150 pioneers deserted their homesteads and crowded into the fort without food or enough clothing."<sup>38</sup>

32. James Dell et al. to the President (Andrew Jackson), n.d. (received October 1829), in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 24, 282-84, 285-87.

33. Frederick Cubberly, "Fort King," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 5 (January 1927), 139ff.

34. Frank F. White Jr., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles: John T. Sprague's Journal Kept During April and May, 1839," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (October 1956), 158.

35. John Bemrose, *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War* (Gainesville, 1985), 107.

36. Eloise Robinson Ott, "Ocala Prior to 1868," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 6 (October 1927), 88.

37. Ibid.

38. John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1985), 107.

Many other forts were havens for local settlers when war activity was reported in the neighborhood. Newnansville, no longer in existence, is not usually mentioned as a fort. During territorial days it was a thriving community and court site not far from the present Alachua. In response to threatening Indians, the court house was made into a fort and the jail house into a blockhouse. By the end of December 1835, over four hundred refugees had flocked into the "little town."<sup>39</sup> In 1837 army surgeon Jacob Rhetle Motte described this fortified village as having "dwellings, alias shantees, so numerous that for several days after my arrival I could scarcely find my way through the labyrinth of streets and lanes." This population surge was the result of people fleeing the nearby countryside because of "an innate dread and very natural dislike . . . to being scalped."<sup>40</sup>

Motte noticed that other forts served as havens for area settlers. Fort Heileman (Garey's Ferry) functioned as a major supply center when Motte visited it in June 1837. He felt he was back in civilization because of the frame houses and steamboats. Seven or eight hundred people had left their homes and gathered around the fort for protection.<sup>41</sup> Two years later, General Macomb noticed about three hundred inhabitants, most living in log huts around the fort. He stated that "[t]he Florida War has made the place."<sup>42</sup>

Fort Harley (Harlee) was established in 1836 on Little Sandy Pond about fifty miles from Fort Heileman. Surgeon Motte noted "a few miserable shanties . . . occupied by cracker families, who had left their homes and resorted hither to be under the wing of our protection."<sup>43</sup> General Macomb also noted in his 1839 visit to the fort that there were "a few houses or sheds scattered around the fort which constitute the town."<sup>44</sup> In his travels from fort to fort, Macomb several times noted the complete absence of settlements between the forts, although occasionally he noticed a burned building or a fence.

Another haven during the war was Fort Alligator [Fort Lancaster]. It was an "asylum of many families" who had lost their

39. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform*, 96.

40. Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, 90. Editor James F. Sunderman states that the court and jail were turned into a fort and blockhouse in 1835. See 270n9.

41. *Ibid.*, 272n4.

42. White Jr., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles," 158.

43. Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, 107.

44. White Jr., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles," 158.

homes and were receiving provisions given by the army.<sup>45</sup> The town of Alligator, by the site of the fort, was changed to Lake City in 1858.<sup>46</sup>

Fort Hichipucsassas (renamed Fort Sullivan in 1839) gathered a white settlement around it that "grew and flourished" for awhile. The town was renamed Cork, but when the fort closed in 1839, the settlers apparently moved to Plant City, which was identified as Fort Fraser on an 1839 map.<sup>47</sup>

Fort Alabama had been built and abandoned in early 1836. However, it was ordered to be reestablished in November of the same year as Fort Foster. It was built at the junction of the Hillsborough River and the Fort King road; the army also reconstructed two bridges to replace those built in 1828 and burned in 1835. Because of the extensive sickness suffered by the troops in summer weather, the fort was abandoned by June 1838. It was re-occupied for about a month in 1849.<sup>48</sup> At first, soldiers relied upon Indians to provide fresh game for the fort. However, in order not to become dependent upon Indian suppliers, General Jesup appointed a sutler to provide supplies to Forts Foster and Dade, as well as to open a store in Tampa.<sup>49</sup>

General Jesup tried to stop the southward movement of settlers who "stood panting on the edges of this last reserve" of Indian territory by issuing Order No. 79.<sup>50</sup> This order forbade settlers to go south of an imaginary line drawn from Fort Foster east to the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>51</sup> The soldiers at Fort Foster were supposed to enforce this order, but it was not possible to do so and the order was amended in less than a month.<sup>52</sup> In this and other situations, business and commerce followed the forts.

St. Augustine and Jacksonville sheltered many settlers who suffered depredations at the onset of the Second Seminole War. To bolster defenses in the area west and south of St. Augustine, the

45. Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness*, 84.

46. Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names*, 4.

47. James M. Gray, "Fort Sullivan," n.d., n.p. [4th page], unpublished typescript, in J. Mason Gray Collection, University of South Florida Library, Tampa; Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names*, 197.

48. Michael G. Schene, "Fort Foster: A Second Seminole War Fort," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (January 1976), 319-39.

49. *Ibid.*, 329, 336.

50. Laumer, *Massacre!*, 16. Laumer gives an interesting description of the wondering frontiersman.

51. Schene, "Fort Foster," 329.

52. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 202.

army built Forts Searle, Hanson, Peyton and Weadman.<sup>53</sup> Further southward, Camp Monroe was constructed in 1836 but was renamed Fort Mellon to honor Captain Charles Mellon, who was killed in a Seminole attack on the fort in 1837. Fort Mellon was active from 1837 until 1842 and was the terminus for a great deal of steamboat activity during those years. In 1844, an observer noted "ten or a dozen people . . . and a large commodious boarding house for invalids."<sup>54</sup> Thus Mellonville "emerged in its [the fort's] shadow," with seven or eight fort buildings becoming "the nucleus of the town" by the time the fort closed in 1842.<sup>55</sup> It even served as the county seat of Orange County until Orlando became the county seat in 1856.<sup>56</sup>

In 1840, Fort Reid was established one and a half miles west of Fort Mellon as a satellite fort. The next year it "apparently served as a civilian defense."<sup>57</sup> Sanford grew near these forts until it overshadowed them and Mellonville ceased to exist after 1883.<sup>58</sup>

Several other forts that became centers for settlement were created as satellite forts to Fort Mellon. They included Forts Gatlin, Kingsbury, Maitland, McNeil, and Volusia, all of which became towns. Fort Maitland was built in 1838, one of fifty-three forts that General Zachary Taylor reported creating not long after his April 1838 appointment to succeed General Jesup.<sup>59</sup> Fort Maitland became the nucleus of the town of Maitland.

Fort Gatlin was established in 1838. It was abandoned in 1849, but the settlers near the area formed a basis for the growth of nearby Orlando.<sup>60</sup> Orlando has been called "an aftermath" of the Second Seminole War because many volunteers from Florida and other states remained to create a community near Fort Gatlin. After 1841, "under the protection of the garrison, settlers drifted into

53. Rogers W. Young, "Fort Marion During the Seminole War, 1835-1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 13 (April 1935), 208, 221-22.

54. W. Stanley Hoole, ed., *Florida in 1844: The Diary of Master Edward C. Anderson* (University, Ala., 1977), 20.

55. Arthur E. Francke Jr., *Fort Mellon, 1837-1842: A Microcosm of the Second Seminole War* (Miami, 1977), 80.

56. *Ibid.*, 80ff.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, 82.

59. Alfred Jackson Hanna, *Fort Maitland: Its Origin and History* (Maitland, 1936), 8, 60-61, 70. Hanna noted that a site marker was set up in 1935. See p. xvi.

60. William Fremont Blackman, *History of Orange County, Florida* (DeLand, 1927), 83. Today, two streets in Orlando are named Gatlin. That is all that remains of the original fort.

the Orlando area."<sup>61</sup> It was supposedly named in memory of Orlando Reeves, killed in 1835.<sup>62</sup>

Fort Pierce was established in 1838 at the Indian River Inlet on the shore of St. Lucie Sound and was used by the army until abandoned in 1842. In 1843, a group of pioneers came on a ship, the *Mary Shields*, to settle in the neighborhood of Fort Pierce.<sup>63</sup>

Beginning in 1837, several forts were built near the southwest coast. Fort Dulany, which had a hospital, barracks, and warehouses, was at Punta Rassa. Destroyed by a hurricane in 1841, the base was moved up-river to Fort Harvie. Fort Harvie was closed but then reopened in 1850 and renamed Fort Myers.<sup>64</sup> The fort had served to protect nearby settlers and "a small community grew up around the fort."<sup>65</sup>

Five camps or forts were built and named after General Duncan Clinch. Fort Clinch No. 1 was established at the mouth of the Withlacoochee River. It was designated a village on the *J. H. Colton Map 1855 (With Revisions Through 1859)*. Cantonment Clinch, three miles from Pensacola, was in existence from 1823 to 1834. It was called Cantonment Clinch when General Andrew Jackson encamped there in 1814 and when General Clinch encamped there in the 1830s. The town of Cantonment reflects the name.<sup>66</sup> The best known Fort Clinch was developed on a "reservation" of land that was set aside in 1842 on Amelia Island, but construction was not started until after the territorial period, in 1847.<sup>67</sup>

Fort Miami, in the Everglades, was not the center of settlement from which Miami grew. However, Fort Dallas (Key Biscayne) was

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61. Federal Writer's Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* (New York, 1939), 223.

62. Bertha E. Bloodworth and Alton C. Morris, *Places in the Sun: The History and Romance of Florida Place-Names* (Gainesville, 1978), 65. This book lists about twenty-five place-names of towns originating from the Second Seminole War. However, Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names* is more accurate and comprehensive.

63. Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (New York, 1950), 209ff.

64. Charlton W. Tebeau, *Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County* (Miami, 1957), 39ff.

65. Federal Writer's Project, *Florida*, 298.

66. Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names*, 41.

67. Smith and Bullen, *Fort San Carlos*, 31.

built in 1836. Miami grew from that site, which would become part of the center of the city.<sup>68</sup>

Seminole War forts that have towns named for them include Fort Basinger, Fort Drum, Fort Lauderdale, Fort McNeil, Fort McCoy, Fort Ogden, Fort Pierce, Fort Walton Beach and Fort White (probably named after Joseph M. White, Florida's Delegate to Congress from 1825 to 1837). In 1840, forty-one citizens of Fort White petitioned to have a land office established nearer to them. The closest one was at distant St. Augustine.<sup>69</sup>

A number of fort towns are no longer in existence. Unless otherwise known, the creation of settlements at forts has been established by comparing dates of fort abandonments by the army with dates of post office openings, or by noting petitions to the government by citizens at forts or by the votes of citizens for statehood. Other villages at abandoned forts have been found by the use of several military maps published during or shortly after the Second Seminole War.

One such settlement, Fort Call, was abandoned by the military in 1838, but thirty-nine Fort Call citizens voted on adoption of the state constitution in 1841.<sup>70</sup> Fort Clarke was probably last occupied by the army in 1840, but sixteen citizens voted on adopting the state constitution in 1841. Local settlers erected Fort Crane. It was last used as a fort in 1840, but twenty-four of its citizens voted on the state constitution in 1841. Fort McClure was closed in 1842, but the town of Fort McClure grew in the shadows of the fort and was still included on an 1888 map of Florida. Fort Mason was built in 1836 on the shores of Lake Eustis, where a small settlement by the same name was noted by an observer in 1856.<sup>71</sup>

68. Fort Miami is not mentioned in published sources, but is mentioned in existence in 1839 in Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 89, *Brief History of U.S. Army Commands (Army Posts)*, microfilm T-912, 1 reel, n.p.

69. Memorial to Congress by the Citizens of East Florida, December 26, 1839, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 11ff. See especially 14-15. Virginia Peters, *The Florida Wars* (Hamden, Conn., 1979), 101, notes settlers at Fort Drum. Robert B. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 183, states that the town of Fort McCoy "occupies the site of the fort." See Lynn W. Ware, "The Peace River: A Forgotten Highway," *Tampa Bay History* 6 (Fall/Winter 1984), 22, on the building of Fort Ogden in 1841.

70. Dorothy Dodd, *Florida Becomes a State* (Tallahassee, 1945), 377. Unless otherwise noted, all statements on votes to adopt the Constitution are from this source.

71. William M. Goza, introduction to *A Guide-Book of Florida and the South, for Tourists, Invalids and Emigrants*, by Daniel G. Brinton (1869; facsimile reprint, Gainesville, 1978), xxxviii, 92; Federal Writer's Project, *Florida*, notes a population of twenty-five.

Other towns that grew up at or near Second Seminole War forts either did not retain the word "fort" or went through a change of name. Fort Apalachicola was built in the town of Apalachicola, which existed before the fort was built. Apalachicola Arsenal [Mt. Vernon Arsenal, Chattahoochee Arsenal], in the town of Mt. Vernon, was renamed Chattahoochee in 1834, at which time it received a post office. Fort Basinger [Bassinger] became Basinger and Fort Basinger.<sup>72</sup> The name of Fort Butler was changed to Astor in the 1870s.<sup>73</sup> Charles Ferry Post, called Charles Ferry on the 1837 J. L. Williams's map, was renamed Dowling Park in the twentieth century.<sup>74</sup> Fort Chipola became Chipola, and seventeen citizens voted on statehood in 1841. Fort Christmas became Christmas, Fort Cross became Cross City, and Fort Dade became Dade City. The town of Fort Dade received a post office in 1845.<sup>75</sup>

Other towns that grew up at or near Second Seminole War forts include: Fort Davenport (Davenport), Fort Denaud (Denaud), Fort Dulaney [Delaney] (Punta Rassa), Fort Fanning [Fanin], Fort Hamilton (The fort was abandoned by the military in 1843, but the town of Fort Hamilton received a post office in 1844. The name was changed to Stockton in 1850).<sup>76</sup> Fort Harlee was abandoned in 1838, but the town of Fort Harlee received a post office in 1839. Sixty-nine Fort Harlee citizens signed a petition for a separate East Florida in 1840.<sup>77</sup> Wauchula "grew up around" Fort Hartsuff; Fort Harvey became Fort Myers.<sup>78</sup> Fort Heileman, or Garey's Ferry, was abandoned in 1841, but the post office was established in 1843. The name was changed to Middleburg in 1851.<sup>79</sup> Camp Izard was used occasionally until 1842, but the town of Camp Izard received a post office in 1845.<sup>80</sup> Fort Jupiter became Jupiter,

72. Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names*, 92.

73. *Ibid.*, 14, and Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 153.

74. Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names*, 70, and Federal Writer's Project, *Florida*, 435.

75. Alford G. Bradbury and E. Story Hallock, *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices* (Port Salerno, 1962), 30.

76. Federal Writer's Project, *Florida*, 418, states that Fanin Springs occupies the site of the fort.

77. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 141-42.

78. Federal Writer's Project, *Florida*, 370.

79. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 173; Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names*, 165; Bradbury and Hallock, *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices*, 32.

80. The site of Fort Izard is being preserved from development for future reconstruction. See the Seminole War Historic Foundation, Inc., *History of the Seminole Wars* (n.d.), 14.

and Fort King, which became the town of Ocala, established a post office in 1844.<sup>81</sup>

The town of Enterprise was founded in the vicinity of Fort Kingsbury. Fort Kissimmee became Kissimmee. Madison Blockhouse was built in the town of Madison (Hickstown), which preceded the fort.<sup>82</sup> Fort McRae became McRae. The town of Mandarin preceded Fort Mandarin by other names. Fort New Smyrna was built in 1835. The old town of New Smyrna apparently was deserted because its post office was discontinued in 1837. In 1844 plans existed "to recommence the settlement of New Smyrna."<sup>83</sup> Near Fort Picolata, the site of old Spanish and English posts, the town of Picolata grew and became a major post, supply depot, and hospital by 1836. The town received a post office in 1843.<sup>84</sup>

Palm City Depot became Palm City, and Fort Place preceded the present town of Wewahitchka.<sup>85</sup> Fort Port Leon, later Port Leon, received a post office in 1840, but the town was wiped out in an 1843 hurricane.<sup>86</sup> The town of Palatka preceded Fort Shannon, but Indians destroyed the town in 1836. The town re-established itself around the fort and received a post office in 1841. The town of Volusia existed before Fort Volusia. Fort Wacahoota was abandoned by the military in 1842, but the town of Wacahoota received a post office the same year. Fort Wacissa became the town of Wacissa.<sup>87</sup>

In addition, several other forts appear specially marked as villages on *J. H. Colton's Map 1855 (With Revisions Through 1859)*. These include Fort Andrews (abandoned by the army and supposedly burned in 1840), Fort Carroll (abandoned in 1841), Fort Cummings (abandoned in 1841), Fort Gardiner (Gardner), Fort Griffin (abandoned in 1840), Fort Hulbert (abandoned in 1840), Fort Macomb (abandoned in 1843), Fort Starke (abandoned in 1841), and Fort Wool.<sup>88</sup>

81. Bradbury and Hallock, *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices*, 31.

82. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 184.

83. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 976.

84. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 198; Bradbury and Hallock, *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices*, 66.

85. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 194, 199.

86. *Ibid.*, 199.

87. James M. Gray, "Florida Forts," 1972, 33, unpublished typescript, Gray Papers.

88. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 144, 156, 160-61, 169, 171, 175, 184, 208.

The *Atlas of Florida* lists settlements created before 1845. These include Alaquá (Fort Alaquá was built in 1836 or 1837), Aspalaga (originally Fort Aspalaga [Barbour], established in 1841), and Fort Peyton (abandoned in 1840).<sup>89</sup>

A few of the forts of the Second Seminole War were used again during the Third Seminole War. The few new forts built for the Third Seminole War include Fort Chokonikla, Fort Green, Fort Meade, and Fort Myakka. Villages grew around each of them.<sup>90</sup>

Many of the seventy towns created at Second Seminole War forts listed here are recognizable on contemporary road maps. Some towns that appear to be named for forts were not. One example is Fort Braden and Bradenton. Another town, Eustis, might have been named after Fort Eustis, for Seminole War general Abraham Eustis, for which Lake Eustis was named. However, the town could have been named for the son, Civil War General Henry Lawrence Eustis.<sup>91</sup> Besides Fort Brooke (Tampa), there existed a Fort Brooks and a Fort Frank Brooke. However, Brooksville was named for Congressman Preston Brooks, who became famous for beating Senator Charles Sumner with a cane in 1856. A fort called Lonesome probably never existed to provide a namesake for the town of Fort Lonesome.<sup>92</sup>

Forts were sometimes named for the officer building the forts, sometimes for a superior officer, and sometimes for an unsung hero who had lost his life in the Second Seminole War. All the officers who were killed in the Dade Massacre had forts named in their honor. A few were named for territorial or national figures, including Forts White, Harrison and Reid. However, the many towns named after forts carry on the memories of the unsung heroes of the war to clear Florida of Indians for white settlers to take over.

Road building by the military likewise had immense consequences for the peopling of Florida. For several years before the Second Seminole War, the army had been involved either directly in road building or in contracting for the building of roads in

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89. Edward A. Fernald and Elizabeth D. Purdum, eds., *Atlas of Florida* (Gainesville, 1992).

90. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 151, 171, 186, 189.

91. Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names*, 33, 82.

92. Gray, "Florida Forts," 1972, xiv, states that a Fort Lonesome existed, but Morris and Morris, *Florida Place Names*, 96, states that it never was a fort. No reference to such a fort exists in the other sources used.

northern Florida, but older roads like the one from St. Augustine to Pensacola were usually performed with specific congressional appropriations.<sup>93</sup> An earlier story is that road building stopped when war started.<sup>94</sup> In reality, it had just begun. Due in part to the urging of Joseph M. White, Florida's Delegate to Congress, the quartermaster general instructed General Jesup as early as 1836 that "the appropriations for suppressing Indian hostilities can be applied to the repair of roads and bridges while the troops are in the field."<sup>95</sup> Forts were to be connected not simply by Indian or horseback trails but by wagon roads built to convey supplies from post to post. A respectable amount of the \$40 million spent on the Second Seminole War went into such internal improvements as river and harbor upgrades, and road and bridge building, which contributed immensely to settlement. One author stated that because of Taylor's creation of a string of forts, "much of the territory had been cleared and made accessible by that effort."<sup>96</sup>

Pioneers might have found it easy to follow the many rivers and lakes into the interior of the Florida peninsula. This was partly true, but once again the army engineers were the front runners. They opened inland waterways by dredging operations so that the army could use steamers. The war was a boost to the development of Jacksonville and elsewhere. Because they assumed the war would be short, army officers chartered, rather than bought or built, steamers. After the war the charters were discontinued, but steamers stayed in the area to fill civilian needs and desires.<sup>97</sup> In many cases the forts were built before the pioneer arrived, and the string of roads connecting the forts allowed pioneers to hover around the forts, whether near the coast or not, whether abandoned or not.

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93. Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic*, 189, reviews 1824 to 1826 road building by troops.

94. John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (1837; facsimile reprint, Gainesville, 1962), 144, suggested that the 1835 beginning of war stopped road building and repair. Alice Whitman, "Transportation in Territorial Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17 (July 1938), 32, leaves out the army's role in road building entirely, suggesting that most lesser roads were done by private initiative. In contrast, Mahon, "The United States Army in the Gulf Coast Region," 94, states that most road building on the Gulf Coast was done by the military.

95. Joseph M. White to the Quartermaster General, February 17, 1836, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 25, 235. White's letter was endorsed to General Jesup and others with the quoted comment.

96. Peters, *The Florida Wars*, 189.

97. George E. Buker, *Jacksonville: Riverport—Seaport* (Columbia, SC, 1992), especially chapters 5 and 6.

Building the string of forts connected by roads provided the geographical knowledge needed by the military and coveted by the general public.

The United States Army opened the interior of Florida to settlers, and settlement occurred in a hop-scotch fashion. For example, the "Cracker Trail" and the "Hernandez Trail" were built and used first by the army and then by settlers into Brevard County until the twentieth century.<sup>98</sup> Also, the "circuit rider" preachers of more than one denomination were more apt than the census taker to follow the isolated settler. Several years after the war had ended, one itinerant Methodist minister, John C. Ley, in travels to isolated settlers miles apart, observed that "the roads, especially in the southern part of the district, were chiefly such as had been opened by the troops during the Indian War."<sup>99</sup>

Building and maintaining forts beyond the bounds of settlement required the soldier to be many things. Zachary Taylor wrote as early as 1820 that "the ax, pick, saw and trowel, have become more the implement of the American soldier than the cannon, musket or sword. . . ."<sup>100</sup> Soldiers assumed many duties, such as wood chopping, logging, gardening, herding, teamstering and, of course, fort and road building. At times, the army employed over one thousand civilians. However, in the spring of 1842 Colonel William Jenkins Worth determined to get rid of the "swollen ranks of civilians working for the army."<sup>101</sup> Soldiers had to take over clerking and many other duties performed previously by civilians. The soldiers wore many hats, "but first of all they were agents of empire."<sup>102</sup> Indeed, not only was the soldier in Florida an agent for advancing the boundaries of American empire; he was also trained to be a frontiersman. Some of the soldiers and formerly employed civilians remained to practice their skills as frontiersmen. Several former soldiers from a number of different forts stayed and applied for land "which they had previously observed and desired."<sup>103</sup> Hence,

98. John M. Eriksen, *Brevard County: A History to 1955* (Tampa, 1994), 38-39.

99. John C. Ley quoted in William E. Brooks, ed., *From Saddlebags to Satellites* (Nashville, 1969), 65.

100. Quoted in Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York, 1986), 44.

101. Peters, *The Florida Wars*, 241. See also 211ff.

102. Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic*, xvi.

103. James W. Covington, "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40 (July 1961), 46.

movement of new settlers started before Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act of 1842.

All of the forts built during the Second Seminole War attracted camp followers, many of whom remained as settlers. Fort Brooke, the first fort built in the territorial period, displayed this tendency. Fort Micanopy had a "severe problem with local grog shops, run by former soldiers" and, in 1843, twenty-eight men were discharged from the army for drunkenness at Fort Stansbury.<sup>104</sup> Repeated complaints by regular army men about civilians, especially slave-hunters and discharged volunteers, abound in the literature on the Seminole Wars. The regulars despised the militia, whom they called "crackers."<sup>105</sup> One observer mentioned that "these discharged volunteers in Florida are worse than the Indians themselves."<sup>106</sup> And one political enemy of Governor Robert Raymond Reid, Delegate to Congress C. Downing, accused Reid of keeping a corps of militia in Tallahassee instead of on the frontier in order to protect himself. This corps was supposed to have been "composed mostly of discharged soldiers of the regular army."<sup>107</sup> Many regular soldiers and militia members from other states did not vacate Florida after they resigned, were discharged or deserted.

As happened in other wars, Florida offered attractions to soldiers stationed here. One participant stated that he would undoubtedly "permanently establish here." He noted that because Florida land would be in great demand after the war, "I shall speculate a little myself."<sup>108</sup> The attraction of Florida may have encouraged resignations and desertions. The number of officers who resigned from the regular army during the war was "humiliating," according to soldier James B. Dallam.<sup>109</sup> During the first three years

104. Joe Knetsch, "Hardship and Inconvenience of a Camp Life: Life in the Forts During the Seminole War," April 19, 1995, n.p. [13th page], unpublished paper, Heritage Village.

105. White Jr., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles," 166, for one expression of this attitude.

106. Felix McGaughy Jr., "The Squaw Kissing War: Bartholomew M. Lynch's Journal of the Second Seminole War, 1836-1839" (Master's Thesis, Florida State University, 1965), 172.

107. Delegate Downing to the President, August 28, 1840, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 207.

108. William Hoyt Jr., "A Soldier's View of the Seminole War, 1838-1839: Three Letters of James B. Dallam," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 25 (April 1947), 359.

109. *Ibid.*, 51-52.

of the war, 202 officers resigned.<sup>110</sup> In addition, the desertion rate of regulars from 1820 to 1860 was nearly fifteen percent, probably even higher during the hostilities in Florida.<sup>111</sup>

Florida was not only attractive to soldiers but to camp followers, for whom the war created an economic boom. There were "plenty of women in the marketplace," and small business persons, such as blacksmiths, barbers, launderers, cutlers, and cobblers, congregated in more than one location.<sup>112</sup> A favored status was granted to the sutler, who had a regulated contractual understanding to provide "competent supplies of necessaries" for forts.<sup>113</sup> He was, however, usually allowed to set up a store and sell to individual soldiers and civilians, and sometimes to Indians. The sutler would typically stock "needles, thread, socks, books, paper, pencils, locks, razors, tobacco, cheese, apples, tea, nuts," and would often include in his offerings beer, wine and whiskey, even if illegal.<sup>114</sup> No wonder one observer declared, "Long live the Fla. War, so say the sutlers."<sup>115</sup>

Regular soldiers consistently criticized the pioneer settlers in and around the many forts. One observer derisively described them as "vagrant whites which infest this territory."<sup>116</sup> Another soldier more benignly noted "a number of settlers" along the banks of the Manatee River but speculated "whether they will ever come to anything remains a problem."<sup>117</sup> Non-military observers were close to united with military observers in their disparaging remarks about the number of crackers coming into Florida. However, the many deprecating remarks provide evidence that settlers continued to move into Florida during the Second Seminole War.<sup>118</sup> Officers who had resigned, army deserters, civilians formerly employed by the military, and camp followers contributed to Florida's population growth during the war years. Between 1830 and 1840 the population grew from 34,730 to 54,477, an increase of 56.8 per-

110. James M. Denham, "Some Prefer the Seminoles: Violence and Disorder Among Soldiers and Settlers in the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70 (July 1991), 39.

111. Coffman, *The Old Army*, 193.

112. McGaughy Jr., "The Squaw Kissing War," 128.

113. Coffman, *The Old Army*, 177 *et passim*.

114. *Ibid.* Coffman's description of a sutler's wares is generic.

115. McGaughy Jr., "The Squaw Kissing War," 161.

116. White Jr., "Macomb's Mission to the Seminoles," 176.

117. Hoole, ed., *The Diary of Master Edward C. Anderson*, 36.

118. James M. Denham, "The Florida Cracker Before the Civil War as Seen Through Travelers' Accounts," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 72 (April 1994), 453-68.

cent.<sup>119</sup> Thus Floridians searching for their ancestors might look into the records of camp followers, former army employees, or of soldiers who resigned or deserted.

New settlers came to Florida during the war because they were actively encouraged to do so. As early as 1816, Andrew Jackson had urged the opening of lands acquired by Indian treaties for rapid sales. He argued that the creation of a populous citizenry would provide for its own defense.<sup>120</sup> In other words, the concept of armed occupation, with settlers providing for their own defense, had been prevalent in military circles for a long time before the Second Seminole War started. The army had come to the aid of the Florida population in 1835 when the countryside was abandoned and "the frontier inhabitants [were] shut up in a few miserable stockade forts."<sup>121</sup> However, by 1837, an interlude in the war seemed to promise peace, so attention was paid to the many civilians being housed and fed at the many forts. Provisioning the "suffering inhabitants" had to stop because they were becoming too dependent on the free handouts. President Jackson ordered the "distribution of rations" to stop by October 1, 1837.<sup>122</sup> The war did not cease, however, and the citizens in or near the forts continued to be given provisions and protection. When General Taylor took command in 1838, he "insisted that it was necessary to encourage settlers to migrate to Florida so that an increased population could provide its own protection. . . ."<sup>123</sup> He did not want to use Florida militia but instead would allow them to stay at home for home protection. Thus, at least by 1838, army leadership in Florida was actively encouraging outside settlers to come to Florida and increase the population in pursuance of the "armed occupation" principle.

Before 1839 the army followed a policy of protecting the settlers as well as pursuing Seminoles into the swamps.<sup>124</sup> In 1839 the Secretary of War ordered General Macomb to encourage inhabitants now "fed by the bounty of the government to settle near them

119. Roland M. Harper, "Ante-Bellum Census Enumerations in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 6 (July 1927), 42, 45.

120. Harold D. Moser et al., *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* (Knoxville, 1994), 4, 23-24.

121. Richard K. Call to the President, December 22, 1835, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 25, 216.

122. The Secretary of War to Thomas S. Jesup, August 3, 1837, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 25, 411.

123. Prucha, *Sword of the Republic*, 293.

124. Hanna, *Fort Maitland*, 74ff, for a fuller explanation of this policy.

[the forts] and under their protection to cultivate the country in their immediate vicinity."<sup>125</sup> With this order, the Secretary of War endorsed an armed occupation policy already in practice before the Armed Occupation Bill was introduced into Congress by Thomas Hart Benton.<sup>126</sup> The Armed Occupation Act allowed claimants to apply for permits for less than a year, whereas the army followed an armed occupation policy for at least four years.

The army's policy of encouraging settlement and resettlement became even more pronounced in 1841. The army received authority to issue rations and arms to civilians who would occupy or re-occupy the land. Since 1836 the army had liberally interpreted congressional approval of "rations from the public stores" to apply not just to those who had to flee their homes but also to those who had just come into the territory. However, issuing of rations became conditional upon settlement, with a cutoff date to receive public aid of August 31, 1842. The army also provided transportation, offered the use of abandoned forts, and built new forts for new settlements. The army established thirty-two villages, and the program was judged by one observer to have had "beneficial results" from "inducing settlers to enter the country, and stimulating those to return who had fled their homes."<sup>127</sup> Even the new settlements were provided with forts if one did not exist nearby.

In his so-called "Final Statement" on the subject, army observer John T. Sprague lists settlers in three categories. "Persons forming new settlements" included 571 male and 308 female white adults, 164 adult slaves, and 82 slave children. "Persons returned to plantations" included 125 male and 40 female white adults, 105 adult slaves, and 43 slave children. "Persons suffering inhabitants" were 138 male and 204 female white adults, 22 adult slaves and 36 slave children.<sup>128</sup> Some wives and children of military men who died in

125.The Secretary of War to the Commanding General [Poinsett to Macomb], March 18, 1839, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 25, 598.

126.The Quartermaster General [Thomas Jesup] to Thomas H. Benton, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 25, 563-65, for Jesup's analysis of the promise of armed occupation. Peters, *The Florida Wars*, 189, states that Poinsett got Benton to introduce into Congress what became the Armed Occupation Act of 1842.

127.John T. Sprague, *The Florida War* (1848; reprint, Gainesville, 1964), 401-02. See also 284. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 301, gives details on twelve "resettlement points," involving 493 white men, women and children and 159 slaves and slave children.

128."Final Statement" in Sprague, *The Florida War*, 519. "Adults" were those fourteen or older.

battle or from disease may have stayed in Florida, which would explain why adult female "Persons suffering inhabitants" outnumbered males 204 to 138.

The first resettlement was apparently in August 1841, when thirteen white people with eight slaves were placed at Cedar Hammock. Another resettlement occurred at Natural Bridge, with thirty one whites and two blacks settled.<sup>129</sup> Fort Annutteelega was closed in 1841, but the towns of Chucochatee, Annuttaliga, and Homosassa were created under the army resettlement program in March 1842. Chocochatee and Homosassa received post offices in 1845.<sup>130</sup> One visitor to a couple of the resettlement towns in May 1842 noted that Chocohatee had 300 residents and Homassassa had 40 residents.<sup>131</sup> The army resettlement program was concluded just before the passing of the Armed Occupation Act.

August 1842, one month after the above "Final Statement" on resettlement, was an important date for Florida settlement. On August 14, Colonel Worth declared the war at an end and that feeding at the public trough was to end by August 31. Provisions, guns, and ammunition would be provided, but civilians had to leave the operating forts. The same month, Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act. Under its provisions a person could get a patent for a 160-acre tract of land, but he or she had to reside on the land for five years, clear at least five acres, and build a house. No settlement could be made within two miles of "permanent military posts."<sup>132</sup> Forts as refuge came to an end, but forts continued to be major magnets as centers for settlement.

In response to the question about which posts were permanent, the Commissioner of the General Land Office noted that just three permanent posts were designated, and three others were being used temporarily.<sup>133</sup> Fort King, one of the three permanent

129. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War*, 301. Mahon mentions twelve resettlement towns as of March 1842; Sprague mentions thirty-two as of June 13, 1842. Sprague, *The Florida War*, 519.

130. Petition to the President and Congress by Citizens of the Territory, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 575-77. Citizens of the three towns petition for a continuation of rations.

131. Hezekiah L. Thistle to the Secretary of the Navy [A. Upsher], May 22, 1842, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 480.

132. Thomas H. Blake to the Secretary of War [J. C. Spencer], September 19, 1842, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 540-41, requesting information about permanent posts.

133. *Ibid.*, 543-44.

posts, was abandoned in 1843. The three temporary forts in use were also abandoned the same year, leaving just two of the 250 forts reserved from settlement. Most of the forts were on unsurveyed land and did not have any land reservation around them anyway. At least one hundred forts are known to have been abandoned by the military from 1839 through 1843, during its period of armed occupation policy.<sup>134</sup> At least another hundred must have been closed during the same period, although short-lived posts provided no monthly reports to prove the fact. Thus when the United States Army dwindled in size, it left the landscape of Florida dotted with about 250 defense shelters that remained the focal points for settlement. Abandoned forts continued to attract settlers for several years, sometimes as places of refuge in the face of danger. It is no wonder, then, that the phrase "forted up" was used during the Third Seminole War of the 1850s.<sup>135</sup> Forts were also attractive sources of lumber with which to build cabins or homes.<sup>136</sup> The end of the war and abandonment of forts to civilian settlers was probably more important to settlement in the immediate future than the Armed Occupation Act.

From 1842 on, one of the largest areas of settlement was within twenty miles of Fort King. Other settlements were within or around Fort Cross, Fort Fanning, Fort Kingsbury and Fort Pierce, Fort Gatlin, Fort Lauderdale, Fort Dallas, Fort Hook, Fort Drane, and elsewhere.<sup>137</sup> One town near Fort Kingsbury, the town of Enterprise, was colonized in 1841 by twenty-five families, including many veterans, under the leadership of Major Cornelius Taylor.<sup>138</sup> It received a post office in 1845. Nine or ten of the families became Armed Occupation Act settlers. The armed occupiers were a distinct minority.

The role of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842 in opening southern Florida to settlement has been exaggerated. Historian Frederick W. Dau, who claimed to have brought the legislation to

134. Known dates of ninety-seven abandonments or final reports were counted using Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts*, 143-213. Added to these were several more from *Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, ca. 1700-1900*, M661, reel 4, 8, 51, 301, 379, 502; reel 7, 501; reel 8, 6).

135. Canter Brown Jr., *Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* (Baton Rouge, 1997), 97.

136. Gray, "Fort Sullivan," n.p., [5th page]. Dismantling forts to use the lumber may help explain why so few forts can be located today.

137. Dorothy Dodd, "Letters From East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (July 1936), 51ff.

138. *Ibid.*, 56-57.

the attention of historians, calculated that it provided homes to 1,300 heads of households, totaling about 6,000 people, or 4.6 people per household.<sup>139</sup> However, a careful scrutiny of the armed occupiers reveals a more modest calculation. Of the 1,300 permits given, 628 were to single men, 40 were to female heads of household, and 625 were to male heads of household.<sup>140</sup> Most armed occupiers were young men in their twenties. Seven hundred and fifty-eight of them lived in Florida before 1842, 98 came in 1842, and 448 came in 1843. Thus the majority were young Florida residents before the Armed Occupation Act was passed. Of the forty female heads of household, twenty-six resided in Florida before 1842.<sup>141</sup> Since over half were either single men or female heads of household, they surely did not settle with an average family of 4.6 members.

These calculations do not include the cancellation of permits and abandonment of the permit land. Permits were cancelled or abandoned for many reasons. One reason involves the underhanded motivations of armed occupiers, some two hundred of whom apparently took out permits to cut live oak timber on the land "without the least idea of becoming settlers."<sup>142</sup> Another reason given by settlers themselves was the unsatisfactory land sometimes chosen sight unseen, which proved incapable of providing fresh water and subsistence living. Petitions to modify the law were rarely answered.<sup>143</sup> Of the permits given in St. Augustine, eighty-seven were cancelled, fifty-three were never occupied and twelve were abandoned after settlement, leaving 217 out of the 369 permits.<sup>144</sup> In Newnansville, 193 out of 949 permits were cancelled, leaving 756 valid permits.<sup>145</sup> Thus valid armed occupier permits totaled 973 instead of 1,300. At 160 acres per permit, only 155,680

139. Frederick W. Dau, *Florida: Old and New* (New York, 1934), 230.

140. Preliminary Report: Armed Occupation Act of August 4, 1842. Book 17, 4-5, in Harvey Wells Collection, Heritage Village. The Harvey Wells Collection contains twenty-eight unpublished looseleaf books very extensively studying the armed occupiers, with genealogical searches through several decades of census reports. Wells was a volunteer at Heritage Village in Largo for many years. The 1,300 settlers are listed in Senate Doc. 39, 30th Congress, Sess. 1.

141. *Ibid.*, book 28, 4, 102.

142. Hezekiah L. Thistle [live oak preservation agent] to the Secretary of the Navy [David Henshaw], August 11, 1843, in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 713.

143. See petitions to modify the Armed Occupation Act by settlers in Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, vol. 26, 874-76, 986-89.

144. Figures are given in Dodd, "Letters From East Florida," 53.

145. Figures are given in Wells Collection, book 12, part 1, 4.

acres were granted for settlement by the valid permits. This figure is less than half the veterans warrants granted for Florida land under acts passed from 1847 to 1858.<sup>146</sup>

Indian danger in 1849 prompted extensive abandonment of permit land. Harvey Wells, who studied the armed occupiers, estimated that only "about 34% of the armed occupiers stayed on the land."<sup>147</sup> Thus the actual armed occupiers who stayed long enough to get title to the land after five years total only about 331 settlers, far fewer than those involved in the army resettlement program. The most that can be claimed is that a liberal sprinkling of armed occupiers dwelled among other Florida settlers in the increasing population during and after the Second Seminole War.

After Thomas Hart Benton introduced the Armed Occupation Bill in January 1839, he noted that the United States Army had "prepared the country for settlement" by exploring and mapping the territory, by creating "some hundreds of posts," and by building "many hundreds of miles of wagon roads" and "some thousands of feet of causeways and bridges."<sup>148</sup> The army built an infrastructure so settlement could proceed. With the groundwork so well laid, little reason exists to believe that the Armed Occupation Act of one year's duration was as significant as the armed occupation policy of the United States Army from 1838 to 1843 and thereafter.

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146. James W. Oberly, *Sixty Million Acres: American Veterans and the Public Lands before the Civil War* (Kent, Oh., 1990), especially chart on page 86-87. Veterans' land grants in Florida totalled 336,000 acres.

147. Harvey L. Wells to Mr. C. W. Bockelman, January 3, 1968, in Wells Collections, book 12, part 1, 89.

148. Quoted in Michael E. Welsh, "Legislating A Homestead Bill: Thomas Hart Benton and the Second Seminole War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (October 1978), 161-62.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*"Come to My Sunland": Letters of Julia Daniels Moseley from the Florida Frontier, 1882-1886.* Edited by Julia Winifred Moseley and Betty Powers Crislip. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xvi, 249 pp. List of illustrations, foreword, preface, introduction, notes, works cited, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

When Charles and Julia Moseley moved their family to "the Nest" in Limona (a rural community ten miles from Tampa, near present-day Brandon) from Elgin, Illinois, in 1882, Florida contained fewer than 300,000 inhabitants. Fewer than seven persons per square mile lived in East Hillsborough County, and Henry Plant's railroad was yet to make its arrival. Frontier-like conditions, a sense of isolation, and loneliness could have been daunting challenges for a woman whose husband was absent for long periods of time. Not so for Julia Moseley. A well-educated, adventurous woman with a zest for life, Moseley delighted in her new surroundings. Her letters offer exceptionally vivid descriptions of the surrounding community's natural endowments, especially its palms, pines, oaks, and flowers, but also its springs, rivers, and lakes. As she explained to her friend Eliza Slade in Elgin,

We live simply. You would hardly believe people could live so simply and still live in "sweet content." We live in an open hall—eat—read—play cribbage—and swing our hammocks there. . . . Our table is always lovely with its white linen and quaint old china, so delicate and lovely, and never without flowers (26).

After exploring the nearby live oak hammocks with her children, Julia wrote of her idyllic dream world:

The air is like paradise—so soft—so sweet—so satisfying. Out in the sun it is hot but in the shade with a breeze it is always pleasant. And above you hangs a sky of such heavenly blue. The nights are beyond words. Often at midnight the sky is clear, deep blue and the moon is in full splendor. The stars look yellow on the blue dome. White clouds float

lazily over our heads and often the mocking birds waken and pour forth some glad songs. You lie still and listen. The loveliness of the night seems to have hushed the world. The woods are full of birds. No bird in a cage ever sang as they do (26).

While Moseley accepted, and indeed reveled in, Florida's natural beauty on its own terms, future generations of newcomers filled Julia's "Sunland" with condominiums, theme parks, and shopping malls. Florida's natural beauty was not enough. It had to be transformed, altered, or reshaped into something resembling what they had left behind.

Julia Moseley wrote many letters, but the ones in this book come from those she selected herself and copied into a large bound volume passed down to her children and grandchildren. The letters flow exceptionally well for being copied verbatim. The text is free of ellipses, brackets, or any other evidence of revisions of Julia's own words. In lengthy endnotes, the editors provide thorough documentation, explanation, and context for items covered in the letters. Though the book is in large part a delightful excursion into a lost world, there are shortcomings. First, despite including sixty-eight photographs of people, local scenes, and personal possessions of the Moseleys, there is no map that would clearly define their geographical location or their ramblings. In addition, numerous letters are repetitive, adding no new information.

Finally, while Moseley's letters offer many observations of other newcomers, her "Crackers" and "Darkies" mirror the caricatures so common in the mainstream popular press. These *Harper's Magazine* models were and are so firmly embedded and universally accepted in American popular culture that we can hardly blame Moseley and other northern migrants for allowing their first impressions to reinforce these stereotypical images. Even so, they remind us how infrequently authentic cracker and African American voices appear in the literature today.

"*Come to My Sunland*" is yet another account of late-nineteenth-century Florida viewed through the eyes of northern migrants. The primary shortcoming of accounts such as these is that they often serve only to further obscure and minimize the contributions of the vast majority of Florida's white and African American women. Until efforts are made to provide room for native female voices in this collective mosaic, any realistic portrait of Florida's past will be

impossible. Even so, readers who want to explore the flora and fauna of west central Florida in the late nineteenth century will find "*Come to My Sunland*" a welcome respite.

*Florida Southern College*

JAMES M. DENHAM

*Strangers in Paradise: Impact and Management of Non-indigenous Species in Florida.* Edited by Daniel Simberloff, Don C. Schmitz, and Tom C. Brown. (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1997. xii, 467 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, references, contributors, index. \$50.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.)

Although the history of human arrival and settlement in Florida over the past five centuries has been extensively studied and documented, much less has been written on the effects of newly arrived plants and animals, and their effects on native biota, including people. *Strangers in Paradise* is thus a book to be welcomed by historians, environmentalists, and others interested in a more comprehensive view of changes and challenges to the Florida landscape. Editors Simberloff, Smith, and Brown have admirably melded articles by a diverse array of academics and agency personnel into a cohesive depiction of historical introductions and their ecological consequences. The book is well written, uniformly edited, and despite its technical accuracy and detail, enjoyable reading as well. It deserves a wide audience.

After an initial chapter on the biology of invasions, subsequent chapters document historical introductions of plants, insects, fishes, amphibians, reptiles, birds, mammals, and other organisms. Four chapters address specific tactics for managing non-indigenous species, five others clarify the roles of state and federal agencies in the effort, and two chapters consider the need for regulations restricting and managing importation.

Although all of Florida has been much altered by introductions, south Florida's mild climate, abundant water resources, and depauperate native flora and fauna have helped make it especially amenable to, or susceptible to, establishment of exotic biota and loss of the natives. Some of the historical introductions have been accidental, but many were intentional, often by reputable scientists of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and experts such as botanist David Fairchild. Early naturalists such as Charles Torrey Simpson were much more positive on the benefits of introductions than

many naturalists would be today. Plant and animal culturists and traders have been and continue to be major sources of exotic life. A key aspect of Florida's development has been the attempt by humans to construct the idyllic Florida of the imagination, and often this has included the introduction of plants and animals appropriate to that image. Many Floridians, themselves transplanted from other localities, would be surprised to know that their favorite plants or animals they commonly associate with Florida are not native but products of someone's Florida dream.

The transformation of Florida from native to non-native has proceeded as inexorably among plant and animal communities as it has in human society. It is perhaps not coincidental that Miami, the major port of entry for exotic plants and animals, also serves as the gateway for peoples of various cultures as well. When people migrate, they often bring non-human organisms with them, intentionally and otherwise. It is thus ironic that a society becoming more tolerant of human immigration and its benefits and challenges is assuredly becoming less tolerant of similar movement of non-human life. Humans immigrate and disperse, but plants and animals invade and spread. Can we have it both ways? An important challenge addressed in *Strangers in Paradise* is how to accommodate both the old biota and the new. Is it any different for human society in Florida?

University of Idaho

DENNIS L. SCARNECCHIA

*The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism.* By Patsy West. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xvii, 150 pp. List of photographs and maps, foreword, preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Over the twentieth century, the image of Florida's indigenous peoples as the exotic inhabitants of a subtropical paradise has grown apace with the image of Florida as that paradise. From the "tourists, invalids, and settlers" of the late nineteenth century to the "snowbirds" and "condo commandos" of the late twentieth century, the Seminoles have been given centrality by non-Native purveyors of hype, hoopla, and boosterism. This short work (120 pages of text divided as thirteen chapters) is densely packed with names, dates, and events that delineate the involvement of Florida's "Seminoles, Micco-

sukees, and Independents" in the cultural tourism of the twentieth century. It was written by Patsy West, herself a native of South Florida and owner of a collection of several thousands of photographs that she has dubbed the Seminole Miccosukee Photo Archive.

West, who has had a relationship with the Seminoles for two decades, states as her central premise that the tourist attractions of the early twentieth century were positive agents of cultural preservation for the Seminole people and "strengthened their own concepts of sovereign rights" (3), despite the consistent evaluations of observers over the years to the contrary. Her contention that the Seminoles' participation in the tourist economy helped them make a smooth transition from economic independence to the wage-for-hire economy that constitutes the economic base of Euroamerican society rings true. There is no differentiation here, however, between the limited reality of *economic* survival, for which a useful case is made, and the much weightier requirements of *cultural* survival, for which no real evidence is presented.

The Seminoles at the tourist attractions were not merely the economic apprentices of their white bosses, as West's own text makes abundantly clear. Tourist attraction owners constantly paid, bribed, cajoled, and attempted to manipulate culturally their colorful stars in order to maximize their exotic qualities and, consequently, the profit to be derived from them. The Seminoles, on the other hand, operating out of a sovereignty that they had never abrogated, took the white men's money but continuously exercised their own prerogatives not to participate or to leave the attractions if they were socially or culturally uncomfortable.

The economic survival of the Seminoles in this new era clearly depended upon their ability to make a successful transition from the previous, relatively short period of economic independence to the current period of economic capitalism in the Euroamerican fashion. Both barter and work-for-hire economies were well within the social repertoires of these resourceful people, however, for they had practiced them successfully—the latter for centuries and the former for several thousand years. But there is very little historical matrix in this book. The work is narrative in style and, for the most part, non-analytical, presenting the Natives in the traditionalist historiographical manner of transplants with only a limited equity in Florida and as a people whose culture was formed in the Everglades "from a tradition of hunting, gathering, and gardening practices" (105), four centuries of European contact notwithstanding.

A positive feature of the book is the large number of Natives who are identified individually and placed in the context of their Clans, their matrilineal kinship groups. One of the principal facets of past biases against any culture group, but especially against Indians, has been their individual reductions to facelessness as the prelude to group objectification. West, who respects the Seminoles as individuals, has preserved their individuality and uniqueness. They are the core of her research. At the same time, however, her insistence upon referring to the "Mikasuki-speaking Seminoles" as *i:laponathli*: (Mikísuukî for "he speaks my language") and to the "Moscogee-speaking Creeks" as *ci:saponathli* (also Mikísuukî, rather than Maskókî, for "they speak their language"), as if each were an encompassing, self-applied designator, is culturally and linguistically misleading, and rhetorically confusing. Readers might use the phrases, however, as reminders of the separate social complexities that operate for any cultural Other. Even "Seminoles" is a term that obfuscates more than it clarifies about the history of these unique people.

What the reader will find in this work, a few cavils aside, is a large amount of information, assembled over years of interviews and research, naming attractions, dates of operation, owners and managers, and statewide and national public events in which a significant number of the Florida Natives were willing to participate. These facts will be useful to anyone interested in the modern history of Florida's Native peoples. From World's Fairs to the Sun Dance Festival at West Palm Beach, from Silver Springs (Ocala) to Musa Isle in Miami, readers will find an interesting review of the public lives of the "Seminoles on Exhibition" from the 1920s through the present era of ecotourism. Alligator "wrestling," that quintessential of all applied images of the Florida Indians, is presented for what it is: a non-traditional act, wholly introduced by whites and adopted by Seminoles as expressions both of enterprise and of bravura. What West makes most clear is that the Natives quickly perceived the degree to which the tourists valued dramatic displays and they adapted the process over the years to serve their own economic ends. And while tourism never has been a principal source of income for the people, as a group, it has been the public enterprise in which they have been involved longer than any other in the twentieth century.

*Columbus Then and Now: A Life Reexamined.* By Miles H. Davidson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. xxx, 609 pp. List of maps, acknowledgments, introduction, sources, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Miles H. Davidson describes himself as "neither biographer nor historian," but rather "a writer and collector of Columbiana" (467). Yet he is a close reader of scholarly literature on Christopher Columbus, and he has a problem with writings that veer from the documents that throw light on the admiral's life and career. He holds that almost all scholarship on Columbus recycles a large collection of error and myth because authors do not bother to go to the sources but instead draw heavily on the flawed works of their predecessors. He has written a very long book that holds Columbus scholarship up to the sources and finds it seriously wanting. He takes special delight in skewering Samuel Eliot Morison's famous biography of Columbus, but he also targets more recent works by John Noble Wilford, William D. Phillips Jr., Carla Rahn Phillips, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Kirkpatrick Sale, Stephen Greenblatt, Tzvetan Todorov, and others.

Davidson has an impressive command of the relevant sources, and it is a simple matter for him to chastise scholars who have sometimes offered accounts that run contrary to the sources in their efforts to reconstruct Columbus's life and career. But he offers *histoire événementielle* with a vengeance. Most of the points he examines are trivial, and many are incapable of definitive resolution in the absence of additional sources. Davidson does not consider the point that most of the works he examines address a large audience of general readers rather than Columbus specialists. As a result, the authors quite properly avoid wrangling over minutiae and seek to present a coherent account. Obviously, precision is always a virtue in historical scholarship, but more than a few of the problems Davidson finds are excusable as efforts of authors seeking to harmonize conflicting information without inflicting unnecessary source criticism on general readers.

Davidson describes his own work as "not a Columbus biography but an accumulation, for comparative purposes, of known facts of his life" (467). But it slips well beyond "known facts" in some respects. The author falls back on hoary reifications such as "medieval mentality" and "Renaissance man" to explain Columbus and his context (278, 474-75). He describes Columbus as

"a mixture of the medieval and Renaissance man" (278), whatever that might mean, King Ferdinand of Aragon as "the epitome of the Renaissance prince" (278), a reification that at least derives from contemporary views, and Pope Alexander VI as "Spanish in every way" (475), an indefensible stereotype with no redeeming analytical value. In this way Davidson paints a portrait of Columbus that is at least as false and misleading as those he criticizes.

Moreover, when Davidson deals with important as opposed to trivial issues, his own methods do not always meet high critical standards. In discussing Columbus's geographical knowledge and his supposed correspondence with the Florentine physician and geographer Paolo Toscanelli, for example, Davidson observes high standards of evidence and reasoning when it suits his purpose, but otherwise lapses into speculation and credulity. In doubting the authenticity of the correspondence (50-59), Davidson speculates that Toscanelli would have known more about Asian affairs than the letters attributed to him reveal, and he assumes that Toscanelli would have been familiar with the works of John of Piano Carpini, William of Rubruck, John of Montecorvino, John of Marignolli, and Odoric of Pordenone, most of which were in fact very obscure and poorly known in the fifteenth century. In reviewing Columbus's geographical knowledge before 1492, Davidson suggests that Columbus did not know Marco Polo's work directly but rather through excerpts incorporated into other fifteenth-century geographical works like those of Pierre d'Ailly and John Mandeville—perhaps true, although this point does not diminish the significance of Marco Polo—but then he goes on to hint that Columbus was familiar with the Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta, whose work was in fact completely unknown outside the Arab world until the nineteenth century (80-86).

Biographers and other scholars working on Christopher Columbus will derive some benefit from looking over Davidson's review of evidence bearing on specific issues. Others, however, will find limited reward in this book. Though admirably knowledgeable about the sources on Christopher Columbus, Davidson rarely draws real significance from his research.

*"Fear God and Walk Humbly": The Agricultural Journal of James Mallory, 1843-1877.* Edited by Grady McWhiney, Warner O. Moore Jr., and Robert F. Pace. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997. xxi, 687 pp. Illustrations, preface, introduction, appendix, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

For thirty-four years in the mid-nineteenth century James Mallory, a middle-class farmer-planter in Talladega County, Alabama, recorded observations in a journal nearly every day without major interruptions. That feat of self-discipline and consistency was just one of many that set him apart from many southern plain folk farmers. In *Cracker Culture* Grady McWhiney contended that these people disdained hard work and formal education while they valued leisure.

In the boom 1830s, Mallory, his wife, infant daughter, and an extended family migrated from Virginia to frontier Talladega County, Alabama. The Mallory-Darby-Welch families planted roots in the east central part of Alabama's Cotton Kingdom that generally had less fertile lands than the Black Belt to the west. Yet Mallory many years exceeded regional production norms. In 1850 his cotton production of four bales per field hand represented nearly twice the average for the best cotton lands in Alabama and Georgia. He achieved this production largely by hard work, careful management, and scientific farming.

Mallory supported progress. He tried new farming techniques suggested by the Alabama Agricultural Society. He faithfully attended its meetings as he combined business with pleasure. He also championed railroads to improve market connections for farmers. Rail travel enabled him in 1861 to make a round trip to Selma for market business in two days rather than the week it had taken in previous winters.

A Whig and a Unionist, Mallory nonetheless supported the Confederacy. Three of his sons fought for the Confederacy while he contributed crops and monies to the Confederate government. He also operated a tannery that served the government. During the war Mallory continued the education of his children, placing one daughter at a female institute in Marion and one son at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa until the military called him.

Reconstruction troubled Mallory as labor changes severely disrupted his crop output. By December 31, 1865, Mallory observed,

"God in his mercy may have some wise purpose in the change of the relation of master and slave, it may be his time for their freedom and a more active life for the whites. . . ." (355) His optimism proved overstated. In 1866 he achieved inconsistent results from contract labor with former slaves for field work and domestic service. By 1867 and 1868, as he moved toward implementing tenancy, Mallory lost money on his farming operations. Soon he tried to sign white rather than black tenants.

Political activism by "yankees" and former slaves and their association, the Union League, vexed Mallory. On July 4, 1870, he admitted, "I go for a white man's party. . . ." (410) In November 1874, after the "Redemption" of Alabama, Mallory's church held a thanksgiving service for "deliverance from our cursed rulers" (459).

While he pursued profit, Mallory remained devoted to evangelical religion. The title chosen for his published journal aptly captures what might be called his spiritual motto. He followed "a habit to attend preaching when in reach" (267). A Baptist, he nonetheless attended Methodist and Presbyterian services if they happened to be the ones available. In the antebellum years in late summer his family often attended camp meetings. He rejoiced at conversions at those services and ones at his own Talladega Baptist Church (the name changed to Alpine Baptist Church in 1872). In keeping with the southern evangelicals' attitudes toward death, when Mallory lost a granddaughter in 1864 and a daughter in 1876, he sadly accepted their losses. When he committed a son to the state asylum, he left the situation in God's hands. A few weeks before his death in October 1877, Mallory wrote his last entry in his journal to praise God's goodness to him.

In this edition of Mallory's journal the editors have limited their intrusion on the text, identifying interventions in square brackets and making a few silent corrections of the author's accidental errors. Their numbered notes, which represent one-quarter of the volume, identify and explain not only persons, places, and events but also farming techniques and tools, as well as varieties of plants and insect pests mentioned in the text. Information in the notes is drawn from census, church, court, and military records; contemporary newspapers; and secondary sources. A detailed index facilitates reference on subjects ranging from agriculture to genealogy to religion.

Mallory indeed differs from the southern farmers who loved leisure, tobacco, and alcohol that Grady McWhiney described in

*Cracker Culture*. He represents another type of southern agriculturalist who valued hard work and business profit as he also valued piety and family. Thanks to this edition of his journal by McWhiney, the late Warner O. Moore Jr., and Robert F. Pace, we can see the variety of farmer-planters of the mid-nineteenth century South. And we can trace their perceptions from the antebellum frontier era through the Civil War and Reconstruction.

*University of Alabama at Birmingham*

HARRIET E. AMOS DOSS

*Lee and His Generals in War and Memory*. By Gary W. Gallagher. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. xvi, 298 pp. Preface, credits for the essays, maps, index. \$27.95 cloth.)

The title of this book is appropriate, but the subtitle might be "a natural history of the Lost Cause interpretation: its inception, development, and remarkable longevity." This series of essays, most of them previously published, ranges from examination of General Robert E. Lee's performance in critical situations to the importance of battlefield preservation, with stops along the way from James Longstreet and Jubal Early to Widow Pickett and Ken Burns. Each essay could stand on its own, as a fencepost with individual depth, but the connecting wire is the Lost Cause theme. No one does a better job explaining how this perspective grew over time than Gary Gallagher. He is skilled and comfortable with putting Lee at the center of analysis, as he should be. If both the original Lost Cause proponents and revisionists are guilty of distortions, it is the mediating role of Professor Gallagher to weigh and sift, evaluate and synthesize. He is "inside" Lee, as Douglas Southall Freeman was, but less in awe of the man, not requiring Lee to be perfect in order to be great. In grading Lee in his 1862 Maryland campaign Gallagher concludes, "It is a fascinating blend of accomplishment and useless loss, of questionable strategic decisions . . . and brilliant tactical leadership on the battlefield." These essays are judicious, balanced, fair, credible, and engaging. The scholarship is superb.

Combatants faced one another in reality in time and space, but historians have the delicious luxury of facing off forever. The greatest value of this book is in walking us through the perceptions of Lee and his generals, controversial from the outset, and which still inspire heated disagreement. Contemporaries of the book's subjects had much to say while bullets were flying, but after the war,

words became the missiles. Here we see the efforts of Jubal Early and John B. Gordon, Porter Alexander and Walter Taylor, among many others, to influence the record. Because defeats hurt more than victories feel good, southerners were compelled to ask what went wrong. The debate goes on. Reputations rise and fall. The great strength of these essays is in explaining shifting points of view.

Organized in four parts, the first focuses on perceptions of Lee, his overall importance to the Confederacy, and his performance at Sharpsburg and Gettysburg. The second part deals with Lee's generals, necessarily Jackson, Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill, but interestingly with "Prince John" Magruder and Jubal Early. The third segment presents the efforts of Early and George Pickett's widow to influence history. The fourth jumps to the present, reflections on Ken Burns's *Civil War* and the preservation controversy. Not unexpectedly for essays written over two dozen years, there is some unevenness and repetition, but generally the historiographical theme provides sufficient unity.

This book will be read with great interest by all who are fascinated with differing interpretations of Lee and his generals. Not designed to be a comprehensive analysis of why the Confederacy failed, this volume gracefully and graciously takes us through a gallery of colorful portraits. It whets the appetite for more.

Jacksonville University

S. WALKER BLANTON

*Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices from the Civil War.* By Emmy E. Werner. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998. xi, 175 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments and credits, prologue, epilogue, select chronology of the Civil War, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.00 hardcover.)

In recent years, historians have broadened the study of the Civil War to include not only military topics but also gender and racial issues as well as the contributions and trials of the citizenry. Such diverse approaches have changed the way historians think about one of the defining eras in American history. Adding to scholars' understanding of this epic and bloody event, Emmy E. Werner's *Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices from the Civil War* explores how the conflict affected America's children. In this brief, yet emotional, account Wener argues that the war not only con-

sumed the lives of more than 600,000 men on battlefields across the North and South, but that it also devoured the innocence of America's children, both free and enslaved.

By examining the wartime experiences of more than one hundred adolescents, Werner affords her readers the opportunity to understand young Americans' views of secession, why and how they fought with the army of their choice, how they perceived the war and its destruction (including a northern child's chilling account of Andersonville that Werner likens to German concentration camps in World War II), and, in the case of southern children, how they dealt with defeat. Although historians have explored these topics from the viewpoint of adults on the homefront and soldiers on the battlefield, Werner's study offers a disturbing depiction of the cruelties of war. Written to inform her readers of an ignored and troubling topic, Werner also uses her study to remind readers that while children in Liberia, Sarajevo, Rwanda, and other nations suffer the scourge of war daily, America has exposed its children to the same kinds of horrors that it denounces today.

Eager to serve, yet often unaware of the complexities for which this war was being fought, America's "boy soldiers," as Werner refers to them, performed a variety of military duties according to their ages. The youngest, such as ten-year-old Johnny Clem, served as drummer boys. Teenagers, however, participated in many battles by charging the enemy alongside older, albeit not necessarily more experienced, soldiers. They also served by burying the dead after each engagement, a particularly gruesome task that Werner illuminates by including numerous vivid testimonies. Whatever the age of these young soldiers, Werner explains, to enlist, they either lied to recruitment officers about their ages or gained the confidence of an officer who helped them secure a position.

In addition to examining the lives of those who marched into battle, Werner provides ample quotations that reveal much about children who remained far behind the lines. As Union troops marched into southern towns and cities, local children quickly developed a mixture of fear and hatred for Federal troops. With lengthy testimonials of the destruction at Vicksburg and Atlanta, Werner concludes that the horrifying experiences of southern children in these and other cities is comparable to those who survived Hiroshima in 1945. Werner relies on the quotations of young boys and girls to describe their fears of sleeping lest their homes be set on fire during the night.

Unlike white southern children who feared Union forces, black southerners rejoiced at the arrival of these soldiers. Relying on the testimony of freed slaves, Werner includes a passionate letter from one freedman to his former owner demanding the release of his children. He informed his former mistress that if she did not emancipate them, he would, nevertheless, reclaim his children when Federal troops marched on her town. He confidently assured her that Lincoln's army was on its way even as he wrote. Black children, Werner demonstrates throughout her study, were immensely proud of their fathers who had escaped to fight for their freedom.

Werner's inclusion of children of various ages, gender, and racial backgrounds allows readers to understand that the response of most children to the war was one of courage. Whether they performed combat duty, hid family silverware in their pockets and bags, or lived in fear of the destruction Lincoln's troops levied upon them, their testimonies reflect a rare form of bravery that one could hardly imagine in such young individuals.

Unfortunately, while such testimonies are invaluable in themselves, and are certain to move even the most knowledgeable scholars, Werner draws few conclusions about how America's children emerged from the conflict and how society responded to their service. Since she argues that it destroyed their innocence and forced them to live in a world they clearly would not have chosen, it is imperative that she explain, particularly in the case of the youthful soldiers, how they fared upon returning to their prewar lives as children and not combatants. Werner might also examine whether those who fought in the war received any special treatment when they returned to their towns. Did they return as heroes as did their fathers? Did southern children who remained on the homefront ever come to terms with their feelings about northerners? Such questions demand answers, yet readers are left to draw their own conclusions. Werner's work, however, is not without value. The powerful and numerous quotations she uses throughout her book make this required reading for anyone interested in the Civil War. Incomplete as it may be, *Reluctant Witnesses: Children's Voices From the Civil War* may best serve as the foundation from which greater studies can be written.

*The Reconstruction Presidents.* By Brooks D. Simpson. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xii, 276 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

This superb book places the Reconstruction presidents—Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, and Rutherford B. Hayes—in the context of their times. And in doing so, Simpson illuminates the difficult and complex task they faced in rebuilding the Union. How were they to win back the loyalty of the millions who had tried to destroy the Union to preserve slavery? How were they simultaneously to secure the freedom and civil rights of African Americans, most of whom had been held in bondage? How could they reunite North and South and achieve equal rights in a racist country that revered local self-government and abhorred military intervention in the political process? There were limits to what presidents—even those with good intentions—could do. By emphasizing those limits, Simpson corrects the recent historians who have criticized the Reconstruction presidents for failing to uphold vigorously the rights of African Americans.

Lincoln's Reconstruction policy was dominated, as were all his policies, by the need to win the war. He dared not move too fast on emancipation lest the border slave states secede and the northern social conservatives abandon the war effort. Later, after the war enabled and indeed demanded that he issue the Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln wanted freedom to be secured on more than his war powers. To achieve that end, he backed a constitutional amendment and pressed the civil governments he established in conquered southern states to abolish slavery. While Lincoln reacted to events, Simpson stresses that he moved skillfully toward attainable goals.

Under Johnson, reunion and civil rights become the paramount issues of Reconstruction. A racist and a Jacksonian Democrat, Johnson established white supremacy governments in the South and clashed with congressional Republicans who feared that if African Americans were not enfranchised and organized in their party, it would lose the fruits of victory and be reduced to a minority party. Had he been more skilled and less confrontational and accepted the Civil Rights Act (1866) and the Fourteenth Amendment, Johnson could have kept moderate Republican support, isolated the Radicals, and secured "home rule," but his veto of

that act and opposition to the amendment united Republicans. Nevertheless, Johnson—even though impeached—had the greatest impact on Reconstruction. Simpson observes that Republicans, obsessed with controlling Johnson, digressed from building a sound foundation for Reconstruction, while his vetoes encouraged southern intransigence and forced Republicans to moderate their legislation to maintain a two-thirds-veto-proof majority.

Grant has been damned for doing too much to uphold Republican state governments in the South and more recently for doing too little too inconsistently. Simpson, however, praises him for attempting to achieve the contradictory goals of reconciliation with the white South while securing black civil rights and explains his failure. After Johnson, achieving a free self-governing democratic society in the South for blacks and whites was virtually impossible. Still imbued with federalism, northerners were impatient with Republican factionalism and corruption, weary of military intervention, and preoccupied with problems closer to home, especially after the Panic of 1873. Grant, Simpson admits, vacillated from intervention to conciliation, but differing circumstances from state to state as well as shifting northern public opinion determined his varied responses.

Simpson commends Grant for his handling of the disputed election of 1876, which made Hayes president in 1877. Except in South Carolina and Louisiana Reconstruction had ended, and in those states Republican governors only remained in the statehouses (thanks to the U.S. Army), while Democratic challengers controlled the rest of those states. With the Democrats refusing appropriations for the army, Hayes had to withdraw the troops, but in return he extracted promises (which were quickly broken) from incoming Democrats to guarantee the civil, political, and educational rights of African Americans in South Carolina and Louisiana. Like Lincoln and Grant, Hayes also tried to recruit southern whites into the Republican Party. A patient reformer, he wished to think his southern policy was working, but he gave up nothing the Democrats could not take and received nothing in return.

Could these presidents have achieved a biracial democratic society in the Reconstruction Era? Perhaps if Lincoln had survived he would have moved gradually toward that goal, but what he would have wanted to do would have been limited by what he could do. Johnson, however, preserved white supremacy in the South, and neither Grant nor Hayes could overcome what became intractable

obstacles to securing political equality for all. Simpson's thoroughly researched, carefully reasoned, and historically minded work succinctly states the problem of Reconstruction and the limited power of presidents to solve it.

*Brooklyn College, CUNY*

ARI HOOGENBOOM

*Rebuilding Zion: The Religious Reconstruction of the South, 1863-1877.* By Daniel W. Stowell. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. viii, 278 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth.)

Daniel Stowell correctly observes that historians of Reconstruction have overlooked the significance of religion and church affiliation. A passage from his book could explain why. "From 1866 forward, the MEC, the AME Church, and the AMEZ Church all competed for the black Methodists who were leaving the MECS. After 1869, the CME Church joined the fray as well" (95). The Baptists had their CABMC and ABHMS, and the Presbyterians their PCUS. The proliferation of denominations and anagrams has deterred many from a close scrutiny of religious bodies during Reconstruction. Daniel Stowell deserves credit, not only for going where few have dared, but for succeeding brilliantly in making sense of a complex story.

He focuses on southern whites, northern whites, and blacks in evangelical churches in Georgia and Tennessee. The attention to evangelicals is appropriate because the overwhelming number of southerners were Baptists, Methodists, or Presbyterians. Stowell proceeds methodically, making one point in each chapter and buttressing it with an impressive array of original research.

Southern white evangelicals, he contends, interpreted the defeat of the Confederacy as God's chastisement for various sins and shortcomings, but not as a condemnation of slavery and certainly not as an endorsement of racial equality. Northern evangelicals viewed the war as a trial by combat, and the result God's verdict against slavery. Northern clergy blamed misguided southern clergy for defending slavery, and, in the wake of invading armies, took over southern churches where they could. In fact, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton regarded the missionaries as auxiliaries of the reconstruction and ordered the army to give over the churches in occupied territory to northern ministers. Stowell is remarkably non-judgmental about all this; he never uses the term "racist," for exam-

ple. The closest he comes to perjorative language is in calling white southerners who joined northern churches such as the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) "religious scalawags."

Blacks saw the war as a deliverance from bondage. During the years 1866 to 1870 there occurred a massive black withdrawal from white dominated churches. Black evangelicals, unlike whites, welcomed educational and financial aid from northern churches. The most enduring legacy of missionary efforts were the dozens of black colleges staffed and supported by northern churches. White southern evangelicals resisted northern proselytizing by launching their own newspapers and sponsoring their own colleges. Stowell maintains that disputes over church governance and the proper purview of ecclesiastical bodies, as well as the involvement of the northern churches in politics, prevented church reunion. He avoids stating the obvious, namely that the sections had fundamentally different views on racial equality. In the end, "the southern denominations won a resounding victory by opposing reunion and by agreeing to the establishment of fraternal relations only after northern Christians had yielded to all of their demands" (183). Southern white Christians had to give up slavery, but out of Reconstruction they salvaged segregation.

Stowell has done a masterful job turning a subject that has been a field for polemics and could be tendentious and tedious into pleasurable reading. His bibliography is an extensive guide for other explorers of religious reconstruction. This reader's only regret is that the publisher's price will discourage buyers.

Augusta State University

EDWARD J. CASHIN

*Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy.*

Edited by David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xvi, 301 pp. Foreword by John Hope Franklin, preface, introduction, acknowledgments, contributors, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

*Democracy Betrayed* is a collection of eleven essays and an epilogue collectively analyzing the contemporary and historical impact of the bloody Wilmington, North Carolina, race riot of 1898. This centennial work expands upon the precursor studies of H. Leon Prather Sr. and Helen G. Edmonds, among others. While the wide-ranging chapters prove useful to scholars of this critical event in

race relations in the United States, they fall somewhat short of fulfilling the editors' pronouncement that "the Wilmington race riot of 1898 signaled a turning point in American history" (4).

The book pivots around the concept of how white North Carolinians in the late nineteenth century resorted to murder and mayhem to ensure class superiority while black residents reflected a legacy of courage and achievement in the face of North Carolina's sometimes violently controlled color line. This was especially true during and following the white supremacy revolt of 1898. Most authors in this work trace the precipitating event for Wilmington to the 1896 "Fusion" of black Republicans and white agrarian Populists that threatened the state's white elite. In truth, the veil of racism descending on all of America in the 1890s—a period many historians label the nadir of race relations in American history—probably provided as much impetus for the riot in Wilmington as the much ballyhooed issue of Fusion.

Regardless of the triggering factors, the white coup d'état in Wilmington in 1898 displaced a large and productive black population from the nucleus of political and economic affairs in North Carolina's largest city of the era. Following the white-elite-led sacking of black Wilmington, 1,400 of the city's 11,324 African American residents found it prudent to flee the local environs. To this day no one is quite sure of the death toll. Word-of-mouth recollections and estimates range from seven to 300 black fatalities resulting from the riot. Regardless of the number of black deaths, or perhaps precisely because of them, other blacks throughout North Carolina elected to abandon their homes and lifestyles for safety in newly established communities and groups. The effect of the Wilmington fiasco was that whites had violently seized the government and power structure and that this should serve as a lesson to blacks throughout the state. This is an interesting proposition that theoretically might be applied to the examination of a number of race riots in American history, such as those in southern cities like Jacksonville and St. Augustine in 1964, during the height of the contemporary civil rights movement.

The authors contributing to this work (many with present or past North Carolina academic connections) offer a wide range of historical insights into this event. H. Leon Prather Sr. opens the work with an exploration into the history of bloody Wilmington. David S. Cecelski then explores the tradition of black militancy and white resentment of Republican policies in Wilmington, while

Stephen Kantrowitz sees an underlying element of white paternalism and violence emanating from slavery. Michael Honey finds a history of white elites' racial ambiguity impacting negatively on both poor blacks and whites in nineteenth-century North Carolina, and Laura F. Edwards traces the long submerged forces of black assertion. Raymond Gavins identifies black survival strategies in a viciously segregated world, and John Haley similarly identifies the struggles of blacks to conserve their institutions with dignity. Richard Yarborough and Timothy B. Tyson provide innovative studies of the black literary account of Wilmington and how it took the horrors of World War II fascism to awaken North Carolinians to their twisted past. Glenda E. Gilmore and LeeAnn Whites discuss the impact of white womanhood hagiography and the volatile mix of race and sex in the late nineteenth century. Finally, William H. Chafe provides an effective epilogue that succinctly links these studies to the persistence of white betrayal of black rights in American history. As an aside, Chafe challenges the contemporary "progressive mystique" of the "New South" North Carolina.

While Chafe does an admirable job underscoring the themes of this volume, the work itself would be more compelling had the editors provided theoretical transitions as introductions to each study. Academics and non-academics alike will find this volume to be a collection of insightful but disjointed studies.

Critical readers may quibble with other assumptions made by the editors, but the seasoned historian of American race relations will find the multilayered essays in the volume compelling and enlightening reading. In these perceptive studies, the authors offer a valuable window on the past, a veritable historical perspective on the persistence of white violence to ensure white hegemony. In the process, the authors force readers to contemplate the legacy of what Abraham Lincoln called America's "mobocratic spirit" in judging events like Wilmington.

Florida Gulf Coast University

IRVIN D. SOLOMON

*The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography.* By Louis A. Pérez Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xviii, 171 pp. Preface, chronology, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$34.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

Commemorative anniversaries produce a deluge of publications on a given subject. The 1998 centenary of the Spanish-Amer-

ican War has generated an outpouring of books and articles, many hastily written to comply with contracts and publication deadlines, and this work is no exception.

Professor Louis A. Pérez Jr. has written and edited numerous Cuban history books during the past twenty-three years. *The War of 1898*, sent to press in November 1997, is Pérez's most brief and least documented book. A large portion of this work has been drawn, with slight modifications, from three of the author's earlier publications. For example, on page 92 he states: "On July 6, . . . the dreaded quarantine flag was raised ominously behind U.S. lines: yellow fever had struck." This appeared in his *Cuba Between Empires 1872-1902* (1983), page 207, as: "And on July 6 the dreaded quarantine flag was raised ominously behind American lines—yellow fever had struck." Similar repetitions occur in scores of instances. Pages 16 through 21 were borrowed mostly from pages 92 through 96 of *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (1990). Chapter four contains over a dozen quotations lifted from pages 199-212 of *Cuba Between Empires*. The middle paragraph on page 11 was taken from pages 175-76 of *Cuba Between Reform and Revolution* (1988).

The bulk of the new information is an extensive historiographical analysis of American writers during the last century. Unfortunately, Pérez does not place them in their proper ideologued schools. No distinction is made between modern historians and those early-twentieth-century scholars who espoused the Social-Darwinist and race supremacy theories of Professor William A. Dunning. There is a hodgepodge of quotations from unidentifiable progressives, pacifists, liberals, conservatives, and Marxist revisionists. As a result, some readers will be left wondering if the person cited is a scholar, a journalist, a hagiographer, or a partisan politician. Solons are mentioned without political affiliation. The poorly compiled three-page index omits all of the authors cited in the historiographical section.

This book, contradicting its title, is deficient in Cuban historiography of the war. Only six pages are dedicated to the opinions of Cuban writers and historians, all of whom have supported the Castro revolution. The works of pre-1959 authors are squeezed, without analysis, into one paragraph in the bibliographical essay. Although Pérez repeatedly stresses that American historians neglect "Cuban archival sources and manuscript collections" (pages xii, 51, 55, 109-10), he fails to quote even one manuscript source from the deteriorating Cuban archives, whose purloined documents have been appearing for sale overseas during the past decade.

While the author presents the contrasting views of writers on the meaning of 1898, some of his own arguments lack balance. Pérez mentions the revulsion felt by some American officers toward Cuban rebels of color but does not describe how African American soldiers felt about helping win freedom for Afro-Cuban insurgents, many of whom were former slaves. In fact, he omits mentioning any of the African American units in active service during the war, including four regular regiments, seven volunteer regiments, and eight state volunteer regiments. Also muted are the opinions of Mexican-American veterans, such as Rough Riders Frank Brito and Captain Maximiliano Luna. Chapter three describes various theories on the destruction of the *USS Maine*. Yet, the author excludes the predominant assumption in Cuba today, originated by the Spaniards in 1898, that the Americans intentionally blew up the battleship, since it was purportedly filled with mostly black sailors, as an excuse to start the war and annex the island.

Pérez stresses that the United States, at the behest of the Spaniards, wronged the Cubans by prohibiting them from entering Santiago de Cuba after its surrender or from participating in the peace negotiations. He could have made a good comparison with the American Revolution, when the British surrendered to the French at Yorktown, rebuffing the Continental Army, and later negotiated a separate peace treaty with France. Overall, this cursory account leaves the historical impact of 1898 beckoning for a broader interpretation.

*Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology*      ANTONIO RAFAEL DE LA COVA

*Black on White: Black Writers on What It Means to Be White.* Edited by David R. Roediger. (New York: Schocken Books, 1998. xii, 353 pp. Preface, introduction, permissions acknowledgments. \$25.95 hardcover.)

*Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940.* By Grace Elizabeth Hale. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998. xii, 429 pp. Preface, introduction, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, permissions acknowledgments, index. \$30.00 hardcover.)

Exploring the dark side, the only side, of whiteness has a history virtually as old as the social construction of whiteness itself. With the recent proliferation of identity studies, the scholarly pur-

suit of whiteness has breathed new life. Credit for resuscitating whiteness scholarship belongs in part to David R. Roediger, who in 1991 published *Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. Roediger now expands his work to include the black perspective of whiteness, while Grace Elizabeth Hale joins him as a new member in the larger field.

Whiteness scholars are interested in how Americans we call white created a collective identity of themselves and of racial others. As the argument goes, whiteness was conceived to produce a universal sense of oneness that in a biracial society strengthened an identity of privilege and power across ethnic, class, and gender lines. America was of course both black and white, culturally and visibly, but whites tended to ignore the contributions of darker citizens and quietly turned whiteness into what it meant to be an American.

Exposing the "fantasy of whiteness" has always been a part of the black intellectual traditions (42). In *Black on White*, Roediger has gathered work from over fifty late and contemporary black figures. He precedes the selections with useful biographies of the writers, who range from Frederick Douglass and David Walker to Toni Morrison and Nell Irvin Painter. Each selection describes the pervasiveness of whiteness in American society and questions the dominant culture's views on race matters. This central theme is complemented by others, from commentary on class divisions in the white community to white terror. In essence, the selections offer insight into the realities of American society that challenge realities conjured in the white mind. In the book's introduction, Roediger points out that African American thinkers were pioneering students of whiteness, which they recognized as a social construction grounded not in biology, as Malcolm X once noted, but in power.

Roediger's claim sounds convincing. Throughout the twin eras of slavery and Jim Crow, bell hooks writes in her essay on "Representations of Whiteness in the Black Imagination," blacks understanding of white consciousness and behavior has been vital to surviving white supremacy. During that time, the white appetite for black labor allowed African Americans intimate access to the white world. In the words of Floridian James Weldon Johnson, blacks consequently understood that "colored people of this country know and understand the white people better than the white people know and understand them" (5). Whites, blacks believed, were as a whole

insecure about the self-proclaimed racial superiority and social supremacy. Eatonville, Florida, native Zora Neale Hurston was speaking as much about whites as blacks when she wrote that "Jim Crow laws have a purpose and that purpose is psychological" (15).

These themes and others fall into six major sections. Included in the section entitled "The White World and Whiter America" is, for example, a 1984 essay by James Baldwin, "the greatest expert on white consciousness in the twentieth century" (177). Baldwin wrote that no one was black or white before coming to America; part of the slave and immigrant experience involved absorbing the myths of whiteness and blackness. In the section "Some White Folks," Toni Morrison writes of Herman Melville and the canon of founding American literature, which she says is studied as and assumed to be white. Literary analysis has generally ignored "the informing and determining Afro-American presence in traditional American literature," not to mention having overlooked references to socially constructed whiteness as found in Melville's *Moby Dick*. The last section, "White Terrors," features a 1922 poem by Claude McKay entitled "The Lynching." In the ritual of lynching, McKay suggested, whiteness transcended age and gender: "The women thronged to look, but never a one/Showed sorrow in her eyes of steely blue;/ And little lads, lynchers that were to be,/Danced round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee" (335).

In *Making Whiteness*, Hale speaks to this same theme in a discussion on lynching (including that of Claude Neal in Marianna, Florida). Hale's main task is to discover and explore the "origins and contours of modern southern whiteness." She wants to know "who white southerners imagined they were and [about] the stories and images that enabled them to make their collectiveness powerful and persuasive and true" (xi). Guided by memoirs, manuscript collections, primary writing, advertisements, and literature, while making liberal use of secondary-source materials, Hale traces her way back to the late-nineteenth-century South. There she finds the origins of whiteness in the evolving culture of segregation, as she calls it, which "created and staged racial difference . . . for the modern South" (283).

Even as it was modernizing, white Dixie remained wistful. It clung to an imagined plantation pastoral of racial innocence and clearly delineated social roles. Continuity with the past was secured with the white invention of the mammy, who was found in the white kitchen and on the labels of consumer products, and with Lost

Cause history, propagated through storytelling, history texts, civic organizations, literature, and film. So influential was that history that the white North shared its southern counterpart's memory of Reconstruction as tragedy. "Not the freed people, then," Hales writes, "but the white South, became a part of the modern American nation" (83).

In the post-emancipation atmosphere, the "New Negro," the middle class and the professional, forced white southerners to construct a modern "New South." Even after the southern states managed to disfranchise blacks, democratizing forms of mass transportation and consumer buying threatened to undo the differences between blackness and whiteness. Previously synonymous with slavery, blackness had to be remade and whiteness made. To counter the blurring of racial lines, for instance, racial identity gained public visibility in first-class railroad cars, which were off limits to an undifferentiated whole of blacks and "almost white" people, regardless of one's financial standing and fine clothes. Other forms of private and public spatial segregation, as well as lynching (ultimately a segregated affair since the lynchers were always white and the victims almost always black), ensured that whiteness included the white poor.

Hale concludes her study by arguing that the white South has historically been the dumping ground for a self-righteous nation's racial problems. She reminds readers that all of America has lived "the reality of the South" and has articulated that universal sense of whiteness (295).

Her point is a valid one, as are many others that evolve from Hale's fresh perspective on the old subject of segregation. Unfortunately, reading *Making Whiteness*—not to mention reviewing it—presents a difficult challenge. Hale's apparent attempt to write in a graceful narrative style that will appeal to Pantheon's broad readership fails. The result, ironically, is murky prose that limits the book's accessibility and diminishes its importance. Paragraphs jump around between ideas, and a plethora of leggy and ungainly sentences (six- to eight-line topic sentences are common) confuse and frustrate the reader.

Take, for example, the book's last sentences. "Would America be America without its white people? No," Hale contends. "It would be something better, the fulfillment of what we postpone by calling a dream" (296). One has to wonder how Pantheon's editors let this last sentence, and many others equally unintelligible, pass into print.

While Hale's book consequently seems unsuitable for the classroom, Roediger's should prove popular and highly adaptable to a number of disciplines. *Black on White*, and, to a lesser degree, *Making Whiteness* make a valuable contribution to the study of race and race relations by bringing readers closer to the truth about the dark side of whiteness.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

JACK E. DAVIS

*A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948.*

By Bryant Simon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xiv, 345 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Examining a long-neglected aspect of an otherwise well-known period in southern working-class history, Bryant Simon's *Fabric of Defeat* analyzes the shifting political identity and electoral influence of South Carolina mill workers from 1910 to 1948. This study, highly original in conception and use of sources, reveals the extraordinary impact white workers had on state politics, thus revising the traditional assessment of their influence. Contrary to the usual stereotype of millhands as duped by empty appeals to white supremacy or as proponents of the less sinister, but nevertheless naive, anti-modernism, Simon's South Carolina millhands are shrewd, pragmatic, and imaginative political actors who understand their world quite well and act accordingly. If South Carolina did not become a worker's state, it was not the millhands' fault. As Simon demonstrates, South Carolina millhands achieved some remarkable triumphs, including the election of one of their own, millhand-turned-politician Olin D. Johnston, to the governor's chair. Unfortunately, as mill workers and their allies discovered in the mid-1930s, popular mandate was not enough to overcome the entrenched leadership, the structural biases, and the anti-New Deal backlash in South Carolina state politics.

A central contribution of this study is its sophisticated conception and analysis of mill workers' identity. Although Simon agrees that race was central to millhand's conceptions of themselves as workers and citizens, he argues that white workers' activism was never simply the politicization of whiteness. Rather, in Simon's analysis, the political identities of workers simultaneously combine

a number of public and private concerns, such as race, gender, class, and location. This idea is forcefully demonstrated, for example, in Simon's analysis of why workers were attracted to the classic South Carolina demagogue and apologist for lynching, Cole Blease. Although historians have long argued that Blease fooled millhands into supporting an essentially anti-labor, backward-looking platform with the bells and whistles of racism, Simon makes a persuasive case that Blease succeeded by tapping into many components of millhands' culture and thus represented millhands in a very meaningful, if ultimately flawed, way. Blease's defense of lynching, for example, addressed male millhands' fears of declining patriarchal authority, spoke to their native tradition of anti-elitism, and affirmed a peculiarly working-class effort to defend white supremacy.

Examining the complex array of events that led workers to reject Bleasism and southern-style antistatism in favor of Franklin Roosevelt, Olin Johnston, and the New Deal, Simon provides a persuasive and sophisticated explanation of how and why politics changed. From workers' letters, interviews, protests, and symbols, Simon reconstructs their understanding of the causes of the depression and shows how the New Deal, especially the NRA, affirmed workers' interpretation of the world and converted them to the cause of an interventionist state. As rising expectations were dashed by a downturn in the textile market and management's imposition of dramatically higher workloads, they looked to the state to provide more than a rhetorical defense of their traditional rights. Thus the General Strike of 1934, Simon argues, was not only a protest against the stretchout, but a political protest against millowners who violated workers' understanding of the New Deal.

But even when millhands did everything right—choosing class over race, gender, and other private and parochial concerns—they could not overcome the obstacles to working-class rule. Johnston and sympathetic upcountry legislators introduced numerous proposals for pro-labor legislation, but none could pass a state senate dominated by the less populous, rural, low country counties. Even Johnston's direct control of the national guard, a weapon historically deployed against workers' protests in the South, did little to aid millworkers. Indeed, Johnston's use of state power against employers and the entrenched powers of the highway department finally destroyed the cross-class coalition that had allowed him to win office as a New Deal governor.

Unfortunately for millhands, the window of opportunity for a new deal in state politics passed quickly. Sensing an imminent assault on Jim Crow and a slipping influence over the national Democratic Party, South Carolina Democrats resisted further New Deal reforms and refused to send the millhand's candidate to the U.S. Senate. When Johnston did finally win a Senate seat in 1944, it was his newly adapted politics of reactionary racism, and not his consistent support of labor, which got him there. Millhands supported him for both, and in a stunning reversal of their endorsement of the activist state in the 1930s, they began to support a seemingly antithetical, but traditionally southern, politics of antistatism when it became a weapon against civil rights. Simon concludes, as have other historians, that the politics of race triumphed in the 1940s, but he argues that millhands changed their line only after the priorities in national politics shifted from class to racial concerns.

Of course skeptics may argue that southern workers merely chose the best of available political options at any given time, but *Fabric of Defeat's* combination of political, cultural, and working-class history makes a compelling case for understanding South Carolina politics as actually reflecting and articulating the influence and concerns of its millhands. It certainly upsets the older view of white southern workers' politics as relatively simplistic, one-dimensional, or marginal to the larger scheme of southern politics. An important and highly original contribution to southern history, *Fabric of Defeat* will undoubtedly become mandatory reading for anyone researching southern politics and labor history.

Georgia State University

MICHELLE BRATTAIN

*From Selma to Sorrow: The Life and Death of Viola Liuzzo.* By Mary Station. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. xiv, 250 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Viola Liuzzo was murdered during the voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery on March 25, 1965. The previous week, she had been alive and well, watching television in her home in Detroit when she witnessed the events of "Bloody Sunday," the police assault on the freedom marchers at the Pettus Bridge. Outraged by what she saw, the next day the middle-aged white woman and mother of five kissed her husband good-bye, jumped in her

car, and drove to Selma. The day after the march she acted as courier, making several trips between Montgomery and Selma to carry marchers back to their homes or lodging. As night gathered, Liuzzo and a young African American, Leroy Moton, were heading back to Montgomery in her Oldsmobile when a red-and-white Impala filled with four Klansmen, one of them an FBI informant named Tommy Rower, began to give chase. The cars raced at speeds of 100 miles per hour around the sharp curves of Highway 80. Finally, the Klansmen pulled alongside the Oldsmobile and shot Viola Liuzzo.

In *From Selma to Sorrow*, Mary Stanton, the director of human resources for Riverside Church in New York City, offers the first book-length treatment of Viola Liuzzo's story. Liuzzo deserves such a requiem. Except for a few pages here and there in books and Southern Poverty Law Center publications and a marker on Highway 80, Liuzzo has largely been forgotten. Worse still, her legacy has been destroyed as a result of negative stories after her death and during the trial of her murderers. Media accounts attacked her for leaving her family and of being a bad mother. They called her unstable and insisted that she had no business going to Selma. Some suggested that he had carried on sexual relations with Moton and others.

Using information gleaned from interviews with family members, friends, and march participants, and from research in the *FBI File on the KKK Murder of Viola Liuzzo* (Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1990), Stanton offers a new view of Liuzzo. Her greatest revelation names J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as the source of Liuzzo's vilification. Hours before the incident, according to the FBI files, Tommy Rowe had informed his FBI contact in Birmingham that violence would be perpetrated against the marchers. Stanton suggests that Rowe may even have been the shooter. Hoover, according to Stanton, secretly gave reporters unfavorable information about Liuzzo in an attempt to cover up the FBI's connection with the murder.

It seems harsh to criticize a book that has such good intentions, but *From Selma to Sorrow* has many serious problems. Stylistically, the writing lacks polish and the text is poorly organized: it jumps around from the present to the near past to the distant past without any apparent logic. The book contains many anachronistic references, such as one to Richard Jewell, the wrongly accused Atlanta Olympics bomber; and it offers overly generalized, patronizingly northern observations on "the Southern Way of Life." As for the in-

vestigation of Liuzzo's real murderer, Stanton strives diligently to determine the truth but is hamstrung by a lack of clear and convincing evidence of what really happened. Because of the contradictory and, at times, false accounts offered by the Klansmen and others, Stanton and readers are left to concoct whatever conspiracy they wish to explain the murder and cover-up. Stanton's reading may be correct, but only the most biased jury would be inclined to convict based on the evidence as presented.

Even Stanton's attempt to redeem Liuzzo's reputation falls short. Stanton's observations offer little more than a sympathetic reading of what we already knew of Liuzzo's sometimes erratic behavior and her alleged breakdown. Other than with the issue of promiscuity, Stanton does not refute the facts of the hostile biographies; she merely gives them a positive spin. In the end, however, it does not matter. Civil rights activists need not be remembered as angels. The only facts that pertain are that Viola Liuzzo was murdered. She was the victim of injustice, fear, and hatred. She had every right to be in Selma in 1965 and to courier the marchers. She should be remembered as a martyr to the cause of freedom, and *From Selma to Sorrow* provides her that legacy.

Washington, D.C.

STEPHEN GRANT MEYER

## BOOK NOTES

### New Titles

*Secessionists and Other Scoundrels: Selections from Parson Brownlow's Book.* Edited by Stephen V. Ash. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 144 pp. \$29.95 cloth, \$12.95 paper.)

Edited by Stephen Ash, *Secessionists and Other Scoundrels: Selections from Parson Brownlow's Book* highlights the "Fighting Parson's" bare-knuckle writings and offers a unique perspective on the Civil War South. As a Unionist living in Tennessee, Brownlow was not exactly one of the state's most popular residents, but as editor of *The Knoxville Whig* he was certainly one of its loudest.

*Key West Conch Smiles.* By Jeane Porter. (Key West: Heritage House Publishing, 1998. 331 pp. \$12.00 paperback.)

Jimmy who? If it's classic Key West history you're looking for, then put down that Buffet autobiography and pick up Jeane Porter's *Key West Conch Smiles*. A sixth generation Key West resident, Porter has seen and heard enough colorful island stories to fill a book—and that's exactly what she's done. *Key West Conch Smiles* is a breezy, light-hearted book, filled with front-porch stories that go down as easy as a glass of lemonade. More than a regional work, Porter's book also features anecdotes about the many famous people who both lived in and frequented Key West, including Tennessee Williams, Harry S. Truman, John Dewey, Tallulah Bankhead, and, of course, "Papa" Hemingway. Additionally, Porter's book highlights Key West's Cuban community and its World War II role as Navy depot. *Key West Conch Smiles* is available in paperback from The Heritage House Museum (305) 296-3573 for \$12.00.

*Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War.* By Versalle F. Washington. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999. 113 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

*Eagles on Their Buttons: A Black Infantry Regiment in the Civil War* is a fascinating examination of the Fifth Regiment of Infantry, United States Colored Troops—the Union Army's first black regi-

ment from Ohio. Although the 5th USCT was one of more than 150 regiments of black troops making up more than ten percent of the Union Army at the end of the war, it was unique. The majority of USCT regiments were made up of freed men who viewed the army as an escape from slavery and a chance to take up arms against their former masters. The men serving in the 5th USCT, however, were freemen who were raised in a northern state and saw serving in the army both as a way to gain equal rights under the law and as an opportunity to prove their worth as men. Author Versalle Washington shows what caused the soldiers of the 5th USCT to join their regiment, what sort of men they were, and how they fought and lived as black soldiers under white officers.

*Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the Florida Everglades.* By Sandra Wallus Sammons. (Lake Buena Vista: Tailored Tours Publications, 1999. 72 pp. \$14.95 paperback.)

The remarkable life story of Marjory Stoneman Douglas, one of Florida's legendary environmental leaders, is sensitively and thoughtfully presented in Sandra Wallus Sammons's *Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the Florida Everglades*. Sammons's book begins by chronicling Douglas's early years in cold, snowy Minnesota and Massachusetts—far from the lush Florida Everglades. In 1915, Douglas moved to the rapidly growing city of Miami. Working first as a reporter for her father's newspaper—*The Miami Herald*—she joined the U.S. Naval Reserves at the start of World War I and then served in France with the American Red Cross. Several years after her return, Douglas began work on her first book. Upon its publication in 1947, *The Everglades: River of Grass* was hailed as a trailblazing work. Through her subsequent writings and crusading activities, Douglas helped generations of people understand the importance of environmental preservation. *Marjory Stoneman Douglas and the Florida Everglades* is available in paperback from Tailored Tours Publications (407) 248-8504 for \$14.95.

*The Man From Enterprise: The Story of John Amos, Founder of AFLAC.* By Seymour Shubin. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998. 230 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

So what can we make of this enterprising man from Enterprise, Alabama? Well, at an age when most boys were delivering newspa-

pers, he and his brother were publishing their own—*The Jay* (Florida) *Tribune*—out of the family basement. Later, while a student at the University of Miami, he caught the eye of Dr. Charlton Tebeau—one of the deans of Florida history. And, oh yes, somewhere along the line, he managed to start AFLAC—one of the nation's largest insurance companies—from an office in Columbus, Georgia. Seymour Shubin's *The Man from Enterprise*, chronicles the life of John Amos—a visionary whose tenacity was likely his greatest asset. Part biography and part company history, Shubin's book is heavy on the corporate hagiography and Horatio Algerisms, but Amos's story is genuinely uplifting and proves that, despite what some might say, sometimes pluck and luck can take a young person far. *The Man from Enterprise: The Story of John B. Amos, Founder of AFLAC* is available in hardback from Mercer University Press.

*Mystic Chords of Memory: Civil War Battlefields and Historic Sites Recaptured.* By David J. Eicher. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. 167 pp. \$39.95 cloth.)

In his stunning new photographic work, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, David Eicher takes readers on a journey across numerous battlefields of the American Civil War. A true Civil War devotee, Eicher not only visits the war's most famous battlefields—Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Antietam—but also introduces readers to an array of lesser known battle sites as well as monuments, forts, houses and farms, cemeteries, and museums. Eicher's captivating color photographs, chosen from his personal collection, are supplemented by powerful, historical black-and-white photographs that propel readers back to the Civil War era. The resulting work captures the most important, unusual, and interesting places associated with the war as they stand today. Peppered with more than 150 quotations from the journals, letters, and diaries of Civil War participants, *Mystic Chords of Memory* allows readers to absorb the human aspects of America's greatest conflict.

*Flavors of St. Augustine: An Historic Cookbook.* By Maggi Smith Hall. (Lake Buena Vista: Tailored Tours Publications, 1999. 176 pp. \$18.95 paperback.)

Can't find that special recipe for Over the Ocean Bread Pudding or Six Mile Swamp Bull Frog Legs? No need to worry. You'll

find those recipes along with many other exotic culinary creations in Maggi Smith Hall's *Flavors of St. Augustine: An Historic Cookbook*. *Flavors* offers over 200 recipes drawn from all of St. Augustine's historical periods. Hall's book is not only a carefully researched, compiled, and beautifully illustrated cookbook, but also a comprehensive handbook of Florida culinary history. Sections include: The Timucua Indians, The First Spanish Period, The British and the Minorcans, The New American Territory, and The Gilded Age of Henry Flagler. So, before you attempt a batch of Rice Frumenty or Bootstrap Jerky, you'd be wise to sit down with *Flavors of St. Augustine*.

### New in Paperback

*Florida Portrait: A Pictorial History of Florida*. By Jerrell Shofner. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1998. 256 pp. \$24.95 softcover.)

Because it encompasses the oldest continuous European settlement on the North American continent, Florida is sometimes viewed as a very old state. But, with a population derived largely from immigration, especially over the last forty years, the state is also very new. That blend of old and new is a key theme in Florida's history, a theme that is brought to life in Jerrell Shofner's *Florida Portrait: A Pictorial History of Florida*. This history of Florida is packed with hundreds of drawings and photographs—many of them never before published—from Florida's earliest Indian peoples to the space age. The drama of early Spanish exploration, the struggles of Florida's Indian tribes to retain their land, U.S. acquisition of the territory, and the "boom and bust" pattern of economic development are brought to life with concise, lively text and powerful visual images. This stunning depiction of Florida's unique past serves as an important reference, and simply browsing its pages is a delightful educational experience.

### Reprint

*The Leo Frank Case*. By Leonard Dinnerstein. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. 248 pp. \$15.95 paperback.)

In April 1913, thirteen-year-old Mary Phagan was found murdered in the basement of the Atlanta pencil factory where she worked. Leo Frank, the northern Jew who managed the factory and

was the last person known to have seen Phagan alive, was arrested and accused of her murder. Frank was sentenced to death after two years of flawed, sensationalized, kangaroo court-style proceedings. When Georgia's governor commuted the sentence to life imprisonment, an outraged mob kidnaped Frank from prison and lynched him near Phagan's hometown. Leonard Dinnerstein's *The Leo Frank Case* remains the only major account of the event that prompted the B'nai B'rith to form the Anti-Defamation League. In this classic study of one of America's most infamous miscarriages of justice, Dinnerstein details the evidence of Leo Frank's innocence and shows how Frank—as a Jew, a northerner, and an industrialist—symbolized an intolerable mix of “outside” forces to an insular South.

## HISTORY NEWS

*Call for Papers/Conferences*

### 2000 FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

"Florida 2000: Past, Present and Future"

May 18-20, 2000  
Pensacola Grand Hotel

Please send a 500-word paper proposal, any audio-visual requirements, and the preferred date for your presentation to:

Dr. Lewis N. Wynne, Executive Director  
Florida Historical Society  
1320 Highland Ave.  
Melbourne, Fl 32935

The College of Charleston's **Program in the Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World** will host an international conference during October 5-8, 2000 on manumission in the Atlantic world. Direct proposals for papers to Professor Rosemary Brana-Shute, Department of History, College of Charleston, 66 George Street, Charleston, SC 29424. Phone: (843) 953-5563 or Fax (843) 766-7929. E-mail: [brana-shuter@cofc.edu](mailto:brana-shuter@cofc.edu). The deadline for proposals is **March 1, 2000**.

The **Center for the Study of War and Society** announces a conference examining "The Veteran and American Society" to be held November 12-13, 2000 at Knoxville, Tennessee. The Center solicits paper proposals from a variety of disciplinary perspectives that examine the history of the American veteran from the Revolutionary War to the Persian Gulf. They are especially interested in scholarship which examines the political participation of ex-servicemen/women through veteran's organizations and other societies; the development of state and federal pension programs, hospitals, homes, and educational benefits for veterans and their dependents; and the images of veterans in literature, art, and film. For more information, contact: G. Kurt Piehler, Center for the Study of War and Society, 220 Hoskins Library, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0411. E-mail: [gpiehler@utk.edu](mailto:gpiehler@utk.edu).

*Essay Competition*

The Department of History of the **University of Texas-Arlington** announces the 2000 Webb-Smith Essay Competition in conjunction with the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures **March 9, 2000**. A \$500 prize is being offered for the best essay on "Beyond Black and White: Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the U.S. South and Southwest." This volume seeks to interrogate how histories of nonblack people of color within the South, or social relations on the "edge of the South"—with emphasis on its multicultural southwestern border—have reoriented, or should reorient, southern history. In addition to these topics, entries may also examine theoretically how gender and ethnicity can enhance biracial analyses of southern society.

The winning essay will be published in Volume 35 of the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lecture Series, published by Texas A&M University Press, along with essays by Sarah Deutsch, Laura Edwards, Neil Foley, Nancy Hewitt, and Stephanie Cole. Manuscripts must be submitted by **February 1, 2000**. Additional information may be obtained from Stephanie Cole or the Webb Memorial Lectures Committee, Department of History, Box 19529, The University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX 76019-0529, [scole@uta.edu](mailto:scole@uta.edu).

*Exhibits & Tours*

Historical Museum of Southern Florida's  
Special Exhibitions and Festivals

**Diversity and Progress: A Millennial Exhibition Celebrating the Cultural Achievements of the New World**, October 1999-January 2000. This exhibit, which focuses primarily on Florida, the Yucatan Peninsula, and the Caribbean will explore the broad range of cultures and foreign influences that comprise American culture in Florida.

*Honors and Awards*

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three prizes for original work in Florida history. Those for 1998-1999 were announced at the annual meeting in Daytona Beach, April 29-May 1, 1999. The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for the best article in the *Quarterly* was awarded to Florida Gulf Coast University's Irvin D. Solomon and Grace Erhart for "Race and Civil War in South Florida," which appeared in the winter 1999 issue. The prize memorializes Professor Thompson, a long-time member of the history

faculty at the University of Florida. His family established an endowment that supports the annual grant.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award was given to John F. Worth for his two-volume work, *Timucuan Chiefdoms*, published by the University Press of Florida. Long-time editor of the *Quarterly* and secretary of the Society, Rembert Patrick was also chairman of the history department at the University of Florida and past president of the Southern Historical Association.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award for the best book in Florida history for young readers went to Jay Barnes for *Florida's Hurricane History*, published by the University of North Carolina Press. Dr. Tebeau is professor emeritus of history at the University of Miami.

Other prizes awarded at the Society's annual meeting included the Patrick D. Smith Literary Award presented to Kevin M. McCarthy for his edited book, *River in Flood and Other Florida Stories by Marjory Stoneman Douglas*, published by the University Press of Florida.

The Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Award for the best book in social and ethnographic history of Florida was awarded to Patsy West for *Enduring Seminoles* published by the University Press of Florida.

In recognition of more than four decades of service to a variety of local historical organizations in Alachua County and to the Society, Marinus H. Latour, immediate past president, was presented with the Dorothy Dodd Lifetime Achievement Award.

The Society also recognizes outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by students. The 1998-99 Leroy Collins Prize for the best essay by a graduate student went to Robert E. Lee Irby of the University of South Florida for his work entitled "The Big Ditch: The Rise and Fall of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal."

The Carolyn Mays Brevard Prize for the best essay by an undergraduate student was awarded to Alan J. Bliss of the University of Florida for his essay, "An Expressway Runs Through It: The Interstate Highways and Tampa, Florida, 1940s-1960s." The 1999 recipient of the Florida Pioneer Award went to Alto "Bud" Adams Jr. of Fort Pierce in recognition of his efforts to protect the environment of Florida, for his educational activities, and for his award-winning nature photographs of Florida wildlife. A fifth-generation Floridian, Adams is the son of former supreme court justice Alto Adams Sr.

The Florida Historical Society is currently accepting nominees for book and essay prizes to be awarded at the 2000 Annual Meeting. The Rembert W. Patrick Book Prize is awarded by the Society to the author of the best scholarly book in Florida history. The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award is given to the author of the best book in Florida history for young readers. The Harry T. and Harriette V. Moore Award is awarded to the author of the best book in social and ethnographic history. Books published during 1999 are eligible for the award. Those interested in submitting nominees should send six (6) copies of the book by January 1, 2000, to Dr. Nick Wynne, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 1320 Highland Avenue, Melbourne, Florida 32935. Please indicate for which award you are applying.

The Leroy Collins Graduate Essay competition is open to all graduate students in all universities. Eligible are papers written on Florida history topics that 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 results 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 May 2000 in Pensacola 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, 2000.

*Samuel Proctor Oral History Prize*

This prize will be awarded for the best work on/in oral history in Florida during 1999-2000 by the Florida Historical Society in co-operation with the Florida Oral History Association. The award is named in honor of Dr. Samuel Proctor, founder of the first and largest oral history program at the University of Florida and editor emeritus of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The award will be presented at the Society's Annual Meeting. Interviews used should meet the ethical guidelines and professional standards of the national Oral History Association. The leading interviewer may be from out-of-state, but the content of the oral history project must be substantially on Florida. The project should have some lasting value in fostering a better knowledge and appreciation for the State of Florida. The oral history interviews must be transcribed with appropriate release forms and can be either a published article or a book done primarily through oral history methods; a video; a documentary; a paper given at a conference; a web site; or the organization of a conference centered around oral history. Four copies of all nominations should be sent to: Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Avenue, Cocoa, FL 32922 by March 15, 2000. Entries should be accompanied by a vitae and a description of the project. All questions should be addressed to Dr. Julian Pleasants, Box 115215, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611 or by email at [jpleasan@history.ufl.edu](mailto:jpleasan@history.ufl.edu).

Patrick D. Smith, author of the award-winning historical novel *A Land Remembered*, was inducted into the Florida Artists Hall of Fame on June 11, 1999. Smith, who resides in Merritt Island, is the author of five other novels, as well as numerous short stories, essays, and articles.

The American Association for State and Local History (AASLH), headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee, proudly announces that Canter Brown Jr. is the recipient of an AASLH Certificate of Commendation for his book, *Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor*.

1999 ANNUAL MEETING  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

PLANTERS IN PARADISE:  
FLORIDA'S PLANTATION ECONOMY

Thursday, April 29, 1999

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 8:30 a.m.             | REGISTRATION  |
| 8:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m.   | COFFEE AND CONVERSATION   |
|                       | SESSION I   |
| 9:00 a.m.-9:45 a.m.   | Revitalizing the Florida Historical<br>Confederation: A Directed Discussion<br>Chair: Pamela J. Hall, Confederation<br>Director   |
|                       | SESSION II  |
| 10:00 a.m.-10:45 a.m. | Grants and Programs: The Bureau of His-<br>toric Preservation<br>Frederick Gaske, <i>Bureau of Historic Preser-<br/>vation</i>  |
|                       | SESSION III   |
| 11:00 a.m.-11:45 a.m. | Building Alliances: The Development of<br>Local Coalitions Among Historical Societ-<br>ies and Museums<br>Chair: Michelle Alexander, <i>Orange County<br/>Historical Museum</i> |
| 12:00-1:30 p.m.       | CONFEDERATION LUNCHEON AND<br>AWARDS PRESENTATION<br>Guest Speaker: Christine T. Riley, <i>Arcadia<br/>Press</i> , Local History and Publishing: Fun<br>and Fund Raising        |

- 2:00 p.m. ANNUAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
- 2:00 p.m. Bus Tour of Historic Plantation Sites  
Private Car Caravan to Bulow Plantation
- 5:30 p.m.-7:30 p.m. Halifax Historical Society Reception  
Halifax Historical Society Museum
- 8:00 p.m.-9:30 p.m. Guided Walking Tour of Historic Boardwalk,  
Bandshell and Campbell Clocktower.

Friday, April 30, 1999

- 8:30 a.m. Registration
- 8:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m. Coffee and Conversation

#### CONCURRENT SESSIONS

##### SESSION I

- 9:00 a.m.-10:30 a.m. PLANTERS IN PARADISE: FLORIDA'S  
AGRICULTURAL FRONTIER  
Chair: Susan Parker, *University of North Florida*
- Going to School at Muskito and Grant College: Learning Plantation Agriculture in British East Florida, 1766-1776"  
Robert Lowell, *University of Texas-Austin*
- The Peculiarities of the Planter Economy of Antebellum South Florida"  
Irvin D. Solomon, *Florida Gulf Coast University*
- "The Political Economy of Florida's Plantation Past Through Distance Multi-Learning"  
William Marina, *Florida Atlantic University*

##### SESSION II

- 9:00 a.m.-10:30 a.m. A SNAPSHOT OF DAYTONA BEACH'S  
AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN THE 1940s

Chair: Maxine D. Jones, *Florida State University*

"Gordon Parks in Daytona Beach, 1943: A Case Study on Local History with Photographs"

Alison Nordstom and Jeannie Appleby, *Daytona Beach Community College*

"Mary McLeod Bethune and Bethune-Cookman College: Community Involvement in the 1940s"

Shelia Fleming, *Bethune-Cookman College*

### SESSION III

9:00 a.m.-10:30 a.m.

#### WORLD WAR II IN FLORIDA

Chair: Robert A. Taylor, *Florida Institute of Technology*

"The War Offshore: World War II Comes to the Southeast Florida Coast"

Eliot Kleinberg, *Palm Beach Post*

"Different Battles: The War Off Vero's Beach, 1942"

Rodolph L. Johnson, Author, *Vero Beach*

### SESSION IV

10:45 a.m.-12:15 p.m.

#### WAR AND WARRIORS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FLORIDA

Chair: David J. Coles, *Florida Department of Archives and History*

"Paradise Meets the Patriots: Spanish East Florida Before and After the Patriot's War"

James Cusik, *P. K. Yonge Library of History, University of Florida*

"Benjamin A. Putnam and the Battle of Dunlawton: A Reappraisal"

Joe Knetsch, *Florida Department of Survey and Mapping*

"A Marine's Diary: Life in the U. S. S. Terra in the 1870s"

John Childrey, *Florida Atlantic University*

## SESSION V

10:45 a.m.-12:15 p.m.

## PIONEERING SCIENCE IN MODERN FLORIDA

Chair: Julian Pleasants, *Samuel Proctor Oral History Center, University of Florida*

Clarence B. Moore: Florida's Pioneering Archaeologist"

Jeffrey M. Mitchem, *Arkansas Archaeological Survey*

"Florida's War Against the Mosquito: The Creation of the First Mosquito Control District"

Gordon Patterson, *Florida Institute of Technology*

## SESSION VI

10:45 a.m.-12:15 p.m.

## WOMEN'S SOCIAL ACTIVISM IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY FLORIDA

Chair: Ellen Babb, *Heritage Village and Historical Museum*

"Beyond the Sawgrass: The Social Activism of Marjorie Stoneman Douglas"

Jack Davis, *University of Alabama-Birmingham*

"Elizabeth Virrick and Postwar Housing Reform in Miami"

Laura Danahy, *Florida Atlantic University*

"Jewish Women in the Miami Civil Rights Movement"

Raymond A. Mohl, *University of Alabama-Birmingham*

12:15 p.m.-1:00 p.m.

## LUNCH

## TOUR

1:00 p.m.

Historic Daytona Beach Bus Tour  
Museum of Arts and Sciences, Bethune-Cookman College, Mary McLeon-Bethune

Home, U.S. Post Office (Spanish Renaissance), Seabreeze Bed and Breakfast (Spanish Villa) and United Tourist Church (Spanish Mission)

6:30 p.m.-10:00 p.m.

## ANNUAL BANQUET AND AWARDS PRESENTATION

Saturday, May 1, 1999

8:45 a.m.-9:30 a.m.

Annual Society Business Meeting

## CONCURRENT SESSIONS

### SESSION VII

9:30 a.m.-10:45 a.m.

### FLORIDA FARMING AFTER 1865

Chair: Irvin D. Solomon, *Florida Gulf Coast University*

"W. N. Sheats: Alachua County Gentleman Farmer"

A. O. White, *University of Florida*

"Pineapple Culture on Florida's Lower East Coast"

Sandra Thurlow, Author, Stuart, FL

"Pioneer Women Farmers"

Nina McGuire, Author, Lake Buena Vista

### SESSION VIII

9:30 a.m.-10:45 a.m.

### KING OF THE CRACKERS: JACOB SUMMERLIN AND HIS TIMES

Chair: Pamela J. Hall, *Indian River County Public Library*

"Jacob Summerlin and the Florida Cattle Industry"

Joe Akerman, *North Florida Community College*

"The King of the Crackers and O-Town: Jacob Summerlin and the Development of Orlando"

Bruce Brunson, *University of South Florida*

### SESSION IX

- 11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. VIOLENCE AND VIGILANCE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY FLORIDA  
Chair: W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *University of Florida*  
"Florida's Disgrace: The Lake City Lynching of 1911"  
Jeffrey A. Drobney, *Kennesaw State University*  
"Daytona Beach: A Closed Society"  
Robert E. Snyder, *University of South Florida*  
"Ruth Perry and the Johns Committee: One Woman's Courage"  
Judith Poucher, *Florida Community College*
- SESSION X
- 11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. COLONIAL FLORIDA PLANTATIONS  
Chair: William S. Coker, *President, Florida Historical Society*  
"A Swamp of Investment: British Plantations in East Florida"  
Daniel L. Shafer, *University of North Florida*  
"Blue Gold"  
Patricia C. Griffin, *St. Augustine Historical Society*  
"Black Panthers on the Spanish Frontier, 1784-1821"  
Jane G. Landers, *Vanderbilt University*  
"The Success of Francis P. Fatio Under British and Spanish Regimes"  
Susan R. Parker, *University of North Florida*
- 1:00 p.m.-2:00 p.m. Annual Meeting Picnic  
Southeast Museum of Photography  
Daytona Beach Community College

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING  
April 29, 1999

The Board of the Florida Historical Society met at the 1999 Annual Meeting in Daytona Beach, Florida. In attendance were: Patti Bartlett, Tom Bowman, Mary Ann Cleveland, Bill Coker, Ernest Dibble, Clyde Field, George Franchere, Kari Frederickson, Don Gaby, Louise Gopher, Pam Hall, Sandra Johnson, Marinus Latour, Niles Schuh, Robert Snyder, Robert Taylor, Ada Coats Williams, Lindsey Williams, and Nick Wynne.

The meeting was called to order at 2:00 p.m. Minutes of the January 29, 1999, meeting were approved as corrected, with Marinus Latour making the motion and Don Gaby the second. The corrections were that Sandra Johnson was on the reorganization committee, and Don Gaby was not the head of the finance committee.

NEW BUSINESS

*Committee reports were given.*

**Finance:** George Franchere stated there were no changes to the committee's recommendations in January.

**Nominations:** Marinus Latour read nominations for the 1999-2000 slate of officers: Vice President - Theodore VanItallie; District 3 - Pete Cowdrey; District 2 - Barbara Sumwalt; District 3 - David Jackson; At-large - Julian Pleasants; At-large - Jose Fernandez. Marinus Latour moved that the board approve the slate, and Tom Bowman made the second. Motion carried unanimously.

**Publications:** Tom Bowman reported there were no new recommendations. Lindsey Williams asked about the status of the possibility of paid ads in the *Quarterly* and for selecting a new printer. Nick said the proposals will be ready in May and eight printers seemed interested. The payment schedule the FHS has been using will be part of the RFP package.

**Society Reorganization:** Bob Taylor stated that any reorganization of the FHS would have profound implications for the future, but that an important aspect of the re-organization would be the reinvigoration of the Society. The creation of new districts from the three current districts and appointing district vice presidents may

be a big help in this process. One of the questions now facing the society is whether to create new districts based on population size or to weigh the districts for membership—so each district has approximately the same number of FHS members.

Marinus Latour said that he analyzed the 1990 membership per each thousand of Florida population. District 1 (essentially northern Florida) had the highest number of our members; followed by District 2 (essentially the west coast) and District 3 (the east coast). Along with the reorganization, potential geographic areas to seek new board members were discussed. Currently we have no board members from Jacksonville or the Miami area. Nick Wynne also suggested that we market the Society to African Americans and Native Americans as part of this process.

**Florida Historical Confederation:** Pam Hall talked about her findings on reorganizing the F.C. She would need two contact personnel for southwest Florida and the panhandle to identify and locate organizations, their addresses, and a contact person. She stated that the Internet was the only logical way to make such a listing available and to keep it current. This listing would be linked to the FHS page. Nick Wynne mentioned that the 1985 blue book put out by the Confederation is the most current listing of historical societies and agencies.

**Special Projects:** Nick Wynne mentioned that a special committee had been set up to update the rules for the annual prizes. Bob Taylor said one the goals of this committee was to establish new criteria for each of the categories, and if a submitted item was not appropriate for the category in which it was submitted, it could be shifted to an appropriate category. Dr. Wynne said that the cut-off dates need to be examined. Lindsey Williams moved that we award certificates to anyone who submits a book, video, etc., for an award. Seconded by Don Gaby, the motion carried.

Ways to increase the nominations were discussed. The low response to the Cubberly prize was discussed. Despite mailings to the social studies coordinators of more than 1000 schools, only two responses were received. The elementary and secondary school markets have been difficult to reach. Dr. Wynne commented that some school boards require the completion of a long form by any one or any organization wishing to submit items to the teachers. Some school boards will provide labels for the social studies teachers and for home schooling instructors. He suggested that the Confederation may be able to communicate with teachers.

*Executive Director's Report*

Dr. Wynne reviewed the problems we had with termites in the Roesch House. Thanks to generous donations from Board members, the problem has been addressed and solved for the time being.

**The *Quarterly*:** Bill Coker commented that the requirement for a new editor of the *Quarterly*, as proposed by the Standards and Review Committee, would essentially make it impossible for a person from one of the smaller colleges to qualify for editorship. He feels that requirements should be broader for greater selection. He suggested the committee review those requirements again. Dr. Wynne added that we may want to examine where we want the Society and the *Quarterly* to be, five years down the road, at the same time. UCF has expressed an interest in extending the contract for the *Quarterly*.

Dr. Kari Frederickson, the editor of the *Quarterly*, made her report. The Spring issue is in-press. The topic is 20th Century women activists. The next four issues are planned, which will ease the transition for her successor. The closing date for applicants for the editor's position is May 1, and some 20 candidates have applied.

Marinus Latour moved that the Board commend the progress the *Quarterly* has made under the very capable administration of Dr. Frederickson. Motion seconded by Clyde Fields, and enthusiastically approved by the Board.

**Executive Committee:** Dr. Wynne requested two Board members to volunteer to serve on the Executive Committee, which oversees Society business between Board meetings. The next meeting of the Executive Committee is scheduled for September in Gainesville. Ernie Dibble and Ada Coates Williams volunteered to serve; Bob Taylor offered to serve as an alternate. It was moved and seconded that these nominations be accepted. Motion carried unanimously.

**Dues Increase:** Dr. Wynne suggested the Board consider a dues increase. This approved dues schedule would be submitted to the general membership for approval on Saturday. Corporate would be \$200; Contributing would be \$200; Family would be \$50; Individual would be \$40.00, Student would be \$30.00. Presently, student membership fees are so low that the Society has ended up underwriting those memberships. Student memberships have fallen, pretty much in accord with the collegiate push to curtail or eliminate Florida history offerings. Dues of \$20 would be a help, \$25 would be better. Currently we have about 60 student members. The strongest student membership levels are from small colleges

like FSC and Indian River Community College. Larger universities do not generate large numbers of student members. The impact of a \$25 dues on students was discussed and concluded to be largely inconsequential.

A brief discussion was held on the decrease in Florida history offerings at colleges and universities. More awareness of Florida history on the part of the legislature was proposed, particularly in view that many states require courses in that state's history to be part of each student's curriculum. Is there something we could do politically? Nick sent a personal letter and a membership brochure to each member of both houses, with no replies. Members of the legislatures tend to be concerned with the here and now, not trends. Dr. Wynne suggested that each board member make an effort to involve/inform his/her local legislator in local and state history. Dr. Wynne will meet with his local delegation.

Tom Bowman moved we raise student membership and study the possibility of an incentive plan being instituted for the student members, holding them to the \$25/year rate while in school/college, but once out of school, creating a transitional rate of \$27.50 for each year of college/student membership. Motion was seconded, and carried.

Membership dues discussion continued. Because the increase request is in response to our increased costs, Dr. Wynne said he would not want to see any discounted memberships—lifetime, two-years for the price of 1 1/2 years, etc.—implemented. Membership benefits will be expanding as time goes on, and discounted memberships would not bear any of that cost. He would have no objections to a two-year membership if it were not discounted. The proposed dues increases were motioned and seconded. During discussion, a motion was made for the corporate level to be increased to \$400.00. An amendment was offered that set the corporate rate at \$500. This amendment was accepted. The cost for institutional libraries was brought up; those fees will go to \$55. The amended motion was approved by the board unanimously.

**Library Renovations:** Bids for work on the Tebeau-Field Library were \$70,000 over grant stipulation. The architect recommended that the Society do part of the demolition work. Part of the first floor of the library has been cleared, for an estimated saving of \$50,000-\$60,000.

Dr. Wynne commended that although not much has been done by committees in the short time between our January meet-

ing and the April meeting, their input has taken a lot of work off his shoulders. Dr. Wynne's work with the committees and on the library was applauded by members of the board.

**Revitalization of the Confederation:** Dr. Wynne stated that memberships of the FHC have traditionally been local historical organizations, and that the upkeep of the mailing list of those organizations has been an on-going project. Most of these smaller societies are operated out of some individual's office or home, and they when they die, move out of state, or get mad, the organization pretty much vanishes. Thirty percent fail to respond to mailers requesting updated information. Since 1985, there has been a proliferation of local historical organizations, with varied historical foci. With sixty-seven counties, it would not be possible to have each county have a representative on the FHC board. Eighteen is a better number. The FHS can take care of the Internet needs for the Confederation. Many of the smaller societies do not go on the Internet, despite funding available from the State for a computer and Internet access. The Orange County Consortium was mentioned as an example of what can be accomplished in information resources. Dr. Wynne asked that anyone with access to local historical societies' mailing addresses forward a copy to Pam Hall with two contact names (president, secretary/treasurer), address, e-mail address, phone and fax numbers. Dr. Wynne will create a website for the FHC ([www.flaconfed.org](http://www.flaconfed.org)).

#### OLD BUSINESS

The Board went into brief Executive session. There being no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned.

# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

January 1, 1998-December 31, 1998

## *Current Assets*

|                                  |        |
|----------------------------------|--------|
| Checking Account - Society ..... | \$ 667 |
| Dean Witter Investments .....    | 12,504 |
| Mid-South Investments .....      | 180    |
| Accounts Receivable .....        | 1,889  |
| Inventory .....                  | 25,438 |
| Total Current Assets .....       | 40,678 |

## *Fixed Assets*

|                                |          |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| Office Equipment .....         | 14,146   |
| Furniture & Fixtures .....     | 4,575    |
| Accumulated Depreciation ..... | (17,142) |
| Total Fixed Assets .....       | 1,579    |
| TOTAL ASSETS .....             | 42,257   |

## *Current Liabilities*

|                                 |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| Accounts Payable .....          | 17,606 |
| Total Current Liabilities ..... | 7,606  |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES .....         | 17,606 |

## *Fund Balance*

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Fund Balance .....                     | 34,924   |
| Excess (deficit) for year .....        | (10,273) |
| Total Fund Balance .....               | 24,651   |
| TOTAL LIABILITIES & FUND BALANCE ..... | 42,257   |

## *Revenues*

|                                   |         |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Membership Income .....           | 46,530  |
| Quarterly Income .....            | 389     |
| Annual Meeting Income .....       | 10,155  |
| Annual Appeal Income .....        | 6,550   |
| Dividend Income .....             | 784     |
| Florida Portrait Royalties .....  | 714     |
| Ciudad de Cigar Sales .....       | 292     |
| Books and Publications .....      | 10,783  |
| Preservation Workshop .....       | 40      |
| Grants Income (Black South) ..... | 11,732  |
| Income-Misc. Donations .....      | 12,275  |
| Miscellaneous Income .....        | 3,264   |
| TOTAL REVENUES .....              | 103,608 |

*Expenses*

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Memb. Recr. & Retent. Printing Expense ..... | \$330    |
| Memb. Recr. & Retnet. Postage Expense .....  | 2,866    |
| Quarterly Expense .....                      | 19,620   |
| Journeys Expense .....                       | 551      |
| Society Report Expense .....                 | 1,297    |
| Grant Expense (Black South) .....            | 11,732   |
| Annual Meeting Expense .....                 | 7,060    |
| Award Expense .....                          | 2,389    |
| Annual Appeal Expense .....                  | 145      |
| Roesch House-Utilities Expense .....         | 1,523    |
| Roesch House-Maintenance Expense .....       | 1,724    |
| Roesch House-Insurance Expense .....         | 1,124    |
| Roesch House-Miscellaneous Expense .....     | 8,999    |
| Legal & Accounting Expense .....             | 790      |
| Office Exp.-Salary Exec. Dir .....           | 16,500   |
| Office Exp.-Salary Admin. Asst .....         | 17,492   |
| Office Exp.-Payroll Taxes .....              | 2,601    |
| Office Exp.-Unempl. Taxes .....              | 125      |
| Office Exp.-Medical Insurance .....          | 6,332    |
| Office Exp.-Supplies .....                   | 3,643    |
| Office Exp.-Other .....                      | 5,851    |
| Travel Expense .....                         | 195      |
| Interest Expense .....                       | 1,172    |
| Depreciation Expense .....                   | 944      |
| TOTAL EXPENSES .....                         | 113,881  |
| NET INCOME/DEFICIT .....                     | (10,273) |

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BUSINESS MEETING OF THE GENERAL  
MEMBERSHIP  
May 1, 1999

The General Meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held during its annual meeting at Daytona Beach, Florida, on Saturday, May 1, 1999, at 8:45 a.m.

Executive Director Nick Wynne welcomed the members. He thanked the local arrangements committee for putting together the Daytona meeting and for providing the impressive array of local resources.

Dr. Wynne's first agenda item was the status of the Tebeau-Field Library. Staff had decided to do the interior renovation and save approximately \$50,000. At this point, there are no walls, no a/c ducting, and no lights. Dr. Wynne stated that his mellowness at the annual meeting was in part due to the relaxation afforded by flattening ductwork with a 30-pound sledge the week before. Target date for completion is September 1, 1999.

Locations for the upcoming annual meetings were discussed. Rather than Key West, the next annual meeting will be in Pensacola, 2001 will be Cocoa, the 2002 meeting in Lake County, Ocala in 2003.

Two items were presented for ratifications. The first was the dues increase. Most categories will be increased by \$5 to cover rising costs. New membership rates would be Institutional, \$55; Family, \$50; Individual, \$40, Contributing member, \$200; Student, \$30. Corporate membership has been quintupled, to \$500. Motion to accept these new membership rates was made by Clyde Fields, seconded by George Franchere. Dr. Wynne stated those hardship cases for dues would be handled on an individual basis. Motion carried.

Marinus Latour reported on the new board members proposed by the board member subcommittee. Dr. Ted VanItallie, vice president; District I, Peter Cowdrey; District II, Barbara Sumwalt; and District II, David Jackson. Board members at large, Dr. Jose Fernandez and Dr. Julian Pleasants. Motion to accept these suggested board members made by Don Gaby, seconded by Pam Hall. Motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Wynne reported on the Society membership. We have about 1500 members at this time. In addition, the Library has 600 members, 20 Confederation members, and 600 *Journeys* subscribers.

Dr. Wynne asked members to take note of the Society's new telephone numbers: (407) 254-9855 for the administration; (407) 690-0099, Bookstore; and (407) 690-1971 for his direct line.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned, with Marinus Latour making the motion, Clyde Field the second. Unanimously passed.

# A GIFT OF HISTORY

A membership in the Florida Historical Society is an excellent gift idea for birthdays, graduation, or for anyone interested in the rich and colorful story of Florida's past.

A one-year membership costs only \$40, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the executive director of the Society will notify the recipient of your generosity and consideration.

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Sent to: Florida Historical Society  
1320 Highland Avenue  
Eau-Gallie-Melbourne, FL 32935

Please send as a special gift:

- ☐ Annual membership—\$40
- ☐ Family membership—\$50
- ☐ Institutions—\$55
- ☐ Contributing membership—\$200
- ☐ Corporate membership—\$500
- ☐ Student membership—\$30

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