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Cover Illustration: Cypress Gardens's trademark water skiers with tutus and white gloves, circa 1964. *Courtesy of the Department of Commerce Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

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## Forgotten Sacrifice: Native American Involvement in the Construction of the Castillo de San Marcos

by Jason B. Palmer

In the past, historians have been quick to praise the remarkable hardships endured by Spanish soldiers and colonists in the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos.<sup>1</sup> Their pay, food, and other supplies were siphoned off to help complete the construction. But seemingly lost in discussions of deprivation and hardship are the Native Americans who lived in the Spanish colony of La Florida. Apalachees, Timucuan, and Guala toiled for over twenty-four years under grueling conditions to construct the first European-style stone fortress on North America's east coast.

The Castillo de San Marcos took a heavy toll on the lives and cultures of Florida's natives. Supplying the manual labor needed for construction, many left home unwillingly, only to die in the service of the Spanish, succumbing to combinations of disease, malnourishment, and exhaustion. Natives not drafted were pressured to increase crop production—specifically corn—to supplement chronic shortages throughout Florida. As physically and psychologically drained laborers returned from St. Augustine, they were welcomed home by natives in need of protection and help in

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1. Luis Rafael Arana and Albert Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (Washington, D.C., 1977), 36.

the fields. Unfortunately, this joyous reunion included the transmission of new diseases, further expediting native population decline. As a result of disease and the drafting of native men, native childbirths declined in number. It was a cycle that led to an exponential demise of Florida's overall native population, setting the stage for the eventual extinction of the Apalachee, Timucua, and Guale cultures.

Located on the northern rim of the Spanish Empire, Florida was little more than a necessary burden to the Spanish Crown. Unlike Mexico and South America, the territory had not produced riches. Its value lay primarily in its strategic position, offering protection for treasure fleets that sailed from Vera Cruz through Havana and back to Spain.<sup>2</sup> Florida's geographic situation also prevented England and France from gaining a foothold from which they could threaten Spain's Caribbean colonies.<sup>3</sup> La Florida remained strategically important to the Spanish empire.

Still, Florida was a financial hardship.<sup>4</sup> The colony depended on a *situado* from New Spain, but the payments were chronically in arrears.<sup>5</sup> Because funds often arrived late, colonial administrators turned to Indian mission settlements for supplies, shifting the burden squarely onto native shoulders. As construction of the Castillo de San Marcos progressed, and as costs escalated, such impositions on the Indians increased year by year.

Since the establishment of St. Augustine in 1565, Spanish missionaries—first Jesuit, then Franciscan—journeyed throughout Florida establishing missions and bringing Catholicism to natives. Colonization and missionization moved in a series of waves across the native provinces of Florida, introducing new infectious diseases against which the natives had insufficient immunity. Hardest hit

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2. Albert C. Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (Washington, D.C., 1942), 3.

3. For more on Spain's need to maintain control in Florida, see Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida 1562-1574* (New York, 1959), 107-108.

4. Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976).

5. *Situado* was "the royal subsidy paid from surplus funds generated by the viceroyalty of Mexico, which provided the salaries for the royal officials and soldiers and the stipends given to the friars as well as most of the other expenses linked to maintenance of the Spanish presence in Florida"; see John H. Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville, Fla., 1996), 337.

were the provinces of Timucua and Guale. Combined with the absence of many native men who served as laborers, these epidemics led to what historical archaeologist John Worth called "increasingly dysfunctional aboriginal societies" in which native women assumed increased responsibilities of leadership and food supplies.<sup>6</sup>

In 1656, Timucuan villagers, frustrated with the threat of disease and the injustices of the Spanish labor system, rebelled. Subsequently, the Governor ordered soldiers to harshly retaliate and relocate several villages more closely to the central road in order to reassert Spanish control.<sup>7</sup> Five years later, Chichimeco natives who had been supplied with English firearms invaded the region of Guale. The Governor again oversaw the relocation of several native villages to facilitate defense in the Guale.<sup>8</sup> By the late seventeenth century, both provinces began to resemble each other. Both Timucuans and Guales lived in a few main villages located along transportation routes to the west and north of St. Augustine.<sup>9</sup> Such population concentration allowed the Spanish to control more people, but it also placed these native groups on the path toward eventual extinction by exposing greater percentages to disease, the labor draft, and attack, exacerbating native social dysfunction.<sup>10</sup>

As the Timucuans and Guales increasingly failed to provide the desired amounts of labor and supplementary crops, Spanish focus shifted west to the Apalachees. Living some 210 miles from St. Augustine (near modern-day Tallahassee), Apalachees comprised more than three-fourths of Florida's mission population.<sup>11</sup> Their greater numbers, coupled with their impressive potential to supply crops to the impoverished *presidio*, made Apalachees irresistible to Spanish officials.

6. Idem, "Demographic Patterns and Changes in Mid-Seventeenth Century Timucua and Apalachee," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 64 (April 1986): 371-92; John E. Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama* (New York, 1995), 13.
7. Fred Lamar Pearson, "Timucuan Rebellion of 1656: The Rebolledo Investigation and the Civil-Religious Controversy," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (January 1983): 260-80.
8. Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 15-18.
9. Ibid., 13.
10. Hann, "Demographic Patterns and Changes," 381.
11. Idem, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (Gainesville, Fla., 1988), xi; Lucy L. Wenholt, ed. and trans., "A Seventeenth-Century Letter Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderón, Bishop of Cuba," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 95 (1936): 1-14.

As a result, the Apalachee began to assume the burden for providing native labor and crops.<sup>12</sup> Their yearly labor quota rose from one hundred to three hundred men.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, their expected contribution of foodstuffs continued to increase.<sup>14</sup> Harvested crops had to be carried more than two hundred miles on the backs of the native men. When they arrived in St. Augustine, tired natives were often forced into the construction labor pool as well as various menial tasks. In short, Apalachees began to feel the painful effects of the disasters that had already been experienced in Timucua and Guale.

A new version of labor tribute, the *repartimiento* system, required native leaders to supply workers in exchange for religious education, military protection, and trading privileges.<sup>15</sup> In the years after implementation, the system led to separate uprisings in Apalachee (1638 and 1647), Timucua (1565), and Guale (1576-1579 and 1597).<sup>16</sup> Such rebellions put the Spanish on guard, and they responded by native laborers more harshly in order to suppress future rebellions. Even though Franciscan missionaries regularly spoke out against injustices related to the labor system Spanish leaders in St. Augustine considered the colony's need for food a higher priority than deteriorating Indian labor conditions. Neither rebellion nor petitions effectively reduced the brutality of the system; laborers and food-producers alike faced higher demands.

With more food reliably imported from the Apalachees' territory and with greater control over the native labor force, the Spanish had a greater stake in Florida than ever before. Mounting tensions between Spain and England erupted in 1668, compelling Spain to build a permanent fortress on the peninsula to thwart

12. Hann, *Apalachee*, 140-41; idem, *Timucua*, 203.

13. Amy Turner Bushnell, "Patricio de Hinachuba: Defender of the Word of God, the Crown of the King, and the Little Children of Ivitachuco," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3 (1979): 5.

14. Hann, *Apalachee*, 140-41; idem, *Timucua*, 203.

15. Defined as "a system for recruiting native labor by requiring villages to supply quotas of workers proportional to their adult male population available for labor to serve in rotation for a limited period on Spanish projects, public and private. Such workers were to receive a daily wage of one-half *real* and sustenance"; see Hann, *Timucua*, 336.

16. John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Vol. I: Assimilation* (Gainesville, Fla., 1998), 166-68; Jerald T. Milanich, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord* (Washington D.C., 1999), 20, 105-106; Hann, *Apalachee*, 15-20.

future English encroachment.<sup>17</sup> Believing the unreduced Indians who continued to raid in the province of Guale were supplied with British firearms, residents of St. Augustine reasoned that an English attack was inevitable.

On May 28, 1668, a sailing ship appeared off St. Augustine. Believing the ship to be the long overdue subsidy vessel carrying money, food, and supplies, the harbor pilot was rowed out to meet the ship and hailed the crew. The response was "*El situado*."<sup>18</sup> Convinced that the ship was the subsidy vessel, the pilot hailed those on the shore with the prearranged signal of two musket shots. Thus, no one suspected the English pirates who were to invade St. Augustine. At the mercy of their captors, the pilot and his rowers had no choice but to guide the ship into harbor.

Approaching midnight, as the people of St. Augustine rested, the pirates made their move. Some one hundred raiders led by Robert Searles, an English corsair, crossed over the bar in small boats and rowed for the shore. Corporal Miguel de Monzón had been doing some late night fishing in his canoe. Monzón heard what sounded like many paddles breaking on the water and hurried toward shore. Chasing him as he struggled to give the alarm, the pirates managed to shoot Corporal Monzón twice.<sup>19</sup> Despite his wounds, he reached the fort and sounded the alarm. Hearing musket volleys and the alarm, the citizens of St. Augustine fled to the woods with their families.

Pirates rushed through the city toward the wooden fort. There, Governor Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega and thirty-three soldiers prepared to fight. Gunpowder was hastily rationed to troops who managed to fight off the attackers from behind the dilapidated ramparts. As the pirates retreated, they took prisoners including Indians who were in St. Augustine to trade and visit. Stashing some of their captives onboard the *situado* vessel and holding others on their ship outside the harbor, the pirates sent ransom demands. Governor Guerra agreed to redeem the Spanish prisoners, but was unable to negotiate the release of the Indians

17. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 1-2; John A. Bostwick, "The Use of Ceramics in the Construction of the Castillo de San Marcos," *The Florida Anthropologist* 30 (1977): 9; Luis R. Arana, "The Basis of a Permanent Fortification," *El Escribano* 36 (1999): 4-10.

18. Arana, "The Basis of a Permanent Fortification," 4.

19. *Ibid.*, 5.

who the pirates planned to sell as slaves. More ominous for the Florida natives, however, was Spanish realization that the inadequate defenses of the city and hence of La Florida left the colony vulnerable; the subsequent plan to build a permanent defense of the harbor would increase the natives' workload.<sup>20</sup>

When news of the raid reached Spain, Queen Regent Mariana, presiding for her pubescent son, King Phillip II, was outraged and determined to prevent future English encroachment, ordering that plans be drawn up to permanently fortify Florida. But in 1670, before construction of strengthened defenses could begin, the English founded Charles Towne. Located some 280 miles north of the Spanish capital, the new English stronghold was seen as another step toward eventual invasion of Florida proper. Concerned the English would form alliances with local natives and use them to threaten Spanish missions, Governor Guerra sent Spanish soldiers and natives northward to dislodge the English. Within sight of Charles Towne, a storm scattered the tiny Spanish fleet, and the English colonists were spared. Before a second attempt could be made, the Treaty of Madrid (1670) established a tenuous peace between the two rivals.

In light of the pirate invasion and the establishment of Charles Towne, defenses in St. Augustine came under scrutiny and were considered by many to be practically useless.<sup>21</sup> However, repairing the existing fort became impractical. First, a smallpox epidemic significantly reduced available Indian labor in the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine. Unless colony-wide labor conscriptions were made, there would be too few natives to carry the heavy timbers.<sup>22</sup> Second, due to the steady deforestation brought on by the construction of eight previous forts and colonization in general, the needed trees were a considerable distance from the city. As a result, the Queen decided to build a permanent fortress in Florida. In July 1670, she sent Don Manuel de Cendoya from Cádiz with his wife and two infants to relieve Governor Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega as governor of Florida and to begin construction of a new stone fort.

20. Since the raiders did not set fire to the city and there were reports that the pirates took depth soundings in the harbor prior to leaving, the residents of St. Augustine believed they would return; see Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 2.

21. *Ibid.*, 5.

22. Luis R. Arana, "Governor Cendoya's Negotiations in Mexico," *El Escribano* 36 (1999): 23.

On July 6, 1671, Cendoya arrived in St. Augustine to assume the governorship of Florida.<sup>23</sup> He brought engineer Ignacio Daza, craftsmen, tools, and supplies from Cuba, purchased with money procured from the viceroy of New Spain to assist in the construction.<sup>24</sup> Six days later, Governor Cendoya issued an order to begin preparations for building the Castillo.<sup>25</sup>

Natives from Timucua, Guale and Apalachee were conscripted to fill the labor needs.<sup>26</sup> Plans were to divide the *peones* (laborers): fifty would be assigned to quarry and transport the stone from Anastasia Island to the construction site; another fifty would carry oyster shells necessary to produce lime for mortar and the wood to burn them, and would tend the kilns; and fifty would shape the stone and open the foundation trenches.<sup>27</sup> Artisans fashioned the tools necessary for quarrying and digging such as axes, picks, bars, pry bars, wedges, hoes, and shovels. Natives built boxes, handbarrows, wagons, and twelve square-end dugouts with wooded decks to transport the stone, firewood, and oyster shells. They also built two limekilns near the construction site to produce the massive amount of lime mortar necessary for raising the walls.<sup>28</sup> Due to the constant flux of newly arriving workers and departing veteran workers, however, it was often difficult to find more than one hundred laborers on the job on a given day.<sup>29</sup>

Laboring forced a diverse population of native Floridians to live and work together. Apalachees, Timucuan, and Guales had a long history of warring against each other, particularly along traditional territorial boundaries. Each group spoke a distinct language among which there were multiple dialects. English prisoners and African slaves added more complexity to the pool of workers. Using hired interpreters, Spanish officials tried to overcome all of these differences, but cultural friction between groups became a daily source of tension on the construction site.<sup>30</sup>

23. Arana, "Governor Cendoya's Negotiations in Mexico," 30.

24. *Ibid.*, 26-27.

25. *Ibid.*, 30.

26. Hann, *Timucua*, 258.

27. Arana, "Governor Cendoya's Negotiations in Mexico," 30.

28. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 17; Arana, "Governor Cendoya's Negotiations in Mexico," 30.

29. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 11.

30. Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida*, (Athens, Ga., 1994), 139-40.

In addition, a new group of natives began to arrive in St. Augustine in increasing numbers—the Yamassee. As they migrated southward along the coast, the Yamassee began to occupy traditional lands held by the Guale. Now subject to the Spanish labor draft, Yamassee leaders sent their men to take turns at the fort. By 1673, almost half of the conscripted labor (twenty-four of fifty workers) from the province of Guale was Yamassee natives. This percentage increased as the Guales died off and more Yamassee took their place.<sup>31</sup>

As fall approached, the weather gradually became cooler and the mosquitoes became sparse. After erecting a shelter on nearby Anastasia Island, natives began the arduous process of quarrying stone. First, they cut down and cleared the dense vegetation (scrub oaks and palmetto) covering the stone. Once this was complete, natives used shovels to remove the sand and uncover the top layer of coquina. With picks and axes, they cut deep grooves into the rock so that rough blocks could be broken loose with wedges and bars. These waterlogged pieces of raw coquina varied in size. Some were small enough to be shouldered by a single man while others were two feet by two feet by four feet and barely manageable by six strong men. As each piece was removed, natives continued cutting deeper until they reached water and could go no further.<sup>32</sup> Workers loaded quarried stones onto wagons which were pulled by oxen to a wharf where ferries awaited. As the stone arrived at the construction site, natives piled it for stonecutters and masons who chopped and shaped the relatively soft stone.<sup>33</sup>

Florida natives were not used to this type of intense manual labor. Neither natives nor Europeans working in St. Augustine had experience cutting and quarrying coquina.<sup>34</sup> The stone—formed by the calcification of millions of tiny seashells—had first been discovered in 1583 on Anastasia Island.<sup>35</sup> Found in only three places in the world, coquina has unique characteristics such as the ability to withstand direct cannon fire without shattering. Additionally, it was abundant and in close relative proximity to the construction site. One of the challenges encountered with

31. Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 21, 27.

32. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 17-18.

33. *Ibid.*, 18.

34. *Ibid.*, 18; Bostwick, "The Use of Ceramics," 9.

35. Arana, "Governor Cendoya's Negotiations in Mexico," 27.

coquina was its wide range of quality. Some samples were "solid and relatively hard" while others, created under less favorable conditions, were "coarse and easily crumbled."<sup>36</sup> Inexperienced workers had to become expert coquina graders in order to select only the highest quality stone for construction.

Many of the natives assigned to collect oyster shells were from inland regions and had little or no experience working in oyster beds. Considering the demands of shell collection, many natives were forced to work with painful lacerations on their hands and feet common to this work. The wounds were constantly irritated by salt water and highly susceptible to infection. At the limekilns, native laborers heated oyster shells until they glowed white-hot and changed into fine quality, quick setting lime to be used as mortar.<sup>37</sup> By the spring of 1672, there were four thousand *fanegas* (some seven thousand bushels) of lime in two storehouses as well as great piles of quarried stone.<sup>38</sup>

Other natives were assigned to dig foundation trenches. This tedious, backbreaking chore was perhaps one of the few tasks familiar to natives since their respective peoples were agrarian by nature. But unlike their native lands, the coastal soil around St. Augustine was sandy and unstable.<sup>39</sup> In addition, Florida natives were not accustomed to the continuous demands of the project. Spaniards consequently portrayed them as having "weak character" and "unaccustomed to the work" of building a stone fortress.<sup>40</sup>

On August 8, 1671, the first workman began to draw his pay.<sup>41</sup> Indians, too, were paid for their labor, although not as much as other workers. For example, an unskilled Spanish *peone* received four *reales* per day whereas an unskilled Indian only received one plus a ration of maize.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, native carpenters received eight *reales* per day compared to the ten to twelve earned by other workers.<sup>43</sup> Master workmen earned twenty *reales* a day whereas those

36. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 18.

37. *Ibid.*, 9.

38. *Ibid.*, 18.

39. *Ibid.*, 5.

40. Nicolas Ponce de Leon to the King, 8 May 1674, St. Augustine, Archivo General de Indias (AGI) 54-5-11/10, University of Florida's Stetson Collection (SC); Manuel de Cendoya to the Queen, 15 December 1672, St. Augustine, AGI, Santo Domingo (SD) 58-1-26/21a SC.

41. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 17.

42. *Ibid.*, 11; Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 140.

43. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 11.

few Indians (as well as English prisoners) who demonstrated the same skills earned only eight.<sup>44</sup>

Inconsistencies were not limited to pay. Because food was scarce at times in St. Augustine, *repartimiento* laborers saw their rations fluctuate. For instance, they received three pounds of maize a day from 1671 to 1679, two and a half pounds from 1679 to 1684, just two pounds from 1684 to 1687, and two and a half pounds again until the Castillo was completed in 1695.<sup>45</sup> Paid native fishermen gathered shellfish and caught fish to supplement the workers' diets.<sup>46</sup> In contrast, Europeans of every skill level, including English prisoners, were rationed wheat flour and meat because "persons of European origin were thought to be unable to keep up their strength on the food of Indians."<sup>47</sup>

As preparations for construction continued, native families began to feel the effects. Some men broke with matrilineal customs and relocated their families to St. Augustine.<sup>48</sup> Others simply left their families at home to fend for themselves. Either way, the native domestic situation throughout Florida continued to deteriorate. Although labor conscription carried a specified limit, it was common for the men to be held well beyond their allotted time, thus worsening the impact on native families and societies; for example, one unfortunate chief was made to work for more than three years without once returning to his own lands.<sup>49</sup> The Spanish Crown virtually ignored efforts to stop such injustices, inspiring resentment among the natives.<sup>50</sup>

After fourteen months of preparation, Governor Cendoya held an official ground breaking ceremony on October 2, 1672.<sup>51</sup> Such formality probably meant little to the native laborers beyond a short break from work. In fact, the notary (*escribano*) made no

44. Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 139.

45. Ibid., 139; Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 21.

46. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of the Castillo de San Marcos*, 14, 21.

47. Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 139; Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 21.

48. Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 140; Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 11.

49. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 11.

50. Cedula to Governor of Florida, 25 February 1673, Madrid, AGI PAT 241-2-1.

51. Albert C. Manucy's translation of the "Testimony taken on October 2, 1672, on beginning the construction of the Castillo de San Marcos," n.d., Box 51, Manuscript Collection, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Fla. Original manuscript located at AGI SD 839-58-1-26.

mention of natives at the event. After the ceremony concluded, work recommenced on the Castillo and the pageantry was quickly forgotten. About a month later, on November 9, a similar ceremony took place as Governor Cendoya laid the first stone officially beginning construction on the walls.<sup>52</sup>

Although steady reports to the Spanish Crown spoke of progress, it was coming at a high cost. A deadly disease, referred to only as "contagion" (*el contagio*), weakened many of St. Augustine's Indian laborers, and killed others.<sup>53</sup> The losses evidently hindered progress, and as a result, Governor Cendoya requested thirty slaves be sent from Cuba to assist.<sup>54</sup> With the threat of English invasion still fresh on his mind, the Governor worked alongside Spanish soldiers while arrangements were finalized to acquire the Africans.

In the months that followed, disease—perhaps the same contagion that had decimated the natives—struck some of St. Augustine's leaders. Governor Cendoya died on March 8, 1673; and Daza, the engineer, died a few days later (after only seven months in Florida).<sup>55</sup> Work at this stage became particularly frustrating. Besides the lack of leadership, high tide flooded the trenches and slowed building efforts.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, the native workers persisted, and by mid-summer 1673, the east wall was twelve feet high.

In 1673, first-hand accounts indicated that at times more than three hundred Indians were found in St. Augustine working on the Castillo, a figure corroborated by Interim-Governor Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega's report on the presence of some "200 from Apalachee, 50 to 55 from Timucua, and 45 to 50 from Guale."<sup>57</sup> The native population in St. Augustine increased so greatly that friars requested more clergy be sent to ensure that Christian natives could receive the sacrament.<sup>58</sup>

52. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 16.

53. Manuel de Cendoya to the Queen, 15 December 1672, St. Augustine, AGI SD 58-1-26/21a, SC.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 20.

56. *Ibid.*, 25.

57. Antonio de Somoza to the Crown from the Comisario General de Indias (2 May 1673), in Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 140; Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 21. Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega to the Real Consejo, 20 October 1673, Madrid, AGI SD 54-5-20/98 SC.

58. Consejo de Indias to the Queen, 4 December 1673, Madrid, AGI SD 58-1-20/10, SC.

In 1673, Sergeant Major Nicolás Ponce de León arrived to assume the governorship of Florida. Soon thereafter, a major storm hit St. Augustine, again slowing the work.<sup>59</sup> As residents sifted through the aftermath of the storm, native laborers continued to succumb to the hardships of the Spanish labor system. In 1674, Governor Ponce, insisting that high native mortality impaired the work and that native men were needed in their villages where agricultural production and social unrest needed to be addressed, requested that the Governor of Cuba provide “fifty slaves to this fortress [as] laborers for the . . . construction” to ensure an efficient pace and to supplement the declining workforce.<sup>60</sup>

Yet, no slaves appeared, and in the spring of 1675, the subsidy vessel from New Spain was lost at sea. In the aftermath of these blows, the Governor turned again to native *peones*, sending them to Timucua for provisions. Those who went on this journey traded their daily chores in St. Augustine for many miles of walking with heavy loads of food. Back at the fort, even under renewed hardships, native laborers continued to work, and Governor Ponce reported that the north, east, and south walls were rising on schedule.

The Spanish Crown, however, wanted to see greater progress. On May 3, 1675, Pablo de Hita Salazar arrived to relieve Governor Ponce. Within six weeks, the fort was armed with guns from the old fort.<sup>61</sup> The new governor, recognizing the contribution of the natives, marveled that “if [the Castillo] had to be built in another place than St. Augustine it would cost double the amount because there will not be the advantage of having the peons, at a *real* wages each day, with such meager sustenance as three pounds of maize.”<sup>62</sup> Yet, he hardly reduced the responsibility of the natives. Quite the contrary, under Governor Hita’s leadership, natives were required to carry hundreds of baskets of sand and rubble—including shards of native ceramics local to St. Augustine—to fill the spaces left between the walls of the San Agustín bastion until it reached the twenty-foot level.<sup>63</sup>

59. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 26.

60. Nicolás Ponce de León to the King, 8 May 1674, St. Augustine, AGI SD 54-5-11/10, SC.

61. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 27-29.

62. *Ibid.*, 27.

63. *Ibid.*, 27; Bostwick, “The Use of Ceramics,” 10.

On November 24, 1676, a new report alleged that Spanish authorities mistreated and took advantage of natives.<sup>64</sup> Franciscan Fray Alonso del Moral accused authorities of forcing natives to work "without paying them that which is just for such intolerable work." He lamented how "if sometimes they give them something it is a thing of very little value." Finally, he complained "that they detain [the laborers] in the *presidio* all the time they want for serving them." He recommended a *defensor de naturales* be appointed to ensure fair treatment for all Florida natives. However, the Crown opposed creating a new salaried government position.<sup>65</sup> Even if the need existed, the funds did not.

Supplies became so strained that on January 1, 1678, all construction stopped for twenty months due to a lack of money.<sup>66</sup> To further complicate matters, a subsidy vessel from New Spain sunk in St. Augustine's harbor within sight of weary inhabitants. On November 10, a letter written by Governor Hita depicted deteriorating conditions at St. Augustine due to a lack of supplies, commenting that delays in the *situado* and poor agricultural endeavors caused much discord in the colony, but that the province of Apalachee, now the colony's main source of supplemental food, held great promise with regard to foodstuffs and security.<sup>67</sup>

On August 29, 1679, five thousand pesos arrived from New Spain designated for construction.<sup>68</sup> Native laborers set out to finish the fort's walls. Even so, the years dragged on, and Governor Hita became increasingly incensed at the slow rate of progress under his new master of construction, a natural result of the lack of an engineer and the continued inexperience of each successive group of native conscripts.<sup>69</sup> Not until 1680 were the walls ready for the parapet builders, just in time for the November arrival of Florida's new Governor, Juan Márquez Cabrera.<sup>70</sup>

64. *Consulado de Indias from Fray Alonso del Moral to the Comisario General de Indias*, 24 November 1676, Madrid, AGI 58-1-21/166, SC.

65. Cedula to the Governor of Florida (draft), 27 August 1683, Madrid, AGI SD 58-1-21/371, SC.

66. Juan Márquez Cabrera to the King, 8 December 1680, St. Augustine, AGI 54-5-11/66, SC.

67. Pablo de Hita Salazar to the King, 10 November 1678, St. Augustine, AGI 61-6-20/3, SC.

68. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 28.

69. *Ibid.*, 28.

70. *Ibid.*, 29.

Cabrera was evidently not pleased with what he found. On December 1, the former Governor of Honduras began a three-year nine-month period of tearing down and reconstructing portions of the work completed after engineer Daza's 1673 death.<sup>71</sup> Modern archaeological evidence supports Governor Cabrera's conclusion that the years without an engineer led to mistakes in construction.<sup>72</sup>

Cabrera also implemented new compensation policies. On May 20, 1681, Spanish authorities requested trinkets and other minor artifacts to be sent as pay for native laborers. These items included "knives, glass beads, and small bells" which admittedly were "worth very little in Spain."<sup>73</sup> On another occasion, "common cloth, sackcloth, and coarse frieze" were used as payment.<sup>74</sup> By modern standards, such items might not be considered fair compensation. Natives valued these items, however, and used them in trade with other native groups. What were arguably unfair were the small quantities distributed to the natives. In an attempt to ensure fairness, the Crown sent regular warnings to the Governor of Florida that required him to pay the natives fairly.<sup>75</sup>

In 1682, while workers continued to correct the deficiencies in construction, they also completed the ravelin—the triangular-shaped battery designed to guard the Castillo's door from direct cannon fire. Only its gate, gundeck surface, and firing step remained undone. Native workers also continued working on the parapets for each wall.<sup>76</sup> And, new complaints of Indian mistreatment surfaced, this time regarding inadequate food rations. As a result, a royal *cedula* arrived, ordering the Governor to ensure the Indians were given "adequate sustenance."<sup>77</sup> Because of insuffi-

71. Luis R. Arana and Eugenia B. Arana, "Castillo de San Marcos Tricentennial, 1672-1972," *El Escribano* 9 (1972): 4; Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 29-30.

72. Bostwick, "The Use of Ceramics," 10.

73. Pablo de Hita Salazar to the King, 20 May 1681, St. Augustine, AGI 54-5-14/153 SC.

74. Luis R. Arana, "Aid to St. Augustine after the Pirate Attack, 1668-1670," *El Escribano* 36 (1999): 13.

75. Juan Márquez Cabrera to the King, 25 January 1682, St. Augustine, AGI 54-5-11/81, SC.

76. Luis R. Arana, "Pirates March on St. Augustine, 1683," *El Escribano* 36 (1999): 66.

77. Spanish Crown to the Governor of Florida (draft), 10 November 1682, Madrid, AGI 58-1-21/350, SC.

cient supplies and high expectations on construction progress, the Governor had difficulty complying.

Unbeknownst to the residents of St. Augustine, the Castillo's defenses would soon be put to the test. In the Bahama Channel, pirates had seized the colony's frigate—a necessity for transportation and communication between Florida and its neighboring colonies—as it sailed to Vera Cruz. When news reached St. Augustine, construction continued with renewed intensity. The Governor, despite a strained relationship with religious leaders, requested permission to have men work on Holy Days.<sup>78</sup> After initial resistance from the clergy, church permission was finally granted, a concession that forced the natives to work seven days a week.

The next spring, the pirates made their way to St. Augustine, landing on Anastasia Island on the night of March 29, 1683, and taking the watchtower near Matanzas Inlet—some eighteen miles south of the Castillo—without a struggle after finding the guards asleep. Two days later, scouts informed the Governor that forty pirates were marching on the city. The governor ordered thirty men under Captain Argüelles to ambush the enemy detachment. Despite the enemy actually numbering some two hundred, the factor of surprise made the ambush successful, and the pirates were routed.

As the pirates waited in their ships just outside the harbor, they tried to ascertain the strength of the Castillo. They tortured a Spanish captive, who warned that “the fort was defensible and in readiness and that there were sufficient men to stage ambushes in all possible landing places on the city's side.”<sup>79</sup> He insisted furthermore that “the governor had gathered all the Spanish and Indian carpenters to build carriages and mount the cannon, and pushed construction work steadily to make the Castillo ready.”<sup>80</sup> Frustrated, the pirates retreated northward to raid the province of Guale. The attacks carried out in that province only served to weaken an already declining people.

Following the crisis, construction resumed with fresh determination. But having been on alert for almost a month, residents had not attended to crops, and a shortage of food resulted.<sup>81</sup> In

78. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 30.

79. Arana, “Pirates March on St. Augustine, 1683,” 69.

80. *Ibid.*, 69.

81. *Ibid.*, 71.

the face of hunger and deprivation, native food stores were used to supplement the needs of the *presidio*, displacing hunger onto native workers who were still expected to make good progress on the Castillo. By August 1684, workers were ready to start on the fort's interior.<sup>82</sup>

The fort's interior rooms took relatively little time to complete considering the walls had taken over thirteen years. There was a powder magazine and two large storerooms on the north side. Quarters for soldiers were along the west wall. The south side included a guardroom and a chapel. The prison and latrine were located on the east. Within nine months, natives had completed the twenty-plus fort rooms.

By spring 1685, focus shifted to the third and last major phase of the work—the moat and earthworks outside the fort. The plan called for a moat forty feet wide and eight feet deep. At that time, only part of the moat met the required depth, and much remained to be done.<sup>83</sup> In the summer 1686, after over a year of native digging, the principle defenses of the Castillo were essentially finished. Only the fort's doors, moat, and moat wall remained unfinished. Governor Cabrera, perhaps satisfied that the fort would defend St. Augustine, again tried to destroy Charles Towne. In September, three ships departed with native troops onboard. On their way north, they destroyed Port Royal, the English colony's gubernatorial plantation on Edisto Island, but once again, a storm spared Charles Towne, and only one of the three ships returned home.<sup>84</sup>

Turmoil continued in April 1687, when the clergy of St. Augustine refused the sacrament of reconciliation to Governor Cabrera. Spurned by the church, Cabrera returned to Havana. Diego de Quiroga y Losada arrived on August 22 to assume the vacated governorship and almost immediately suspended construction due to a lack of food supplies.<sup>85</sup> As native populations declined, Spain had ordered more slaves be sent to remedy labor shortfalls. Along with eighty additional soldiers to reinforce the

82. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 32.

83. *Ibid.*, 32.

84. *Ibid.*, 33.

85. Diego de Quiroga y Losada to King, December 20, 1687, St. Augustine, AGI PAT 2-41/19/17, SC; Sr. Antonio Ortiz de Otalora to Marques de la Granja, June 23, 1690, Madrid, AGI PAT 2-41/19/19, SC.

garrison, the arrival of these additional mouths placed higher demands on the colony's food stores. Again, responsibility fell on the Apalachees who, given their decimated numbers, were fortunate to supply the needed corn in only eight months.<sup>86</sup>

The earthworks remained the major task. Until they were completed, the Castillo stood vulnerable to both siege guns and scaling ladders.<sup>87</sup> During the last seven years of construction, natives dug and transported dirt just outside the Castillo's walls, as hunger continued periodically to plague St. Augustine as it had since construction began. Nevertheless, work continued as did the conscripted native labor that allowed Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala to oversee the completion of the fort's original construction in 1695.<sup>88</sup>

Constructing the Castillo de San Marcos did more than simply alter St. Augustine's; it significantly influenced native culture through the experiences of those who spent time working in St. Augustine. Acculturation was evident by 1695 when a criminal trial involving Apalachee counterfeiters took place in the capital.<sup>89</sup> An Indian entered a small grocery store in St. Augustine and purchased a *real's* worth of small, spiral-shape, sweet cakes. He paid the cashier with two half-*real* coins that were counterfeit. Some minutes later, he reentered the store and repeated the same transaction again. Shortly after the Indian left, a subsequent customer informed the cashier that the coins were fake. When another Indian entered and attempted to pay with similar false coins, he was apprehended, a trial ensued, and he was sentenced to be whipped and to work as a forced laborer in the royal works.<sup>90</sup> Time in St. Augustine had exposed these natives to Spanish coinage and taught them its value. These particular men understood the concept of European currency so well that, in this case, they had learned to reproduce it. Also creeping into native everyday life were Spanish foods and, in this case, sweets. While perhaps minor, coinage and cakes represented larger significant cultural changes that occurred across Florida as a result of increased native-Spanish interaction.

86. Arana and Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos*, 35.

87. *Ibid.*, 35.

88. *Ibid.*, 36.

89. John H. Hann, "Apalachee Counterfeiters in St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 67 (July 1988): 52-68.

90. *Ibid.*, 68.

Florida natives reaped few benefits from the completed fortress. The Castillo would not protect Apalachees, Timucuan, and Guale from the onslaught of English-backed raiders and terrible epidemics that lay ahead. Apalachee was repeatedly attacked and its people enslaved. Some fled west to Louisiana while others sought refuge in St. Augustine. The populations of Guale and Timucua continued to decline steadily as raiders pushed eastward and southward. As their numbers dwindled, many also fled to the relative safety of St. Augustine.

But protection was short-lived. In the mid-eighteenth century, Spain and England clashed once more. English forces captured and occupied Havana. In 1763, Spain negotiated the cession of Florida in exchange for the Cuban city. In a sense, betrayed by the country that had sworn to protect them, the greatly diminished native populations of Florida were forced to leave. Along with Spanish colonists, missionaries, soldiers and government officials, the remaining natives boarded ships headed to Havana. Encountering new diseases in Cuba, most of the exiled natives apparently died within a few years.<sup>91</sup>

The Castillo de San Marcos has never been surrendered in battle. Still, despite its legacy of impregnability, its walls proved unable to protect many of those who had worked so hard on its defenses. The natives of Florida endured great suffering between 1671 and 1695 as the Castillo was built. The Castillo de San Marcos stood, and continues to stand, as a monument not only to the Spanish conquest of the Americas but also as testimony to the human cost of conquest.

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91. Jerald T. Milanich, *The Timucua* (Oxford, Eng., 1996), xv-xvi.

## Climate, Community, and Commerce among Florida, Cuba, and the Atlantic World, 1784-1800

by Sherry Johnson

In late June 1791, St. Augustine captain Don Antonio de Alcántara sailed into Havana harbor at the helm of his schooner, the *Santa Catalina*. As the captain and master of his own vessel, he was held in high esteem, and Spanish customs officials acknowledged his status by prefacing his name with the honorific title “Don” (Sir).<sup>1</sup> A decade earlier, his arrival would have been unthinkable. His port of origin was in British hands in the early 1780s, and Britain was at war with Spain. Even after the conflict ended in 1783, commerce with Cuba remained restricted.<sup>2</sup> More important, Alcántara would not have been granted a gentleman’s

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1. “Relación de las Embarcaciones Españolas y Estrangeras que en el próximo pasado mes de \_\_\_\_ han salido de este puerto para las Colónias Estrangeras en solicitud de Negros; y de las que en el propio mes han entrado en este puerto con cargamento de ellos con distinción de su número, clases, y sexos por el orden siguiente” (hereafter “Relación,”), 1 July 1791, Legajo 2207, Audiencia de Santo Domingo (hereafter SD), Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Seville, Spain, photocopies in the Levi Marrero Collection, Special Collections, Florida International University, Miami; *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 7 August 1791, Colección Cubana, Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, Havana, Cuba.
2. James A. Lewis, “Anglo American Entrepreneurs in Havana: The Background and Significance of the Expulsion of 1784-1785,” in Jacques A. Barbier and Allan J. Kuethe, eds., *The North American Role in the Spanish Imperial Economy, 1764-1819* (Manchester, Eng., 1984), 112-126.

status because he was of humble origins.<sup>3</sup> In the intervening years, however, St. Augustine returned to Spanish rule, commercial regulations were relaxed, and Alcántara and several other families enjoyed unprecedented social advancement because they were the conduits that linked cities in Florida, Cuba, and the Atlantic world. Sadly, though, Alcántara's meteoric rise to prominence was short lived. Just days after unloading his cargo, he set sail for home in East Florida unaware that the fifth-most-destructive hurricane in history was poised to strike the northern coast of Cuba and the Straits of Florida.<sup>4</sup> At home in St. Augustine, Alcántara's wife and *Santa Catalina's* namesake, Catalina Costa, waited in vain for her husband to return. What remained of the schooner probably washed ashore on the Florida peninsula south of St. Augustine, while the fate of her captain and crew was never officially determined.<sup>5</sup>

Although the hurricane of 1791 and similar storms were routine dangers for Caribbean residents, natural disasters have rarely been considered as causal agents for historic processes.<sup>6</sup> Except for studies of well-known shipwrecks such as the *Atocha*, historians have virtually ignored the effects of deadly storms especially since, from 1784 through 1821, East Florida suffered but one hurricane (in 1811).<sup>7</sup> From an Atlantic world perspective that acknowledges

3. Census Returns, Census of 1784, Bundle 323A, East Florida Papers (hereafter EFP), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, microfilm copies in P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.
4. *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 7 August 1791; Edward N. Rappaport and José Fernández-Partagás, "The Deadliest Atlantic Tropical Cyclones, 1492-Present," National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration Website, <<http://www.nhc.noaa.gov/pastdeadly1.html>>, 2.
5. Miscellaneous Legal Instruments and Proceedings, 25 September 1791, Bundle 261n5, EFP.
6. Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Hurricane of San Ciriaco: Disaster, Politics, and Society in Puerto Rico, 1899-1901," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 72 (August 1992): 303-34; Sherry Johnson, "The Rise and Fall of Creole Participation in the Cuban Slave Trade, 1789-1796," *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos* 30 (1999): 54-75; Ted Steinberg, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disasters in America* (New York, 2000); Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Winds of Change: Hurricanes and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); José Hernández Partagás, "Poey, Viñes y Millás: Contribuyentes de Cuba al conocimiento básico de la meteorología," MSS copy, Otto G. Richter Library Special Collections, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla. See also José Carlos Millás, *Hurricanes of the Caribbean and Adjacent Regions* (Miami, 1968), for a general survey.
7. Eugene Lyon, *The Search for the Atocha* (Port Salerno, Fla, 1979), 50-68; Joaquín Sánchez, "Reports of Residents' Losses in Barrios Iglesia, Castillo,

St. Augustine's favorable geographic location, hurricanes and their consequences were catalysts that justified economic interchanges among its port cities. Disasters' immediate consequences are often outweighed by their ripple or domino effects; this study will establish how an autonomous and pragmatic local policy of disaster response evolved in the wake of several hurricanes in the region under Havana's jurisdiction from the 1760s onward.<sup>8</sup> When faced with a post-disaster crisis, Spanish royal officials tolerated, even encouraged, repeated violations of imperial commercial restrictions through trade with the United States.

Through its social and environmental analysis, this article joins other studies that challenge the portrayal of East Florida during the Second Spanish Period (1784-1821) as a destitute backwater and a financial drain upon the Spanish treasury.<sup>9</sup> A growing number of such studies demonstrate that St. Augustine's merchants and captains traded throughout the Atlantic world, but one major conceptual stumbling block has been the inability to explain why trade between Spanish East Florida and the United States could

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Contaduría and Cuarteles," Papers on Various Subjects, 1783-1821, 15 October 1811, Bundle 198C16, EFP. Prior to the return of Spanish rule, the most recent hurricane occurred in 1775; William Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram*, ed. Mark Van Doren. (1928; reprint, New York, 1955), 311.

8. Richard Stuart Olson, "Un-Therapeutic Communities: A Cross-National Analysis of Post-Disaster Political Unrest," *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 15 (August 1997): 221-38; "Towards a Politics of Disaster: Losses, Values, Agendas, and Blame," *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 18 (August 2000): 265-87; A. Cooper Drury and Richard Stuart Olson, "Disasters and Political Unrest: An Empirical Investigation," *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 6 (September 1995): 153-61. Richard Lobdell, "Economic Consequences of Hurricanes in the Caribbean," *Review of Latin American Studies* 3 (1990): 178-96; Virginia García Acosta, "Introduction," in Virginia García Acosta, coord., *Historia y desastres en América Latina*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1996), 1: 15-37; Walter Gillis Peacock, Betty Hearn Morrow, and Hugh Gladwin, eds. *Hurricane Andrew: Ethnicity, Gender, and the Sociology of Disasters* (New York, 1997).
9. Pablo Tornero Tinajero, *Relaciones de dependencia entre Florida y Estados Unidos* (Seville, Spain, 1978); James G. Cusick, "Across the Border: Commodity Flow and Merchants in Spanish St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (January 1991): 277-99; Christopher Ward, "The Commerce of East Florida during the Embargo, 1806-1812: The Role of Amelia Island," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989): 160-79; Sherry Johnson, "The Spanish St. Augustine Community, 1784-1795: A Reevaluation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (July 1989): 27-54; idem, "Marriage and Community Construction in St. Augustine, 1784-1804," in *Florida's Heritage of Diversity: Essays in Honor of Samuel Proctor*, ed. Mark D. Greenberg, William Warren Rogers, and Canter Brown Jr. (Tallahassee, Fla., 1997): 1-13.

operate in clear violation of imperial laws. The conclusions of this recent historiographical trend conflict with an older tradition that maintains that one of the most important commercial reforms of the Bourbon era, the Real Orden de Comercio Libre of 1778 (Free Trade Decree), was not extended to East Florida until 1793.<sup>10</sup> Unlike explanations that are framed in political and economic terms, this article will demonstrate that post-disaster emergency conditions allowed imperial laws to be set aside. By situating East Florida's dilemma within the wider context of Spanish imperial policy, this study will establish that government responses implemented in the aftermath of hurricanes between 1784 and 1794 were simply a continuation of measures developed in Cuba over the previous twenty years. Because East Florida was politically and economically subordinate to Havana, the province was impacted—sometimes positively and sometimes negatively—when hurricanes struck Cuba, Louisiana, and other areas under that island's jurisdiction. In most cases, when scarce resources could not be transferred to Florida, emergency measures opened the normally-rigid commercial regulations, and St. Augustine's maritime community took advantage. For Alcántara and other men of his social cohort, trade among Atlantic port cities led to the accumulation of wealth and extraordinary social advancement.

In early June 1784, hurricanes were far from the minds of Havana's military community, as frenetic preparations were underway throughout the Spanish Gulf Coast and the Caribbean in anticipation of the return of Spanish rule to the Floridas. Royal orders flew back and forth across the Atlantic between Cuba and Spain. In the barracks and on the wharves, men and materiel were gathered for transfer to St. Augustine. Newly-appointed governor Brigadier Vicente de Zéspedes prepared to embark for East Florida and continue his distinguished service to His Majesty, Charles III.<sup>11</sup> In Philadelphia, Father Thomas Hassett, designated

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10. Arthur Preston Whitaker, trans. and ed., *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas, with Incidental Reference to Louisiana* (Deland, Fla., 1931), xxxix-xl, 177-85; Janice Barton Miller, "The Struggle for Free Trade in East Florida and the Cédula of 1793," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 55 (July 1976): 48-59.

11. José de Gálvez to Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, 31 October 1783, Legajo 10, Fondo de las Floridas, Archivo Nacional de Cuba, in Joseph B. Lockey, *East Florida, 1783-1785: A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated*, ed. John Walton Caughey (Berkeley Calif., 1949), 174.

as East Florida's principal priest and ecclesiastical judge, packed his belongings for the trip southward.<sup>12</sup> In Havana harbor, captain Pedro Vásquez readied his bergantine, the *San Matias*, and the other ships under his command for the important responsibility of carrying the governor and his entourage to their new assignment.<sup>13</sup> Although not part of the expeditionary force, the regiment of Asturias celebrated their part in the victory that had returned the province to Spain and waited for the *San Cristóval* to be readied to carry them home to Cádiz.<sup>14</sup>

Far out to sea, unknown to the inhabitants of Florida and Havana, the telltale counterclockwise circulation and dropping barometer warned that a deadly storm was brewing in the tropics. In its journey westward along the twenty-fourth parallel, the storm skirted the north coast of Cuba as it bore inexorably down on the Straits of Florida and the peninsula. Like many early season storms, though, the cooler land mass of North America deflected the brunt of the tempest. Recurving northward, the worst of the storm stayed out to sea, although violent winds and copious amounts of rain drenched the city of Havana.<sup>15</sup> Anxious to arrive at his destination, Governor Zéspedes waited impatiently for the weather to clear.<sup>16</sup>

At last, on June 19, Zéspedes and the five hundred men who accompanied him departed for St. Augustine on the *San Matias*. Sailing on a fresh wind that trails the passage of a strong storm, the convoy made good time and arrived off St. Augustine in seven days. But the hurricane that frustrated Zéspedes's departure also frustrated his arrival for upon entering the harbor, pilot Joaquín Escalona conveyed the news that the main channel leading into St. Augustine had been silted over from the storm's strong winds and high tides. Zéspedes was forced to wait until the following day when Escalona returned in his shallow-draft launch and ferried the

12. José de Gálvez to Thomas Hassett, 25 November 1783, Bundle 39, EFP, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 176-77; Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas* (Washington, D.C., 1940), 73-86.

13. Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, 16 July 1784, Legajo 2660, SD, AGI, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 223-24.

14. Correspondence with Bernardo de Gálvez (Captain General of Cuba), 4 July 1784, Bundle 40, EFP.

15. Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 15 June 1784, Legajo 1344, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (hereafter PC), AGI.

16. Zéspedes to Pedro Vásquez, 11 July 1784, Legajo 2660, SD, AGI, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 228.

governor into the city.<sup>17</sup> Unable to cross the sand bar that drew only seven feet of water, Captain Vázquez and the fleet of ships under his command proceeded north to the port of St. Marys to complete the disembarkation of men and materiel.<sup>18</sup>

For Governor Zéspedes, the storm was but an inconvenience but for other members of the expedition, the dangers were far greater. Father Hassett made his way southward towards East Florida aboard the *Santa Ana*, captained by Miguel Ysnardy. The hurricane caught the on June 28, and at the height of the storm's fury, it foundered on the reef of Arogüito Key. Badly injured, Father Hassett and the other survivors made their way ashore. They repaired one of the *Santa Ana*'s boats, and he and twelve other men sailed to Havana where authorities were notified to send a search party for the remainder of the crew.<sup>19</sup> A similar fate befell the regiment of Asturias. The *San Cristóval*, sailing north in the Gulf Stream between the Florida peninsula and the northern Bahamas, also foundered on a reef. The ship and eight soldiers were lost, but the majority of the regiment along with the ship's crew and captain made it to a nearby island where they were rescued and brought to safe harbor at St. Marys.<sup>20</sup> But Mother Nature was not yet finished with the expeditionary force. In early July, the high winds and rough seas of another early season storm caused many boats anchored in St. Marys harbor to lose anchor cables and crash into one another. The *San Matias* collided with the *San Antonio de Padua* and suffered considerable damage above deck, although it escaped any structural damage below. At last, after recuperating in Havana, Father Hassett arrived in St. Augustine, and in early August the shipwrecked regiment of Asturias was able to depart for Spain with the happy news that Spanish rule had been reinstated in Florida.<sup>21</sup>

Hurricanes were facts of life to residents and royal officials in the fortified port cities of the Caribbean. Families who made their living from the sea adopted a fatalist attitude toward the inherent

17. Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, 16 July 1784, Legajo 2660, SD, AGI, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 223-24.

18. Ibid.

19. Correspondence with Bernardo de Gálvez (Captain General of Cuba), 13 October 1784, Bundle 40, EFP.

20. Ibid., 4 July 1784.

21. Ibid., 8 August, 13 October 1784.

dangers involved in a maritime culture. But even though popular attitudes remained static, the government's response underwent significant change in the late eighteenth century. Since the beginning of Charles III's reign in 1759 and the spread of Enlightenment ideas to Cuba, the captain-general of Cuba and other royal officials took an active role in promoting scientific knowledge.<sup>22</sup> Over the previous twenty years, the development of meteorology, although primitive by modern standards, had grown by leaps and bounds and maritime practices had changed accordingly.<sup>23</sup> Harbor pilots in Caribbean port cities like St. Augustine operated under strict rules that compelled them to delay departures if traditional wisdom and weather signs portended treacherous weather.<sup>24</sup> During the autumnal equinox, Caribbean ports were closed, and no ship was permitted to leave until the dangerous season had passed.<sup>25</sup> No stranger to the devastating effects of hurricanes, Governor and Captain General Bernardo de Gálvez sent out a circular order in the wake of the 1784 storm to all captains and pilots detailing the means to prevent transports from being caught in another storm.<sup>26</sup>

Equally important as the desire to advance scientific knowledge and improve navigation, Charles III's officials developed imperial policy to mitigate disaster's impact on the civilian population. Such royal initiatives evolved, in part, as a result of hard experience in another of Spain's Gulf Coast colonies, Louisiana, and the unsatisfactory attempt to impose Spanish rule in 1766. The man chosen as governor, Antonio de Ulloa, was a capable bureaucrat with long experience in Spanish America, but his efforts to bring the rebellious former-French residents under control were thwarted by the collateral effects of a hurricane in 1766

22. Manuel Casado Arbonés, "Bajo el signo de la militarización: las primeras expediciones científicas ilustradas a América (1735-1761)", *La ciencia española en Ultramar* (Madrid, 1991), 19-47; Manuel Lucena Salmoral, "Las expediciones científicas en la época de Carlos III (1759-1788)", *La ciencia española en Ultramar*, 49-63.

23. Report of José Antonio Armona, 17 October 1773, Legajo 256-A, Correos, AGI.

24. Junta de Pilotos de la Havana, 10 October 1775, Legajo 257-B, Correos, AGI; Miscellaneous Legal Instruments and Proceedings, 1784-1819, 19 September 1787, Bundle 261N5, EFP.

25. Report of José Fuertes, 16 August 1791, 25 October 1790, Legajo 260-A, Correos, AGI.

26. Correspondence with Bernardo de Gálvez (Captain General of Cuba), 11 July 1784, Bundle 40, EFP.

that drained the funds in his limited treasury.<sup>27</sup> When the royal transports carrying the money for his treasury were wrecked along the Gulf Coast, Ulloa was forced to grant concessions to the local residents.<sup>28</sup> For two years, he struggled to govern the colony when disaster intervened once again in the form of a particularly deadly storm that struck Havana on October 15, 1768.<sup>29</sup> The crisis in Cuba created a domino effect that led to predictable shortages and forced royal officials to shift resources to the island. Two weeks later, the French inhabitants of Louisiana took advantage of the crisis and revolted against Spanish rule. Ulloa was forced to flee the colony for the safety of Cuba.<sup>30</sup> Only a strong response by Cuban officials in Havana brought Louisiana back into the Spanish fold.<sup>31</sup>

The repression of the New Orleans rebellion is universally analyzed in a political context and frequently is seen as a purely local event. If the rebellion is revisited in the light of recent theoretical advances in modern disaster research, however, it is clear that a series of disasters led to a scarcity of resources that led in turn to rebellion. As early as the 1760s, Cuban officials recognized what modern governments are just learning: in disaster's aftermath a strong correlation exists between an inadequate governmental response and political unrest.<sup>32</sup> Faced with numerous problems in Louisiana, Charles III's officials reacted with autonomous decrees granting concessions designed to make recovery easier and quicker for the areas hit hardest. The first decree allowed

27. Robert S. Weddle, *Changing Tides: Twilight and Dawn in the Spanish Sea, 1763-1803* (College Station, Tex., 1995), 10-23.

28. Francisco de Solano Pérez-Lila, *La pasión de reformar: Antonio de Ulloa, marino y científico, 1716-1795* (Seville, Spain, 1999), 220.

29. *Estado que comprende las desgracias que causó el huracán el día 15 de octubre en la ciudad de la Havana* (Cádiz, Spain, 1768); *Estado que comprende las desgracias que causó el huracán el día 15 de octubre en la ciudad de la Havana* (Madrid, 1769), Legajo 1594, SD, AGI.

30. John Preston Moore, "Antonio de Ulloa: A Profile of the First Spanish Governor of Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 8 (summer 1967): 189-218; Ernest F. Dibble and Earle W. Newton, eds., "Revolt in Louisiana: A Threat to Franco-Spanish Amistad," in *Spain and Her Rivals on the Gulf Coast* (Pensacola, Fla., 1971), 40-55; Gilbert C. Din, *Francisco Bouligny: A Bourbon Soldier in Spanish Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, La., 1993), 31-35.

31. Bibiano Torres-Ramírez, *Alejandro O'Reilly en las Indias* (Seville, Spain, 1969); Weddle, *Changing Tides*, 15-22, describes how weather and navigational difficulty plagued the O'Reilly expedition.

32. Olson, "Towards a Politics of Disaster," 283.

Caribbean captains-general unprecedented autonomy in setting aside both metropolitan and local regulations that would hamper recovery efforts.<sup>33</sup> In practical terms, this meant that foreigners would be allowed to provide food for the province, and by 1768 after the rebellion, Louisiana expended 70,000 pesos, nearly half of its 160,000 peso budget, for flour purchased from the "English."<sup>34</sup> Similar allowances were promulgated in Cuba during the disastrous 1770s and continued into the 1780s.<sup>35</sup> Of course, concessions were intended to be temporary, but subsequent ecological crises during the remainder of the century meant that the emergency measures enacted in the 1760s were invoked again and again.<sup>36</sup>

The political crisis that faced Vicente de Zéspedes in Florida in 1784 was virtually identical to that facing Antonio de Ulloa in Louisiana in 1768. Like Ulloa, Zéspedes dealt with a surly popula-

33. Ramón de la Sagra, *Historia económica política y estadística de la Isla de Cuba* (Havana, Cuba, 1831), 133; Roy F. Nichols, "Trade Relations and the Establishment of the United States Consulates in Spanish America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 13 (August 1933): 293; María Encarnación Rodríguez Vicente, "El comercio Cubano y la guerra de emancipación norteamericana," *Anuario de estudios americanos* 11 (1954), 94; Julio Le Riverend Brusone, *Historia económica de Cuba* (Havana, Cuba, 1974), 103.
34. Athanase de Mézières to Luis de Unzaga y Amézaga, 1 February 1770, Legajo 110, PC, AGI, in Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780* (New York, 1914), 147. The correspondent, Athanase de Mézières, reported that the wheat crop failed because of the extremely rainy season.
35. For the 1768 hurricane, see Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 12 November 1768, from Batabanó, and from Guadalupe (where many Floridano families had evacuated in 1764), 31 October 1768, granting permission to militia members to sell bananas to alleviate the food shortage, Legajo 1093. The official governmental dossier on the storm is in Legajo 1097. For the 1770s, see Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 22 October 1772, 2 November 1772, 11 February 1773, Legajo 1151; 2 December, 16 December 1772, Legajo 1143, all PC, AGI.
36. C.N. Caviedes, "Five Hundred Years of Hurricanes in the Caribbean: Their Relationship with Global Climate Variations," *Geojournal* 23 (April 1991): 301-10; idem, *El Niño in History: Storming Through the Ages* (Gainesville, Fla., 2001). Beginning in 1766 and continuing through the 1790s, the settlements of the Caribbean basin suffered "spasmodic climatic interludes" ranging from drought to deluge; Caviedes, *El Niño in History*, 167-68, 201, 206. Geographers and climatologists date the little Ice Age as lasting from c. 1550 through c. 1850; César N. Caviedes, Personal communication to author, 24 October, 2000; Sherry Johnson, "Where Has All the Flour Gone? Environmental Crisis and the Formation of Atlantic World Connections, 1760s-1770s" (paper presented at the American Historical Association Meeting, San Francisco, Calif., January 2002).

tion of foreigners with a treasury that was inadequate for the costs of the recovery.<sup>37</sup> Zéspedes was sent to St. Augustine with a ridiculously small sum of forty thousand pesos, which was hardly enough to pay ordinary operating costs, never mind the extraordinary costs of the aftermath of disaster. To begin were the costs of procuring additional boats to take the regiment of Asturias to Cádiz.<sup>38</sup> Crews from the damaged vessels had to be transferred to ships that would be returning to Spain, an additional expense.<sup>39</sup> While waiting for the equipment and munitions to be unloaded, the captain of the Asturias regiment and thirty of his soldiers were lodged aboard the *San Matias*.<sup>40</sup> St. Augustine's treasury bore the entire cost of their maintenance since they were not permitted to set foot on shore, and ultimately, it was saddled with all of the transportation costs.<sup>41</sup> On a smaller scale, Father Hassett, who had lost everything in the shipwreck, petitioned the crown for restitution, and upon Zéspedes's recommendation, he was awarded four hundred pesos in 1786.<sup>42</sup>

Although Zéspedes recognized compensation as the prudent and just course to take, by 1785 it was apparent that funds in his treasury could not cover the costs of provincial operations. On numerous occasions he pleaded with Bernardo de Gálvez, the captain general of Cuba, and with Juan Ignacio de Urriza, the Intendant in Havana, to send him more money.<sup>43</sup> The problem was complicated because the Mexican treasury that supplied the Florida situado was experiencing its own difficulties of poor harvests caused by drought.<sup>44</sup> Faced with food shortages and popular riots, Mexican officials limited money they sent to Havana for St.

37. The troublemakers in East Florida were termed "banditi" by contemporaries. Lockey describes them as "reft gees and vagrants"; Lockey, "Introduction," in *East Florida*, 14-19.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, 16 July 1784, Legajo 2660, SD, AGI, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 228.

40. *Ibid.*, 227.

41. Correspondence with Bernardo de Gálvez (Captain General of Cuba), 8 August 1784, Bundle 40, EFP.

42. Correspondence with Bernardo de Gálvez (Captain General of Cuba), 8 August 1786, Bundle 41b4, EFP.

43. Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes to Juan Ignacio de Urriza, 20 September 1785, Bundle 55, EFP, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 727-28; Zéspedes to Gálvez, 1 October 1785, Legajo 2660, SD, AGI, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 730-31.

44. Enrique Florescano, *Precios de maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708-1810)* (Mexico City, 1969).

Augustine. Worse still, when the *situado* did arrive, the Intendant of Havana discounted a percentage of the *situado* monies before shipping the remainder to East Florida.<sup>45</sup>

Determined not to repeat the experience of his predecessor, Zéspedes's prudent response drew upon precedent and practice that began in Louisiana and had been commonplace on the island of Cuba for eighteen years.<sup>46</sup> To begin, he implemented emergency measures at the local level that allowed foodstuffs to enter duty free.<sup>47</sup> He also drew upon the example set in 1772 that permitted Spanish ships to travel to foreign ports to purchase provisions, and foreign ships were allowed to enter St. Augustine if they carried food.<sup>48</sup> Although promulgated in St. Augustine, the action met with the approval of his superior officer, captain general Gálvez, who confirmed Zéspedes's actions in 1786.<sup>49</sup> Zéspedes's response subsequently won approbation at the highest levels of government from Minister of the Indies José de Gálvez.<sup>50</sup> Such actions violated all existing restrictions that prohibited trade between Spain's colonies and the newly-independent United States, nevertheless, Zéspedes's emergency powers allowed the prohibition to be circumvented.<sup>51</sup> The result was that the United States, hard pressed for currency and prohibited from trading directly with Cuba, would come to utilize St. Augustine as the gateway to the island. All participants would profit, but mariners and merchants in St. Augustine would be the direct beneficiaries.

The reaction of St. Augustine's maritime community was immediate and led to a stampede to purchase ships. Sales were financed through a variety of methods, but frequently properties

45. Correspondence with Bernardo de Gálvez (Captain General of Cuba), 25 August 1786, Bundle 41b4, EFP.

46. Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 12 November 1772, Legajo 1141; 12 September 1772, Legajo 1143, PC, AGI.

47. Correspondence with Bernardo de Gálvez (Captain General of Cuba), Bundle 41b4, 25 August 1786, citing Zéspedes's original declaration in 1784.

48. Departures of Vessels, July-December 1784, Bundle 242H19, Arrival of Vessels, July-December 1784, Bundle 214F17, both EFP; Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 22 October 1772, 2 November 1772, 11 February 1773, Legajo 1151; 2 December, 16 December 1772, Legajo 1143, PC, AGI.

49. Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 12 September 1784, 9 November, 20 November 1784, Legajo 1356, PC, AGI.

50. Royal Order, 4 November 1784, Bundle 39, EFP, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 304.

51. Nichols, "Trade Relations," 289-313; Lewis, "Anglo American Entrepreneurs," 112-26.

owned by a prospective captain's family were sold or mortgaged. For example, barely one month after the return of Spanish rule, merchant Roque Leonardy sold a slave and house he had purchased during the British period and just as quickly invested in a shallow-draft schooner for the coastal trade.<sup>52</sup> Another strategy was to mortgage a family property to raise capital for the purchase.<sup>53</sup> Other men enlisted the help of kin and compadres who posted security bonds to finance their entry into the maritime trade.<sup>54</sup> One complicated financial trail surrounded Antonio Laso and José Suárez who combined their resources to purchase a schooner from William Slater.<sup>55</sup> Within days of the purchase, Laso sold his house to José Aguirre to raise capital to consummate the deal, but apparently the value of the house was not sufficient to cover the vessel's cost.<sup>56</sup> Early the following year, Aguirre and merchant Pedro Cosifacio pledged additional certifying that the partners were acceptable credit risks for the schooner's purchase.<sup>57</sup> Still others borrowed money from St. Augustine's affluent residents. Juan San Salvador borrowed a sum of money from María Triay's husband, Juan Carreras, and he promised to pay the debt within five months from the profits that he anticipated in the coastal trade.<sup>58</sup> Alcántara, too, financed the purchase of his first ship, a sloop he named *La Catalina*, through a loan he secured from one of St. Augustine's most affluent women, Isabel Perpall.<sup>59</sup>

From the beginning, maritime commerce to St. Augustine took on a multinational dimension and straddled the ranks of the city's society. The immediacy of the situation in summer 1784 meant that a captain's nationality or port of origin was irrelevant when it came to providing food to a desperate population. In August, barely one month after the return of Spanish rule, at least eight merchantmen arrived from Savannah and Charleston with provisions for the city. Among the captains were St. Augustine res-

52. Escrituras, 3 August, 13 August 1784, Bundle 366, EFP.

53. "Libro primero de anotaciones y hipotecas y tributos el 12 de julio de 1790 hecho por don Domingo Rodríguez de León," folio 23, Bundle 407, EFP.

54. Escrituras, Ignacio Darde to Argel Baquero, 11 August 1784, William Slater to Antonio Laso and José Suárez, 20 October 1785, Bundle 366, EFP.

55. Ibid., 20 October 1785.

56. Ibid., 10 November 1785.

57. Ibid., 28 February, 15 March, 1786.

58. Ibid., 2 July 1785.

59. Civil Proceedings, 31 March 1785, Bundle 329r7, EFP.

idents Joaquín Macheoqui and Santiago Clak who brought food into the city from Savanna, but Anglo captain Pedro Braselman was equally welcome with his cargo of salted beef, wine, gin, and aguardiente from Charleston.<sup>60</sup> Gualtero Griffith's arrival on the *Punch* brought herring and beer, and his cargo of china and nails were now offered to consumers in the city.<sup>61</sup> For other areas of the Spanish empire, trade with North America was prohibited, but St. Augustine's merchants suffered no such prohibition. From July through December 1784, twenty-eight civilian ships arrived in port. All but two came from United States cities, and as the news spread far and wide, soon ships began arriving from northern ports such as New York and New London, Connecticut.<sup>62</sup>

Already-well-connected families had little difficulty in capitalizing upon hardship and amplifying established maritime networks, and with the opening of trade with both northern and southern ports, St. Augustine took on the function of an entrepot. Miguel Ysnardy, the captain of the *Santa Ana* that was wrecked in the 1784 storm, was a member of a kinship and commercial network that linked St. Augustine to Philadelphia, Havana, and Cádiz. In Philadelphia, brother José María Ysnardy supervised the northern terminus of the enterprise, and within a year the family enjoyed so much success that they were forced to contract their merchandise out to other captains.<sup>63</sup> Another brother, Tomás Ysnardy, was the conduit through which the family traded with the home port, Cádiz.<sup>64</sup> The Havana branch of the operation was managed by Miguel Ysnardy's wife and mother-in-law, who established a permanent household there in 1789.<sup>65</sup> The Ysnardy clan expanded their commercial contacts to Baltimore through their association with Margaret Freat. Freat initially came to St. Augustine with her husband, John, but he ultimately returned

60. Arrival of Vessels and Cargoes, 11 August, 27 August 1784, Bundle 214F17, EFP.

61. *Ibid.*, 16 August 1784.

62. *Ibid.*, July-December 1784.

63. *Ibid.*, 6 May, 8 October, 20 December 1785; Nichols, "Trade Relations," 296-302; Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio: complejo económico social cubano del azúcar*, 3 vols., 2d ed. (Havana, Cuba, 1978), 1: 100-101.

64. Antonio Raffelin to the Casa de Contratación, 12 July 1787, Legajo 512, Ultramar, AGI.

65. Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 26 September 1791, Legajo 1481, PC, AGI.

north while she remained in St. Augustine and became one of the most prominent merchants in the city.<sup>66</sup>

Maritime connections were also established with New York by Thomas Tunno, a holdover English merchant from the British period, who acted as collection agent for debts owed to departing British citizens.<sup>67</sup> Tunno's ship, the *Swift*, was one of the first to transport provisions into the city.<sup>68</sup> He was also among the vanguard in using St. Augustine as a gateway to the more lucrative markets in Havana. By 1785, he had acquired an agent in St. Augustine, Juan de Aranda. Under Aranda's stewardship, Tunno's cargoes did not comply with the spirit of imperial regulations, much less the letter, as merchandise was not even perfunctorily unloaded before it was transhipped on to Havana.<sup>69</sup> In 1787, Tunno left East Florida, possibly to reconfigure his interests in New York, but by 1789, he had returned to St. Augustine, having established even more lucrative commercial contacts with Cuba.<sup>70</sup> Portuguese merchant Juan Bautista Ferrera spent a brief time in Charleston where he married into the Bentley-Nixon family. In 1787, Ferrera requested permission to immigrate to St. Augustine with his family, and by the following year he was selling East Florida's products in Havana in return for slaves.<sup>71</sup> Charleston and other United States ports provided more than provisions and slaves; they also provided ships for eager buyers in the Spanish world.<sup>72</sup> Francisco Xavier Sánchez purchased the *Nuestra Señora de*

66. Escrituras, 8 October 1791, 11 November 1791, Bundle 367; Memorials, 1 August 1792, Bundle 182m14. Oaths of Allegiance, Bundle 350U4, 18 May 1791, all EFP. This extensive network may have had even greater linkages throughout the Caribbean. Another man with the surname Ysnardi, Francisco Ysnardi, was involved in commercial activities and political intrigue in Spanish Trinidad, Caracas, and Cumaná in the late eighteenth century, but a connection between Francisco and the Ysnardi clan in Havana and St. Augustine has not been determined; Jane de Grummond, "Venezuelan Sesquicentennial Documents," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 42 (November 1962): 547-49. Nichols, "Trade Relations," 298-313, was one of the first scholars to understand these pan-Caribbean networks of trade.

67. Census Returns, Census of 1785, Bundle 323A, EFP.

68. Arrival of Vessels and Cargoes, 30 August 1784, Bundle 214F17, EFP.

69. *Ibid.*, 27 February 1785.

70. *Ibid.*, 30 August 1784; Memorials, 28 June 1787, 25 May 1789, Bundle 180A14; Census Returns, Census of 1784, Bundle 323A, all EFP; Moreno Fragonals, *El ingenio*, 108.

71. Memorials, 6 September 1787, 17 March 1788, Bundle 179J14, EFP.

72. Marina Alfonso Mola, "Navegar sin botar: El mercado de embarcaciones de segunda mano en la Carrera de Indias (1778-1797)," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 34 (1997): 144-57.

*las Angustias* in Charleston through the efforts of agent Josef Pérez.<sup>73</sup> Another agent, Thomas Wooten, earned three hundred pesos in commission when he arranged the purchase of a ship in Charleston for an unnamed Florida buyer.<sup>74</sup>

It was in St. Augustine's Mediterranean community that opportunity had its most dramatic effect.<sup>75</sup> During the British period, these families had been marginalized, but scarcity, the subsequent relaxation of regulations, and East Florida's strategic position contributed to their unprecedented social advancement.<sup>76</sup> Two extended families exemplify the dimension of social mobility that characterized the period. One network, the Alcántara-Costa clan, centered around Antonio Alcántara, his brother José, his brother-in-law Miguel Costa (Catalina's brother), and the extended family that was created when his mother-in-law married into the Tudelache clan. Another network revolved around the extended clan of Bernardo Segui, Domingo Martinelly, Juan Quevedo, Sebastián Ortega, and Pedro Cosifacio (subsequently identified as the Segui clan). Although both clans were related to each other by marriage, whether they cooperated or competed is difficult to establish.<sup>77</sup> What is clear, however, is that in 1784, all of these men and their extended families were consigned to the ordinary ranks. Only Bernardo Segui was of sufficient status to be accorded – sporadically – the honorific title “Don.”<sup>78</sup> A decade later, their status had changed dramatically.

Quickly, members of these families entered the intercoastal trade. Alcántara already was an experienced captain and compe-

73. Memorials, 12 February 1787, Bundle 297P8, EFP.

74. Thomas Wooten to Lydia Wooten, 4 December 1789, Manuscript Collection—Colonial Florida, Box 3, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

75. The term “Mediterranean community” refers to the heterogeneous group of people classified as Minorcans in the Census of 1784, Census Returns, Bundle 323A, EFP. While many were from Minorca, a large percentage were Italians, Corsicans, and Greeks, including Pedro Cosifacio, Domingo Martinelly, Juan Quevedo, Antonio Alcántara, and Miguel Costa; Zéspedes to Gálvez, 16 July 1784, Legajo 2660, SD, AGI, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 232-33.

76. Patricia Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans in Florida, 1764-1783* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1991), 105-92.

77. Brother and sister Juan and Agueda Villalonga were members of the Alcántara-Costa and Segui clan respectively. Agueda Villalonga was Bernardo Segui's wife. Her niece, Margarita Villalonga, was Juan's daughter and married to Jorge Costa; Census Returns, Census of 1793, Bundle 323A, EFP.

78. Census Returns, Census of 1784, Bundle 323A, EFP.

tent to sail the entire east coast.<sup>79</sup> On July 7, 1784, he became one of East Florida's first residents to enter the coastal trade when he was called upon to ferry men, materiel, and provisions from the damaged royal ships anchored at St. Marys.<sup>80</sup> José Alcántara shared his brother's nautical knowledge and eventually succeeded him as a captain in the family enterprise.<sup>81</sup> Miguel Costa was a freelance captain-for-hire who sailed ships for various mercantile enterprises including St. Augustine's merchant houses and transported members of the Havana oligarchy to ports as far away as the Río de la Plata.<sup>82</sup> The brothers-in-law were members of an extended seafaring family of Corsican origin that included stepfather Demetrio Tudelache, brother Jorge Costa, half-brother Nicolás Tudelache, and brother-in-law Josef Buchoni.<sup>83</sup> The clan was already experienced in sailing and in a favorable position to take advantage of the changes, when Zéspedes's decree galvanized them into action.<sup>84</sup>

The Segui clan was a different story; only two of the members, Martinelly and Ortega, both sailors, had any maritime experience. In 1785, Segui and Cosifacio were traders, Ortega was a stonemason, and Quevedo listed his occupation as a tailor in 1786.<sup>85</sup> Still, the clan wasted no time in entering coastal trade. In early October 1784, Ynés Quevedo, married to Cosifacio, sold a house to finance the purchase of a schooner.<sup>86</sup> Bernardo Segui was the first of the group to arrive in port from Charleston with a boatload of provi-

79. Papers on Various Subjects, 7 July 1784, Bundle 195M15; Escrituras, 31 March 1791, Bundle 368; Census Returns, Census of 1784, Bundle 323A, all EFP.

80. Papers on Various Subjects, 7 July 1784, Bundle 195M15, EFP.

81. "Relación," 1 May 1793, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI.

82. Papers on Various Subjects, 7 July 1784, Bundle 195M15; Escrituras, 31 March 1791, Bundle 368; Census Returns, Census of 1784, Bundle 323A, all EFP; *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 26 July 1792.

83. Census Returns, Census of 1786 (Hassett Census), Census of 1793, Bundle 323A, EFP.

84. Pablo Tórnero Tinajero established that sailors were the second largest segment of St. Augustine's workers: (forty-three), behind laborers whose numbers totalled eighty-two; "Sociedad y población en San Agustín de la Florida, 1786," *Anuario de estudios americanos* 35 (1981): 28.

85. Census Returns, Census of 1785, Census of 1786 (Hassett Census), Bundle 323A, EFP. An excellent analysis of the Segui clan from an anthropological perspective is Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach*, 184-92, who links the men in the family through their wives, the Quevedo (Cavedo) women. Accordingly, she categorizes the family as "matrifocal" and describes them as "upwardly mobile."

86. Escrituras, 6 October 1784, Bundle 366, EFP.

sions.<sup>87</sup> His kinsman, Martinelly, sailed to Havana, from where he returned in January 1785.<sup>88</sup> In one short year, the volume of traffic had grown so much that the clan was forced to expand their operations. In December 1786, Bernardo Segui booked passage to Havana on *La María*, and two months later, he sailed into St. Augustine harbor on the object of his voyage, the *Nuestra Señora de Belén*.<sup>89</sup>

By 1788, St. Augustine's ships ranged the Atlantic coast from New York in the north to Montevideo to the south, and their captains were ubiquitous in the coastal trade that linked the Atlantic world.<sup>90</sup> Their maritime paths crossed frequently as they carried flour from the United States, lumber from New Orleans, foodstuffs from St. Augustine, and dried jerked beef (*tasajo*) from Buenos Aires.<sup>91</sup> During the busy shipping season from winter 1787 through spring 1788, the Segui clan sailed several provision ships into St. Augustine's harbor. In January 1788, patriarch Bernardo Segui arrived from Havana with two shipments for his commercial enterprises, but he also carried two additional cargoes, one consigned to Ysnardy and another to Manuel Herrera. He remained in port only long enough to unload his cargo and take on another before he left on a northbound voyage. Likewise, his son-in-law, Quevedo, simply stopped over in St. Augustine before continuing his journey between Havana and Savannah, while at the same time Martinelly sailed southward from Charleston with a ship loaded with provisions.<sup>92</sup> In late March, Segui returned from Charleston with a cargo of two thousand bricks and several barrels of beans, arriving in company with free-lance captain Joaquín Macheochi, at the helm of a ship that belonged to kinsman, Cosifacio. On board

87. Arrival of Vessels and Cargoes, 29 November 1784, Bundle 214F17, EFP.

88. Ibid., 31 January 1785.

89. Departure of Vessels, 7 December 1786, Bundle 262; Arrival of Vessels and Cargoes, 1 February 1787, Bundle 216H17, EFP. Shortly thereafter, Segui sold one of his houses to Juan José Bousquet; Escrituras, 17 April 1787, Bundle 367, EFP.

90. Arrivals of Vessels and Cargoes, 1784-1795, Bundle 214F17 (1784-1785), Bundle 215G17 (1786), Bundle 216H17 (1787), Bundle 217I17 (1788-1789), Bundle 218J17 (1790-1791), Bundle 219K17 (1793-1794), Bundle 220 (1795), EFP.

91. Arrival of Vessels and Cargoes, January 1788, Bundle 217I17, EFP; *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 30 October 1790, 5 April 1792.

92. Arrival of Vessels and Cargoes, 10 January, 27 January 1788, Bundle 217I17; Departures of Vessels and Cargoes, 14 January 1788, Bundle 262, EFP.

was a mixed cargo of flour, rice, beer, wine, porcelain, and even whetstones for sale in East Florida.<sup>93</sup>

The Alcántara-Costa family was also busily plying the Caribbean and South Atlantic waters. Antonio Alcántara, as the owner and captain of *La Catalina*, preferred to sail between Havana and St. Augustine.<sup>94</sup> His brother-in-law, Costa, was more limited as a freelance captain-for-hire, but nevertheless, he was able to work for the clan's benefit. In February 1788, he arrived in St. Augustine with a contracted boatload of provisions from Charleston, but he immediately leased a schooner from Luis Fatio and returned to Charleston with a cargo of oranges and lumber. On his return trip he brought back sailcloth, rope, and thread for outfitting another ship.<sup>95</sup> Once on shore, Both the Segui and the Alcántara-Costa clans marketed their cargoes through these family stores in the city.<sup>96</sup>

When such commercial activity is analyzed in an ecological context, what results is a plausible explanation why St. Augustine's families could trade with the United States in spite of imperial restrictions that prohibited such activity. St. Augustine's merchant and maritime families sailed among the Atlantic port cities with impunity because crisis allowed them to do so. For their part, royal officials in Florida continued to portray the situation as an emergency for to do otherwise would cause the concession to be revoked. Indeed, by 1787, Cuban authorities were becoming increasingly suspicious that the crisis in St. Augustine was less grave than appeared, and they insisted that emergency operations be halted.<sup>97</sup> Zéspedes, in communication with Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish minister in New York, responded by citing the specific permission he had received from the late Conde de Gálvez (Bernardo de Gálvez) that allowed St. Augustine to trade with United States ports for necessary supplies.<sup>98</sup> The trade continued.

93. Ibid., 26 March 1788.

94. Arrival of Vessels and Cargoes, 27 February 1788, Bundle 217117, EFP.

95. Ibid., 5 February, 19 February 1788.

96. Memorials (Store Licenses), 7 September, Cosifacio and José Peso de Burgo married to María Mabriti, Catalina Costa's niece; 9 September [Catalina Costa, Segui, Ortega, Juan Villalonga], 1790, Bundle 180A14, EFP.

97. Correspondence with Ministers and Consuls, 6 February 1787, Bundle 101S18, EFP.

98. Ibid., 19 March 1787.

At the same time, even Mother Nature conspired to perpetuate the quasi-legal situation by sparing the city from the brunt of a direct hit while savaging other areas of the Caribbean. Major storms, both in the Atlantic and in the Gulf of Mexico, stayed well out to sea, and when they did make landfall, they did so in underpopulated areas.<sup>99</sup> East Florida, nevertheless, suffered from their collateral effects as ships bound for the province went to the bottom with their cargoes of pesos and provisions. In September 1785, two ships headed for St. Augustine were lost at sea, exacerbating the already-precarious stability of the province.<sup>100</sup> By December 1786, Gardoqui had negotiated a contract with the commercial firm Stoughton & Lynch of New York to provide food for East Florida on a regular basis.<sup>101</sup> The next year East Florida's treasury suffered yet another blow when *La Esclavitud*, en route to St. Augustine carrying fourteen thousand pesos and mail, was never heard from again.<sup>102</sup> In this case the loss was both immediate and collateral as *La Esclavitud* would have continued on to New York where a cargo of emergency provisions awaited transportation southward. With the loss of *La Esclavitud*, Gardoqui was forced to charter a private vessel to transport the provisions, thus increasing the costs of governing even more.<sup>103</sup>

St. Augustine's maritime-mercantile community continued to reap the benefits with a significant shift in Spanish imperial economic policy: the promulgation of a royal order in February 1789 that liberalized restrictions on slave imports into Cuba. Most studies of the slave trade portray the declaration as a watershed in Caribbean history, one that contributed to the explosion in slave imports into the island.<sup>104</sup> A related historiographical debate centers around whether Florida was a conduit through which slaves

99. Millás, *Hurricanes of the Caribbean*, 263-81.

100. Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General 19 September 1785, Legajo 1387, PC, AGI.

101. Zéspedes to Gardoqui, 29 December 1786, Correspondence with Ministers and Consuls, Bundle 101S18, EFP.

102. Correspondence with Ministers and Consuls, 17 September 1786, Bundle 101S18, EFP.

103. Correspondence with Bernardo de Gálvez (Captain General of Cuba), 17 May 1787, 27 May 1787, Bundle 41b4, EFP.

104. Proclamations and Edicts, 31 May 1789, Bundle 278O13, EFP; Rafael López-Valdés, "Hacia una periodización de la historia de la esclavitud en Cuba," *La esclavitud en Cuba* (Havana, Cuba, 1986), 13-29; Le Riverend, *Historia económica*, 178-83; Moreno Friginals, *El ingenio*, 51; Kenneth Kiple, *Blacks in Colonial Cuba, 1774-1889* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976).

were smuggled into the United States from Cuba after the trans-Atlantic slave trade was abolished in 1808.<sup>105</sup> The most significant contribution to the debate was offered by Kenneth Kiple, who argued convincingly that large-scale slave imports from Cuba were unsupported both by evidence and by economic common sense. Kiple demonstrated that the primary and more lucrative market for slaves was Cuba because the island needed slaves far more than the southern United States and was willing to pay more for them.<sup>106</sup> Simply put, whether in 1784 or 1818, the Spanish possessions were economically solvent, and trade with Cuba provided specie that was unavailable otherwise.<sup>107</sup> Under the Articles of Confederation, the United States faced internal dissent and financial difficulties, a fact often forgotten by historians but clearly comprehended by Vicente de Zéspedes who, as late as 1787, reported to José de Gálvez that "unstable government, obvious dissension, and scanty commerce. . . at the present time are keeping in commotion the States still inappropriately called 'United.'"<sup>108</sup> Zéspedes's assessment was also common knowledge among Florida's captains, and while they recognized the potential for profit by trading in slaves, they also knew that the direction of the trade did not flow from Cuba into the United States. Rather, they knew that the trade went in the opposite direction, from United States ports toward the island.

Even before the royal order of 1789, St. Augustine had served as a port of entry for slaves from northern United States cities. The ministry of José de Gálvez had always promoted the principles of

105. Frances J. Stafford, "Illegal Importations: Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws along the Florida Coast," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (October 1967): 124-33. Stafford's argument cites and follows the lines of Dorothy Dodd, "The Schooner Emperor: An Incident of the Illegal Slave Trade in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 13 (January 1935): 117-20; W.E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1896), 110-23; Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery, A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (New York, 1952), 147; Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1956), 271; Warren S. Howard, *American Slavers and the Federal Law, 1837-1862* (Berkeley, Calif., 1963), 26.

106. Kenneth F. Kiple, "The Case Against a Nineteenth-Century Cuba-Florida Slave Trade," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (April 1971): 346-55.

107. Charles W. Calomiris, "Institutional Failure, Monetary Scarcity, and the Depreciation of the Continental," *Journal of Economic History* 48 (March 1988): 47-50.

108. Vicente de Zéspedes to the Marqués de Sonora (José de Gálvez), 12 May 1787, in Whitaker, *Commercial Policy*, 53.

free trade for Spain's Caribbean colonies, and in approving Zéspedes's emergency measures in 1784, he extended commercial concessions by permitting slaves to enter East Florida duty free.<sup>109</sup> The number of slaves represented but a trickle and was conducted as secondary to the importation of more important products. On a return voyage from Charleston in October 1785, Bernardo Segui brought four slaves into East Florida along with various foodstuffs. One male slave was for his household, but the other three were "contracted prior to his departure by other citizens of the province."<sup>110</sup> Pedro Cosifacio imported two more slaves from Charleston in December, and Joseph Aguirre transported one of Segui's slaves to St. Augustine two weeks later.<sup>111</sup> Antonio Alcántara's return voyage from Charleston in November 1784 exemplified not only the diverse nature of commerce with the city, but also the ability to engage in slaving, albeit on a minor scale. *La Catalina* carried a cargo of cheese, brandy, gin, apples, and butter. He had contracted to carry one large box of supplies for the artillery company of the city, and several bales of clothing for Thomas Tunno. Two slaves also entered on the voyage: one belonging to Alcántara; the other the property of an unnamed passenger.<sup>112</sup>

The universal free trade declaration allowed St. Augustine's merchant families to expand their maritime repertoire, and the Ysnardy network simply instructed their captain-for-hire, Antonio Marichal, to begin carrying slaves along with his customary cargoes of wheat and lumber.<sup>113</sup> Thomas Tunno's return to St. Augustine and his creation of mercantile connections in Cuba coincided precisely with the liberalization of slave import regulations. He became associated with Cuba's most outspoken proponent of increased slave imports, Francisco de Arango y Parreño, and their commercial alliance lasted into the nineteenth century.<sup>114</sup> St. Augustine's captains were also very attractive employees to Havana's merchants. Pedro Juan Erice, a merchant from Navarre, moved in the highest circles of *habanero* society and became one of

109. Royal Order, 4 November 1784, Bundle 39, EFP, in Lockey, *East Florida*, 304.

110. Arrival of Vessels and Cargoes, 24 October 1785, Bundle 214F17, EFP.

111. *Ibid.*, 1 December, 17 December 1785.

112. *Ibid.*, 25 November 1785.

113. "Relación," 1 September 1794, Legajo 2207, SD, AGL.

114. Memorials, 28 June 1787, 25 May 1789, Bundle 180A14, EFP; Moreno Fragnals, *El ingenio*, 1: 108.

the most prominent figures in Cuba's plantation complex economy in the nineteenth century.<sup>115</sup> In 1792, he commissioned Miguel Costa to sail to the coast of Brazil in his bergantine *El Dichoso*, on a voyage that brought 105 slaves into Havana.<sup>116</sup>

The activities of the less affluent merchant families offer compelling evidence of the impact of the free trade declaration on a personal level.<sup>117</sup> In June 1789, Alcántara sold his original vessel, *La Catalina*, to fellow clan member Juan Villalonga, who renamed the ship *Industry* and entered the coastal trade. Meanwhile, Alcántara booked passage to New York where he purchased a capacious schooner from agents John Moley and Solomon Saltes that he promptly named *Santa Catalina*.<sup>118</sup> Acquisition of a larger ship allowed him to import fifty-five slaves into Havana in November 1790.<sup>119</sup> Alcántara's cargo of slaves originated in Baltimore, and his ability to purchase slaves in that city was a clear consequence of previous contacts developed under the emergency of the 1780s. Now able to bypass East Florida entirely, Baltimore became the primary source of slaves that St. Augustine's captains brought to Cuba.<sup>120</sup> Prior to the liberalization, Domingo Martinelly's sloop, *Carmen*, carried food products and lumber; afterward he too carried slaves to Havana acquired in the northern port.<sup>121</sup> José Covachica was another of St. Augustine's slave captains who traded not only with the United States but also in slave markets throughout the Caribbean. On his first slaving voyage into Havana, his schooner, *La María*, imported seventy slaves that he purchased in Savannah and Baltimore.<sup>122</sup> He enjoyed a sterling reputation in Cuba, and in March 1792, when he announced that he would sail to "foreign colonies" to purchase slaves on consign-

115. Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio*, 1: 71, 100, 108.

116. *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 26 July 1792, 29 June 1794.

117. In addition to the following examples, other St. Augustine captains who participated in the slave trade include Simón Cucullú ("Relación," 1 July 1794) and Jayme Prats (*ibid.*, 1 February 1795, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI).

118. Memorials and Concessions, 22 June 1789, Bundle 297P8, EFP.

119. "Relación," 1 December 1790, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI.

120. *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 28 November 1790.

121. *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 18 October 1792; "Relación," 1 November 1792, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI.

122. *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 26 June 1791; "Relación," 1 July 1791, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI. Ironically, Covachica was in Havana harbor at the same time that Alcántara departed on his fateful voyage, but Covachica somehow avoided the deadly storm that took the latter captain's life.

ment, investors contributed 23,000 pesos to his proposed subscription voyage in just three days. Five weeks later, Covachica returned from Dominica with a cargo of 149 slaves.<sup>123</sup>

The rising fortunes of St. Augustine's captains and merchants stand in sharp contrast to political interpretations that view the latter decade of the eighteenth century as a time of crisis. Paradoxically, while St. Augustine's families were enjoying economic prosperity, the political situation in the Atlantic world as a whole entered a dangerous "Turbulent Time."<sup>124</sup> For Spain and Spanish America, the long spiral downward began with deaths of key members of the Gálvez clan. Bernardo de Gálvez, who earned the coveted appointment as Viceroy of Mexico, died in 1786; his uncle, José, minister of Indies, followed in 1787. The greatest blow was Charles III's death in December 1788, bringing his untrained son, Charles IV, to the throne.<sup>125</sup> Royal ineptitude trickled down to the Caribbean, where it was manifested in Cuba in the ineffective and arrogant regime of captain-general Luis de las Casas (1790-1796).<sup>126</sup> Las Casas's political machinations and blatant favoritism towards a small group of plantation interests alienated the majority of the island's inhabitants and resulted in near anarchy.<sup>127</sup> Compounding the problem, the Spanish Caribbean suffered from proximity to French St. Domingue and its 1791 rebellion. In 1793, Spain became embroiled in the internal fighting in St. Domingue, and the defeat of a Spanish expeditionary force the following year led Spain to cede Santo Domingo, which occupied the eastern half of Hispaniola, to France.<sup>128</sup> In Louisiana, the incompetent government of Las Casas's brother-in-law, the

123. *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 1 May, 3 May, 12 April 1792; "Relacion," 1 May 1792, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI.

124. David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus, eds. *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997).

125. John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808* (New York, 1989), 376-81; Jacques A. Barbier, "The Culmination of the Bourbon Reforms, 1787-1792," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57 (February 1977): 52; John R. Fisher, *Commercial Relations between Spain and Spanish America in the Era of Free Trade* (Liverpool, Eng., 1985), 49, 65; David Ringrose, *Spain, Europe, and the "Spanish Miracle," 1700-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 106-19.

126. Sherry Johnson, *Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba, 1753-1804* (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), 121-45.

127. *Ibid.*, 146-63.

128. María Rosario Sevilla Soler, *Santo Domingo: Tierra de la frontera (1750-1800)* (Sevilla, Spain, 1980), 377-408.

Baron de Carondelet, sparked a troop mutiny and a nearly-successful rebellion of whites, free coloreds, and slaves.<sup>129</sup>

The situation was equally precarious on the Florida frontier where the border was under siege by the intrigues of Citizen Genêt and the ambitions of adventurers from Georgia and the Carolinas.<sup>130</sup> In characteristically partisan fashion, Las Casas transferred the few troops he could spare to Louisiana to help Carondelet, leaving the "gallant garrison in Florida" to fend for itself. In 1795, rebels attacked an outlying fort in the northern part of the province along the St. Johns River, capturing one officer and thirty soldiers, but St. Augustine's veteran troops and civilian militia rallied to expel the invaders. Even while they looked fearfully over their shoulders for conspiracies, residents in Havana praised the example set by the Florida community for its patriotic and loyal stance. The Catalan Mountain Riflemen were credited with retaking the fort on the St. Johns River, the chronically-undermanned Third Battalion was lauded for its exceptional bravery, and the civilian militia units and ordinary citizens were compared favorably to *habaneros* themselves. Contemporary opinion clearly acknowledged that the victory in East Florida was one of the few bright spots in the dismal administration they were forced to endure.<sup>131</sup>

The successful defense of Spanish rule in 1795 is even more remarkable because disaster in Cuba threatened to cut East Florida off from its line of supply. On the morning of August 27, 1794, at approximately 4:00 a.m., a major hurricane struck

129. The conspiracy is known as the Pointe Coupée rebellion. Asuntos Políticos, 18 July 1795, Legajo 5, numero 27, Archivo Nacional de Cuba, in *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* 40 (1941): 59-62; Jack D.L. Holmes, "The Abortive Slave Revolt at Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, 1795," *Louisiana History* 11 (fall 1970): 341-62; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La., 1992), 316-74; Kimberly S. Hangar, "Conflicting Loyalties: The French Revolution and the Free People of Color in Spanish New Orleans," in Gaspar and Geggus, *Turbulent Time*, 178-203.

130. Jane G. Landers, "Rebellion and Royalism in Spanish Florida: The French Revolution on Spain's Northern Colonial Frontier," in Gaspar and Geggus, eds., *Turbulent Time*, 156-77; "Richard F. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796: Spanish Reaction to French Intrigue and American Designs* (Berkeley, Calif., 1951); Janice Borton Miller, "Rebellion in East Florida in 1795," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (October 1978): 173-86.

131. Miseno de Laura, [Pablo Estévez] *Parte tercera de las revoluciones periódicas de la Havana escribiada Miseno de Laura* (Havana, Cuba, 1796), Rare Books and Pamphlets, Library of Congress; Johnson, *Social Transformation*, 146-62.

Havana. Seventy-six ships, including twelve belonging to the admiralty, and sixty-four private vessels were destroyed. The list of casualties included forty-two schooners and eight sloops, the primary types of vessel used in intracoastal trade.<sup>132</sup> The storm continued on to Louisiana where the destruction spread over a wide area.<sup>133</sup> Both the royal navy and Havana's private shipping industry were crippled for several years thereafter.<sup>134</sup> Once again, East Florida escaped a direct blow, but the province was directly affected by the immediate consequences and the collateral effects of the storm.

In the aftermath of the August 1794 hurricane, with the province threatened by invasion, St. Augustine's maritime community became even more important to the Spanish administration. Twelve ships of the royal navy and sixty-four private vessels lay at the bottom of Havana harbor, but troops, munitions, and provisions were urgently needed. Royal officials in St. Augustine and Havana decided who among East Florida's residents could be trusted with the mission of resupplying the province; their choices implicitly demonstrate which citizens were held in high regard. Domingo Martinelly was called upon to transport replacement troops for the Third Battalion of Havana to St. Augustine on board his schooner *Santa Monica*, and he now sported the honorific "Don" before his name.<sup>135</sup> Clan patriarch Bernardo Segui was well on his way to becoming one St. Augustine's most trusted and prestigious residents. By the 1790s, he was of sufficient status to contract the marriage of several of his daughters to high ranking royal officials, and he also earned the exclusive royal contract to provide bread and biscuits for the garrison and for royal employees.<sup>136</sup> At

132. *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 4 September 1794: One of the private vessels owned by the Ysnardy clan and captained by Antonio Marichal may have been among the casualties; "Relación," 1 September 1794, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI.

133. Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 10 November 1794, Legajo 2577, on the destruction near New Orleans; and 12 November 1794, Legajo 2563, on the destruction near Placaminas, SD, AGI; *Suplemento del Papel Periódico de la Havana*, 29 August 1794, Rare Book Room, University of Florida Libraries, University of Florida.

134. Johnson, "Rise and Fall of Creole Participation," 67.

135. Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 8 February 1796, Legajo 2322B, PC, AGI.

136. Marriage Licenses, 8 April 1790, 27 October 1794, Bundle 298R9, EFP; White Marriages, 26 April 1790, 12 November 1794, Reel 284K; Cathedral Parish Records, Diocese of St. Augustine, Jacksonville, Fla., microfilm copies in P.K. Yonge Library, University of Florida; Testamentary Proceedings, Bernardo Segui, Reel 12, 1813; Public Contracts, 10 October 1797, Bundle 279o12, EFP.

the time of his death in 1813, he left a large estate, and in particular his spacious, two-story house was "one indication of affluence."<sup>137</sup> Seguí's influence did not end with his death. During the political crisis of 1813-1814, son Bernardo José, son-in-law Eusebio María Gómez, and other members of his extended kinship and compadrazo network played prominent roles in St. Augustine's elected town council.<sup>138</sup> Other members of the clan such as Cosifacio were universally recognized as the leading members of the community.<sup>139</sup>

Members of the Alcántara-Costa clan also experienced rapid upward mobility that was even more unusual since they came from even lower strata than the members of the Seguí clan. In April 1793, José Alcántara replaced his missing brother in the slave trade as captain of *La Estrella*, and he, too, was addressed as "sir."<sup>140</sup> Alcántara's mobility is truly exceptional because he had served a brief prison sentence on Havana's public works projects for causing a public scandal by consorting with a married woman.<sup>141</sup> In the aftermath of the rebellion in January 1796, Miguel Costa was also commissioned by the royal navy to carry supplies and powder between Havana and St. Augustine. More important, despite being totally illiterate and of clearly humble origins, royal officials acknowledged Costa's newly-won status by prefacing his name with the honorific "Don."<sup>142</sup> With their expertise needed by a more important and more prestigious enterprise, never again did either clan import slaves into Cuba.<sup>143</sup> They were gradually replaced by other St. Augustine merchant families when the pragmatic – and worried – Spanish regime granted trading concessions to East

137. James G. Cusick, "A Late Colonial Minorcan Household: Archaeological Perspectives on the Seguí-Kirby Smith Site," *El Escribano* 30 (1993): 67-68.

138. Alejandro Quiroga Fernández de Soto, "Military Liberalism on the East Florida 'Frontier': Implementation of the 1812 Constitution," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79 (spring 2001): 441-68.

139. Census Returns, Census of 1793, Census of 1813, Bundle 323A, EFP.

140. "Relación," 1 May 1793, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI.

141. Memorials, 25 June 1790, Bundle 180A14; "Relación," 1 May 1793, Legajo 2207, SD, AGI.

142. Correspondence of the Cuban Captain(s) General, 8 February 1796, Legajo 2322B, PC, AGI.

143. This suggests that employment by the royal navy was preferable to the slave trade, a conclusion bolstered by evidence of another ship that was heavily involved in slave imports to Cuban *La Marcharaviaya*, commanded by Manuel de Torres, that after 1795 also carried supplies to St. Augustine; "Relación," 1 January 1791, 1 April 1791, 1 January 1792, 1 April 1792, 1 July 1792, 1 May 1793, Legajo 2207, SD; 30 March 1795, Legajo 1438, PC, both AGI.

Florida in 1793.<sup>144</sup> By officially extending free trade to the province, Madrid legitimized the *de facto* commercial networks that had predominated since 1784. By 1796, after the destruction caused by the hurricane in August 1794, virtually all ships that flew the Spanish colors were crowded out by Anglo-American carriers who subsequently dominated Havana's marketplace.<sup>145</sup>

Although determining the effects of weather and climate as causal agents for historical events presents certain difficulties to the historian, such phenomena may no longer be ignored. The immediate and collateral effects of hurricanes on the political course of events have eluded historians who have been inculcated in the historiographical tradition of the decadence and destitution of the Second Spanish period. An increasing number of studies in disaster research, offer a new and compelling theoretical framework to reevaluate historic processes after 1784. Research in the aftermath of disaster establishes that the government's response determines whether an administration will weather the crisis or will fall victim to political unrest. Clearly such was the case in Louisiana between 1766 and 1768. Zéspedes and his superiors in Cuba and Madrid were determined not to repeat the same mistakes in Florida in 1784. Two decades of experience with post-disaster emergencies in Cuba and the Caribbean had established precedents that allowed Zéspedes to act with autonomy to East Florida's advantage. The consequences for East Florida's captains and merchant families were enormous. For nine years they carried on a quasi-legal trade throughout the Atlantic world. For many, this led to increased wealth and social mobility. Lastly, they were in a favorable position to capitalize upon changes in metropolitan policies in 1789, 1793, and 1795 that they and the government used to mutual advantage. Accordingly, it makes little difference whether Zéspedes's decree relaxing regulations on imports was done deliberately or in desperation when he could not find the funds to cover post-disaster operating expenses. The governor was able to utilize the storms of 1784 and several others as justification for autonomous behavior that, in spite of being contrary to metropolitan edicts, responded to a localized need. More important, such behavior was consistent with established and approved precedent on the island.

144. Whitaker, *Documents*, 177-85.

145. Johnson, "Rise and Fall of Creole Participation," 67-68.

The effects of the storms of 1791 and 1794, coupled with political incompetence in Cuba, clear and concrete consequences. No doubt exists that seventy-four ships were destroyed in the 1794 storm, and Florida under siege still needed supplies and reinforcements. If there was any occasion during the Second Spanish period when the timing for rebellion was propitious, it was in 1795 when turmoil and suspicion were the rule rather than the exception. Moreover, the likelihood of political unrest was even greater in 1795 in the aftermath of disaster, and the parallels between the situation in Louisiana in 1766 and that in Florida in 1784 and 1795 are obvious. Why then did St. Augustine's residents and military choose to remain loyal to Spain in the midst of political chaos and in spite of the ostensibly attractive republican alternative? In simple terms, for the majority of East Florida's inhabitants, loyalty to Spain was more attractive than rebellion. By the mid-1790s, social relations in East Florida had changed as families of the early 1780s who were marginalized under the British regime grew to more affluence and respectability. The rise to prominence of the Segui and Alcántara clans, and the continued prosperity of Miguel Ysnardy, Thomas Tunno, Juan Bautista Ferrera, and their families, provides a persuasive explanation for the political loyalty of East Florida in 1795.

Neither the social dynamic of the local community nor larger, imperial structures provide adequate explanatory frameworks for many events in late-eighteenth-century Caribbean and Atlantic world history. Similarly, studies of the history of disaster focus upon immediate casualties and rarely look to the long range consequences. Together, however, they offer a new conceptual framework to reinterpret historic processes. The social consequences of disaster combined with a wider understanding of East Florida's place in the Atlantic world provide reasons why East Florida's governors could rule with autonomy and why its captains and merchants could operate with impunity. Disaster meant that royal officials were forced to respond in a positive manner or suffer the consequences. Whether individually, as in the case of Alcántara, or collectively, as in the case of the interests that benefitted from the storm in August 1794, the effects of hurricanes – on commerce, on policy, and on military campaigns – remain unknown in the historical literature. From an Atlantic world perspective with St. Augustine at its nexus, however, these consequences can no longer be ignored, especially since such a perspective provides a compelling challenge to existing Florida historiography.

## The Salesman and His Swamp: Dick Pope's Cypress Gardens

by Stephen E. Branch

In a 1922 article summarizing his family's entrepreneurial success, Edward F. Tilyou was sanguine in his assertion that "those of us in the amusement business have studied your psychology and tried to build our business on a few simple fundamentals."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the Tilyou family was renowned for its ability to both anticipate and manipulate the entertainment seeking public. Whether manifested in their operations at Coney Island or Atlantic City, the Tilyous' popular culture acumen was effectively intertwined with the entertainment hucksterism pioneered by P.T. Barnum. And while the specific "fundamentals" of the amusement business necessarily evolve over time, understanding the "psychology" of potential patrons was essential for the success—be it Tilyou, Barnum or Disney—of any amusement impresario.

Florida's amusement pioneer was the man who founded Cypress Gardens: Dick Pope. Indeed, his popular culture vision eventually turned an unlikely patch of marshland on the outskirts of a small Central Florida town into the "most successful swamp in America."<sup>2</sup> From the January day in 1936 when Cypress Gardens first opened its gates to the public, Dick Pope's brilliance as a pro-

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1. Edward F. Tilyou, "Why the Schoolma'am Walked Into the Sea," *American Magazine*, July 1922, 86.
2. William B. Furlong, "Most Successful Swamp in America," *Reader's Digest*, February 1964, 165.

moter was clearly evidenced. More than just the inventor of Cypress Gardens, in terms of modern tourism, Dick Pope was effectively "the man who invented Florida."<sup>3</sup>

In his book, *Variety Entertainment and Outdoor Amusements*, Don B. Wilmeth wrote that, "The theme park, conceived by Walt Disney, was a revolutionary concept in the 1950s. The notion of organizing amusement areas around a theme offered a wholly new gimmick for the amusement industry."<sup>4</sup> Curiously, in his discussion of this "wholly new gimmick," Wilmeth failed to mention Florida's Cypress Gardens. Although it is now dwarfed by its neighbors Disney World, Sea World, Busch Gardens, and Universal Studios, Florida, Cypress Gardens was—twenty years before the opening of California's Disneyland—definitely conceived as a "theme" park. And though its theme was never as obvious as that of a fantasyland, marine park, or "Dark Continent," Cypress Gardens nevertheless possessed one underlying thematic thrust: Florida. From his countless flowers and trees to his Florida-shaped swimming pool to his sensual water skiers, Dick Pope always tried to sell the public on his dreamland down South. He saw that the image of his park was forever tied to a romanticized image of Florida. As Beth Dunlop noted in *Florida's Vanishing Architecture*, pioneers like Pope were not "... so much creating another world ... the way Disney did much later ... as luxuriating in the world that was already there."<sup>5</sup>

For over fifty years, Dick Pope tirelessly promoted both his attraction and his state. "I just love your state," he once kidded California hotelier Conrad Hilton; "I bought my first and only overcoat there."<sup>6</sup>

Since Cypress Gardens' fortunes were always closely aligned with those of Florida, it is important to consider the economic environment in which the park was conceived and constructed. The boom and bust decade of the 1920s, and Florida's gradual recovery beginning in the mid-1930s, were closely paralleled by the activities that took place in Pope's cypress grove four miles outside Winter Haven. In this era of economic uncertainty, entrepreneur Dick Pope came of age.

3. "The Superswamp," *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 November 1963, 78.

4. Don B. Wilmeth, *Variety Entertainment and Outdoor Amusement: A Reference Guide* (Westport, Conn., 1982), 31.

5. Quoted in "Historic Designation Staff Report, File NO: HPC 98-03," 5 6, <<http://www.Sunkengardens.com/historic.htm>>.

6. Furlong, "Most Successful Swamp in America," 165.

Like most of America, Florida in the 1920s exuded a faith in the material growth of the nation. Combined with Florida's natural allure, this caused much of the state to seemingly mushroom overnight. "Tin can tourists" suddenly streamed into the state. Real estate speculation was rampant and furious. In the Tampa Bay area, men such as D. P. "Doc" Davis parlayed their vision and salesmanship into millions of dollars of profit. On the gulf coast, the newly opened Gandy Bridge symbolized the era of prosperity and development that had engulfed the region. On Florida's Gold Coast, the land boom was even more explosive. Between 1921 and 1925 the payroll of the city of Miami grew 2,449 percent. The assessed value of property in the city jumped 560 percent in that same time. The value of issued building permits skyrocketed from \$4.48 million to \$58.65 million.<sup>7</sup>

Writing of this dynamic growth during the 1920s, historians Raymond Arsenault and Gary R. Mormino have pronounced the decade "a great watershed for Florida cities."<sup>8</sup> And though Central Florida's towns experienced less spectacular growth during the boom than many of the coastal cities, they still participated in the economic upsurge. In Winter Haven, new boom-oriented structures such as the Haven Hotel and the Lake Region Country Club were built. Also among Winter Haven companies hoping to cash in on the real estate bonanza was the Haven-Villa Bond and Mortgage Company. Formed in 1926, the company proudly listed its loan reserves at \$1.5 million.<sup>9</sup> The same year, the half-million-dollar Hotel Plant opened in Plant City, Winter Haven's neighbor to the west. With more than one hundred rooms, the project was viewed as another example of what local newspapers proclaimed "convincing testimony on the utter soundness of Florida." For many, this "prove[d]" that conditions in the state were good and that the future of Florida was assured.<sup>10</sup> Sounding similarly confident, local civic leaders throughout central Florida trumpeted

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7. Charlton W. Tebeau and Ruby Leach Carson, *Florida: From Indian Trail to Space Age* (Delray Beach, Fla., 1965), 57-59.

8. Raymond Arsenault and Gary R. Mormino, "From Dixie-land to Dreamland: Demographic and Cultural Change in Florida, 1880-1980," in Randall M. Miller and George E. Pozzetta, eds. *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Ethnicity, Race, and the Urban South* (New York, 1988), 174-78.

9. Josephine Burr, *History of Winter Haven, Florida* (Winter Haven, Fla., 1974), 146.

10. *Lakeland Evening Ledger*, 11 November 1926, 4.

their communities' eagerness to participate in the state's exceptional growth.

Fundamental to Central Florida's growth during the 1920s was the region's relationship to the automobile. By 1923, Polk County had invested over \$2.5 million in road construction resulting in 340 miles of serviceable thoroughfares. Opening much of the county to development, the expanded road system was soon dotted with motels and trailer parks to accommodate the steady flow of southward bound tourists. In point of fact, the construction of paved roads and the broadened affordability of the automobile opened much of Florida during the 1920s. Henry Ford's great emancipator—the Model T—permanently transformed Florida travel into a mass phenomenon associated with middle-class mobility and personal freedom.<sup>11</sup>

Unfortunately, the good times proved short lived. Land fraud, shortages of adequate housing, and in many areas still underdeveloped transportation services all contributed to Florida's downward economic spiral, which began in late 1925.<sup>12</sup> It was not long before the northern press began to leak word that Florida was no longer what the brochures promised. Hence, an economy that relied heavily upon its image suddenly found that amorphous commodity tarnished. By the end of 1926, the boom had collapsed: property values plummeted; banks stood on shaky ground. Across the state, cities dropped into debt. Moreover, these problems were compounded by a series of natural disasters that occurred in the late 1920s. Two hurricanes (one in September 1926, and one in September 1929) killed over two thousand people and caused millions of dollars in property damage to the state's South Atlantic coast. In addition, in 1929, the Mediterranean fruit fly was discovered in a citrus grove near Orlando; within a year, citrus production dropped by nearly 40 percent.<sup>13</sup> For Winter Haven, a tarnished state image and a damaged citrus industry meant that any future plans for growth must be put on hold.

11. See Gary R. Mormino, "A History of Florida Tourism, in Allen Morris, *The Florida Handbook*, 22nd ed. (Tallahassee, Fla., 1989), 410-11; Horace Sutton, *Travelers: The American Tourist from Stagecoach to Space Shuttle* (New York, 1980); M.F. Hetherington, *History of Polk County, Florida* (St. Augustine, Fla., 1928), 37, 40, mimeographed reprint, Special Collection, Lakeland Public Library, Lakeland, Fla.; and James J. Flink, *The Car Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 70.

12. Tebeau and Carson, *Florida*, 385-86.

13. *Ibid.*

Dick Pope's career was always intertwined with the economic conditions in Florida. Born in Iowa in 1900, he moved to Winter Haven in 1911 when his father came south to pursue a real estate profession. After attempts at college and various occupations, the young Pope eventually joined his father's business. The early twenties were heady years for a young real estate salesman in Winter Haven. Florida's dynamic growth rate and potential for future expansion seemed to be tailor made for the enterprising.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, he was personally involved in many of the new developments occurring in town. Whether entertaining potential buyers on the golf course or serving as a charter member of the local Yacht Club, Pope was a young man on the move during the period of heady twenties' expansion.<sup>15</sup>

Like most Floridians, the sudden real estate collapse in 1926 caught Pope by surprise. Recently married to Julie Downing, Pope's progress was unexpectedly interrupted by the "bust." However, when he heard that Johnson Motors planned a new publicity campaign promoting its aquatic products, Pope headed northward to company headquarters in Illinois. Pope mythology holds he wired the following message to Johnson's president: "Hold all publicity plans until I get there. Your problems are solved." He was hired at \$12,000 per year.<sup>16</sup>

It was natural that Dick Pope's pre-Cypress Gardens career included a stint with Johnson's outboard motor division. He and brother Malcolm had long been active in skiing and recreational power boating. Many of the water stunts later associated with Cypress Gardens were first undertaken by the Pope brothers during the 1920s. Malcolm was the first person to soar over obstacles in a speedboat. Dick's specialty was ski-jumping. The Pope brothers also claimed invention of the "aqua-plane;" with Dick's soaring exploits captured on Paramount newsreel.<sup>17</sup> During his years with Johnson, Pope's avocation underpinned his promotional program for the company's new Seahorse outboard motor. The company's products were featured at Pope staged boat races and stunt shows throughout Florida.<sup>18</sup>

14. See William B. Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," *Sports Illustrated*, 21 October 1964, 73; Burr, *History of Winter Haven*, 136-46.

15. Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," 73.

16. *Ibid.*, 74

17. "The Superswamp," 80.

18. <[www.cypressgardens.com/press/releases/briefhistory.htm](http://www.cypressgardens.com/press/releases/briefhistory.htm)>

Pope's successes at Johnson prompted the creation of his own public relations company and appointment as chief of publicity for the Outboard Motorboat Association.<sup>19</sup> A burgeoning client list soon led to offices in both Chicago and New York.<sup>20</sup> However, when the Depression deepened in 1931, publicity men became a corporate luxury, and Pope weighed his employment options. A defining moment occurred when Julie read him a *Good Housekeeping* article about a banker in Charleston, South Carolina, who opened his estate to the public. In 1931, his "Magnolia Gardens" generated \$36,000 in entrance fees. "Thirty-six thousand dollars just for letting people look at flowers—that sounded pretty good to me," Pope later recalled. So Dick Pope—real estate salesman, publicity agent, water sports enthusiast, prospective botanical impresario—headed back to Florida.<sup>21</sup>

Before work started on Cypress Gardens, however, Pope entered into what proved a successful foray into the citrus industry: the manufacture of citrus shipping boxes. Pope's timing was fortuitous as the preferred shipping container was changing from the nailed crate to the wire-bound box type he sold. With this new-found financial base, Dick scouted for a location for his Florida gardens.<sup>22</sup>

Over time, he settled on a sixteen-acre tract of land bordering Winter Haven's Lake Eloise. Pope recalled the beauty of the old cypress grove from his childhood. The land had been home to the local yacht club during the boom years, but all that remained was a boarded-up pink stucco clubhouse. Pope vowed to "make a real Venice out of the place."<sup>23</sup> Toward this end, he enlisted the financial aid of the Winter Haven Canal Commission (of which he was a member). Along with former yacht club "commodore" John Snively, Pope lobbied the Commission to help clean up the land and build the gardens. This was an appealing idea to the city's civic leaders since the city had already experimented with canal improvements to connect its many lakes. The prospect of a crowning botanical park was therefore intriguing. In short order,

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19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. See *Winter Haven Independent*, 1 May 1986; Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," 74.

22. See "Cypress Gardens Skis Into Its 50<sup>th</sup> Year," *Southern Living*, June 1986, 10-11; *Winter Haven Independent*, 1 May 1986, 3.

23. See Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," 74; Burr, *History of Winter Haven*, 312.

the Commission agreed to invest over two thousand dollars in the project. Moreover, Pope arranged for federal funds to pay each laborer one dollar per day for work on the Depression-era project. A construction start time was scheduled the fall of 1932.<sup>24</sup>

Over time, however, Dick Pope's project drew criticism from several prominent city officials. For though it was no secret Pope intended to capitalize on real estate sales after the public gardens were completed, as the project progressed, complaints arose over the public financing of Dick Pope's brainchild. Branded the "Swami of the Swamp and "Maharaja of the Mucklands," Pope soon faced a withdrawal of federal funding and a hostile Canal Commission ("this will always be a swamp") that demanded its money returned.<sup>25</sup>

Undaunted, Pope promised to take over the project and pay off the \$2,800 Canal Commission investment: five hundred down with a three-year note covering the balance. Now a completely private venture, Pope acquired over forty more acres from John Snively (promising him 10 percent of future operations on a ninety-nine year lease) and proceeded to hire his own work crew at the former federal rate. By the end of 1933, the Cypress Gardens Association Inc. was formed with Dick and Julie Pope as owners. During the next two years, canals were completed, Italian grass seed was sown, walking paths were cleared, and thousands of flowering plants were placed in Pope's "swamp."<sup>26</sup>

The public's first glimpses of Cypress Gardens came during the Orange Festival, held every January in Winter Haven. Pope knew that a dedication ceremony held during this week would garner him maximum free publicity. He persuaded Governor David Sholtz to attend the festivities. The *Winter Haven News Chief* reported that Sholtz and six cabinet members were present at a tree-planting ceremony that featured official remarks by Polk County Democratic Chairman, Judge E.C. Wimberly. The local newspaper

24. See Burr, *History of Winter Haven*, 312-13; Furlong, "Babes in Swamp-land," 14-75; *Winter Haven Independent*, 1 May 1986, 3.

25. Ibid.

26. See Burr, *History of Winter Haven*, 312; Furlong, "Babes in Swamp-land," 75; "Greetings From Forgotten Florida," New River Media video recording, 2000. Serving as one of the documentary's featured historians, Gary Mormino commented that "Cypress Gardens serves as a wonderful transition between the old and the new tourist attraction," and that "Pope above all was a salesman . . . he had a wonderful piece of natural beauty, but he improved upon it."

also published an editorial lauding the potential of Cypress Gardens.<sup>27</sup> No longer the "Swami of the Swamp," Dick Pope was now a leading community figure:

The opening of this unit of Cypress Gardens means much not only to the beautification committee, but also to the community, as it makes available or the enjoyment of native and tourist alike an incomparable natural beauty spot which, once having visited, will remain as an indelible impression of the subtropical beauty abounding in this section of central Florida. Other sections of the state have capitalized on natural scenery, as witnessed by the Highland Hammock near Sebring, the Azealea Gardens at Palatka, Silver Springs near Ocala, and Winter Haven is now in line to make a similar and we trust, an equally irresistible appeal to the visitor with her Cypress Gardens. As other units are completed and opened, the appeal will grow stronger and the Gardens will become more firmly established as an attraction that the tourist cannot afford to miss. All honor to Dick Pope, the energetic secretary of the beautification committee, for his vision and stick-to-it-iveness in bringing the project to its present stage of development . . .<sup>28</sup>

Among other Florida newspapers, however, the dedication ceremonies at Cypress Gardens merited little or no coverage. When noted, it was the Governor's presence that garnered print space. The *Tampa Tribune* reported: "He (David Sholtz) planted a magnolia tree on the shore of Lake Elouise (sic) near here today, dedicating the Florida cypress gardens, a new state beauty spot . . ." Pope's charge was now to assure that his "beauty spot" gained widespread recognition.<sup>29</sup>

Dick Pope chose an opportune time to open his new attraction. Though the Depression still gripped much of America, Florida's tourist trade began to recover in the mid-1930s. National magazines touted the state's comeback in this crucial area. "The big news from Florida is that her chief crop is a good one this year.

27. *Winter Haven News Chief*, 25 January 1935, 1, 3.

28. *Ibid.*, "Editorial," 25 January 1935.

29. *Tampa Tribune*, 25 January 1935, 3.

The tourist tide is coming in again," claimed the *New Republic*.<sup>30</sup> *Business Week* commented, "to bewildered Florida it looks like the best year since the real estate mania of the middle twenties."<sup>31</sup> Hence, when Pope began his project he took advantage of depressed property and labor costs. However, by the time of his official grand opening in January 1936, he was poised to ride a new surge in Florida tourism.

An important element in Florida's late 1930s recovery was the re-emergence of its image as a tropical—and wholly home grown—paradise. A contributor to the March 1937 edition of *Reader's Digest* fawned: "I wanted a tropical foreign country, but I wanted this foreign country to be inhabited exclusively by Americans and run along American lines. I wanted . . . French Riviera's gay summer all year round but with none of its dirt and petty cheating on the part of the tradespeople. In Florida I found what I wanted."<sup>32</sup> Setting out to capitalize upon such romanticized perceptions, Pope promoted his new attraction as central Florida's paradise found. Well versed in cross-promotional techniques, he began a decades-long tactic of effective product placement—with Cypress Gardens serving as an exotic backdrop for the state's rejuvenated tourist industry. For example, the 1937-38 edition of the American Automobile Association's guide to Florida's "Most Colorful Spots" extolled Cypress Gardens a destination [n]either words nor pictures can adequately describe . . . a wonderland of tropical and natural beauty."<sup>33</sup>

The marketing of Cypress Gardens was a lifelong undertaking for Dick Pope. Colorful descriptions of beautiful flowers notwithstanding, Pope faced a considerable challenge if Cypress Gardens was to stand out from the various alligator farms, marine parks, and parrot and monkey jungles dotting the peninsula. And though he envisioned a particular iconic status for his venture, there were several hurdles to overcome. The gardens were far from the ocean and gulf beaches that most northerners automatically associated with Florida travel. As for night life, Winter Haven was no match for Miami Beach; the sale of hard liquor was pro-

30. "Warmth For Sale," *New Republic*, 7 March 1934, 98.

31. "Florida Perks Up," *Business Week*, 17 February 1934, 14.

32. Nina Wilcox Putnam, "My Land of Flowers," *Readers Digest*, March 1937, 89.

33. "Colorful Florida's Most Colorful Spots," American Automobile Association Brochure, 1937-38 edition, Polk County History Museum, Barto, Fla.

hibited until 1962. Moreover, the state's largest highways ran nearer the coasts, making Winter Haven easy to passby.<sup>34</sup> The gardens needed varied and vigorous promotion. Dick Pope's skills as a former publicity agent were tested as he attempted to promote his attraction as Florida, with a flair.

During the earliest years of operation, Pope tried to enhance his park's drawing power through the staging of special events. One of the more successful occurred shortly after the grand opening when 2,800 people paid to see ballerina Gail Armour and a company of dancers perform at the Gardens. Nevertheless, it was not until the next decade that Cypress Gardens fully developed its own, home grown, entertainment identity.<sup>35</sup>

Although fundamental to the long-term success of Cypress Gardens, the 1940s initially brought substantial challenges for Pope and his fledgling park. In the winter of 1940, a severe frost damaged Pope's featured "flame vines" that graced the Gardens' entrance. Worried that tourists might balk at such a discouraging sight, Julie Pope stepped in and attired a couple of the attraction's secretaries in old-fashioned, hoop-skirt dresses previously used in a promotional photograph. They were instructed to stand at the park's gate, smile, "flirt with everybody that comes in," and assure visitors that overall frost damage was minimal. Witnessing the success of this move, the Popes decided to maintain "Southern belles" as roving ambassadors of the Gardens' goodwill. Soon, the image of attractive young women dressed in antebellum finery was synonymous with Cypress Gardens.<sup>36</sup>

Former Gardens' public relations director Patrick Callan now contends that while the young women were featured for their "sex appeal," the Popes saw the belle image as ultimately "wholesome" and in keeping with their overall entertainment vision. The employment of base gender stereotypes and the promise of some

34. Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," 75. Another thing that differentiated Cypress Gardens from many other Florida attractions was its lack of an official segregation policy. According to Robert Kehoe (who worked at the Gardens from 1949 until 2001), though the park had few "minority" visitors until the 1980s, the strict segregation found on many Florida beaches or at Ocala's Silver Springs was at least not *official* policy at Cypress Gardens; telephone interview with Robert Kehoe, 7 January 2002; Gary R. Mormino, "Eden to Empire: Florida's Shifting Dreamscape," Florida Humanities Council Publications, <www.flahum.org/forum 05-01/>, 3.

35. *Winter Haven Independent*, 1 May 1986.

36. *Ibid.*; Burr, *History of Winter Haven*, 312.

sort of acceptable exotica was long a staple of many Florida advertisers. As for the state's tourist attractions, the scantily-clad "Indian Maiden" competed with the siren call of Weeki Wachee's mermaids. The Popes merely manipulated this approach with their belles. A high profile Gardens' promotion claimed, "she's young and sprightly, and she's dignified and beautiful, you'll have to see her and meet her in person, she'll welcome you . . . you may not believe what you've seen."<sup>37</sup>

Julie Pope also played a pivotal role in the entertainment realm for which Cypress Gardens eventually became world famous: water ski shows. With the onset of World War II and Dick soon serving in the army, Julie was charged with overseeing day-to-day park operations. With traditional tourism suffering, Cypress Gardens depended heavily on business from servicemen stationed nearby. In 1943, after a local newspaper ran a photograph of skiers at Cypress Gardens, several servicemen arrived prepared to see a ski show—though none existed. Julie Pope promised to create one by that afternoon.<sup>38</sup> She quickly called her son's school and instructed him to notify his water skiing friends that an exhibition was scheduled for later that day. The servicemen were so taken with the impromptu performance that they went back to their base in Orlando and arranged for busloads of their comrades to visit Cypress Gardens. The following weekend, several hundred service personnel arrived via bus convoy.<sup>39</sup>

Water ski shows continued at Cypress Gardens on an intermittent basis throughout the war. When Dick Pope returned from service, he saw the long term potential of Julie's idea and set out to institutionalize the performances. In 1947, barefoot water skiing premiered at Cypress Gardens, and Dick Pope Jr. was featured performing this new feat on national newsreels. By decade's end, water ski shows were an essential element of the park's entertainment and promotional activities.<sup>40</sup>

Dick Pope also began the soon-to-be tradition of "crowning queens" during the last years of the war. Winter Haven historian

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37. "Greetings From Forgotten Florida." The quote is from a newsreel promotion featured in the documentary.

38. See Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," 76; Burr, *History of Winter Haven*, 313.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*



Beauty contestants on parade float at the 1956 Florida Products Festival at Cypress Gardens. *Courtesy of the Department of Commerce Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

Josephine Burr recalled that playing to visiting servicemen, Pope coronations employed a “portable stage decorated like a P-51 or a trainer or a B-26, depending on what field the men came from. Sometimes five or six lucky girls were crowned in a week, to the applause of the eager young men in khaki.”<sup>41</sup>

Water skiing, southern belles, and the crowning of queens were all Cypress Gardens staples by the end of the 1940s. The February 17, 1947, edition of *Life* depicted the Gardens as a “tourist mecca” and ran a full-page photograph of one of its young female skiers. The magazine commented, “In any Florida season two of the surest ways for a pretty girl to get publicity are to become citrus queen and to be photographed on water skis.”<sup>42</sup> In only slightly over a decade,

41. Burr, *History of Winter Haven*, 313.

42. See “Speaking of Pictures,” *Life*, 17 February 1947, 7; <[www.sptimes.com/...floridain/Pretty\\_as\\_a\\_picture.shtml](http://www.sptimes.com/...floridain/Pretty_as_a_picture.shtml)>, 4. Calling him the “pre-Disney, pre-air conditioning genius of Florida escapism,” Roy Peter Clark recalled how Pope’s travels to the coasts (often to photograph for Jantzen beachwear) were restricted by 1940s gasoline rationing. The promoter began busing young women to be photographed on his Cypress Gardens “beach.”

Cypress Gardens had successfully established its own unique identity. Aside from the skiing and the activities associated with gender stereotypes, Cypress Gardens also offered electric boat rides through its canals. And when visitors were not exploring the grounds, they were encouraged to visit the souvenir shop and then dine on fried chicken in the Gardens' restaurant.

Prior to the opening of Cypress Gardens, other "genteel amusement parks" such as Denver's Elitch Gardens had proven that a botanical themed attraction could succeed.<sup>43</sup> And yet, Florida's tourist climate was far more competitive. The 1949-1950 edition of the *Florida Handbook* showed that there were at least four other independently owned, garden type attractions by mid-century: Miami's McKee Jungle Gardens and Orchid Gardens, Sarasota's Sunken Gardens, and Palm Beach's Rainbow Tropical Gardens. All of these competitors were located along the state's heavily traveled coastal regions.<sup>44</sup> Pope's Cypress Gardens may have established its niche in the Florida tourist industry, but future successes depended upon continuous and diligent promotion.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Pope became a public relations dynamo who tirelessly promoted his Florida attraction. One particularly effective tactic was to send a seemingly endless barrage of photographs to newspaper and magazine editors. Pope called his photo releases advertising on the O.P.M. system—"other people's money."<sup>45</sup> At one point his persistence went too far; both the *New York Times* and Associated Press placed a brief moratorium on Dick Pope's photographs. Nevertheless, his constant stream of photos featuring "cypress queens," vibrant flowers, and aquatic stunts garnered his attraction a tremendous amount of free exposure. Pope boasted that in a fifty-two week period his promotional shots appeared forty-eight times in the *Chicago Tribune*.<sup>46</sup>

Photography was always essential to the success of Cypress Gardens. From its earliest days, Pope sought to exploit the

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Humorously documented in ten photos, *Life* revealed the faux setting "to be nothing more than sand on a platform; a palm branch . . . attached to a wooden holder; a tall palm tree . . . a sawed-off trunk."

43. "Gardens of Fun," *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 June 1955, 24.

44. Morris, ed., *Florida Handbook, 1945-1950*, 80.

45. See "The Superswamp," *Saturday Evening Post*, 80; "Greetings From Forgotten Florida." Former director of public relations Patrick Callan claimed that Pope insisted that he "get a national press release every week—so that's what I did."

46. See Furlong, "Babes in Swamp-land," 68; "The Superswamp," 80.

Gardens' beauty through photographic imagery. Of equal importance with the official shots hawked by Pope were photographs taken by his customers. By the early 1960s, there were eight full-time photographers employed at the Gardens. Their job was to assist Pope's patrons in obtaining the best possible shots. "We'll load the camera and shoot the pictures for them if they can't do it for themselves," stressed one staff photographer. By 1950, the gift shop sold more Kodak film than any retail outlet in the country.<sup>47</sup>

Pope also built an "octahedron-tetrahedron" photographic stand ("30,000 aluminum struts, 33,000 joints, the biggest Tinker-toy in the world") on a pier that stretched out into Lake Eloise. Positioned atop the stand was a photographic director who shouted out proper light readings and other helpful instructions for the massed amateurs. The objective was to ensure that the shots of Cypress Gardens were the best pictures that tourists developed from their vacation, anticipating that, when later reviewing their vacation images, Pope's attraction would be highlighted for family and friends. "It's the cheapest advertising in the world," boasted Pope.<sup>48</sup> A 1957 *New York Times* article on Florida aquatic shows addressed both the senior status of Cypress Gardens among the state's attractions and its reputation as a photographer's haven: "Cypress Gardens . . . set the pattern for such places. It has been attracting 2,000 visitors to each of its water shows recently and often the shows have been given every hour. The gardens of flaming azaleas, brilliant exotic flowers and strange fruits are full grown. So are the cypress woods. Electric boat rides through the canals are furnished. Amateur photographers flock to it, and one major camera concern reports that more film is sold at the Cypress gardens shop than at any other retail outlet in the world. Several professional movies have been made there."<sup>49</sup>

Among those feature length movies were portions of "Moon Over Miami," "This is Cinerama," and most prominently, the Esther Williams vehicle, "On an Island With You." Always eager to assist production companies that wanted to use the Gardens as a backdrop (as long as it was clear where the film was shot), Pope on one occasion spent over \$60,000 on the construction of a swim-

47. Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," 70.

48. See *ibid.*; Mormino, "Eden to Empire: Florida's Shifting Dreamscape," 2.

49. *New York Times*, 17 March 1957, 6.

ming pool shaped like the state Florida.<sup>50</sup> Over the years Cypress Gardens hosted hundreds of newsreels and movie shorts. Having constructed his gardens "with an eye toward photographic settings," Dick Pope made the most of his attraction's aesthetic qualities.<sup>51</sup>

As Cypress Gardens neared its thirtieth anniversary, Pope's persistent promotion had turned his former mucklands into one of the nation's most attractive tourist destinations. A 1963 travel editor's poll placed the Gardens in a tie with the Grand Canyon as the nation's premiere tourist spot.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Pope's shameless promotion made himself somewhat of an "attraction" as well. Magazine feature stories on the Gardens often devoted considerable space to the high profile that Dick Pope maintained. The *Saturday Evening Post* referred to him as a "talkative troll" who radiated "an amused innocence, like a schoolboy given a good conduct award." *Sports Illustrated* proclaimed him "an international figure of almost terrifying chic" who had "applied his gaudy talents as relentlessly as the driving rod on a locomotive."<sup>53</sup> Even after they entered the Gardens, Florida's tourists were still not immune from Pope's promotional onslaught. At one point he had three full-time employees charged with pasting Cypress Gardens bumperstickers on patrons' automobiles.<sup>54</sup>

For all Pope's post-war successes, however, the changing nature of Florida's tourism presented ever-daunting challenges. Though the Gardens remained a very popular destination throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Cypress Gardens gradually symbolized a quaint yet increasingly outmoded remnant from Florida's past. In *Tropical Splendor, the Architectural History of Florida*, Hap Sutton writes:

Early Florida roadside attractions were privately owned and often featured natural attractions such as springs or local flora and fauna . . . families came to Florida for the tropical gardens and fantastic historical amusements, they came to have fun as well as learn. Then in the 1950s every-

50. Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," 68.

51. See *ibid.*, "Cypress Gardens Skis Into Its 50<sup>th</sup> Year," *Southern Living*, June 1986, 10.

52. "The Superswamp," 79.

53. Furlong, "Babes in Swampland," 68.

54. *Ibid.*, 69.

thing changed. Expressways began rerouting traffic and Walt Disney's California-based Disneyland became the first total-environment theme park that was marketed as a corporate product. Its overwhelming success allowed other theme parks to enter communities with ready-made public acceptance. Nearly all pre-existing roadside attractions would be affected.<sup>55</sup>

In October 1971, Florida tourism—and arguably the entire state—changed forever with the official opening of Walt Disney World near Orlando. Repositioning Cypress Gardens to maintain cultural relevance and financial viability would ultimately prove daunting. On the eve of Mickey's arrival, Pope clung to a buoyant boosterism that now seems quaint (or perhaps naïve). He was always willing to plug smaller attractions—like nearby Bok Tower—in his ubiquitous Cypress Gardens flyers and pamphlets. His reasoning was that a rise in the industry as a whole was beneficial for all involved. With Uncle Walt now at the helm, he apparently felt poised to ski in Disney's wake. Sounding somewhat like a self-appointed dean of Florida tourism, in 1966 Pope proclaimed, "This all of our attractions believe is the greatest thing that ever happened to them and to Florida . . . and we welcome Walt Disney and his brother Roy, and all of the rest of them with open arms."<sup>56</sup> The future, however, would prove more challenging than Dick Pope imagined.

Indeed, with the growth of Busch Gardens, Sea World, and especially the Disney parks, Cypress Gardens had to review its image and mission. These new "super-parks" easily overshadowed smaller, long-established attractions.<sup>57</sup> Not that Cypress Gardens was yet in numerical decline (its attendance actually peaked in the late 1970s), but the future seemed to hold an increasingly smaller role for Pope's attraction.<sup>58</sup> Publications like *American Forests* still gushed that "the beauty and quality of plant at Florida's Cypress Gardens cannot possibly be realized by one visit alone," but the dramatic allure of other parks' features like Space Mountain and Shamu seemed the wave of the future.<sup>59</sup>

55. Quoted in <[www.sunkengardens.com/historic.htm](http://www.sunkengardens.com/historic.htm)>, 5.

56. "Greetings From Forgotten Florida."

57. "Superparks," *U.S. News & World Report*, 21 July 1975, 38-40.

58. *Lakeland Ledger*, 16 August 1985.

59. "Interlude In The Tropics," *American Forests*, December 1971, 30.



Richard D. Pope Sr., developer of Cypress Garden and Florida tourism promoter.  
*Courtesy of the Department of Commerce Collection, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee.*

Cypress Gardens' effort to hold onto its industry position in the 1970s was indeed difficult. Always a rather passive attraction, was it to go the route of the roller coaster? Or was it to stress its traditional selling points? The answer was a rather uninspiring compromise. While the Popes (Dick Pope Jr. was now responsible for the Gardens' day-to-day operations) continued to stress the

attraction's role as "the water ski capital of the world," there were additions intended to open new entertainment avenues. A small zoological area and petting zoo was added. Somewhat more dramatically, the Kodak corporation's "Island in the Sky" (a 153-foot-high revolving photographic platform) represented a "thrill ride" (albeit minor) aspect never before seen at the Gardens. Nevertheless, by the early 1980s, Cypress Gardens' attendance was plummeting.<sup>60</sup> "As an attraction, it doesn't rate toward the top, and it's in a bad location," one industry analyst lamented.<sup>61</sup>

When Harcourt Brace Jovanovich acquired Cypress Gardens for \$22.6 million in 1985, an era in Florida tourism came to a rather abrupt end. Patriarch Pope himself died in 1988. Nevertheless, for fifty years the Pope family had operated Central Florida's first theme park.<sup>62</sup> In the process, Dick Pope had both put Winter Haven on the map and created a family fortune; the Pope's profits from the sale were estimated at \$10 million. Upon the sale of Cypress Gardens, Dick Pope Jr. said, "There's a lot of sentiment involved. That wasn't an easy thing to do." He acknowledged, however, that Harcourt had "the strength and money to do things we couldn't do."<sup>63</sup> Like the tourist business in Florida, Cypress Gardens was now a major corporate enterprise. Harcourt's millions bought it a park that covered over 220 acres with over eight thousand varieties of trees, plants, and flowers. Its new possession also featured an antebellum-style Southern village, a walk-through aviary, restaurant, souvenir shops, rides, and of course, the Gardens' water ski cache.<sup>64</sup>

Harcourt's corporate commitment to Cypress Gardens, however, proved tenuous. After investing five million dollars in park additions such as a one-hundred-foot-high snow ski jump ramp, an ice skating arena, and the "world's largest model train exhibit," Harcourt soon included Cypress Gardens in its divestment of amusement properties (including three Sea World parks and nearby Boardwalk and Baseball).<sup>65</sup>

60. See *Lakeland Ledger*, 10 July, 16 August 1985.

61. *Ibid.*, 10 July 1985.

62. *Ibid.*, 16 August 1985.

63. *Ibid.*

64. "Cypress Gardens Skis Into Its 50<sup>th</sup> Year," 10.

65. See *Winter Haven News Chief*, 18 November, 17 December 1987; "Horizons Magazine," *Polk County Democrat*, 30 June 1988, 8-9.

The problem was that while Harcourt had the assets to revamp and update Cypress Gardens' facilities, it lacked the amusement experience necessary to conjure an entertainment vision. In October 1989, Harcourt entered into a purchase agreement with the Busch Entertainment Corporation.<sup>66</sup> The amusement arm of the brewing giant appeared in a stronger position—in both financial capabilities and management experience—to effectively rejuvenate the park. At the time, some industry analysts offered hope that a potential renaissance awaited “second-tier” Florida attractions such as Cypress Gardens. Abraham Pizam, professor and director of the Dick Pope Sr. Institute of Tourism Studies at the University of Central Florida, posited that perhaps as “tourists become frustrated with the larger attractions’ coming reservation policies,” smaller attractions such as Cypress Gardens would benefit from an overflow factor.<sup>67</sup>

Of course, the reality of the 1990s included the expansion of Disney's Central Florida empire and the completion of Universal Studios Florida. In their efforts to compete, the Busch group invested several million dollars into expansion and improvement projects, including new attractions, shows, shops and special events. Features such as the “Wings of Wonder” butterfly conservatory were intended to broaden the park's appeal.<sup>68</sup> By 1995, however, the Busch group had tired of its Winter Haven holding and subsequently sold Cypress Gardens to the park's own management team.<sup>69</sup>

Somewhat reinvigorated by its return to local leadership, Cypress Gardens embarked upon a late 1990s course that brought such new attractions as Spring Light, ice skating, and variety shows. “Not only do we have Dick Pope's legacy to live up to, but we purchased a Florida icon that is as well branded as Proctor Gamble,” said Bill Reynolds, the new president and CEO.<sup>70</sup> In 1999, Cypress Gardens purchased a paddle wheel boat, offering Lake Eloise sightseeing tours and brunch and dinner cruises. In response to the latest sports craze, the new “Ski Xtreme” show is advertised as the “most demanding water ski show ever produced at Cypress Gardens . . . featuring the

66. Telephone interview with Louise Murtaugh, Cypress Gardens Public Relations Representative, 23 November 1989.

67. *Lakeland Ledger*, 26 November 1989.

68. See <[www.cypressgardens.com/press/releases/briefhistory.htm](http://www.cypressgardens.com/press/releases/briefhistory.htm)>, 3; and <[www.about-hotel-accomocations-discounts.com/disney/other.html](http://www.about-hotel-accomocations-discounts.com/disney/other.html)>, 9-10.

69. <[www.cypressgardens.com/press/releases/briefhistory.htm](http://www.cypressgardens.com/press/releases/briefhistory.htm)>, 3.

70. *Ibid.*, 4.

most radical approach in more than 60 years of legendary shows.”<sup>71</sup> Dick Pope would certainly have approved such hyperbolic ad copy.

In an attempt to reconcile its history with modern amusement tastes and trends, Cypress Gardens now looks toward a hopeful, if uncertain future. In March 2001, the Gardens unveiled the FloraDome: an ever-changing horticultural exhibit. In somewhat contradictory statements, one official acknowledged, “We really needed to make a change and look at the entertainment mix . . . [w]e needed something fresh.” Chief Executive Officer Bill Reynolds, however, stated that “Cypress Gardens has long been known as America’s foremost botanical showplace and this new venue really exemplifies this heritage.”<sup>72</sup>

Blending a new entertainment mix while maintaining its heritage is Cypress Gardens’ greatest challenge. At times this makes the park appear thematically bifurcated—appealing to two very different demographics. For example, in seeking to shore up one segment of its localized customer base, the Gardens offers “Family Fun Packs” (unlimited visits) for Florida residents. In addition, the Wacky Water Park, Castle Bounce House, Swamper Stomper Obstacle Course, and Fourth of July fireworks celebrations appear aimed at repeat, day-tripping visitors. “These are all events that will bring much joy to the entire family,” local promoters claim.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand, the unfortunate fact is that the average age of a Cypress Gardens visitor is now fifty-five. That statistic obviously does not bode well for the long-term.<sup>74</sup>

In the fall of 2001, however, two events occurred that may alter the future of Cypress Gardens: the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C., and the arrival of a new minority co-owner, Lakeland developer Larry Maxwell. Although it is too early to tell how the former will ultimately affect Florida tourism, early reports are the state’s smaller attractions have fared well while the big parks have suffered. “Many of our visitors are coming from a 60 to 90 mile radius” and are “looking for a low-key way to spend the day,” comments a representative from nearby Bok Tower.<sup>75</sup> Cypress Gardens’ emphasis on season passes and local visitors may

71. <<http://floridatravelonline.com/orlando/cypressgardens/cypressski.htm>>, 1.

72. <[www.polkonline.com/stories/030301/loc\\_flora-dome.shtml](http://www.polkonline.com/stories/030301/loc_flora-dome.shtml)>, 1.

73. <[www.polkonline.com/stories/061201/opi\\_thanks.shtml](http://www.polkonline.com/stories/061201/opi_thanks.shtml)>, 1.

74. <[www.polkonline.com/stories/083101/loc\\_kehoe.shtml](http://www.polkonline.com/stories/083101/loc_kehoe.shtml)>, 3.

75. <[www.polkonline.com/OakRidgeBoys11/27/01](http://www.polkonline.com/OakRidgeBoys11/27/01)>, 1-2.

pay benefits in unsettled times. The positioning of Larry Maxwell as a leading voice among the Gardens' ownership group is, however, at once appropriate and ironic. Like Dick Pope, Maxwell is a developer and salesman who has found and exploited a niche: in his case, residential development targeted toward the over-55 market. It appears that in order to save the theme park, part of the Gardens' undeveloped land holdings may be subdivided and sold—as cypress trees give way to condominiums. Reynolds approvingly noted that Maxwell's ownership will “enhance our facility and will allow him some direct marketing advantages to his targeted market through here. We have 180 acres here and we only use 50 percent of it for day-to-day operations,” Reynolds continued, “We have several greenhouses that are located by the water and someday we may decide that we don't need to grow our own plants. We may think that those lakeside areas may be excellent for condos or some kind of time-share facilities. But that's just maybe.”<sup>76</sup>

Whatever his Gardens' ultimate fate, Dick Pope personified a Florida boosterism and an individual entrepreneurship that symbolized both the beauty and crassness associated with the state's twentieth-century tourism trade. In 1998, he was named one of the fifty most important Floridians of the twentieth century.<sup>77</sup> Few will argue with that designation. Today, however, the challenge facing Cypress Gardens is whether those past marketing pillars offer enough support in an era of mega-attractions and hyper-reality. The unanswered question is can Cypress Gardens stay both true to its roots and survive in the shadow of the mouse? Moreover, how does Cypress Gardens, Florida's bucolic wonder, fit into an American culture that, as Umberto Eco has observed, “. . . demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake?”<sup>78</sup>

76. <[www.polkonline.com/DeveloperbuysintoCypressGardens10/19/01](http://www.polkonline.com/DeveloperbuysintoCypressGardens10/19/01)> 1-2. It should be remembered, however, that in the 1930s, Pope too saw the Gardens as an attraction that would enhance adjacent real estate value.

77. <[www.theledger.com/top50/pages/pope.html](http://www.theledger.com/top50/pages/pope.html)>, 1-2.

78. Quoted in Stephen M. Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney World and America* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), 300.

## Historic Notes and Documents: A Late Seventeenth-Century Journey to Tampa Bay

by Ronald Wayne Childers

At the close of the War of the League of Augsburg in 1697, Louis XIV of France found himself with enough free resources to make a fresh effort to colonize the Gulf Coast. He had already tried this in 1684 when the Sieur de La Salle had departed France and founded a colony at Matagorda Bay in Texas.<sup>1</sup> The colony lasted from 1685 to 1686, ending in disaster for the French. Louis, prevented from further expansion in Europe, again tried to expand his overseas possessions eleven years later.

The Spanish Crown received word of this new effort in early 1698 and immediately issued orders to the Viceroy of Mexico, and the Governors of Cuba and Florida to take steps to prevent French occupation along the Gulf. Their intelligence indicated that the French would try to occupy Pensacola Bay, but the Spanish Crown did not rule out other locations.<sup>2</sup>

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1. According to Robert Weddle, the La Salle Colony was on Bay St. Louis; see W.S. Coker and R.Wayne Childers, "The Presidio, Santa María de Galve: The First Permanent European Settlement on the Northern Gulf Coast, 1698-1722," in Virginia Parks, ed., *Santa María de Galve: A Story of Survival* (Pensacola, Fla., 1998), 83 n 13.
2. W.E. Dunn, "Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702: The Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola," University of Texas Bulletin No. 1705, Studies in History No. 1, Austin, Texas, 1917; Cédula of 19 April 1698, AGN México Reales Cédulas Originales, Tomo 28, Expediente 21.

Governor of Florida Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala received his orders in 1698 and aided the Spanish occupation of Pensacola Bay. However, when in January of 1699, an English ship wrecked near St. Augustine and Torres sent the survivors to Charleston with an infantry escort, Adjutant Luis Rodrigo who had been in command of the expedition returned and told Torres that the English were preparing five ships of supplies and people to settle Apalachee Bay. Torres investigated and found that what the English were calling Apalachee Bay was in fact Tampa Bay, which the Spanish also called the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* and *Ascensión*.

Armed with this information, Torres dispatched Rodrigo, three soldiers, and a dozen Indian chiefs (or *Caciques*) and proven warriors to Tampa Bay. Upon their return, Torres had each of the soldiers give depositions and received the diary in which one of them, Diego Peña, had reported everything that had happened on the journey. He then attached all of these to a letter to the King explaining what he had done and why, and the results thereof.<sup>3</sup>

This is the only known inland exploration of Tampa Bay in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the following series of documents provides a unique look at the territory between present-day Gainesville and the area of Tampa Bay. To some degree, they indicate the southward extent of the Province of Timucua and of Timucuan speakers and the degree to which the area had remained settled. They are important also because they give us the only description and list of villages.<sup>4</sup>

The Governor of Florida gives Your Majesty an account of the actions he has taken in sending to inspect the Bay of the *Espíritu Santo* and *Ascensión* with the purpose of seeing if the English had intended to occupy it, along with *autos* made upon it.<sup>5</sup> He also gives the reports with which he is found concerning the Bay of *Santa María de Galve*.<sup>6</sup>

Señor

3. Governor of Florida to the Viceroy, 15 May 1699, Archivo General de Indias (AGI) Mexico 618.

4. The following letter and its enclosures are all found in AGI México 618.

5. This word refers to any document resulting from an official act, usually by a government official.

6. This is one of the names given to Pensacola Bay at this time.

In January of this year (1699), an English vessel was lost to the south of this Presidio with six men. When they were brought to this Presidio, they represented to me how stripped of everything<sup>7</sup> they were and how they needed to go among their own people. With the agreement of the Royal Officials, I consented to transport them to *San Jorge* at their cost in exchange for some military materiel that had been salvaged from their wrecked vessel which amounted to one hundred pesos worth of an anchor and some pieces of rigging and tackle. I purchased this on His majesty's account and made the payment to them in maize and meat for their voyage. Since it was necessary that they should take some infantry and Indians with them, I named the Ensign Luis Rodrigo as commander of the infantry to whom I gave the appropriate orders and one of these was that he must ferret out<sup>8</sup> the intentions of the foreign Crowns. When he had returned, he complied with what he was ordered to do by giving me a report of having seen five vessels in said port of *San Jorge*,<sup>9</sup> *two of good tonnage and three smaller ones which were intended to be used to settle on the Bay of Apalachee*<sup>10</sup> and as it is, since there is no bay nor place (to go) other than to this port of Apalachee, it ought to be presumed that they would not have the audacity to come there to throw out His majesty's vassals since we are at peace nor would they come to Santa María de Galve because they already knew that it was occupied by Your Majesty. I feared with these and other basic reasons, that it could be in no other place than the bay that is called *Espíritu Santo* and by another name, it of the *Ascensión* and by the natives, Tampa Bay because of a nation of that name that had once lived on it.

In order to do what was best for His majesty's Service, I ordered the same Ensign Luis Rodrigo to take three

7. desnudez

8. yndagase

9. The name the Spanish used for Charleston, South Carolina at this time.

10. Rodrigo must have misinterpreted what was being told to him or was deliberately misled. Only two ships had come from England to make the attempt to settle on the Mississippi River and only one of these made the abortive voyage. Daniel Coxe, *A Description of the English Province of CAROLANA, By the Spaniards call'd FLORIDA and by the French La LOUISIANE* (Gainesville, Fla., 1976), xxvii.

Infantrymen and some *Caciques* and principal Indian men to whom I wrote, and go by land from the village of San Francisco<sup>11</sup> (which is an) Indian pueblo that lies in the middle between this Presidio and the port of Apalache.<sup>12</sup> However, they were presented with many difficulties in trying to discover the road there and in penetrating to the said Bay by the lay of the land (and) because there was no more than one soldier beyond eighty years of age in this Presidio who it was agreed had gone there in his youth. This posed great obstacles, which meant it might not be attainable. Nevertheless, I resolved myself, with the aid of God and the zeal that I should show in the Royal Service of Your Majesty to expressly command that the Ensign Luis Rodrigo was to go there with the others that I mentioned and that he must penetrate the way there and inspect the said Bay. Further, he had to inquire of all the natives not only on its coast but also in its vicinity, if they had seen any foreign vessels and if they had any report of foreign settlements, how far were they to the east or the west. Our Lord was pleased that comporting himself in accordance with the orders that I gave him for it, he was able to make the journey with felicity without detriment to any of those that went on it.

They arrived to the said Bay of *Espíritu Santo* and inspected all of it and spoke with various natives who told them that there was no settlement on all the coast and that neither had any foreign ships arrived at that Bay since about six years before. They were there for nine days distributing the orders among the natives, that I had given him if they had made it either that far or to the two bays that are to the east of it. They reported (this) to me by the same road that my Spaniards went by. All of them tell me that (the land there) is very flat and only has one river, which they called the *amajuro*<sup>13</sup> and the way is easy from this (point).

11. A Timucua Indian village or town which existed till about 1705 in the area of present-day Gainesville; see John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville, Fla., 1996), 17, 286.

12. San Marcos de Apalachee which is present-day St. Marks, Florida.

13. Withlacoochee River. This is the way the Indian name is spelled in this particular letter and in other places within the documents and may relate to its pronunciation; Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*, 269-70.

They had speedily gone there in thirteen days and sent me a report from the said bay on the day they arrived. In eight more (days), their report had arrived in this Presidio and for all of this, I gave many thanks to God. Therefore, so that Your Majesty is found well informed of everything that I have done on this matter, I send a testimony with this, of all the *autos* that were made upon it. There also go enclosed with them, the testimony of the letters that I wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain and the Governor of Havana on that occasion to inform them. I have already written them again that I have completed the actions that I had taken.<sup>14</sup> I supplicate Your Majesty to see that the testimony of these *autos* that I have cited is studied because of what this would mean to the Royal Service of Your Majesty.

During the same days when they were undertaking these operations, in June from the 10th of it to the 22nd, two ships which appeared to be English remained off *San Marcos de Apalache* for twelve days, most of them anchored and firing off shots with red flags (flying) and on other days, making sail; one of them going to the east and the other to the west.<sup>15</sup> They returned to meet up there again and had anchored. As this is something that is very strange to happen in that port, I was sent a report by my Lieutenant<sup>16</sup> through the mail and it caused me a great deal of anxiety.<sup>17</sup> With the same (mail), I sent my Lieutenant the necessary orders to reinforce the infantry

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14. These letters are not reproduced here.

15. Who was aboard these two ships and what they were doing, they were not part of the English expedition. Only one ship had departed Charleston in May of 1699; Coxe, *The Province of Carolana*, xxvii.

16. At this time, the Lieutenant of the Governor in Apalachee was Jacinto Roque Pérez de Acal. Autos on the Plight of Juana Caterina de Florencia, in Governor of Florida to the King, 20 July 1709, AGI Santo Domingo 841; Juan Antonio de Hessain to the Royal Officials of Veracruz, 14 May 1746 AGI México 1849, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

17. Torres had been previously informed that a long flat vessel had come to the upper coast of Apalachee Bay and its crew had tried to capture some of the Tocobaga Indians. At that time, Torres had speculated that this was one of the stated five vessels; Governor of Florida to the Viceroy, 15 May 1699, AGI México 618.

so that these (people) would not attain whatever purposes for which they could have come since I am completely persuaded that these vessels were in the convoy of the five.

Now I find myself with a report from the Sergeant Major Don Francisco Martínez of the Bay of *Santa María de Galve*, who tells me that there is an English settlement three or four days journey to the west of said Bay according to which, it appears to me that it must be in the place that is called *Los Ystananez*<sup>18</sup> and they have put the name of *Santiago*<sup>19</sup> to this settlement. As a result, it can be inferred that the five vessels that the Ensign Luis Rodrigo saw in *San Jorge* and the two that were off the port of *Apalache*, were part of this convoy and were awaiting the others having been separated by some accident of the sea.

Also, Señor, I have the report from the Sergeant Major Don Francisco Martínez that he finds himself with great worries not only because he has not received aid from New Spain as concerns what is settled at the date of this as he has advised me but also because they had come to settle there without the necessary preparations which has caused the death of most of the troops. Further, he is without the aid of a doctor or surgeon. Since he finds himself without one, he has appealed to me. I sent him a man who said that he knew how to bleed because there is neither doctor nor surgeon in this Presidio either and I thought it would be good to send him the said man despite the fact that I have no confidence whatsoever in him since this is not his profession and I told him as much on that occasion. However, all the troops that are still alive, have much affliction and what I live with is no less, knowing clearly that if that bay has Your Majesty's vassals thrown out of it because of the

18. According to one report, this place was four days journey further west of Mobile. In that document it is called the province of Estanani; Antonio Matheos to the Governor of Florida, 19 May 1686, Buckingham Smith Collection, New York Public Library.

19. This actually appears to have been Jamestown, Virginia. Martínez's language difficulties with some English castaways seems to have been the origin of this misconception; see Coker and Childers, "The Presidio, Santa María de Galve," 8.

reasons referred to and others, then it shall be because the malcontents shall immediately and without delay, give it over to be occupied by the English nation which is the closest respective of the (nearness) of the settlement of *San Jorge* and the penetration that (the English) have made of all the rivers inland and (the fact that) that they are trying to take that bay and others to the west although they are not of such size as it is. Then all these Provinces will be cut off and in time can fear receiving greater damage according to the warlike nature<sup>20</sup> of their natives.

My greatest sorrow is that I have not been able to assist him with all of his needs even though I have not failed to do anything that he has asked me. I have now, newly provided him with meat, maize and other supplies in a bark that came from Havana to that port. Before this, I had sent him livestock, cattle and horses with the rest that I have given Your Majesty an account of. He has also twice been provided with supplies from Havana by its Governor. However, Señor, all these aids are just fragments (of what they need), that do not fill the hold of one (ship) from New Spain since as concerns being abundant, it is general knowledge that all of them need clothes in the worst way since they tell me that they walk about (naked) as Adam. I supplicate Your Majesty to be pleased to approve my representation and everything that I have reported in which my only motivations have been the zeal of a loyal vassal and (to see) that what has been accomplished in the exploration of this bay was not badly done as well as (the fact that I am trying to) see that the nations do not attain their ancient and desired goals of taking over a port on the Gulf of Mexico, whichever ones they can have. No matter how remote (they are) and how they appear to be at the present, in time they are and must come to be very prejudicial to the Royal Crowns of Your Majesty, Whose Catholic and Royal Person, God Save the many years that the Christianity has need, *San Augustin de la Florida* and September 16 of 1699.

Don Laureano de Torres Ayala [rubric]

20. belicidad

Auto: In the City of *San Augustin de la Florida* on the 26th day of the month of June of 1699, His Lordship that Señor Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, Governor and Captain General of this said city and its Provinces by appointment of His Majesty said that inasmuch as on the 24th day of the current month, the Ensign Luis Rodrigo arrived at this Presidio in return from the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* with Diego Peña, Silvestre Resseu and Marcos de Reyna, the soldiers that his Lordship had named for the said Ensign to take in his company and together with them, the said Ensign handed over a diary to His Lordship that in accordance with the order he was given, he made of his trip. Therefore, His Lordship had commanded and did command that said diary be placed with the *autos* and that the declarations of the said Ensign Luis Rodrigo as principal commander and the said three soldiers be received, questioning them about what they had done and seen in the time that they were in the said bay. As a result, for this *auto*, he so provided, commanded and signed it. Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala = Before me, Juan Solana, Notary Public and of the Government.

Declaration of the Ensign Luis Rodrigo: In the City of San Augustin on the 26th day of the month of June of 1699 years, His Lordship the Señor Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, Governor and Captain General of this said city and its Provinces by appointment of His Majesty, for the declarations commanded to be received by the *auto* of today, day of the date, commanded the Ensign Luis Rodrigo, reserve officer<sup>21</sup> of this Presidio to appear before him. Before me, the notary, he received the oath by God our Lord and a sign of the cross in legal form and the above said took it and under the charge of the promise to tell the truth. Being questioned by the contents of the said *auto*, he said and declared the following. He said that having been dispatched by His Lordship, from this Presidio so that he would go in compliance with an order that he handed

21. reformado

over to him, to the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*, he arrived to the village of *Santa Fee* in the Province of Timucua where its Lieutenant, Andrés García, had supplies for him. Then in the company of the three soldiers that His Lordship gave him for his escort and company and the *Cacique* of said village of *Santa Fee*<sup>22</sup>, Francisco Rizo and the one from the village of San Francisco called Miguel<sup>23</sup> and other vassals, he departed in compliance with the said order. He continued his journey to the said Bay, executing the orders that he had been given as shall be evidenced from the diary that he handed over to His Lordship, to which he refers. He executed all the points that were mentioned in the said order and he found no contradiction (of the orders) in anything (having to do with) the natives that came to see him, (appearing) before him very humble, content and happy without having had any unpleasantness nor any unhappy event. This was even though a Timucuan Indian, a native of *Santa Fee* fell ill on the return trip; he arrived in time to receive the last rites in the said village. The sickness increased and he died of burning fever<sup>24</sup> according to the declarant and it appeared so to the rest of them. All of this that he has said and declared is the truth as is that which is mentioned in the said diary, under the charge of the oath that he swore which he affirms and ratifies and (he said that) he shall say the same thing whenever he is questioned about it. He said that he is of the age of thirty-five years more or less and he did not sign it because he did not know how and His Lordship signed it. Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala. Before me, Juan Solana, Notary Public and of the Government.

Declaration of Diego Peña: In the said City, on the said day month and year said, immediately His Lordship, said Señor

22. Santa Fé was also located in the vicinity of present-day Gainesville. Santa Fee was the 17th and early 18th century spelling for this name; Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*, 286.

23. Maestro de Campo Don Francisco Rizo Holata, principal man of the Pueblo of Santa Fee and Captain Don Miguel Holata, principal man of the Pueblo of San Francisco; Don Francisco de Corcoles y Martínez to My Sons, the Caciques of Santa Fee and San Francisco, 18 April 1706, AGI Santo Domingo 841.

24. tabardillo

Governor and Captain General ordered Diego Peña, soldier of the garrison of Timucua, to appear before him for the said declarations. Before me, the notary, he received the oath by God and the sign of the cross in legal form and the above said did it and under the charge of the promise to tell the truth. Being questioned by the contents of the *auto* made this day, the day of the said date, he said that the above said is one of the soldiers that had accompanied the said Ensign Luis Rodrigo from the village of *Santa Fee* to the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*, where he arrived in the company of the said Ensign and the other infantrymen and the *Caciques* and that they did everything that the diary presented by the Ensign Luis Rodrigo evidences, to which he refers. He said that he saw the said Ensign distributing and executing all the orders from His Lordship that he had carried among the Infidel Indians, giving good treatment and entertainment to everyone, not only to the Infidels but also to those that he took there in his company from the villages of *San Francisco* and *Santa Fee*. He said that all this is the truth under the charge of the oath that he took and that he affirms and ratifies it and if it is necessary, he shall always say the same thing every time it is asked of him. He said that he is of the age of twenty-three years more or less and he signed it together with His Lordship. Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala = Diego Peña = Before me, Juan Solana, Notary Public and of the Government.

Declaration of Silvestre Resseu: In the said city of *San Augustin de la Florida* on the said day, month and year said, immediately His Lordship the said Governor and Captain General ordered Silvestre Resseu, a soldier of this Presidio, to appear before him. Before me, the notary, he received the oath by God our Lord and a sign of the Cross in legal form. The above said took it and under the charge of the promise to tell the truth. Being questioned by said *auto* provided today the day of the date, he said that the above said is one of the soldiers that went to the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* with the Ensign Luis Rodrigo. He had seen that the above said had executed all the orders punctually, that His Lordship had given him. He said he knew this as one of the ones that accompanied said commander to execute them in a canoe<sup>25</sup>

that is used for such actions and that he had distributed all the said orders and had given very good treatment to everyone, not only to the Infidels whom they had found there and had gone there to see but also to the Christians that they had taken with them. He said that by order of the commander, a diary had been kept in writing to which he refers because as much as is written in it, is the truth and that he does not know anything else. All of this is what happened on the said voyage and the truth under the charge of the oath that he took and he affirms it and ratifies it and shall say the same thing each time that he is questioned. He says that he is of the age of thirty-three more or less and he did not sign it because he said he did not know how and His Lordship signed it. Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala = Before me, Juan Solana, Notary Public and of the Government.

Declaration of Marcos de la Reyna: In the city of *San Augustin de la Florida* on the said 22nd day of June of 1699 years, immediately His Lordship the said Governor and Captain General made Marcos de Reyna, soldier of the garrison of *Salamototo*<sup>26</sup>, appear before him. Before me, the notary, he received the oath by God our Lord and a sign of the cross in legal form and the above said took it and under the charge of the promise to tell the truth. Being questioned by the contents of the *auto* that is at the beginning of these declarations, provided today, the day of the date; he said that the above said is one of the soldiers that went with the Ensign Luis Rodrigo to the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* where they arrived having passed some rivers and arroyos and especially the *Río de Amajuro* which is very dangerous. He was at the Bay taking care of the supplies during the time that the commander and his other companions had been sounding and examining the said Bay. He knows that (the Ensign) executed all the orders that he had and that he gave very good treatment not only to the infantry but also to the Christian Indians that accompanied him who have con-

25. cayuco. Wherever this word is used, I have translated it as canoe.

26. The name of the St. John's River at this time and a village at the major crossing of the St. John's on the road to present-day Gainesville; Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*, 242.

tinued to be very satisfied. He also made many gifts<sup>27</sup> to the infidels that they had found during the journey and came to see them there. Further, that all of this shall be most well evidenced by a diary that was made of everything that happened and that what is written in it is the truth, to which he refers and that he does not know anything else. He said that what he has said and declared is that truth under the charge of the oath that he took, which he affirms and ratifies. He said that he is of the age of twenty-six years more or less and he signed it. Rubric = Marcos de Reyna. Before me, Juan Solana, Notary Public and of the Government.

Jesus, Mary = By command of the Señor Don Laureano de Torres y Ayala, knight of the order of Santiago, Governor and Captain General of the Presidio of *San Augustin de la Florida* and all its Provinces by appointment of the King our Lord, whom God save.

1st. First day's journey: We departed from the village of San Francisco<sup>28</sup> on the 18th day of the month of May. We traveled five leagues more or less to the hacienda belonging to the Accountant Don Thomas Melendez named *Utina Paja*.<sup>29</sup>

27. agasos

28. San Francisco de Potano, a village in the vicinity of present-day Gainesville. It was joined together with Santa Fee in August, 1704 and the Creek Indians destroyed the resulting village in 1706; Order to the Ensign, Don Luis Ponce de Leon from Don Joseph de Zuñiga y Cerda, August 11th of 1704, in Don Luis Ponce de Leon to the King, 12 March 1707, AGI Santo Domingo 841; Governor of Florida to the King, 30 November 1706, AGI Santo Domingo 841.

29. This appears to be the only mention of this hacienda as such in any documents. However, Thomás Melendez (or Ménendez) Márquez, its owner, had a number of haciendas in the Gainesville area. The inclusion of the name Utina in the name of this hacienda, may indicate that the Utina segment of the Timucuan people also lived to the south of the Potano, another Timucuan speaking group. It is also spelled Utinapalga by Melendez's illegitimate son, Don Francisco Romo de Urisa in a letter to the Governor in 1701. Francisco Romo de Urisa to the Governor of Florida, 18 August 1701, AGI Santo Domingo 858 f 526. However, Bernardo Nieto de Carbajal in commenting on this letter, refers to the place as Utinapaja; Defense put forward by Bernardo Nieto de Carbajal to the charges contained in the Fourth Cuaderno of charges in the Residencia of Don Joseph de Zuñiga. AGI Santo Domingo 858 f 424; Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*, 193, 269, 285.

2nd. Second day's journey: We came to sleep at a camp<sup>30</sup> that is called Juraya<sup>31</sup>, six leagues from the said hacienda. We got guides for the trail from the said camp in order to continue the journey.

3rd. Third day's journey: We traveled seven leagues more or less, all of it a good road with only one deep arroyo<sup>32</sup> called *La Bibora*.<sup>33</sup>

4th. Fourth day's journey: We traveled five leagues more or less of good road with only one arroyo called the arroyo of Silvestre.<sup>34</sup> We went to sleep by the *Río de Amajuro*. The said river is very deep<sup>35</sup> with high banks.<sup>36</sup> It has a width of ten *brazas*<sup>37</sup> more or less. We took the horses across it with much trouble. We took the supplies over by cutting pines tree down to reach from one side to the other in order to go over it and we stretched guide ropes<sup>38</sup> to hold on to in crossing it.<sup>39</sup>

5th. Fifth day's journey: We left the above said place. We came to sleep at a large swamp.<sup>40</sup> It was a good road and we traveled about four leagues.

6th. We went from the above said swamp. We came to sleep at place that is called the *Calbario*<sup>41</sup> of the soldiers. We traveled five leagues more or less all very *quixigal*.<sup>42</sup>

30. Rancheria

31. This was probably what later would be called a line camp used by cowboys riding the circuit around the cattle and horse herds.

32. arroyo hondo

33. The word bibora means viper in Spanish. An alternate name might be rattlesnake slough.

34. Silvestre Resseu must have had something happen to him here, probably humorous in order for it to be named after him.

35. jondable

36. barrancosso

37. A measure of six feet which would make this river sixty feet wide.

38. andaribeles

39. para gobernar el cuerpo

40. barial largo

41. This could mean Calvary or charnel house.

42. This could be a variant of the word cajigal, which means a plantation of murtaded oaks. John Hann has also suggested that this could mean marshy. Marshy probably fits better here than scrub oak thicket.

7th. We left where we were, from the above said swamp which are (actually) two. We came to sleep at a place that they call the Four Sisters<sup>43</sup>, which are four lakes.<sup>44</sup> We traveled for six leagues more or less, all on a good road, good pine forest and good watering spots.<sup>45</sup> Together in the middle of this journey, we came upon a camp of Infidels, one man and two women and two children who spoke the Timucuan language.<sup>46</sup>

8th. We left the place above said where we were and went to a place of many swamps, around a great *Nayoa*<sup>47</sup> almost like *la Chua*<sup>48</sup>, called in the language<sup>49</sup> of the natives, Araya. We traveled six leagues more or less.

9th. We left the above said place. We came to sleep on the bank of a river that we called *La Concepción*, all good road (with) many swamps and lakes and it was about six leagues more or less.

10. We went from the above said place. We came to sleep at an abandoned village<sup>50</sup> called *Elafay* and in the middle from<sup>51</sup> north to south is a bay. We traveled six leagues more or less. We crossed a river a little narrower than the *Guacara*.<sup>52</sup> We called it *San Salvador* and in the language<sup>53</sup> of the natives, they call it *Alameva*. Thanks to the All Highest Lord, we managed to arrived at the bay on the horses on the 31st of May at about three in the afternoon. The village of *Pojoy*<sup>54</sup> remained behind us to the west,

43. quatro hermanas

44. lagunas

45. buenas aguadas

46. lengua

47. The meaning of this word in Timucuan is shining and usually is used in reference to Payne's Prairie, which would have been a shining sheet of shallow water when its drainage outlet was blocked.

48. The Mélenz Márquez hacienda of la Chua was located on what is now called Payne's Prairie. The name means "at the sinkhole."

49. idioma

50. chicaza

51. en la mediania de norte a zur

52. Suwanee River

53. idioma

54. The Pojoy lived to the south of Tampa Bay or on the southern shore of the bay during this period. This would have been across the bay from the exploratory party; Hann, *History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*, 2.

twelve leagues distance from that bay by land as the Infidels say. From the Bar of San Augustin to it of *Pojoy* it is from east to west. From the coast on the south, leaving the edge<sup>55</sup> of the bay in order to go to *Pojoy* it takes three days by sea according to what these Indian guides say. Also, inland, not very far from this bay, there are the following villages: *Acassa*, *Alachepoyo*, *Amaca*, *Talafosole* and *Ereze*.<sup>56</sup>

The 7th day of June, the *Cacique* of the village that they call [*Cayuco*] came, having come to examine and sound the bay. He was asked by the interpreters<sup>57</sup> if by chance he communicated with the people of *Carlos*. He responded yes and he was asked if he knew of any of the English being on that coast or if they had been in *Carlos*. He responded no, that if the English had been on the coast he would have known about it. I told him that if the English came on those coasts it would be to carry off as many as Indians as they could, to capture and carry them off to sell them in their lands and that he should advise this to those of *Carlos* and to all the people of those coasts. Further, that I had come by order of my Governor to advise them not to be careless, that if the said Englishmen landed, they were to kill them. They must not be left to deceive people, that they should see if they could capture one or two of them alive and bring them to *Santa Fee*. That they would be paid for them in whatever they wanted and that my Governor would appreciate it very much. [It was thus] and as I have said. He left the day I came to see and sound the bay. We spent three days sounding what we could. It had twenty *palmos*<sup>58</sup> of water on the banks and in part of it, we did not find bottom with a lead line<sup>59</sup> of four brazas. It has on the western side, an entrance that always runs to the northwest inside a great sand bar. The point of the said bay points toward the coast of *Apalache*, very *foraina*<sup>60</sup> (pointed

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55. remate

56. The names of these villages do not appear to be found other than in this document.

57. atequiez

58. This is probably a palmo of three inches, which would be two feet.

59. botador

60. This word appears to mean long and narrow.

towards) the outside sea. The other point aims toward the Keys. It is also very *foraina* being in the middle of mouth of the bay it diverts inside<sup>61</sup> a white embankment.<sup>62</sup> I placed the cross there on the beach which is at the mouth of the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*. In the middle of the cross, we placed a board with these letters and in this form:

**Don LAUREANO DE TORRES Y AIALA KNIGHT of the ORDER of Santiago, Governor and Captain General of the Presidio of La Florida and these provinces = By the King our Lord.**

The said Cross is of fat pine wood.<sup>63</sup> It has twelve feet of length and the cross bar is eight palmos<sup>64</sup> long. The said cross is buried in the ground to a depth of eight palmos. From the said cross to the East, the said bay begins to run always toward the northern end. The entire bay on the west has white beaches and much stone. It has a Key, which is a hummock of woods<sup>65</sup> near the mouth towards the western part and another two further to the west in the westernmost part of the western part, closer to the border that a river makes with it where it enters. This is the (River) of San Salvador that I have referred to above. It also has two Keys. One is much smaller than the other one and is on the edge of the bay. The other runs to the north, more to the north of the edge of said bay. It has a forest on the western one referred to. [There are many cotton trees].<sup>66</sup> From the end of the bay to where we set up the cross is about six leagues before it gets shallow.<sup>67</sup> Said bay is very well wooded<sup>68</sup> and from the mouth of said bay to inside, it makes one or (rather) by reports that the Indians gave me, there is no greater bay unless it is the Bayou<sup>69</sup> of

61. diviza dentro

62. blanquizar. This is probably a large shell midden of the type that used to line this bay.

63. tea

64. five and a half feet

65. montesillo

66. arboles de algodón

67. antes mas que menos

68. montuoso

69. enzenada

*Carlos* of the Bay of *Muspa*.<sup>70</sup> The Indians that have been inside it however, say that it is not as great as this is but it is very great for (the Bay) of *Muspa*. In this Bay of *Espíritu Santo*, vessels of good tonnage can come in up close to the head of the Bay<sup>71</sup> which as I have said has deep water. The natives say that from this mouth of this bay to the mouth of the *Río de Amajuro* takes six days of travel. The Indians that had lived at the mouth of this bay had been called Tampas and others call them Vantabales. They say that they have gone down for *San Martín*<sup>72</sup> in order to get what was seen and declared.<sup>73</sup> God was pleased that we should come upon a little canoe<sup>74</sup>, very small, because there was no way around here to make a canoe. We used it with our hearts in our mouths<sup>75</sup>, stopping up the holes with palm fiber<sup>76</sup> and tallow and charcoal that we made. I have distributed<sup>77</sup> (the news) among all the natives that I have seen to arrive so that the word is out and they have informed *Carlos* and *Amajuro*, *San Martín* and (those) in the vicinity of the said Bay of *Espíritu Santo* and *Pojoy*; as well as the fact that in the name of our King and Lord whom God save, my Governor and Captain General has given all the fugitives a General Pardon so that they can go home to their villages and no one will do them any harm. Also in this said place of the Bay of *Espíritu Santo*, *Carlos* and the places referred to, I left them told not to be careless. They should be on the lookout (because) the English

70. This bay appears to have run from about Cape Haze down through the Ten Thousand Islands.

71. remate

72. San Martín was also a Spanish name for the Suwanee River, which was also called the Guacara. It is strange that the author would have referred to this river by the name of Guacara when he was earlier comparing the Guacara to the Amajuro and then called it by the other name here. If these are the Tocobagas, it is possible that the river he is referring to here is the Aucilla, where they were found in 1718. On the other hand, it is more likely that this is the San Martín that serves at this time as a "hato" or ranch and a port for the Mélenendez haciendas which would not be that far to the west. Certification of Don Thomás Mélenendez Márquez, 15 April 1697, AGI Santo Domingo 228.

73. se an bajado para San Martín para Conseguir lo Visto y Declarado

74. cayuquillo

75. con el Credo en la boca

76. guano

77. destruida [sic]

must come to these coasts. Therefore, they should be very careful to see if they cut down poles or take on cargo<sup>78</sup> or if there are many people. If they see this, then they should come and give the Lieutenant of *Santa Fee* a detailed account of it and if the Lieutenant is not in the village, then to the Cacique Risso [sic].<sup>79</sup> Those that stay behind should try and kill the Englishmen. (Only) four or six of them coming to report it is enough. Further, they should try to capture two of them alive and bring them to *Santa Fee* to be turned over. Further, those that bring them shall be brought together to the Presidio and paid in clothes, hoes and axes. [There are more places in this vicinity which are the following]: *la Feaba Tesca* = *Leley* = *Tequi* = *Sole* = *Juyla* and *Piaya*<sup>80</sup> which is a village that has many people. These are the ones that are close to the said bay. I have not seen these villages but those that know of them have declared it thus to me.

The 9th day (of June), I departed to finish sounding the said bay. On the coast toward the east, there are no high pinewoods (but) those that are there say that there are some small keys<sup>81</sup> with small woods on them inside (the bay). Said bay has fourteen *palmos* of water on the banks on the coast to the eastward and then eighteen and twenty and in the middle, I did not find the bottom with the sounding lead<sup>82</sup> of four *brazas*. No rivers empty into except for a little one to the southeast. The corporal Diego Peña, Silvestre Resseo, the *Cacique* Rizo and Francisco Bartolome and Miguel the *Cacique* and Juan the nephew of the *Cacique* Rizo all took an oath to God and a cross (in legal form) that what I refer to, is what they have seen and in the presence of those such said as it has happened, so is it written. I also left orders for the *Cacique* of *Lafay* and *Juraya* that every month or every two months, they are to go and

78. cargan tierra

79. When two English vessels showed up in Tampa in 1701, one of the chacales sent to warn the Spanish in Santa Fee; Juan descalonea to the Governor of Florida, 8 August 1701, AGI Santo Domingo 858 f 524.

80. None of these villages are known except from this report.

81. cayitos

82. aborador

see if the cross is still standing and if it is not, then to put it up again right where it is. Together with this, I have made some of them *Chacales*<sup>83</sup> in Your Lordship's name and they continue to be very content. I have entertained them with I have been able to in the way of food, very lovingly.<sup>84</sup> I have treated them as they shall tell it. We have been here for nine days in this place of the Bay of *Espíritu Santo* and I am going to return because the *Caciques* have asked me to. They wanted to go home to their villages because their absence caused problems there in the hoeing. What we had come to search for had already been explored and if it had not been the bay, then they should keep going until they ran into it. However, God had been pleased that they should have already come to it and they wanted to go home to their villages. I decided to leave and I arrived on the 18th day of June to the village of San Francisco. The entire said bay continues to be secure, thanks to our Lord, without the opponents of the said bay having attained their objectives. With this in mind, this is as much as happened on the journey, which has been made by the command and order of His Lordship, said Señor Governor and Captain General from the 18th day of May to today, the 18th day of June. As a result, by order of the commander Ensign Luis Rodrigo, it has been read and concluded in the presence of the companions, Diego Peña, Silvestre Resseo and Marcos de Reyna and I, the said Diego Peña, by command of the said Commander, I wrote it in conformity with what we did in our daily travels and I signed it and the said commander did not sign it because he did not know how<sup>85</sup>, in this village of *Santa Fee*, today said 18th day of June of 1699. Diego Peña.

83. An office which appears to correspond to the office of *mico* among the Apalache, who carry out certain administrative functions.

84. *amorosamente*

85. It was rather unusual for the Spanish to have an illiterate as an officer. The only other example in this time period is Captain Crispin de Tapia. Declaration of Don Crispin de Tapia in the hacienda of La Chua, 2 August 1703, Cuaderno I of the Residencia of Governor Zuñiga, AGI Santo Domingo 858.

## Book Reviews

*An Early Florida Adventure Story.* By Andrés de San Miguel. Translated by John H. Hann. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. 109 pp. Notes. \$49.95 cloth).

John Hann's translation of Fray Andrés de San Miguel's 1595 "adventure" in modern-day Georgia and Florida is a valuable addition to the primary literature on the sixteenth-century Southeast. Fray Andrés de San Miguel, "Andrés de Segura" prior to his 1598 entrance into The Carmelite order, survived the sinking of a *nao*, the *Nuestra Señora de la Merced* (Our Lady of Mercy), off the coast of Georgia in March 1595. Years later, long after Andrés had become a Carmelite lay brother in Mexico, thereby fulfilling a promise he made to God contingent upon his surviving the wreck, he penned this account. André's storytelling relates the wreck, the futile effort to keep the ship afloat, the deceit of desperate fellow passengers, a harrowing ten-day journey to the Georgia Sea Islands aboard a makeshift boat, and his adventure that brought him to St. Augustine, Havana and ultimately Cádiz.

In 1593, at the age of sixteen, Andrés de Segura set out for the New World on the ill-fated *Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, which comprised part of the *Nueva España* fleet. After remaining in the port of San Juan de Ulloa for almost a year, awaiting silver to carry back to Spain, the *nao* rendezvoused with the South American *Tierra Firme* fleet in Havana for the return trip to Cádiz. The combined fleets sailed in March 1595. Five days out of Havana, however, the *Nuestra Señora* was battered by a violent storm and began to break up and sink. With the ship sinking fast "twelve and three-quarter (*una pica*) in a little more than two hours," Andrés and all but a handful of the last remaining passengers and sailors evacuated on a makeshift launch (the *nao*'s regular launch was gone, having

been commandeered earlier by another group). After a week and a half in the launch with little food and water, Andrés and his shipmates came ashore at either Wolf Island or Little St. Simons Island off the Georgia coast. With the aid of Guale Indians, they began their trek back to St. Augustine, an adventure that concluded in 1596, with Andrés's eyewitness account of the British siege and burning of Cádiz.

Andrés's story is reflective of the spirit and religiosity of the age. The account, written years after the events occurred, contains errors in chronology, geography, place names, and family names. Hann, however, astutely alerts the reader to each of these in an introductory essay. Moreover, Hann's translation provides the North American reader a window into the Spanish and Native American past, which includes descriptions of the shortcomings, corruption, and inefficiencies of the royal fleet system and the richness of Indian culture in the sixteenth-century Southeast. Andrés de San Miguel blamed delays, corruption and rapid, inadequate deployment "for so many vessels perishing and for the sea swallowing them with all their people." Through Hann's careful translations we learn what Guale women wore: "The clothing of the women (*dellas*) is a sort of sack-like garment (*una manera de gueypil*) and under-petticoats (*naguas*) made from a long plant (*del pastle largo*) that grows in the trees, made after the fashion of flounces (*a manera de fluecos*)." In addition, it is a glimpse into an age when God was seemingly everywhere, ever present in the course of human events.

First published by Genero García in 1902 as one of two works under the title *Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida*—the other was Bartolomé Barriento's "Los Naturales de America bajo la Dominación EspaZola"—this translated edition is a fascinating tale of adventure in early Spanish Florida.

John James Clune

*University of West Florida*

***Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida.*** Edited by Jane G. Landers. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. 232 pp. Acknowledgments, chronology, bibliographic notes, appendix, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

The collection of essays edited by Jane Landers is not especially ambitious: the anthology is designed to shed light on the too-

often overlooked colonial plantations of Florida. It is also meant to serve as a vehicle for exploring the commercial and social links that joined Florida to the wider Atlantic world. While such objectives are relatively modest, the editor and authors achieve their purpose and much more. Collectively, the essays remind readers that Florida has always served as a beacon for the ambitious, an unrelenting workhouse for the poor, and a land peopled by a polyglot mixture of ethnic groups.

An introductory essay by Landers, and a final one by James Gregory Cusick which seeks to contextualize colonial Florida in terms of the Atlantic World, frame the main body of essays. Of the essays that comprise the bulk of the anthology, they can be divided into two types. The first five essays focus on individuals and the plantations they carved from the landscape. The remaining three are more thematic.

Daniel Schafer's "A Swamp of an Investment" chronicles the origins and fate of Richard Oswald's twenty-thousand-acre Mount Oswald plantation. In the mid-1760s, partnering with British Governor James Grant, Oswald invested heavily in the plantation, purchasing slaves, paying managers, and experimenting with sugar cane culture. The ultimate collapse of Mount Oswald owed not to mismanagement or the uncooperative nature of Florida but instead to exigencies caused the American Revolution.

In her essay "Blue Gold," Patricia Griffin identified Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna plantation as a model of scientific agriculture. Operating between 1768 and 1777, New Smyrna produced indigo and used Minorcan labor to do so. Like Schafer, Griffin argued that the failure of Turnbull's venture owed to complex international rivalries and economic factors more than to deficiencies in the land and management.

Essays about two plantations that were more successful over the long-term follow: Susan R. Parker's contribution about Francis Philip Fatio's New Switzerland Plantation and Jane Lander's essay about Francisco Xavier Sánchez. Both plantations succeeded because their proprietors proved to be more chameleon-like than either Oswald or Turnbull. Both Fatio and Sánchez engaged in multicontinental ventures and adapted their enterprises to their Florida surroundings by focusing to varying degrees on cattle-raising, timber cutting, and producing naval stores and staple crops.

The final biographical treatment, Daniel Schafer's essay about Zephaniah Kingsley's Laurel Grove Plantation, turns more direct-

ly than its predecessors to the role of African slaves on Florida plantations. The shift in focus might be expected when one considers Kingsley's heavy reliance on multi-ethnic managers, his marriage to a Wolof woman, his support for the elastic multi-caste system of race relations fomented by Spanish authorities, and his decision to sell off his Florida properties and move to Haiti rather than suffer the emerging reconfiguration of racial relations propelled by Anglo immigration into Florida.

The next three essays in the book—Landers's essay on free black plantations, Brent R. Weisman's contribution about Seminole Indians and Black Seminoles, and Susan R. Parker's essay about the cattle trade—are more compelling than the previous chapters. All three emphasize the economic opportunities and activities that are so often marginalized by historians of the southeast.

The essays in the anthology are generally of an even quality, and they reflect the usefulness of such volumes, especially those that rely on authors who employ diverse approaches and methods. If the book suffers a serious flaw, the flaw resides in the title, which falsely promises the non-specialist a tedious experience. In fact, *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida* merits the attention of readers interested in early Florida and more broadly those interested in the South within an Atlantic World context.

Bradley G. Bond

*University of Southern Mississippi*

***An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean.*** By Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. xvi, 357 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.50 paper.)

The British Caribbean has always posed an interpretive challenge for historians of the American Revolution. As with the English-speaking colonies to the north, Britain's six colonies in the West Indies—Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward Islands, Grenada and Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica—were places of extraordinary wealth and prosperity. As in the Chesapeake and Lower South, the planter elite of the West Indies consciously mimicked metropolitan norms and customs, including (despite the islands' heavy dependence on slavery) the English cult of liberty. The two

oldest of Britain's Caribbean possessions, Jamaica and Barbados, had a history of representative government that stretched back to the seventeenth century, and white West Indians were no less jealous (or assertive) of their rights and privileges than their fellow subjects to the north. Although they shared much with the continental colonies, however, the vast majority of West Indians remained resolutely—if somewhat grudgingly—loyal.

Despite this paradox, neither American nor West Indian historians have paid much attention to the Revolution's impact on the British Caribbean. For this reason alone, Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy's splendid new book, *An Empire Divided*, is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature. Taking as his main question why the West Indies did not rebel, O'Shaughnessy argues that three factors made such a course unthinkable: widespread absenteeism among the planter elite, the presence of an overwhelming, increasingly restive, black majority, and the islands' heavy (and growing) economic dependence upon the British sugar monopoly. None of these stopped West Indians from sparring with British officials when they thought their rights were under threat. Indeed, as O'Shaughnessy notes, the late 1760s and early 1770s witnessed a series of protracted confrontations between royal governors and assemblies in the Caribbean, the most serious of which involved a running dispute over the governor's judicial powers in Jamaica. (The assembly ultimately triumphed, notwithstanding repeated warnings from the Privy Council and threats of parliamentary intervention.) If the course of politics appeared similar to that on the mainland, however, West Indians had little stomach for explicit rejections of parliamentary sovereignty. Except for St. Kitts and Nevis, whose extreme dependence on the North American provisioning trade made them vulnerable to pressure by American patriots, the British Caribbean produced little sustained opposition to the Stamp Act (1765), and there were few subsequent expressions of support for the Revolution, despite a brief moment of pro-Americanism in late 1774 and 1775.

By opposing the American Revolution, West Indian planters hoped to preserve the imperial status quo. In this, they were sorely disappointed. Thanks to the West India lobby's successful defense of the British monopoly, profits from sugar production remained high. But in every other respect, the Revolution ushered in a new period of difficulty for the planter elite. Although Britain devoted considerable naval resources to the West Indies' defense,

the intervention of France in 1778 left even Jamaica vulnerable to invasion, and by the war's end Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and St. Kitts had all fallen into enemy hands. One consequence was renewed threat of slave insurrection and warfare with maroons and Caribs; another was a potentially explosive trend toward arming free blacks and coloreds for colonial defense. Of the various challenges to confront the British West Indies, however, the most serious came from Britain itself. During the 1780s, the British movement to abolish slavery gathered force. Where an earlier generation could have made common cause with slave colonies in the Chesapeake and Lower South, the British Caribbean had to face the growing power of metropolitan abolitionism on its own.

Thoroughly researched and ably written, O'Shaughnessy's book makes an important contribution to the scholarly literature on the American Revolution, as well as that dealing with the West Indies and the British Atlantic as a whole. It is, without question, a work that historians in all three fields will read with interest for years to come.

Eliga H. Gould

*University of New Hampshire*

***The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860.***

By Leonard L. Richards. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000. x, 228 pp. Preface, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

In *The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860*, Leonard Richards resurrects a long dormant historiographical debate and adds new insight into the political culture of the antebellum era. Richards investigates the idea, popular among antebellum northern politicians, that a slave oligarchy had managed to dominate national politics through special privileges granted to the South in the Constitution. His book will lead historians to reconsider the time frame, ideologies, and political orientation that shaped the sectional crisis.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, historians had accepted the idea that the slaveholding states had utilized the exceptional powers granted them by the Constitution to dominate national politics during the antebellum era. Chauncey S. Boucher, however, successfully put the argument to rest in an influential 1921 article.

Boucher argued that the South never reached the level of unity implied by the Slave Power conspiracy theory and that only a handful of northern extremists actually expounded the notion. Most succeeding historians have followed in Boucher's footsteps and have discounted the Slave Power thesis.

Richards challenges Boucher's conclusions. He argues that the South wielded an inordinate amount of power and exhibited a remarkable record of unity on national issues regarding slavery. He traces the origins of the Slave Power to the Constitutional Convention. The 3/5 compromise, the postponement of the ban on the slave trade, and equal state representation in the Senate operated to swell the influence of the South in national political affairs. Later, in battles over the Missouri crisis, the gag rule, the annexation of Texas, the Fugitive Slave Law, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and other struggles, the South pulled together and continually emerged victorious. Furthermore, the South fielded an overwhelming number of presidents, cabinet members, and other high level positions. Richards's book operates in tandem with works dealing with southern politics of the time, such as William Cooper Jr.'s *The Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856* and John McCardell's *The Idea of a Southern Nation*, both of which stress the record of southern unity on slavery issues.

Although books including David Potter's *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* and William Gienapp's *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* have mentioned the importance of the Slave Power thesis in the political culture of the North, they have not included the idea as a central part of their works and have generally focused on the 1830s or later as witnessing the birth of opposition to the Slave Power. Richards, however, discovers that attacks on the slave oligarchy had been common since 1787. Majestically utilizing an impressive number of manuscript collections, published writings and autobiographies, and congressional records, Richards pieces together a long list of other northern politicians who used the Slave Power thesis to drum up voter support. Politicians including Gouverneur Morris, Josiah Quincy, John Quincy Adams, Horace Greeley, and Abraham Lincoln all railed against the unequal advantages of the South. Moreover, northern politicians were anything but unified in their definition of the Slave Power. Some traced the origins of southern domination to the Constitution. Others believed the slave oligarchy first gained control during the latter years of the Jacksonian era. Many defined the Slave Power as

a small cadre of wealthy planters, while others expanded the definition to include the majority of the population of the South.

Finally, Richards discusses in detail one crucial "pillar" of Slave Power control. The northern "doughfaces" who continually voted with the South proved crucial in maintaining southern domination. Relying first on Martin Van Buren's Bucktails and later on northern Democrats from Pennsylvania and the Old Northwest, the South became dependent on northern support to maintain control. With northern backlash over the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the election of Abraham Lincoln, and the ensuing secession, the domination of national politics by the southern states ended.

Leonard Richards has successfully reestablished the Slave Power thesis as an important component in the politics of antebellum America. Although the book would have benefitted from the incorporation of newspapers and other evidence of popular perceptions of the Slave Power idea, he has convincingly demonstrated the powerful attraction of the opposition to southern domination among northern politicians and voters. Furthermore, his book lends credence to the argument for southern unity in national politics during the antebellum era. Richards's book is a must read for anyone with an interest in nineteenth-century American politics.

Justin C. Eaddy

*University of Southern Mississippi*

***Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists, 1815-1895.*** By Lester Stephens. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xviii, 338 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, scientific terms used in this work, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Several aims motivate Lester Stephens's work on the Charleston circle of naturalists. He wants to relate the lives and accomplishments of the South Carolina scientists on whom he focuses: paleontologist Edmund Ravenel; John Edwards Holbrook, a pioneering student of reptiles, amphibians, and fishes; the polymathic Lewis Gibbes, scholar of crustaceans; Francis Holmes, collector of fossils and curator of the Charleston Museum; John McCrady, expert on marine invertebrates; and above all, mammalogist John Bachman. The book serves as collective biography with

a special focus on Bachman, the unofficial elder statesman and leader of the circle. It also seeks to supersede works like William Stanton's *The Leopard's Spots*. Stanton, charges Stephens argued wrongly that Bachman's proslavery views undermined his public arguments against racist "polygenists" who claimed that black and white human beings were of different species. Finally, Stephens's work attempts to make the argument that—contrary to claims made by both Southern historians and historians of science—"the institution of slavery did not deter scientific inquiry and activity."

Any book that attempts to carry out so many different tasks runs the risk of becoming an shapeless stew that succeeds neither in proving its points nor in providing the reader with a tasty narrative. Stephens certainly avoids the latter catastrophe. *Science, Race, and Religion* is well written, a warm invitation to the reader with even a passing interest in the natural sciences to walk with the author into the world of nineteenth-century natural history. The reader sees Edmund Ravenel stooping in the midst of his daily walks on the beaches of Sullivan's Island near Charleston. As the scion of lowcountry aristocracy peers at the sand, his heart beats faster and he hopes the object on the sand might be some unknown mollusk. The reader sees young John McCrady leaning over the gunwales of a tiny boat in Charleston harbor, straining to scoop up a tiny, nearly invisible medusa (a sort of jellyfish). And the reader follows the passionate arguments between nineteenth-century scientists who debated race, evolution, and creation. Telling stories that, in their unwinding, unwrap the meanings of important debates about nature of our biological world, Stephens also humanizes his scientists. By the end of the book, the reader may not agree with John McCrady's stubborn apologia for the slaveholding South, but we feel for him as he shivers in unreconstructed exile at Harvard, and we admire that part of John Bachman that seeks to act upon his own religious principles by forgiving the Union soldiers who beat him mercilessly as they wrested from him his last possession—a small comb given to him by his daughter.

But then there are those pesky points that Stephens said he would prove about the standing of Southern science in the antebellum economy of learning, and its relationship to slavery and race. While Stephens implies that Charleston was important in the world of nineteenth-century natural science, he also provides con-

siderable evidence to undermine that contention. In the eyes of contemporaries, the Charleston naturalists lost most of their arguments with scholars from Great Britain, Philadelphia, Cambridge, and even New Orleans. Stephens explains that the Circle sometimes published identifications of new species that had already been described by scientists elsewhere. He can excuse them by noting the inadequate access to journals and books in Charleston, but by so doing, he proves the scientists' relative isolation. And while he argues that slavery "clearly" did not "stunt" the intellectual work of these naturalists, his book leaves one with more ambiguous conclusions. For he also admits that the enslavement of half their city's population limited the Charleston scientists' human resources, that many of the Circle's most talented members frittered away their powers on the defense of an inhuman system, and that a war set in motion by the obsessive desire to protect the peculiar institution at any cost destroyed their families, communities, and society. Stephens concludes by stating "history must deal with what did occur, not with what might have been." Indeed it must. While Stephens does an exemplary job of narrating what was, he goes astray when he distinguishes the stature of Bachman and his colleagues from what might have been.

Edward Baptist

*University of Miami*

***The Florida War.*** By John T. Sprague. (Tampa, Fla.: University of Tampa Press, 2000. xxx, 597 pp. Introductory, preface, appendix, index. \$30.00 paper.)

John T. Sprague's *The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* is a well-written, first-hand account of the Second Seminole War. Originally published in 1848, it was reprinted in 1964 by the University of Florida and most recently in 2000 by the Seminole Wars Historic Foundation. To this day, it remains one of the few complete histories of the longest and most costly of the American Indian wars.

The Second Seminole War raged from 1835 to 1842. Sprague, an active duty Army captain, wrote the book while posted to Florida in 1846. He had an excellent perspective during the final year and a half of the conflict, serving as the aide-de-camp to com-

manding officer General William Worth. Assigned to the Eighth Infantry Regiment, he remained behind when his unit left to participate in the War with Mexico. As a result, the fame and glory that accompanied participation in that conflict eluded him, and in the decades that followed he would see his peers promoted past him. Nonetheless, Sprague retired at the rank of colonel in 1870 after thirty-three years of military service. Until the publishing of John K. Mahon's *The Second Seminole War* in 1964, Sprague's work was the only complete history of the war.

Sprague uses hundreds of official papers and letters in his book. In fact, nearly half of *The Florida War* is comprised of reproduced documents. His writings provide continuity, explanation, and editorial comment between these documents, many of which would be permanently lost if not for his efforts. Written only four years after the cessation of hostilities, Sprague's work shows remarkable balance in his descriptions of the Seminoles. Though he often refers to them as savages and writes of their natural tendencies toward treachery and bloody revenge, he recognizes the wrongs perpetrated by the federal and state governments and aggressive settlers. These misdeeds included making false promises and constantly provoking the Indians. He acknowledges the courage of the warrior fighting for his land and the tragedy of a people forcibly uprooted from their homes. An officer who wrote these criticisms in 1846 was bold indeed, a strong indication that Sprague was an independent thinker.

The accuracy of Sprague's perspective was no doubt increased when he married General Worth's oldest daughter Mary. As both son-in-law and aide-de-camp, he was part of the commander's inner circle of advisors. The final chapters of *The Florida War* record the events of the last eighteen months of conflict in great detail. Unfortunately, Sprague devotes only one chapter to the critical years 1836 to 1840, making his book chronologically lopsided.

General Worth's performance is not magnified, but neither is it criticized. The campaigns of Generals Winfield Scott and Thomas Jesup receive similar treatment. Sprague provides factual accounts of the performances of senior officers that rely heavily on reprinted documents; he does not expend any literary effort in evaluating their successes or failures. One must view his approach from the perspective of a military officer in 1846. The Army, a highly politicized institution in the nineteenth century, was com-

manded by General Winfield Scott from 1841 to 1861. To criticize Scott was tantamount to ending one's career. Indeed, Sprague's slow climb through the ranks may have been partially the result of a bitter feud between Scott and Worth that lasted until the latter's death in 1849.

Slaves played a key role in the Second Seminole War. Often employed as highly paid interpreters by the Army, they had a vested interest in prolonging the fighting. Though many were owned by Seminoles, blacks received much better treatment at the hand of an Indian master. Sprague places the importance of slaves in context, asserting that they "did more to aggravate and prolong the war than any other cause." He points to blacks' unique ability to influence events by slightly changing the meaning of verbal statements while interpreting.

Sprague's book withstands the test of more than 150 years of historical perspective. Though he focuses heavily on the portions of the Second Seminole War in which he participated, the book provides the fascinating insight of a military professional who obeyed orders, but was privately reluctant to support his government. Whether the independent streak revealed by *The Florida War* was a factor in Sprague's slow career progression is uncertain. However, his literary efforts in 1846 have made a permanent and invaluable contribution to the history of the Seminole Wars.

Jay Jennings

Erin, Tenn.

***Bluegrass Confederate: The Headquarters Diary of Edward O. Guerrant.***

Edited by William C. Davis and Meredith L. Swentor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. xi, 716 pp. Preface, abbreviations, introduction, appendix, index. \$49.95 cloth).

So many collections of letters and diaries of Civil War soldiers have been published in the past several decades that truly significant editions are in danger of being forgotten in the deluge. Hopefully that will not be the case with the current volume, in which William C. Davis and Meredith L. Swentor have skillfully edited the remarkable diaries of a young Confederate officer that

shed light on the neglected fighting in southwest Virginia, Kentucky, and east Tennessee.

Born in Sharpsburg, Kentucky in 1838, Edward Guerrant attended Danville's Centre College, from which he graduated as salutatorian in 1860. He taught school and briefly studied for the ministry before the Civil War intervened. Sympathetic to the Confederate cause, Guerrant joined the First Battalion, Kentucky Mounted Rifles in early 1862. Brigadier General Humphrey Marshall utilized Guerrant as a clerk until the young Kentuckian was discharged in June 1862 due to illness. He would rejoin Confederate service the following month, first as a civilian volunteer and then as a captain and assistant adjutant general to Marshall. He was later on the staff of generals William Preston and John Williams, and served in Colonel Henry Giltner's Fourth Kentucky Cavalry under John Hunt Morgan.

Guerrant took part in a number of campaigns, including the disappointing Confederate invasion of Kentucky in the late summer and fall of 1862. The failure of most Kentuckians to support the Confederacy disillusioned Guerrant, who sarcastically commented on October 21: "We solved the problem—long in solution—as to whether Kentuckians will defend their liberties or not: *whether they are fit to be free or not!!* It is answered! And Oh! The answer!!!" For the remainder of the war, Guerrant campaigned in southwest Virginia, Kentucky, and east Tennessee. He was present in a number of small engagements such as Big Creek, Tennessee, and Cove Gap, Virginia. A great admirer of John Hunt Morgan, Guerrant was pleased when, in 1864, his brigade was attached to the forces of the famous Confederate cavalryman. The thieving tactics of Morgan's men, however, soon changed the Kentuckian's views: "Am perfectly disgusted with Morganism," he wrote, "The whole programme seemed plundering, which the 'old hands' call 'bumming' . . . Am ashamed to be caught in such company."

Of particular interest is Guerrant's description of the October 2, 1864 battle of Saltville, Virginia and its aftermath. Giltner's Brigade participated in the engagement, which took place when Federal troops threatened vital Confederate salt works in southwestern Virginia. In addition to providing a detailed account of the bloody encounter, Guerrant also commented on the murder of Union black soldiers left on the battlefield. The day after the battle he matter-of-factly recorded:

"Scouts were sent, & went all over the field, and the continued ring of the rifle, sung the death knell of many a poor negro who was unfortunate enough not to be killed yesterday. Our men took no Negro prisoners. Great numbers of them were killed yesterday & today."

After serving in the Shenandoah Valley during the fall of 1864, Guerrant's unit returned to southwest Virginia, where he took part in the battle of Marion in December 1864. With the approaching defeat of the Confederacy, his entries for early 1865 grew more despondent until that of April 11, which simply stated "It is finished." Following the war, Guerrant studied and then practiced medicine before entering the ministry. He authored several books on religion and was a popular speaker among Confederate veteran groups until his death in 1916.

No mere recitation of distances traveled and rations consumed, Guerrant's diary entries, some of which run to several pages in length, are extremely detailed and literate. The young officer was both observant and fluent. He commented on everything from the weather to religion, from flora and fauna, and from the details of military life in the field to his views on the major events and personalities of the war.

The original transcription of Guerrant's diaries numbered nearly two thousand pages. Editors Davis and Swentor reduced this massive document to publishable size by eliminating repetitive and purely personal entries. The result is a work about 30 percent shorter than the original, though in published format it still numbers over seven hundred pages. To the editors' credit, the diary entries read smoothly, and there is little indication that significant portions were excised. In working with such a large manuscript, Davis and S. Wentor wisely determined not to clutter it with long explanatory footnotes. With a light editorial touch they identify individuals and events mentioned in the diary, and add brief introductions to each chapter in order to place Guerrant's activities into the larger context of the war. They also include a thirteen-page introduction that provides biographical details on Guerrant's pre- and post-war life, as well as his wartime service. The result is a fine work—probably the most detailed diary written by a Kentuckian during the war and one of the best Civil War primary sources published in the past few decades.

*The Collapse of the Confederacy*. Edited by Mark Grimsley and Brooks D. Simpson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. vii, 201 pp. List of maps, index. \$47.50 cloth.)

In this, the inaugural volume in the *Key Issues of the Civil War Era* series from the University of Nebraska Press, Mark Grimsley of Ohio State University and Brooks Simpson of Arizona State University examine the final days of the Confederacy. Scholars have generally avoided the end of the Civil War, but Grimsley and Simpson contend that by studying the last months of the conflict, modern students can find the roots of the subsequent peace and much that came later. For this task, the editors chose six fine Civil War scholars to argue the case.

Steven Woodworth's contribution looks at the Confederate leaders' final duty in overseeing the dissolution of the government and negotiating a settlement. He outlines the Confederacy's attempts to negotiate peace with the Lincoln administration, along with the difficulties posed by fissures within Jefferson Davis's political family. Woodworth places on Davis the full blame for the Confederacy's failure to negotiate a peace before being forced into an unconditional surrender. It was the president who either derailed or complicated all attempts to negotiate a peace rather than trying to salvage what he could of his constantly shrinking nation.

Whereas Woodworth examined the politics of ending the war, Grimsley studied the Confederacy's martial leadership to see the military aspects of winding down the campaign. The major question in late 1864 and early 1865 was what to do with Sherman's massive army as it approached a rendezvous with Grant's doubly larger force. Confederate numbers, outside of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia which could not move out of position to help with Sherman, were tiny in comparison with their opponent's. As he had at the beginning of the war, P.G.T. Beauregard took over what remained of the Confederate army outside of Virginia. He coordinated troop movements from the western theater to help support the few thousand Confederates standing between Sherman and Grant. Unfortunately for the southern cause, Beauregard's men failed to arrive in the numbers and timeliness expected, and Joseph Johnston was left alone to hold Sherman in check.

Simpson counters Grimsley's southern approach with an anti-

cle that evaluates the collapse of the Confederacy from the standpoint of the Union generals. The real difficulty here was achieving victory without driving Confederate soldiers to guerrilla tactics. Additionally, Simpson argues that Grant knew as well as Lincoln that the nature of the Union peace would do much to dictate the future political climate in the postwar South.

William Feis's article reexamines the Confederacy's guerrilla option. He argues that Jefferson Davis opposed the idea of partisan warfare where other scholars have suggested that the president encouraged his generals to send their troops away in partisan bands to continue the fight throughout the South. Feis argues that Davis's questionable statement of April 4, 1865, was not a call for partisan methods, but for a strengthened southern resolve.

George Rable's contribution reevaluates the state of Confederate morale at war's end. Much has been made of the vast numbers of Confederate deserters, but Rable argues that while the waning of southern will has been noted frequently, many soldiers and civilians maintained their motivation throughout the conflict, with some even strengthening their resolve in the war's final days. Whether or not this southern confidence was sincere cannot be known, but Rable paints an enlightening portrait of the complexity of Confederate sentiment.

The final essay is Jean Berlin's historiographical response to Drew Gilpin Faust's contention that southern women's disillusionment with the war contributed significantly to dissatisfaction within the ranks and, ultimately, the failure of the war effort. Berlin convincingly suggests that most southern women, despite their hardships, remained steadfast in their support for the Confederacy and reserved their anger and resentment for Lincoln's Union rather than for their own government.

Grimsley and Simpson's *The Collapse of the Confederacy* is an illuminating read. Unlike most edited works, the essays fit together well and offer alternative ways of looking at the Civil War. With the exception of the Feis article, which hints at counterfactualism and seems to refuse to believe Jefferson Davis's own words, this volume is a worthwhile read for any person interested in keeping abreast of the modern scholarly arguments. With such a strong first volume, future installments of the *Key Issues of the Civil War Era* series should be anxiously awaited by all.

*A Southern Practice: The Diary and Autobiography of Charles A. Hentz, M.D.* Edited by Steven M. Stowe. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000. x, 646 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, appendix, index. \$64.50 cloth.)

Most currently available primary source perspectives highlighting development in the nineteenth-century South are the work of planters, politicians, northern adventurers, and the like. Although they frequently include radically different perspectives on events, in general they overwhelmingly demonstrate the ideals and values of the elite. While this new volume from the University Press of Virginia also originates from one who should be considered among the southern elite, the writings of Charles A. Hentz provide a refreshing new perspective in that his work as a medical doctor exposed him all classes of southerners, from the wealthiest members of the planting class to the slaves.

Although born in North Carolina, Hentz traveled across significant portions of the South spending much of his most productive time in the wilds of mid-nineteenth-century Florida. Accordingly, his diary offers a consistent perspective on the challenges of life that separated those residing in the more cosmopolitan Upper South from those along the remaining frontiers of the Deep South. Hentz provides dramatic accounts of his efforts to heal suffering in an age when medicine was both suspect and unreliable. Those interested in the art of early medical practices will find his recording of events among the finest of such compilations. The drama of childbirth, treatment plans for sick children and slaves, as well as the antiquated care rendered to victims of violent confrontations all amid the ever present fear of uncontrollable epidemics will serve to captivate the reader's imagination.

In addition to the diary, editor Steven Stowe includes an autobiography penned by Hentz that provides additional details of events while also demonstrating the value of subsequent reflection. Likewise, the appendix of a series of poems and notes that Hentz pasted into his manuscripts suggests the values and concerns dearest to his heart. The greatest contribution of this volume may be its emphasis on the ordinary. Hentz may not be a household name, but the centrality of his involvement in the daily challenges of life that confronted the common people provides important insight into their world, as well as the personal feelings of one who

sought to mitigate their suffering. In short, this book offers a fresh perspective on the demands of life in the nineteenth-century South.

Samuel C. Hyde Jr.

*Southeastern Louisiana University*

***Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908.*** By Michael Perman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

The collapse of Reconstruction during the mid-1870s heralded the return of conservative Democratic rule and white supremacy to the South. However, it did not, as Michael Perman reminds us, end black political influence or allay Democratic concerns about maintaining their tenuous grip on power. Throughout the 1880s, and in many states through the mid-1890s, large numbers of southern blacks continued to vote and pose a threat to Democratic hegemony by allying with Republicans, Greenbacks, Populists, and other advocates of change. Therefore, in the minds of the disfranchisers, Redemption had constituted an incomplete counter-revolution—the Reconstructionists had been ousted but not destroyed. As long as blacks remained eligible to vote, the resurgence of a Reconstruction-type regime remained a possibility; only the complete disfranchisement of African Americans could secure white supremacy. Indeed, the proponents of disfranchisement often justified their efforts with reformist rhetoric. Because extensive ballot fraud and manipulation had been required to maintain white supremacy, the elimination of the black vote would yield much cleaner elections.

According to Perman, three factors coalesced around 1890 to trigger intensified efforts by most southern states to disfranchise African Americans: concern that the Republican administration of Benjamin Harrison would interfere with southern elections, increased popularity of the secret ballot, and growing urgency among southern whites to settle the “race problem” once and for all. Perman speculates that the desire to move quickly toward disfranchisement stemmed in part from a growing realization among southern white leaders that African American fortunes were on the upswing, contrary to Social Darwinian predictions that the

"African race" would languish following emancipation. Tennessee and Arkansas initiated the disfranchisement movement beginning in 1889, and by 1908 all of the former Confederate states had effectively eliminated the African American vote through legislative action, constitutional amendments, or both. The political circumstances and the nature of the debate varied from state to state, but the results were remarkably similar—poll taxes, white primaries, literacy tests, multiple ballot boxes, and secret ballots.

The campaign to abolish black voting met with stiff resistance in most states—not just from the Democrats' adversaries, but sometimes from black belt Democrats and more often from representatives of poor, predominantly white counties. Before disfranchisement could be accomplished, black belt Democrats needed to be assured that if they surrendered African American votes they already controlled through fraud, they would not be relinquishing influence within the party. To appease representatives who had largely poor and illiterate constituencies, revised state constitutions included "saving" or "grandfather" clauses that exempted whites from the literacy and property qualifications designed to eliminate the black vote.

Curiously, Perman pays only fleeting attention to Florida's disfranchisement efforts. Although admitting that the state's 1889 multibox election (incorrectly dated 1884 on page 68) and poll tax laws had dramatically reduced voting, he argues unconvincingly that "Florida's place in the history of southern disfranchisement was. . . secondary" because the sunshine state's "Democrats neither took the lead in nor experimented with introducing...new methods and approaches" to disfranchise African Americans. Yet Perman seems to contradict himself when he refers to Florida "Democrats' successful effort to remove the black vote..." that began with the poll tax provision in the 1885 constitution and ended "with passage by the 1889 legislature of an eight-ballot box law." He might have also pointed to Florida's adoption of the secret ballot in 1895—further evidence that Florida's Democrats moved aggressively and effectively during the Gilded Age to extinguish the black vote. Despite Perman's neglect of Florida, scholars of the sunshine state's late nineteenth-century election "reforms" will find the book quite useful for comparing the process of change in Florida to that in other southern states.

Perman's inadequate treatment of Florida is, in the final analysis, only a minor blemish on an extraordinarily well-researched and

engaging book that does a masterful job of immersing the reader in the cauldron of southern politics of a century ago. *Struggle for Mastery* molds detailed examinations of individual state efforts to eliminate the African American vote into a cohesive regional analysis of disfranchisement. The book underscores the unique political circumstances that faced each southern state, while identifying the common political and ideological threads running through the region that compelled it to remove African Americans from the election process. *Struggle for Mastery* is a welcome addition to the scholarship on Gilded Age politics and race relations in the South.

Leonard Lempel

Daytona Beach Community College

*Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies.* By Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xii, 198 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

"Freedom is not a natural state. It is a social construct, a collectively shared set of values reinforced by ritual, philosophical, literary, and everyday discourse." The three thoughtful and challenging essays that make up *Beyond Slavery* explore the development, dimensions, definitions, contradictions, and limitations of the concepts of freedom that rose from the remains of slavery. The essays deal with black labor and citizenship in postemancipation Jamaica, Cuba, Louisiana, and Africa. The authors have defined the postemancipation period broadly, perhaps too expansively, encompassing the time from the end of slavery to the present. Each essay is remarkably incisive and insightful. All of them analyze the common ways in which governments "would eventually retreat from the full promise of emancipation."

Thomas C. Holt's essay is a concise restatement of the elegant, rigorous analysis that he constructed at length in *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938*. His thesis is that freedom was no match for the free market's inexorable imperative to establish and maintain inequalities that would in turn create large pools of "free" workers who would continue to labor much as they had during slavery. Independent, self-reliant, small farmers would have undermined this grand design, and so

such populations could not be allowed to develop. Former slaves had to be denied land and political power, and their options had to be limited until they would freely "chose" to become a tractable agricultural proletariat.

When black Jamaicans contested their assigned roles during the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865, they found that the "invisible hand" of the market quickly transformed into the iron fist of repression. Holt explains that even high-minded colonial officials like Lord Glenelg failed to realize that their ideals were hopelessly incompatible with the demands of the market. When things did not work out as planned, problems were blamed on the backwardness of semi-civilized, pre-modern blacks.

In her essay, Rebecca J. Scott compares postemancipation Louisiana and Cuba. Scott extends the rich findings of her path-breaking study, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899*. She shows how bloody, brute force was used to discipline striking black workers in Louisiana in 1887 and in Cuba in 1912, in the same way that violence was used in Jamaica in 1865. But Scott's thesis is about race, not repression. She explains how subtle and supple racial identities were in both sugar-producing societies, until the forces of repression chose to make racial divisions salient and impervious in order to control and separate black and white workers. The effort to divide and exploit was effective in both Louisiana and Cuba, although a trans-racial Cuban national identity managed to survive racial manipulation, and the racist influences of U.S. troops and policy makers on the island.

Frederick Cooper contributes a fascinating perspective on the issues of race and freedom in his essay on "imperialism and free labor ideology in Africa." Cooper shows that the same European powers that fueled and shaped the horrors of the Atlantic Slave trade for several centuries later justified colonial rule as a way to end slavery in Africa. Further, he points out that by 1910 the colonial powers actually "had ended the legal status of slavery in most of Africa." But, just as in the New World, forced labor continued in different forms with different names.

As a rule, traditional male control of the labor of women was not interfered with by Europeans who "were generally happy to define one of the most important forms of enslavement into the category of 'marriage.'" Europeans themselves pressed Africans into forced labor for government projects and for private interests, sometimes with mind-numbing brutality, as was the case in the Congo under

Belgium's King Leopold. Still, Cooper's essay ends with the story of how workers in French West Africa were able to secure advances through modern industrial labor organization after World War II. Africans were also able to secure citizenship in the French Union, which meant they would no longer be subject to forced labor.

With this volume, Professors Cooper, Holt, and Scott have helped define the contours of an emerging field of study, and have presented issues and interpretations that will engage a generation of historians. These essays are must reading for all students of Emancipation and beyond.

Reginald F. Hildebrand    *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

***Black Judas: William Hannibal Thomas and the American Negro.*** By John David Smith. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. xxvi, 386 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

John David Smith has written a fine biography of William Hannibal Thomas, anchoring him securely in the complex and certainly ambiguously political and social era in which he lived. This thorough book tells the story of Thomas's metamorphosis from a constructive critic and observer of conditions for blacks in the South prior to 1901 to an angry black Negrophobe who viciously blamed black Americans for their own problems as explained in his book, *The American Negro*. Clearly, William H. Thomas could be described as an enigma. On the one hand, Thomas's book became probably one of his greatest accomplishments. But on the other hand, *The American Negro* placed him at odds with many African Americans of his day.

Smith first explores Thomas's family background. In many ways, the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made Thomas a complex man. Born a free black in Jackson Township, Pickaway County, Ohio, Thomas's background remains murky given scarce source materials. At age seven, the youth was not living with his family but resided with the family of Henry Whiting, a black farmer in the area. Allowed to attend school in Ohio for a few months, Thomas had to leave because of threats on his life by white classmates. By 1860, he joined the Union army and lost an arm by war's end.

Experiencing discrimination and prejudice in school and in

the army, Thomas became an advocate for the human and civil rights of blacks in the South after the Civil War. He served as a minister, teacher, and racial leader within the ranks of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church in several states. He later would assume other positions throughout the North and South, only to leave repeatedly when charges of impropriety were brought against him.

Here, Smith gives a psychohistorical analysis of Thomas's perplexing life. How could a man accuse his race of immoral and scandalous behavior, only to be repeatedly brought up on similar charges throughout his life? Smith explains the attitudes, ideas, and behavior of this complicated man from his uncertain background through his youth and participation in the Union army. Like the best biographers, Smith develops a well-controlled affection for his subject, yet he clearly details his wayward and corrupt behavior and how these factors clouded most of Thomas's life.

The 1880s represented the apex of scientific racism and influenced how white Americans placed blacks into their racial imagination. Thomas's book *The American Negro* only added fuel to the fire, justifying the abusive treatment by some whites toward blacks. Thomas's life and times tell us much about race in society and how law and social practice made one black man hate himself so much that he turned against his own race in the process.

Smith has written an interesting and meticulously researched book which deserves to be read by professionals and lay people alike. It brings the shady life of William Hannibal Thomas and *The American Negro* out of oblivion and into the light with careful and thorough analysis based on well-marshaled primary sources. This study makes an important contribution to our understanding of African American, United States, and Southern History.

Larry E. Rivers

Florida A&M University

***Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow.*** By Adam Fairclough. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001. x, 110 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

The three essays in Adam Fairclough's brief but excellent and attractive book originated as the Lamar Memorial Lectures at

Mercer University. The writing is of uniformly high quality, and the research is solidly based in a wide variety of sources as indicated by endnotes that run to one-third the length of the text. This fine work should find an appreciative audience among scholars and informed general readers.

Adam Fairclough's subject is the part that black teachers played in shaping the drive for racial equality in the South. His thesis is that black teachers, including administrators, acted as "double agents." In Fairclough's words, "if the teacher appeared to appease whites and play the role of 'Uncle Tom,' it was for the larger purpose of serving the black community." The difficulty with a double agent is his having "to play two sides against each other" so that one cannot easily determine his "ultimate loyalty." In the realm of actual spying the final "test of loyalty" is the "profit and loss account," a "process in which the known good an agent has done is weighed against the suspected harm he has done."

Initially, the author applies the profit and loss account to Booker T. Washington and concludes that much of the damage to the black cause Washington allegedly inflicted "occurred independently of anything he said or did, through factors completely beyond his control." Fairclough finds that Washington not only founded Tuskegee Institute, but he also helped create other southern schools, urged northern capitalists to help finance black education, promoted the Rosenwald school construction program, and launched a "political machine that exerted influence in the higher ranks of the government." Washington instilled black pride and confidence, stood up for "black humanity," and never surrendered the final goal of total equality. Put another way, "Washington and other teachers kept hope alive; however much it appeared otherwise, they were educating for equality."

Robert Russa Moton, Washington's successor at Tuskegee, serves as the focal point of an essay on the "Travail of the Black College President." Moton was elevated to Tuskegee's presidency in 1916 with the expectation that he "could be relied upon to accept the guidance of white paternalists." Regardless of expectations and of attacks on Moton by such figures as W.E.B. DuBois, he went his own way and "pursued his course in private, seeking to influence whites with calm reason, knowing that angry rhetoric would merely alienate them." Moton, according to Fairclough, had three primary goals: he sought benefits for Tuskegee Institute, improvements in black education generally, and movement

toward racial equality. The last was the most elusive, but Moton pursued it "doggedly and sometimes courageously," for "he never envisaged segregation as a natural or permanent condition." Fairclough asserts that Tuskegee under Moton's guidance and other historically black colleges were "true citadel[s] of an uncommon American tradition: that of radical acceptance of the principle of human equality."

The third essay, dealing with "Black Teachers and the Civil Rights Movement," is the longest and perhaps also the most problematic. To determine the motives and aims of a large group of people is much more difficult than to ascertain those of a single individual such as Washington or Moton. Here exists the danger of drawing unwarranted conclusions and making dangerous generalizations. Fairclough is aware of the problems for he notes that "the Civil Rights movement sometimes prompted harsh judgments about black teachers" and that complaints abounded that "black teachers failed to support the struggle against segregation." He opines nevertheless that the harsh judgments often were overwrought and that black teachers generally made significant contributions to undermining segregation. Fairclough concludes that they maintained their integrity, remained focused on their larger purpose, strove to better education in a political system that denied political rights to blacks, inspired students to learn and sometimes to excel, and opposed the "racial stereotypes that constantly threatened to sap black self-respect." They opposed the basic tenets of white supremacy and thus helped weaken Jim Crow. Fairclough's final word is that black teachers insisted upon the "sanctity of knowledge and the innate humanity of black children" and consequently "they performed political work of the most far-reaching kind."

Joseph A. Tomberlin

Valdosta State University

*Cassadaga: The South's Oldest Spiritualist Community.* Edited by John J. Guthrie, Jr., Phillip Charles Lucas, and Gary Monroe. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xix, 241 pp. \$29.95 cloth.)

Central Florida, a region known for its religious and social conservatism, is not an environment where religious scholars

expect to discover exotic expressions of religion in America. It is thus fascinating to learn that the oldest Spiritualist community in the South is the picturesque town of Cassadaga, located twenty-five miles north of Orlando. Formally called the Southern Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp Meeting Association, the camp opened in 1894 as a southern winter retreat to its northern counterpart, the Cassadaga Lake Free Association in Chautauqua, New York.

In this first scholarly treatment of Cassadaga, a trio of editors has assembled a variety of essays depicting the history, people, beliefs, rituals, and cultural environment of what the Cassadagans call a "metaphysical mecca." Drawing upon a range of sources, including pictorial archives, newspaper accounts, interviews, and participant-observer perspectives, and utilizing recent methods and theories in history and ethnography, the contributors explore the intriguing history of this community from its origins to the present.

Spiritualism, an American original of the mid-nineteenth century, rejected institutional religion, rebelled against the harsh Protestant doctrines of hell and judgment, affirmed the goodness of God, and declared that the spirits of the dead communicated with the living. Though debunked as "humbug," it expanded rapidly in the 1850s and by 1906 had over 450 churches and a membership in the thousands. As Bret Carroll demonstrates in his contextually rich opening chapter on the beginnings of Spiritualism, Cassadaga represented the fruit of this growth. In chapter two, John Guthrie examines the first four decades of Cassadaga's history (1893-1933). Despite a belief system at odds with the region's predominant Protestant presence (by 1887 there were four Protestant churches in nearby DeLand), the camp flourished by accentuating its cultural sympathies with the host environment. According to Guthrie, the locals perceived the Spiritualists not "as radical communarians who professed to communicate with the dead," but "as a group of ordinary people who came to the county seeking their version of the American dream."

In chapter three, Phillip Lucas shifts our historical gaze to the present. Employing a phenomenological, participant-observer method, he focuses on the community's core beliefs and ritual expressions, the crucial role of mediums and healing, and the transforming effect of New Age influences on the community. With a keen sense of the dynamics of change, Lucas detects festering tensions between older, traditional Spiritualists who hold pub-

lic seances and worship in Christian-looking ways, and younger Spiritualists who find New Age beliefs and practices more appealing.

The last four chapters are divided between the architectural aspects and photographic images of the camp (chapters 4 and 7) and sketches of prominent, older members of the community (chapters 5 and 6). Sidney Johnston examines the town's first plan (250 building lots covering 60 acres) and the historic architecture of the community from 1894 to 1945. He observes that the camp's traditional Victorian homes, now listed in the National Register of Historic Places, embodied "the culture of mainstream American middle-class residents who happened to be Spiritualists."

Gary Monroe, whose photographs are interspersed throughout the book, concludes the volume with evocative photographic images of present day Cassadaga's activities, ceremonies, and rituals. Sandwiched between these chapters on material culture and visual representations are profiles of living Cassadagans. In their discussion of four current members, Ann and Paul Croce not only emphasize the personal backgrounds and contributions of these Spiritualists to the community but also tease out common themes from their biographical sketches. In chapter six, Anne Morgan offers a sensitive portrait of the Rev. Eloise Page, a ninety-year-old medium and teacher with whom Morgan studied for ten years.

There is much to praise in this volume. Drawing upon multiple methodological and disciplinary perspectives, it offers a splendid account of the neglected history of an important Spiritualist community. At the same time, this work has several weaknesses, related in part to the challenges inherent in an edited volume with many contributors. First, nothing comparable to Guthrie's early historical account fills in the half-century following 1933, and so we lack a complete accounting of Cassadaga's history. Second, although the chapters by Lucas, the Croces, and Morgan offer insights into the lives and religious dynamics of the present-day community, we have little sense of its current size and permanence. Its members express optimism about the community's future, but it is difficult to know if such optimism is real or unfounded. Third, Morgan's chapter offers the welcomed perspective of a Spiritualist devotee, but her filio-pietistic reverence for Eloise Page lacks critical insight.

Still, these shortcomings should not detract from the valuable contribution of this volume. *Cassadaga* illuminates how a religious

community on the periphery exists not only by maintaining its distinctive beliefs but also by its ability to adapt and blend into the surrounding environment. Indeed, as the authors convincingly demonstrate, Florida-style Spiritualism bears the indelible stamp, "made in the U.S.A."

David W. Kling

*University of Miami*

*Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South.* By Celeste Ray. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. xix, 256 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, appendix, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95 paper, \$29.95 cloth.)

*Highland Heritage* is a valuable ethnography of Scottish American heritage celebrations in the Southeastern United States, somewhat weakened analytically by anthropologist Celeste Ray's apparent unfamiliarity with the extensive historiographies of the construction of historical memory and ethnic and racial identity. The strength of the work is Ray's nuanced examination of 1990s Scottish heritage celebrations, based on her field research in the Southeast and in Scotland and on her analysis of Scottish heritage publications. For Ray, North Carolina, the site of one of the largest concentrations of Scottish immigration in the eighteenth century, holds a particularly central role in the creation of the current Scottish American heritage movement and consequently receives the most attention.

"Heritage" in this study is a construct of the present, consisting of "traditions" perceived by their practitioners as continuous and identical with those practiced by the immigrant ancestors. Ray devotes a considerable amount of space in her early chapters to explaining how 1990s Scottish-American traditions were based less on the actual practices of colonial immigrants and more on Highlandism, a nostalgic reconstruction of northern Scottish culture popularized in the nineteenth century by the writings of Sir Walter Scott. She explains how Highlandism, centered around romanticized legends of Jacobite Highlanders who were repressed or exiled for their support of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1746, has come to represent "heritage" for all people of Scottish descent, whether of Highland, Lowland, or Scots-Irish origins. However,

Ray emphatically states that her purpose is not to use the constructedness of the Highland tradition to devalue Scottish heritage celebration. Rather, she finds heritage celebrations important precisely because their inventiveness provides a window into the emotional needs of their creators.

Herein lies the real strength of the study. Ray uses interlinked descriptions of Scottish American clan societies, Highland Games, and Scottish heritage tourism to explicate the ways in which Scottish heritage celebrations provide practitioners with significant feelings of family, community, and connectedness with the past. Heritage celebrations, she argues, enable people to emphasize values that they feel are missing in today's rapidly changing American society. Ray identifies the values most frequently reiterated by her informants as strong connection to family and place, emphasis on patriarchal authority and traditional gender roles; practice of Protestant—particularity Presbyterian—religion, and traditions of military service and prowess. In a fascinating section at the end of the book, Ray notes the similarities of these themes to those central to the white Southern myth of the antebellum plantation gentry, and describes the frequent juxtaposition of Scottish and Confederate symbols at Scottish heritage events in the South. While emphatically dismissing the claims of some scholars that antebellum white Southern culture derived many of its practices from the Celtic heritage of its population, Ray persuasively argues that the reason that Scottish heritage celebrations are currently popular in the Southeast is because cultural traditions shaped around the Lost Cause of the Jacobites and the Lost Cause of the Confederacy have much in common thematically. She offers the intriguing idea that, for white Southerners, Scottish heritage has become a way to celebrate key elements of the antebellum tradition without their morally problematic connection to slavery and the Civil War.

However, Ray most clearly exhibits the limits imposed by her unfamiliarity with current historiography when she expands this analysis to argue that "Southern Scottish Americans are not celebrating whiteness," a claim primarily based on the fact that very few of her informants told her that they were KKK members. Such an analysis is somewhat naive, given that the display of Confederate symbols has become too politicized in the contemporary South to be a race-neutral act. Moreover, the expanding historiography of the construction of historical memory and racial identity in the

United States suggests that celebration of colonial-era forbearers, particularly of ancestors from the British Isles, has been intimately tied to attempts to assert and maintain social status, cultural authority, and racial identity during times of social change similar to that currently being experienced in the Southeast. Although Ray may be correct to argue that Scottish heritage celebrations have emotional meaning beyond the assertion of racial identity, she is wrong to dismiss whiteness entirely as a component of this tradition.

Anne Brophy

*Georgia State University*

***Florida Atlantic University.*** By Donald W. Curl. The College History Series. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2000. 128 pp. \$18.95 paper.)

On the eve of Florida Atlantic University's 40th anniversary (if one goes by the official seal, well-known Florida historian Donald W. Curl has provided readers with a firsthand and first-rate pictorial history of the university's development. He was a member of the faculty when the school opened in the fall of 1964 and still teaches history part of the year.

There is a two-page introduction, and each of the five chapters, covering the opening years and then focusing around the leadership of its four presidents, contains a brief commentary, as does virtually all of the 230 photos which comprise the volume. It is unfortunate that the author's modesty resulted in the inclusion of only one photo of himself, small and unidentified among all of the early members of the College of Humanities. He has played a significant role not only in the history of the university, but in promoting the study of the history of Boca Raton as well as many aspects of Palm Beach County related to Florida Atlantic University.

Chapter One, covering 1955 to 1966, contains some excellent pictures of Boca Raton dating to the era of World War Two and photographs of the first new buildings on campus which arose among the abandoned but now remodeled structures left on the old air base. A second chapter covers 1966 to 1973 as "The Williams Years," a bit confusing since Kenneth R. Williams, as Curl acknowledges, was President from the early beginnings in 1962.

The photos vividly illustrate, however, the effort to incorporate into the university landscape some of the learning technologies of the day, including the library. Anticipations were that this upper division school drawing upon the expanding community colleges would be deluged by South Florida. Also nicely covered is the shift toward a more traditional university, evident by 1967. Curl might have explained further that a reason for Boca Raton's selection was its distance from the University of Miami. In 1964, Interstate linkages did not exist that would later help make the university a popular commuter school. For several years after, students were in short supply.

A third chapter examines the presidency of Glenwood Creech, 1973-1983. Creech was a superb fund-raiser, and there are excellent pictures of the donors and recipients of several of the Eminent Scholar Chairs established during these years. This was a period of inflation and declining enrollments nationally. Still, FAU held its own even as Florida International University opened in Miami. Creech used a disagreement with Chancellor Barbara Newell as an excuse to step down at the end of ten years, but as he had told several faculty members years earlier, after his "interrogation" by the regents at the end of his first five years, he would not subject himself to another such experience.

The presidency of Helen Popovich, 1983 to 1990, is explored through photographs in the fourth chapter. The first woman president in the State University System (SUS), she developed new programs for minorities but fell afoul of reports by State Auditors. There was no evidence of "criminal wrong doing," but even after the removal of the vice presidents in the areas involved, it was clear Popovich lacked support within the SUS. She resigned in 1988 to take the presidency at Ferris State in Michigan where, in the 1990s, she also experienced problems and controversy before stepping down.

The final chapter deals with the administration of Anthony J. Catanese which began in 1990 and continues a decade later. He has overseen the development of a truly regional university with campuses and classes across seven counties. This has included a host of new programs, the development of new campuses in Broward, Palm Beach, and Martin Counties, and an incredible redevelopment and landscaping of the campus in Boca Raton. The black and white photos cannot do justice to this last aspect. Athletics have been expanded and football added to what has become America's fastest growing university.

What can one say by way of critique of this fine book? The frontispiece map omits the Treasure Coast campus although there are photos of these buildings later in the volume. There are a couple of factual errors in several of the photo descriptions, but these are trivial. Perhaps because of space, there is no discussion nor photos reflecting Catanese's tremendous effort to move FAU toward a Type I Research Institution, probably the most important aspect of the school's future, or of his commitment to the International Studies Program,

Perhaps more consequential is what was not included by Curl's own criterion. In an interview with the *Boca Raton News* introducing the book, he observed that "what he remembers the most were the anti-war movement of the 1960s and the 1968 presidential campaign." Yet, the only photos are of a sparse crowd at the Vietnam Bombing Moratorium (mistakenly called a "War" Moratorium) in 1969 and a Kent State memorial observation in 1970. Actually, FAU faculty and students were considerably more involved in both the civil rights and earlier Vietnam debates than any of Curl's selection of photos would indicate. It is worth recalling that while the Ku Klux Klan burned a huge cross at a large meeting in Fort Lauderdale in 1965, FAU faculty volunteers were working with Black and Chicano migrants before there was an Office of Economic Opportunity and several later became consultants in the work of that agency. Some were active in helping to write grants for programs in the Black community and were reported to the Provost by the police chief from his "informers" as "preaching revolution" in Pearl City. A march was organized there by faculty to coincide with the Selma March which was later called off by Martin Luther King, in what he came to see as the great mistake in his career.

In the anti-war protests, a couple of wealthy FAU students, Al and Jo Sipporta, donated the funds for Senator Ernest Gruening, one of two who had voted against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, to speak at FAU and at a large teach-in at the University of Miami sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society. The International Affairs Club published the first student publication on campus with faculty debating the war, as well as sponsoring a Deep South Model United Nations which drew over two hundred students from as far north as Washington, D.C., and which was later selected as the outstanding Model UN regional meeting that year. That remains probably the largest student meeting ever held

at the University, at which the featured speaker was the noted radical historian, William Appleman Williams, who spoke about how to get this country out of the Empire game. The Club also sponsored several debates about the war, including one between Nathaniel Weyl, the author of *Red Star Over Cuba*, and Prof. James Tedeschi, an anti-war critic at the University of Miami, and sponsor of the SDS chapter there. In short, FAU was not a "johnnie-come-lately" to the protest movements which Curl remembers so fondly, but rather active, despite a less than enthusiastic administration.

William Marina

*Florida Atlantic University*

***Purified by Fire: A History of Cremation in America.*** By Stephen Prothero. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. xiv, 266 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, timeline, abbreviations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$27.50 cloth.)

Readers may initially shudder at Stephen Prothero's topic, but this book is a concise, engaging, and insightful addition to the expanding list of scholarly works dealing with death in American history. Prothero's examination of the historical development of cremation—a practice that historians have generally ignored but which now makes up 25 percent of the corpse disposals in the United States and 46 percent of those in Florida—is firmly grounded in the broader context of Americans' evolving attitudes toward death, religious culture, and commercial life from 1874 to the present. As the author notes in his introduction, "Whether to bury or to burn is, therefore, no trivial matter. It touches on issues as important as perceptions of the self, attitudes toward the body, views of history, styles of ritual, and beliefs in God and the afterlife. In other words, it amounts to a choice of worlds to inhabit."

Prothero believes the development of cremation does not represent a move from religious consciousness to secularization; rather, cremation's growth reflects an increasingly pluralistic sense of religious belief and ritual practice. Three major chronological sections trace what he accurately labels "a fascinating tale." "Birth, 1874-1896" focuses on the first organized efforts to cremate among Anglo-Americans. Prothero begins with a lively description of Dr.

Francis LeMoyné's staging of America's first fully-promoted public cremation in Washington, Pennsylvania in 1876, but he masterfully anchors this account in a broader discussion of the sanitary reform movement, concern about grave-robbing, and contemporary views of bodily resurrection and religious ritual. Comparison of the arguments used by both proponents and opponents of cremation add to this wide-ranging discussion. For example, cremationists extolled the sanitary virtues of hastening the natural decay of the corpse and thereby avoiding exposure to the reputedly harmful by-products of this process. In contrast, traditionalists asked readers to visualize the actual process of cremation by imagining "the crisping, crackling, roasting, steaming, shriveling, blazing features and hands that yesterday were your soul's delight."

Prothero continues this effective format throughout the book. He relates the modest development of cremation in "Bricks and Mortar, 1896-1963" to proponents' increasing emphasis on the business of cremation and the resultant accommodating relationships they sought with traditional foes such as cemetery superintendents and even funeral directors. In good Progressive fashion, they organized the Cremation Association of America in 1913 and gave increased attention to the infrastructure and technology of their craft. Many of them also rejected scattering and supported the movement to memorialize loved ones by preserving their ashes in urns buried in the ground or placed in columbaria.

The context for the rapid growth of cremation described in "Boom, 1963-Present" is the increasingly shrill criticism of the funeral industry that followed the publication of Jessica Mitford's *The American Way of Death* in 1963 and the assertive individualism of post-1960s Americans. Prothero effectively links these characteristics with the growing number of stylistic choices apparent in contemporary cremation. Individuals or their survivors can select the mode of disposal and memorialization that fits the person and his or her circumstances. The golf bag urn, designed as the final lie for the ashes of deceased golfers, is just one of many examples of how "Cremation . . . allowed baby boomers to do death in their own way."

Although specialists may quibble with Prothero's interpretation of Puritan funeral customs and his essentially top-down approach to cremation American style, he has produced a fine piece of scholarship that will stimulate questions and further research among those with serious academic interest in death. In

addition, his engaging writing style and the inclusion of a brief history of cremation prior to 1874, well-chosen illustrations and a time-line make this book equally accessible to the general reading public. Given the growing calls from within and without the academic community for scholarly works that appeal to broader audiences, *Purified by Fire* stands as one model of how to accomplish this difficult assignment, even if the topic does make readers (both academic and general) initially shudder.

Stephen C. Messer

*Taylor University*

***The Wild East: A Biography of the Smoky Mountains.*** By Margaret Lynn Brown. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xxii, 457 pp. 68 b/w photos, foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Margaret Lynn Brown calls her Smoky Mountains history a biography, but it is a biography of the old-fashioned "life and times" variety, wide-ranging and full of interesting and relevant detail. The book is also handsomely published, with well-chosen photographs, a useful bibliography, and informative notes. Academic specialists in a number of fields, including social history, environmental history, forest history, political history, and Appalachian studies, will profit from this highly readable volume.

Brown's social history contribution begins with the peoples who were regarded as "natives" of the mountains at the beginning of the last century—the Cherokees and the descendants of the white backwoodsmen who settled in the Smokies before, during, and after the Cherokee Removal. "Both Cherokee and white farmers in 1900 manifested a powerful sense of place in the Smoky Mountains," she writes. "Without romanticizing what indeed was a very difficult life, it is accurate to say that this sense of place resulted from great ecological knowledge borne of use and spiritual traditions that encouraged them to imbue that use with meaning." That meaning manifested itself in communal land use, formally and self-consciously enforced among the Cherokees, informally preserved among the whites, who relied both on private property and unrestricted access to a forest commons that provided open range for livestock and yielded a rich bounty of forest products such as wild fruits, herbs, and vegetables, game animals,

and timber for construction and firewood. The stinging sense of deprivation that the loss of this commons entailed was at its sharpest during the 1930s, when the Great Depression coincided with the ecological disaster of the chestnut blight and the expropriation of landowners and expulsion of landless tenants to make way for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. "When people moved out, their hearts were broken," Brown quotes one native; "Without a doubt, this [the Park] is one of the grandest natural and historical treasures in the United States. But admiration of the breadth and long-term value of this tremendous achievement should not obliterate the cost incurred to make it happen."

Much of the book consists of institutional history, cataloging the development and impact of the lumber companies whose operations transformed the Smokies' economy and ecology; the conservationists and tourism promoters who collaborated to call the Park into existence; the National Park Service and its sometimes competing, sometimes collaborating fellow federal bureaucracies, the U. S. Forest Service and the Tennessee Valley Authority; the tourists who have come in record-breaking numbers since the Park opened for business in 1934; the developers that these numbers attracted; and finally, the planners, environmentalists, scientists, and advocates who have developed some sort of attachment to or claim on these mountains. Brown is especially good at explicating the cultural clashes between the Park Service, with its paramilitary organizational structure extending even to the wearing of uniforms, and the various natives, scientists, environmentalists, and enthusiasts who looked to the Smokies as a place apart from the bureaucratic world, not one of a series of nodes on a grid centered in Washington.

The book is also an environmental history, detailing the various introductions (such as rainbow trout or "California fish," in native parlance), depletions, and extinctions that have changed the mountains during the last century. Brown lays bare the value conflict between conservation and preservation as it applies to the Park and relates the many conflicts and compromises entailed in the fact that, "The history of the Great Smoky Mountains is not the simple story of preserving of wilderness, but rather the complex narrative of restoring—and even creating—one." However, lest contemporary readers think that the Smokies and the Park are merely another cultural construction of the post-modern era, to be equated with Williamsburg or Graceland, Brown adds in her con-

clusion that "it seems to me a profoundly male instinct to abandon the term 'wilderness,' simply because the land is not 'virgin' or 'pristine.' Through painful relocations, political nightmares, exhaustive research, and resource management, dedicated individuals fought for nature's right to own the Great Smoky Mountains. In the twenty-first century, it is the nearest we shall come to a Wild East."

John Alexander Williams

*Appalachian State University*

***Claude Pepper & Ed Ball: Politics, Purpose, and Power.*** By Tracy E. Danese. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xiii, 301 pp. List of illustrations, series editors' forward, preface, notes bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In 1925, Claude Pepper arrived in Perry, Florida, armed with a populist heritage, a Harvard law degree, and a strong desire for political office. A young Ed Ball also came to Florida in the 1920s. The brother-in-law of Alfred I. duPont, Ball assumed the stewardship of duPont's many financial ventures in the Sunshine State. In this detailed history of the quest for and exercise of power, Tracy E. Danese shows how Pepper and Ball rose to the tops of their respective professions, clashed in their pursuits of diametrically opposed political interests, and ultimately came to personify liberalism and conservatism in their adopted state.

Pepper's story as presented in this book will be familiar to students of Florida history. Born in rural Alabama in 1900, Pepper graduated from the University of Alabama and received a law degree from Harvard University. After a brief teaching stint at the University of Arkansas Law School, Pepper joined a law firm in Perry, served one term in the Florida House of Representatives, and was elected Florida's United States senator in 1936. In the Senate, Pepper proved to be one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's most loyal New Dealers. Danese does a particularly fine job fleshing out Pepper's liberalism, grounding it in the tortured populist legacy of his Alabama homeland. According to Danese, Pepper's unerring belief in an activist federal government in service of the common good was the source of his insatiable political ambition.

Ed Ball's biography is less familiar to students of Florida and Southern history, and despite Danese's efforts, Ball never fully

emerges from the shadows. Like Pepper, Ball rose to prominence during the 1930s, when he assumed control of the duPont Trust's myriad financial and manufacturing enterprises. Eventually, Ball became a titan in the business world, arguably the most powerful businessman in the state. Not surprisingly, Ball had a very different expectation of government, heralding the sanctity of property rights and "rugged individualism in the pursuit of economic gain."

Pepper and Ball's conflicting ideologies, Danese contends, ultimately led to power struggles that defined Florida politics for much of the twentieth century. With exception of the protracted struggle over Ball's ownership of the Florida East Coast Railway, their various confrontations ultimately cannot carry the explanatory weight given to them. Danese is at his best in navigating the complex developments of Ball's various business and financial operations; however, too often the details of these transactions overwhelm or mask the book's larger point about the functioning of political power. Similarly, readers get little sense of how these various struggles affected the development of Florida politics.

The 1950 U.S. Senate race between Pepper and Congressman George Smathers most clearly illustrates the larger political contours and consequences of the Ball/Pepper conflict; ironically, this contest, which had regional and national significance, was the least direct of their confrontations. In fact, Danese contends that Ball was "but a collateral figure to the main players in the unfolding drama." Not all readers will agree with Danese's analysis of the election. He downplays the scurrilous nature of the race- and red-baiting by the Smathers camp, and deflects responsibility from the candidate, stating that "Smathers would have been mostly occupied with keeping a rigorous travel schedule and raising money, leaving little time for direct involvement in campaign literature production." Although contemporary observers took note of the overheated rhetoric of the Smathers campaign, Danese argues that Pepper's demise was due primarily to the senator's "Soviet apologetics."

Possessing two very different visions of the role of government and the future of their adopted state, Claude Pepper and Ed Ball dominated the Florida political scene for nearly half a century. But in the final analysis, they seem to be curiously disconnected from the state. For although Danese provides valuable insight into the source of each man's political ambition, we come away with little sense of the constituencies they represented, interest groups that likewise had particular ideas about the future of Florida.

Pepper and Ball's power derived not only from their personal qualities but from their ability to represent the interests of various constituencies. Only by placing their particular battles within the larger context of the economic, social, and political struggles being waged in the state (and region) can we appreciate their significance.

Kari Frederickson

*University of Alabama*

*To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War.* By John Fousek. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xiv, 272 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

There are always a number of considerations that historians address when examining a historical episode: causes and/or origins, conduct, impact, legacy, and termination to name just a few. What is different about the Cold War is that the historical debate about its nature and origins started before the event had ended. The stories of the historiographical disputes and arguments of the 1960s and 1970s are legendary. It says something about a new scholar that he would venture into this terrain and even more that he would have something very different to say on the subject. Such is the case with this book, a converted history dissertation at Cornell University. Fousek, who now works as the associate director of the Center for Global Change and Governance at Rutgers University, argues that "American nationalist ideology provided the principal underpinning for the broad public consensus that supported Cold War foreign policy." He is quick to explain that this work is a study of cultural perceptions of policy rather than an examination of the policy itself, and that public discourse is contested terrain.

Fousek begins by noting that the belief in mission is a major ingredient in U.S. nationalism. Americans thought they had a duty to improve the world; that the planet aspired to the live like them. The nation had a responsibility to provide economic stewardship and moral leadership in world affairs. Certain segments of society—the author focuses on labor and civil rights movements—had different views on how to do this but accepted the basic parameters of national greatness. The wide divergence of opinions about the place of the United States in the world after World

War II had changed by 1947. The public was beginning to grow antagonistic towards the Soviet Union. As Fousek observes about the Truman Doctrine speech, "the ideology it embodied did not spring out of the blue in response to the perceived crisis in the Mediterranean in early 1947" The Korean War ended any lingering doubts about the relationship with the Soviet Union. A decade after the rampage of the Nazi Blitzkrieg through Europe, the American public saw the events on this distant peninsula as the first step of Communist aggression. The only difference was the Soviets were using the North Koreans as proxies when the Nazis had done their own dirty work. The American public lined up behind the White House. The time for disagreement was over. Although Fousek does not make the comparison, the story he tells sounds remarkably like that of the United States's entry into World War II. After Pearl Harbor, the public lined up behind the White House. The time for debate was over.

The effort that went into this book demands respect. Fousek has gone through the letters sent to the White House from ordinary Americans during the Truman years. He also made extensive use of mass circulation magazines, prestige and tabloid New York City newspapers, the black press and the proceedings of the annual conventions of labor unions. One wonders, however, if research in major regional publications like *The Florida Times-Union*, *The Miami Herald*, *The Courier-Journal* in Louisville, *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Seattle Times*, or the Hearst chain might have resulted in different findings. Depending entirely on a media based primarily in cities along the Northeastern seaboard seems a bit narrow.

As impressive as this book is, it strikes this reviewer as a first step. More work needs to be done in exploring grassroots support for the Cold War crusade. While this investigation into the opinions of labor and the African American community is quite impressive, the reviewer keeps wondering about how other elements of society shaped the overall attitude of the nation. What about the clergy and missionaries? What did industrialists think of the United States's role in world affairs? Was their view different from those of financiers? These comments are not to fault the author for failing to do something that he never intended, but rather to indicate that this book is not the final word on the culture that supported and shaped American foreign policy in the 1940s.

*Aiming for the Stars: The Dreamers and Doers of the Space Age.* By Tom D. Crouch. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999. xiii, 338 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, preface, acknowledgements, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

To anyone familiar with the relationship between Cape Canaveral Air Force Station and the nearby John F. Kennedy Space Center the opening words of *Aiming for the Stars* are akin to nails flowing down a classroom chalkboard. Author Tom D. Crouch announces, "Roughly three million people visit the John F. Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral, Florida, each year." With these words once again the identity of Cape Canaveral Air Force Station has been lost in the shadow of the vast NASA space center on neighboring North Merritt Island.

Looking beyond this blasphemous beginning, Crouch has succeeded in creating an effective single volume history of those who dared to dream of reaching the stars. Tracing the roots of modern rocketry from the visions of Renaissance astronomers, he concentrates on major turning points in twentieth-century astronautics. Those looking for a readable space history unfettered from overwhelming technical terms will find *Aiming for the Stars* refreshing.

To his credit, Crouch discusses the speculative fiction works of H.G. Wells and Jules Verne and their influence on early space pioneers, most notably American Robert H. Goddard and Russian Konstantin Eduardovich Tsiolkovsky. As an adult Goddard would confess to the aging Wells as to how *War of the Worlds* acted as a touchstone since his childhood. Credited with the first theoretical evidence to utilize liquid propellants for space flight, Tsiolkovsky would himself go on to publish grand works of science fiction envisioning Earth-orbit space stations and solar powered electricity.

An examination of interwar rocketry includes notable Germans Willy Ley, Hermann Oberth, and a youthful Werner von Braun. Greater attention could have been given to the interest of the Stalinist Soviet Union during this embryonic period. Upon moving into the arena of the German scientists and Nazi Germany, Crouch delicately dances between the harsh realities of the slave labor force at the V-2 factory Mittelwerk and the scientific value of Von Braun's contribution to the greater advancement of rocketry. He goes so far to interject that an individual "writing fifty years after the fact, with no personal experience of life in a regime in

which terror is a governing principal, must exercise great caution in commenting on the behavior and the decisions of individuals who passed through that time.”

The post-war years provide more than ample coverage of von Braun in his adopted United States’s homeland. Perhaps too much regards the von Braun group, however. There are several serious shortcomings in the events leading up to the Soviets’ launching of *Sputnik*. The contributions of General Bernard Schriever to the nation’s missile program in the 1950s deserves more than a single paragraph. Winged guided missiles such as the *Matador*, *Mace*, and *Snark* (the nation’s first intercontinental missile) are glossed over as if they were a poor relation to von Braun’s *Redstone*. Finally, the reader would have been better served if Crouch delved into the complexities and dynamics of the political climate in which both the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations operated in this crucial period in American missile development.

*Sputnik* marked the beginning of the “space race,” where the dreams of early science fiction writers were soon to become science facts. With only a few minor errors, such as stating that the *Mercury 7* astronauts all held engineering degrees when Scott Carpenter did not, Crouch effectively discusses the *Mercury* and *Gemini* programs, providing not only cold facts but also recounting the feeling of national pride and euphoria surrounding our first astronauts. With *Apollo*, the author notes that the missions up through *Apollo 13* are remembered by the public on an individual basis and the remaining four missions are “compressed, faded, blurred.” Unfortunately, *Aiming for the Stars* itself has done the same, with only tincture of time given to the most scientific of all the *Apollo* missions. The post-*Apollo* era is represented by the long duration accomplishments of the Soviet Union and our own Space Shuttle program. Worthy of note is a chapter concerning satellites and unmanned planetary vehicles.

Those who find space a passion will find only glimmers of excitement in *Aiming for the Stars*. But for anyone with only a basic knowledge of the noted figures and events in the history of rocketry, this volume will provide them with an excellent starting point in understanding our space heritage. Floridians can take pride in the history that has taken place on our shores—from no where else has mankind left for a journey to another celestial body.

*Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South.* Edited by J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xv, 351 pp. List of illustrations and tables, preface, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth).

*Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South* provides a series of related articles discussing the nature and controversies surrounding Confederate symbols such as monuments, museums, and most particularly, the Confederate flag. The book includes essays by an interesting mix of academicians, independent scholars, and professionals in various fields. Though Martinez, et al. write of their initial hesitancy to publish this book because of the highly emotional nature of the battle flag debate, the work includes little that should be viewed as controversial. *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South* is a scholarly approach to discussing these issues and provides a more thoughtful forum than either popular media outlets or state legislatures. The book falls far short of solving these debates or of addressing sensible remedies; then again, it is not meant as a panacea but rather as an insightful book aimed at furthering our understanding of these most contentious issues.

Divided into four sections, the work seeks to explain Southern political thought and its inherently conservative nature, to place the Confederate flag and Confederate monuments into historical perspective, to discuss the various legal challenges to Confederate symbols, and to chronicle the political aspects of the flag debate. It is highly useful in understanding both the Traditionalist (pro-flag) and the Reconstructionist (anti-flag) arguments in a generally dispassionate, scholarly manner. Further, the opening chapters that discuss the evolution of Southern political thought are insightful and generally instructive. Though the authors tend to oversimplify some points and to leave others virtually unexplained, readers will nevertheless gain a general understanding of Southern political philosophy and its shortcomings.

The thesis of the book is clear: the Confederate battle flag flying atop state capitals today, instead of representing the Old South and Confederacy's "cause," more represents the "massive resistance" campaign created in reaction to the United States Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision. The contributors argue that the flag represents and celebrates Jim Crow segregation and southern defiance more so than any concept related to

the mid-nineteenth century. And indeed, in examining the origin of flying the flag over state capitals, it is plain that such symbols were utilized as a direct response to the federal threat to Jim Crow.

But that was in 1954. One of the work's shortcomings is its failure to discuss whether the meaning of the flag has changed once again since the mid-1960s or so. It is intriguing to contemplate what most people today think when they see a confederate battle flag: do they reflect on the Confederacy and on Southern heritage? Or do they instead envision Ku Klux Klan rallies, racial bigotry, state-sponsored segregation and racism, or slavery? Does the flag inspire a different vision today than it did in 1954? And if the flag inspires images of slavery—as is most understandable—do not Confederate museums, road markers, and the literally hundreds of statues and shrines dotting the Southern landscape evoke similar emotions? In that sense, it would seem that as the flag represents Jim Crow, statues and similar structures represent slavery and the Confederacy's attempt to maintain control over its "peculiar institution." *Confederate Symbols* is quite useful in explaining how the same symbols can be viewed differently by various people, and that fact alone explains why the controversy surrounding the flag remains heated.

As is often the case with compilations, *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South* seeks to explain too much with too little information. Each essay could quite easily be broadened into a full-length manuscript. That notwithstanding, the work is an important, scholarly contribution that at least discusses emotional issues in a professional manner. Southern apologists will find little to their liking here, and those professing a firm conviction that the flag represents nothing other than Southern heritage will be sorely disappointed.

Robert Saunders Jr.

*Troy State University, Dothan*

***Journeys Through Paradise: Pioneering Naturalists in the Southeast.*** By Gail Fishman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xv, 306 pp. List of illustrations, preface, introduction, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Gail Fishman provides informative biographies of thirteen naturalists who explored the American Southeast from 1715 through

the 1940s. She profiles the familiar figures of John and William Bartram, John James Audubon, and John Muir, as well as naturalists whose legacies are less known though they made important contributions to Florida's natural history: Hardy Bryan Croom, Alvan Wentworth Chapman, and John Kunkel Small. Fishman's strength lies in her ability to convey the sense of wonder that compelled these men to brave uncertain geographies, climates, and reptiles in their search for unknown species. Aside from the rugged logistics of travel, Fishman also describes the political contexts that both constrained and determined each naturalist's work, including shifting colonial allegiances, the Civil War, and the campaigns for Indian removal.

Most importantly, Fishman details the way in which naturalists' personal histories and published accounts intersect—André Michaux retraced William Bartram's travels in the Carolina mountains, Mark Catesby's *Natural History* inspired John Abbot to leave London for Virginia, Roland Harper wrote argumentative letters to John K. Small. In doing so, she provides valuable insight into how the natural history of the southeast emerged as a body of knowledge and, at times, was contested. Each naturalist's research built upon the work of his predecessors, gradually refining the discipline's methodology. The naturalist's requisite skills shifted from taxidermy to taxonomy during these years as well.

Fishman's research goes beyond biography. In the second part of each chapter, she recounts her own journey to rediscover the landscapes that these naturalists chronicled. As the book's title suggests, for Fishman the nature that these naturalists encountered was Paradise—a landscape of verdant splendor, free from the corrupting influence of man. Certainly the nature that these early naturalists explored was *edenic*, both ecologically and philosophically. In fact, the writings of these early naturalists, Bartram and Muir in particular, reveal as much about the influence of the Romantics as they do about the wilderness they documented, a point well made by Ann Vileisis in her excellent *Discovering the Unknown Landscape: A History of America's Wetlands*. This particular vision of nature as Eden is so embedded in our shared cultural assumptions that it is rarely questioned, and Fishman certainly is not prepared to do so. Instead, she revisits the naturalists' paradise in a quest that can only be understood in the epic sense as a search for remnant *nature* (from the Latin word *natura* suggesting both birth and essence).

As this is Fishman's motivation, it is not surprising that her narrative verges on a sad lament of paradise lost: "Some plants and animals have been completely erased" from the Bartrams' St. Johns River; Audubon's Florida Keys "have been discovered. Plants and animals, land and marine, are disappearing, the once turquoise waters are muddied"; Michaux's Appalachian Mountains are now littered with garbage; and the list goes on. As an anthropologist mucking through the same glades that Small eloquently pressed to preserve, I am also saddened by what I see as irrevocable changes to wild nature. Yet as an environmentalist, I find Fishman's "then and now" comparisons too simple.

Environmental historians writing about the New World (David Arnold, William Cronon, Candace Slater, and Ann Vileisis to name a few) demonstrate that the naturalist's ability to explore these unknown landscapes became only *possible* through the process of colonialism, a mindset that equated social progress with the control over nature. In this sense, European colonial governments funded many of these expeditions in the hope of expanding mercantile opportunities. Charles Darwin, Alexander von Humboldt, John and William Bartram not only influenced other naturalists, but inspired poets, painters, rubber tappers, railroad men, and other future scions of American capitalism. I do not suggest that Audubon's portraits of bird life led directly to the unmitigated paving-over of the Florida Keys. What I would suggest is that we cannot hope to understand the process of environmental change without placing the "pioneering" of naturalists within an historical context that leads us to the present. Without this examination, we are left, as Fishman leaves us, only to yearn nostalgically for an Eden that is beyond our grasp.

Laura Ogden

*University of Florida*

***From Season to Season: Sports as American Religion.*** Edited by Joseph L. Price. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2001. ix, 240 pp. Contributors, acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

This is a collection of fifteen essays, seven written by editor Joseph L. Price, a professor of Religious Studies at Whittier College, and the remainder by eight college professors drawn primarily from the fields of Religious Studies, Theology, and English.

As suggested in the subtitle, all of these essays seek to examine sport as religion, primarily in North America. Three of the essays focus on baseball, three on football, and two on basketball, one on hockey, and one on professional wrestling. Three others look at the general subject and its manifestations, and Price offers an introduction and a conclusion. Seven were previously published, and a few clearly suffer from age.

The basic premise of the book, that sport in America has become a religion, seems to be the claim made by many of the authors and is a dubious proposition in and of itself. Oddly, in the concluding essay, Joseph Price seems to back considerably away from this claim when stating emphatically that "sports do not constitute a religion in the sense that Christianity and Islam, Buddhism and Taoism are religions." He quotes Michael Novak, author of *The Joy of Sports*, that sports are a form of religion because they have "organized institutions, disciplines, and liturgies" and because they teach "religious qualities of heart and soul."

It would seem more credible to argue that sport shares some qualities and characteristics with religion, as do a considerable number of other activities that seem to invite near total immersion of the participants. Certainly few would argue with such a position, with the proposition that sport and religion have been heavily linked in American culture, sometimes in the most bizarre manners.

In addition to the problem of definitional focus, no real agreement exists among the authors. Nonetheless this collection remains interesting and stimulating, and will set the mind in motion, which is what provocative essays should do.

Paul Johnson's "The Fetish and McGwire's Balls" examines the scramble for the home run balls off the bats of Sosa and McGwire, the extravagant prices paid for them, and their reverential treatment as holy relics, suggesting interesting religious parallels. In a similar fashion Peter Williams offers an analysis of sports heroes as martyrs which is thought-provoking in its implications. Joseph Price's exegesis of the Super Bowl as a religious festival certainly is convincing, although it might just as easily be described as a secular mid-winter festival of conspicuous consumption.

The insistence by several writers that college sport is "amateur" and that "amateur" sport is somehow qualitatively superior to the professional varieties of sport is surprising. "Amateurism" itself is a concept that is historically rooted in the British aristocratic world

of the 19th century and was designed to deny working and lower class people access to sport. Few scholars who look seriously at the world of sport still give this concept much credibility, although college administrators and coaches continue to wrap themselves in this cloak of hypocrisy.

Then there is the ridiculous. Annie Savoy's assertion in the film "Bull Durham" that there are 108 beads in a Catholic rosary, just as there is 108 stitches on a baseball is mentioned by two authors. It is time that someone count the beads, because 108 is much larger than all the Catholic rosaries I have ever owned including one from the Vatican and one from the Holy Land. The Final Four as a parallel to the final judgement is less than convincing, while the notion that professional wrestling is a sport is ludicrous. However, I would add that the essay on raslin is an extremely well-crafted analysis of this highly visible form of popular culture. The absurd is reached when Bobby Knight is compared to an abbot in a religious monastery, although I must tip my hat to the chutzpah of anyone who would seriously try to make this claim.

In the end it is fair to argue that sport in American popular culture has taken on some of the trappings of religion, but I am not willing to accept any argument that remotely suggests the possibility that Joe DiMaggio died for our sins.

Richard C. Crepeau

*University of Central Florida*

***Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity.***

Edited by W. Fitzhugh Brundage. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xi, 366 pp. Illustrations, maps, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, contributors, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

This collection of twelve essays explores how Southerners have molded memory to create a "usable past." The essays are topically diverse and range from the 1790s to the present. Predictably, some Southerners have used history to gain political advantages; others parlayed historical imagery into social and economic advancement. Some have guarded cherished models of the past through historic preservation. In a few cases, boosters nurtured ethnic identities and historical stereotypes to encourage tourism. And their methods have been as varied as their motives.

Michele Gillespie relates how skilled artisans in Georgia fashioned a heroic class identity around their role in the American Revolution. Celebrating their patriotism helped them to secure an honored place in public memory and the emerging capitalist economy of the early republic. As they prospered in the postwar decades, however, they willingly exchanged their former class identity for that of planter and slaveowner.

Two of the volume's best essays study the use of memory during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Anne Sarah Rubins's "Seventy-six and Sixty-one" argues convincingly that Confederates sought to legitimize secession and war by evoking public memory of the American Revolution and linking the current struggle with the former one. Kathleen Clark's "Celebrating Freedom" examines Emancipation Day celebrations in the postwar South. Freedpeople not only honored their recent struggle, but also hailed the opportunity to take their rightful places as citizens. And the prose! Rubin and Clark raise language to the level of music.

Catherine Bashir's essay on turn-of-the-century architecture in Raleigh and Wilmington explores national trends in local settings. While elites in every region erected historical monuments and built fine homes for themselves, North Carolinians conformed to regional models of authority and culture. Colonial Revival architecture, Bashir suggests, reflected prevailing notions of white supremacy and Anglo-Saxon elitism.

Gregg Kimball surveys the complexity of black memory in antebellum Virginia. Excluded from the "public transcript" of the dominant culture, blacks often preserved memories of oppression and resistance through folktales and songs. Ironically, others rejected "subversive" memories and aligned themselves with powerful whites. In her well-written essay, Laurie Maffly-Kipp takes black memory into the early twentieth century as she analyzes "race histories." The writings ranged from Protestant-style calls for advancement through self-help to Afro-centric mythmaking. Rather than bind the race together, however, they often exposed fissures between north and south, the formerly enslaved and the never enslaved.

Bruce Baker's essay "Under the Rope" peers into dark corners of memory. Lynchings are more likely to be remembered if the victim was a local resident and had a large extended family. Ironically, the site of a lynching is often remembered long after the identity of the victim and date of the event are forgotten.

One essay is about forgetting. The author recounts a murder that took place in his hometown in 1895 and suggests that public memory of the event was deliberately suppressed because the killer was gay. His evidence? That the author, born seventy-seven years after the event, had never heard of it.

Two essays address memory within the contexts of gender and historic preservation. In "We Run the Alamo, and You Don't," Holly Brear probes the controversy surrounding the control and interpretation of the Alamo by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. More is involved than ethnicity, Brear suggests, and powerful gender currents move beneath the surface. The DRT views challenges to their custodianship as attempts to re-assert male dominance of the site. In "Rich and Tender Remembering," Stephanie E. Yuhl relates how Charleston women saved two of the city's most important residences: the Manigault House and the Miles-Bruton House. At substantial risk to themselves, these women helped to launch a cultural and economic revival and "bestowed a decidedly female cast" to historic Charleston.

Intersections of ethnicity, memory, and boosterism are examined in other essays. Brenden Martin recounts how Smoky Mountain boosters—both white and Cherokee—promoted the hillbilly and "chief" stereotypes into commercial icons. Tourist dollars flowed into a contrived landscape of rustic cabins and wigwams. Fitzhugh Brundage examines the Acadian Revival in southwest Louisiana. In promoting a distinct Cajun ethnicity, boosters successfully crafted a range of highly marketable products including music, cuisine, and handicrafts. Synthetic Cajun "festivals" drew many tourists to the region.

Fitzhugh Brundage also edited the volume and deftly binds it together with chapter preambles. In his introductory essay, Brundage concedes that terms like "historical," "social," and "public" memory are too elusive for precise definition. Yet, he skillfully constructs a comprehensive model of historical memory employing examples from the essays—and some of his own. Memory, he concludes, is more than organic recollection and includes elements of "official" history, oral tradition, and folklore.

The ultimate question being asked—and sometimes answered—by this book is "What is the value of public memory?" Although the essays abound with historical examples, more recent ones could be cited. For example, memory can be evoked to influence policy. In the late twentieth century, African Americans

successfully manipulated public memory of their long history of oppression to justify affirmative action. But memory is not always about grievance, and history is not always about race, gender, or class. Sometimes motives are straightforward and mundane. Sometimes people build beautiful homes simply because they enjoy them and can afford them. That, too, is worth remembering.

Eldred E. Prince Jr.

*Coastal Carolina University*

## History News

### *Conferences/Call for Papers*

The **Southern Association for Women Historians** invites proposals for the Sixth Southern Conference on Women's History, to be held at the University of Georgia, 5-7 June 2003. Graduate student presenters will be eligible for the Jacquelyn Dowd Hall Prize. The deadline for submissions is 15 August 2002. Further information is available at <<http://www.uga.edu/swch>>.

The **Gulf South Historical Association** will hold its twenty-first Gulf South History and Humanities Conference on 17-10 October 2002 at the Hilton Galveston Island Resort in Galveston, Texas. Further information is available from the conference coordinator at <[gsmith@tcu.edu](mailto:gsmith@tcu.edu)>.

The **Florida Conference of Historians** invites proposals for its annual meeting on 27 February-1 March 2003 at the historic Sea Turtle Inn in Atlantic Beach, Florida. For additional information, visit <<http://users.ju.edu/jclarke/fch.htm>>.

### *Awards*

The Florida Historical Society has initiated the **Peggy Latour Award** to recognize librarians and archivists in the state of Florida who have assisted researchers, organized new collections, demonstrated a love of Florida history, and written or published materials relating to Florida history. For more information, contact Dr. Nick Wynne at <[wynne@flahistory.net](mailto:wynne@flahistory.net)> or 321-690-1971.

The Department of History at Florida International University is accepting nominations for the **Jay I. Kislak Foundation Prize** for undergraduate and graduate papers on any aspect of Florida or Caribbean history, anthropology, or archaeology. Submission deadline is 31 August 2002. For further information, contact Dr. Sherry Johnson at <johnsons@fiu.edu> or 305-348-3367.



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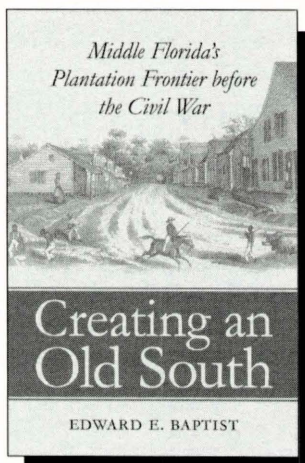
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**Valencia Community College**, founded in 1967 to serve Orange and Osceola counties in Florida, is seeking interested individuals and/or firms to respond to a Request for Qualifications to research, document, and write an institutional history of the College and to design and develop a text of that history for use in print and electronic media.

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It is expected that the manuscript will take at least eleven months to research, prepare, and complete, and will be 300 or more pages in length, with accompanying materials, including pictures, tables, charts, etc. The project period may begin no earlier than August 1, 2002, and will end June 30, 2003. Valencia retains the right to extend the project period. To request a copy of the complete RFQ, which was released April 23, 2002, or to ask questions regarding this solicitation, please contact:

Ms. Susan Kelley  
Vice President for  
Institutional Advancement  
Valencia Community College  
P. O. Box 3028  
Orlando, FL 32802  
(407) 582-3417



**All responses to the RFQ must be received no later  
than 12:30 p.m. on Friday, July 19, 2002.**



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# The Florida Historical Society

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The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902  
The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905



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Founded in St. Augustine in 1856, the Florida Historical Society is the oldest existing cultural organization in Florida and serves as the only statewide historical society. The Society is dedicated to the preservation of Florida's past through the collection, archival maintenance, and publication of historical documents and photographs; to scholarly research and publication through the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and a variety of awards for the researching and publishing of Florida history; and to public history, historic preservation, and youth education through *Journeys for the Junior Historian*, the Society's annual meeting, awards recognizing the teaching of Florida history, and the Printe Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

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