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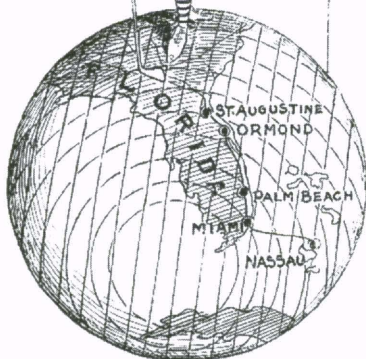
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The Epic of Greater Florida: Florida's Global Past

by Robert Cassanello and Daniel S. Murphree

At the 1932 American Historical Association meeting in Toronto, Canada, Herbert E. Bolton gave a prophetic yet largely ignored address titled, "The Epic of Greater America." In his speech, the AHA president pondered why there was no major American history publication that placed the United States' past within the context of the Western Hemisphere. Bolton emphasized his point by exploiting the Eurocentric focus of the profession at the time, noting that "European history cannot be learned from books dealing alone with England, or France, or Germany, or Italy, or Russia." He went on to say that historians should not confine American history to the political boundaries of nation-states or privilege the histories of Mexico, Canada, or the United States due to their prominence in modern North America. Bolton believed that colonial history appeared most conducive to the approach he advocated but challenged nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians to adopt similar perspectives, hoping to inspire them to dig deep into their sources and locate those connections in United States history that fit into a larger hemispheric narrative.¹

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1. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America," *American Historical Review* 38 (April 1933): 448-74.

Some colonial historians eventually embraced Bolton's paradigm; others resisted. It would not be until the 1990s, however, that historians of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century United States attempted to systematically challenge American exceptionalism as defined through the orthodoxy of political dominance, territorial demarcations, and triumphant progress. Highlighted by the recent publication by the Organization of American Historians' "La Pietra Report" and Thomas Bender's edited collection titled *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, historians of all periods finally have started to promote a dialog that encourages new interpretive frameworks meant to compete with the nation-state histories.² Still missing, though, is a corresponding effort among state and local historians. Between the years of the Bolton speech and the "La Pietra Report," scholars generally have neglected the place of state and local history within these broader frameworks and failed to address Bolton's original challenge.

Florida scholars have contributed to this neglect. Rather than contemplate their areas of emphasis within the context of hemispheric perspectives, state and local historians with interests in the peninsula have debated a much different set of questions over the last half century. Chronological coverage and professional legitimacy stand out as chief concerns. In 1958, Hale G. Smith, Herbert J. Doherty Jr., and Charlton W. Tebeau noted that while there were many publications dealing with Florida as a colonial possession, few scholarly works pertaining to the region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries existed. Doherty suggested that professional historians ignored regional Florida studies, leaving amateur historians to fill the gap with works that failed to transmit the true significance and influence of the region. He called for scholars to correct this imbalance and encouraged graduate students to engage Florida's local history and work with amateur historians to broadcast the importance of the field to a wider audience. Others echoed the call for a reassessment. Charles W. Arnade sounded an alarm of pessimism at the 1963 meeting of the Florida Historical Society. He claimed that the profession in general, and regional universities in particular, were turning their backs on Florida his-

2. Organization of American Historians and New York University, "La Pietra Report: Project on Internationalizing the Study of American History," 2000; Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

tory. Arnade contended that the state's institutions of higher learning offered fewer courses on the subject than they had in the past, and historians whose research primarily concerned the region often were denied tenure, promotion, and relevance in an academic culture that regarded state and local history as merely provincial and antiquarian.³ He questioned the survival of Florida history in a higher education system that punished scholars who investigated their own backyards.

Over forty years later, some of the fundamental concerns of Smith, Doherty, Tebeau, and Arnade still persist. Anyone surveying recent Florida scholarship also would conclude that Bolton's vision still has not been embraced widely. The vast majority of monographs published on the region continue to employ a local or nation-state perspective, absent of hemispheric or global contexts. This is not to say that high quality scholarship on Florida history disappeared during these years. Especially in the past quarter century, several outstanding works on the peninsula have achieved distinction due to their revealing methodologies and interpretive frameworks. In many ways, Florida history scholarship is more relevant today on a broader scale than ever before, and its authors are key contributors to historiographic innovations within the profession as a whole. Nevertheless, many of the most insightful works on the peninsula still are limited in impact because of continued adherence to conventional periodization, political boundaries, and population generalizations.

Such patterns are evident in all chronological fields of Florida history. Most surprising, perhaps, is Bolton's limited influence on scholarship related to the colonial era. In the 1960s and 1970s, historians produced dozens of important works dealing with settlement endeavors of Spanish, French, and British immigrants. Along with more recent studies, these investigations have provided abundant information, especially in regard to native peoples, chattel slaves, and colonial warfare.⁴ But few of these studies deal with

3. Hale G. Smith, Herbert J. Doherty Jr., and Charlton W. Tebeau, "Florida Bibliography and Historiography," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (winter 1958): 156-77; Charles W. Arnade, "Recent Problems of Florida History," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42 (summer 1963): 1-15.

4. Among the most important works are Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York, 1994); Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, Ill., 1999); Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002); J. Leitch Wright, *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville, Fla., 1975).

peoples, communities, or activities that defied rigid imperial categories. Most concentrate on institutional, religious, economic, and military endeavors and rarely probe social or cultural factors that transcended political borders. Rather than compensate for earlier deficiencies, Florida historians have largely abandoned the colonial era, ceding it to anthropologists and archaeologists who now dominate in terms of publications.

Similar themes characterize recent scholarship on nineteenth-century Florida. Aside from a few brilliant depictions of plantation life and cross-cultural warfare, academic works on the period before the Civil War are few and far between.⁵ The majority of scholarly assessments continue to depict local settings and events in a fashion similar to those described by Doherty and Arnade. Investigations of the Civil War remain consistent with those produced forty years ago, especially in terms of military focus and interpretive scale. There has been some promising work on the lives of nineteenth-century Florida residents within the context of the Florida frontier; however, those studies do not place those people within a larger context. In terms of the late nineteenth century, more works have been written on the lives of individual land developers than on the impact their endeavors' had on the peopling of the region. Largely missing are treatments of environmental and ecological transformations, or how the projects of land developers connected Florida and its people to a wider world. Engaging other regions of the United States through comparative models, these works have expanded local assessments in light of national narratives. Still, relatively little scholarship on the century as a whole has probed hemispheric connections or global frames of reference.⁶

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5. Few works on the era have garnered distinction among historians outside of the state other than Edward Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); James Cusick, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003); Larry Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Gainesville, Fla., 2000).
 6. There are few post-Civil War social histories of Florida. Among them are Joe M. Richardson, *The Negro in Reconstruction Florida 1865-1877* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1965); Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor it is Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (Gainesville, Fla., 1974); Canter Brown Jr., *Florida's Peace River Frontier* (Orlando, Fla., 1991); Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1988).

Global influences and comparative approaches are beginning to appear more frequently in studies on twentieth-century Florida, but these themes rarely surface in works dedicated to the years prior to World War II.⁷ Yet, even in post-war investigations, global themes are often treated as anomalies rather than thematic currents sweeping Florida. This is apparent in the multiple works on specific Caribbean ethnic groups inhabiting various South Florida cities. Florida and its diverse sub-regions create a complex set of problems for historians, which is probably why so many abandon statewide studies for regional approaches like city-specific or regional studies. Midway through the twentieth century, southeast Florida culturally resembled more of a Caribbean region than the Deep South, while travelers on US 441 could not tell they had crossed the Georgia/Florida border until they noticed the Lake City signs. Yet, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, one could almost as easily locate a native Spanish speaker in Tallahassee as in Miami, the only difference being that the Tallahassee resident would have a Mexican or Central American accent and the Miami resident would more than likely have a Caribbean or South American accent. Florida has become a fork between two important hemispheric population shifts affecting North America, one from Mexico and Central America and the other from the Caribbean and South America. This is only one transnational theme challenging Florida in the twenty-first century.⁸ While Bolton perceived the colonial period as the field of North American history most apt for hemispheric frameworks, for Florida the twentieth century may represent that same potential for historians looking to exploit hemispheric connections to recent Florida history.

Florida's state and local history represents a very important bridge between proponents of the "La Pietra Report" and histori-

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7. James B. Crooks, *Jacksonville After the Fire: 1901-1919, A New South City* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1991); Gary Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), María Cristina García, *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996); Raymond A. Mohl, "South of the South? Jews, Blacks and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (1999): 3-36.
 8. For more on this process, consult Raymond A. Mohl, "Globalization, Latinization, and the Nuevo South," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 22 (2003): 31-66; Leon Fink, *The Maya of Morganton: Work and Community in the Nuevo South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003).

ans frustrated by those who believe that state and local history offers nothing to a larger narrative. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Florida served as a gateway between the United States and Caribbean in a variety of ways. Ideas, movements, and peoples have always been tied to global networks that they helped to shape and which also shaped them. If historians are serious about interpreting United States history from a global perspective, the role of Florida in these networks must be addressed in substantially different ways than in the past. This special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is designed to provide a framework for Florida scholars and demonstrate options for better reinterpreting Florida's past within the context of interrelated regions.

The following articles also attempt to reconcile the visions of Bolton, Tebeau, Arnade, Bender, those who composed the *La Pietra Report*, and countless others. Each essay offers a unique interpretation of the peninsula and its historical relevance through local, regional, *and* hemispheric contexts. Transnationalism serves as the unifying theme. Though each author has interpreted the term's meaning in their own ways, all have embraced its emphasis on blurred boundaries, diverse peoples, overlapping identities, and interconnected existences. More important, each article presents a story largely absent of nation-state limitations or linear expectations. The histories and futures of single colonial powers or the United States are implicitly addressed but do not function as the defining parameters of interpretation. Events, peoples, and movements are not evaluated in local, national, or international vacuums. The intersections of all provide the setting, background, and conclusions for the topics covered. Consequently, these authors conceive and depict Florida history on both micro and macro levels. Populations and projects of diverse locales and organizing systems all play a role.

Specifically, each article illustrates a distinctive strategy for crafting transnational themes. In "Taking the State Out: Seminoles and Creeks in Late Eighteenth-Century Florida," Andrew Frank employs an ethnohistorical framework for analyzing native autonomy, settler reaction, and cross-cultural identity formation. Key to this analysis is the idea that scholars have for too long placed imperial outposts (St. Augustine, Pensacola) at the center of colonial dynamics and should instead focus on native communities and the various cultural mediators that traveled back and forth between them. Paraphrasing historian Daniel Richter,

this attempt to face east toward European settlements rather than west toward native communities, alters traditional understandings of native-settler interaction and provides a different viewpoint on single-empire spheres of hegemony.⁹

Sherry Johnson adopts an environmental lens of assessment in "The St. Augustine Hurricane of 1811: Disaster and Political Unrest on the Florida Frontier." Significantly, she looks at the figures and events that played a key role in Spanish East Florida's government during the early nineteenth century, a topic repeatedly addressed by Florida historians for decades. Different, however, is her focus on "environmental stress" and employment of "Disaster Studies" as an interpretive tool for understanding political dynamics in St. Augustine. By surveying the societal impact of other hurricanes in the Caribbean, specifically those affecting Cuba, she provides a commonly ignored link between events in Florida and other locations. Johnson also succeeds in showing how traditional emphasis on political and institutional factors can be augmented through transnational frames of reference.

Larry Youngs focuses on tourism to illustrate Florida's hemispheric connections. In "The Sporting Set Winters in Florida: Fertile Ground for the Leisure Revolution, 1870-1930," Youngs offers a fresh look at tourists' notions of recreation and how their mindsets and activities influenced the origins of modern Floridian identity. Though patterns found in Florida resembled those found elsewhere in the United States, Youngs makes clear that the international nature of tourism insured a steady influx of European and Caribbean influences, most of which cannot be traced to any specific nation or ethnic group. Youngs also points out the role the environment played in creating the space in which these different groups from different regions of the world intermingled, again showing that Florida was a crossroad for this transnational resort community. Tourism as an evaluative tool lends itself to transnational interpretations, and Florida, for obvious reasons, provides a fertile ground for evaluating tourism.

Melanie Shell-Weiss displays the applicability of local studies to transnational interpretations in the final article, "Coming North to the South: Migration, Labor and City-Building in Twentieth Century Miami." Like Youngs, Shell-Weiss addresses a setting long

9. Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

studied by historians of Florida and does so through the prism of black American identity, a conventional area of concentration for United States historians. But Shell-Weiss challenges previous local and national assessments by targeting the hybridity of the black population in Miami—a group including native-born African Americans of various backgrounds and diverse Bahamian immigrants. What defined these populations living in Miami were not only events taking place in the city and within the nation, but also events and ideas within the Caribbean and Africa. This reality, along with other transnational activities centered on migration and labor, provide a broader context for understanding Florida's role in past global interactions.

This special issue originated as a collaborative effort between H-Florida and the *Florida Historical Quarterly* to highlight recent scholarship on the region as interpreted through transnational themes. The project that followed took the form of three interrelated phases. In Phase 1, we asked these four historians of Florida, whose past works had dealt with global perspectives, to submit abstracts in which they detailed the role of transnational themes in their current research. We then submitted modified versions of these abstracts as part of a panel proposal titled "New Approaches to State and Local History: Florida from a Global Perspective" for the 2004 meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Memphis. The accepted proposal and resulting panel at the SHA meeting consisted of a roundtable discussion dedicated to the specific issues and overall themes present in the contributors' preliminary essays.

In the midst of these activities, we initiated Phase 2, an online symposium committed to gaining immediate feedback from Florida's scholarly community on the contributors' original research proposals. We posted a detailed two-page abstract of each author's work for H-Florida subscribers to read. We then solicited readers' comments, which also were posted on the H-Florida listserv. Subsequently, each author posted responses to these critiques. After the symposium's conclusion, some H-Florida subscribers attended the SHA session to continue the online dialogue in person. Phase 3 of the project consisted of preparing extended versions of the original works for this special issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. In addition to the four full-length articles, at the end of this issue we have included abridged comments from both earlier phases of the project. It should be noted that all

comments and author responses pertain to the abstracts posted on H-Florida only, and do not specifically refer to the extended papers presented at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association or published in this issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The lone exception is the evaluation provided by Jack Davis. His remarks were prepared in reference to the papers presented at the SHA meeting and constitute assessments of the authors' works as they existed midway through this project.

These articles and observations provide important insight into a uniquely collaborative process. Not generated in a vacuum or disseminated to a small cadre of people, this process included the articles' authors, H-Florida subscribers, attendees at the 2004 meeting of the SHA, and various people who tuned into the symposium after discovering it through word of mouth. This special issue completes a two-year project beginning with the original conceptualization of the symposium. We initially envisioned this project as a way to utilize online technology in bringing people and ideas from disparate locations and philosophical viewpoints together for a singular, constructive purpose. At the time the project began, both editors and three of the four article contributors resided outside of Florida, a reality that should promote discussion among readers of this volume. Because of the internet, and specifically H-Net, we were able to organize people and ideas more quickly than in the days of the 1932 AHA Conference or the 1963 Florida Historical Society meeting. We are reproducing these comments in an abbreviated form as a final step to merge the virtual symposium with the real world.

Transnational frameworks will not resolve all of the issues related to state and local history and its relevance to broader narratives. They do, however, offer alternative methods for expanding the impact of local studies and better understanding of the superficiality of nation-state boundaries. Moreover, few regions appear to be more suitable for transnational philosophies than Florida. As an historic and modern site of international competition, cooperation, and interaction, Florida represents a setting that defies simple categorization and invites multiple points of view. Transnational approaches introduce new ways of deciphering these points of view by reconciling local, regional, national, and global considerations. In this sense, transnationalism fulfills Bolton's vision and brings us to a greater understanding of "The Epic of Greater Florida."

Taking the State Out: Seminoles and Creeks in Late Eighteenth- Century Florida

by Andrew K. Frank

Between 1750 and 1810, the Muskogee Indians held the upper hand in inter-colonial affairs and made Florida “Indian country.” More than two centuries after Spain had claimed the region as part of its dominion and sent soldiers and missionaries to subdue its inhabitants, the Muskogee Indians enjoyed a sustained period of autonomy that was at odds with the experiences of Indians elsewhere in the Spanish and British empires.¹ Neither

Andrew K. Frank is assistant professor of history at Florida Atlantic University. He thanks Jack Davis, Joshua Piker, and Russell D. James for their insightful comments; Lisa Tendrich Frank, Ken Osgood, Mark Rose, and Bertram Wyatt-Brown for their advice; and Dean William A. Covino and the Florida Atlantic University history department for generous funding.

1. This autonomy came under assault during the Patriot War (1810), the subsequent War of 1812, and the First Seminole War (1817-1818); see James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003); Frank L. Owsley Jr., *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815* (Gainesville, Fla., 1981), 106-19; David Heidler and Jeanne Heidler, *Old Hickory's War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire* (Mechanicsburg, Penn., 1996). In the late eighteenth century, Europeans and Americans obtained the upper hand in intercolonial affairs across North America; see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York, 1991), 469-517; James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), 192-225; Daniel Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 225-80; Daniel Usner Jr., *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 104-44.

conquered nor subdued, Muskogee Indians still controlled Florida. Technically surrounded by European and later American powers, these Creek and Seminole Indians lived in semi-autonomous villages that routinely disregarded the interests of Spain, Great Britain, and then the United States. Natives ignored and defied European and American forms of justice, determined the terms of trading agreements with their neighbors, and dictated the nature of intermarriages with Europeans and Americans. Native villages, in this context, had few problems contending with imperial forces of power. They harbored, with surprisingly few ramifications, dozens of white fugitives from justice as well as deserting soldiers. They also continuously welcomed runaway African American slaves into their villages and onto their lands. The Muskogees occasionally found European allies and often acted with their support, but they also behaved in ways that frustrated imperial powers.

In the late nineteenth century, the Muskogee Indians slowly split into two culturally similar political entities that became known as the Creeks and Seminoles. These two entities had many cultural and political similarities, including the on-going importance of independent villages rather than centralized polities. The decentralized nature of both Creek and Seminole societies magnified Muskogee autonomy and irritated colonial officials looking to conquer and control the peninsula and its residents. As they did elsewhere in North America, Indian villages in Florida typically functioned independently, each defining the social, cultural, political, and economic lives of its residents. Local clan leaders chose whether to fight in wars or form alliances, determined who could trade in their community, participated in hunts, and otherwise controlled what happened within "Indian country." Even in diplomatic affairs, village leaders rather than representatives of national polities signed treaties and forged alliances with Spain, Great Britain, France, and the United States. Both Creeks and Seminoles increasingly became socially interconnected and politically centralized in the nineteenth century. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, various efforts to unify these nations proved unsuccessful, in part because there were no omnipresent threats to Indian society in Florida. The movement for confederation that shaped Creek society in Georgia had less of an effect on Florida Seminoles. Furthermore, linguistic, economic, and cultural differences separated Florida's

Indian villages and ensured that trans-village alliances remained “both fluid and ephemeral.”²

Changing alliances routinely occurred in northern Florida, where villages occasionally allied themselves with more homogeneous Creek villages to the north as well as with nearby Seminoles. Sometimes the separation of Seminole villages from the Creek Confederacy occurred physically, as Indians relocated their villages as well as political loyalties. At other times, separation simply meant ending social and political alliances and forging new ones, life for Muskogee Indians in Florida remained local, and power remained decentralized. As a result, the separation of Creeks and Seminoles was slow, uneven, and often incomplete.³

The lack of imperial presence in Florida—which lasted through the First Spanish period, the British period, and the Second Spanish period—has been well documented by historians. Spain, Great Britain, and the United States all relied on Indian alliances, lacked a dependable and profitable export crop, struggled to make Florida essential to their large empire, and failed to eliminate the permeability of Florida’s northern border. David Weber demonstrated that Spain’s eighteenth-century frustrations in Florida paralleled those faced across Spain’s northern frontier. “Lacking precious mineral and a large population of docile Indians to work plantations or mines,” he wrote, “the colonies from New Mexico to Florida served primarily to protect adjacent areas. . . . The northern colonies were marginal and dispensable.” Unlike its show of power elsewhere across the borderlands, Spain had little effect on the Florida territory or its peoples. When Spain left in 1763, little had changed. “La Florida,” Paul Hoffman concluded, “was little more

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2. Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 3. Helen Hornbeck Tanner similarly concluded that the “Indians in Florida . . . possessed no political unity;” Tanner, *Zespedes in East Florida, 1784-1790* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1963), 82. For discussions of the centralization of Creek and Seminole society, see Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Power, Property, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (New York, 1999), 97-101, 177-79; Michael D. Green, *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis* (Lincoln, Neb., 1982), 33-36; Brent Wiseman, *Unconquered People: Florida’s Seminole and Miccosukee Indians* (Gainesville, Fla., 1999), 5-29. This localism explains much of the confusion regarding Black Seminoles and the semi-autonomous villages that they occupied; see Kevin Mulroy, *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas* (Lubbock, Texas, 1993).
 3. J. Leitch Wright Jr., *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln, Neb., 1986), 5-6, 220-21.

than what it had been in 1565, a garrison precariously perched on a sand spit by the Atlantic Ocean." The British proved no more effective at shaping Florida or controlling its inhabitants. "Despite a considerable amount of well-publicized optimism about the colony's economic prospects," Robin F. A. Fabel explained, "its promise was unfulfilled." Not surprisingly, the return of Spanish control in 1783 did not change matters either. The border remained permeable, a staple crop remained undiscovered, and the local government had little if any control outside of a few towns. On the eve of the Patriot War in 1811, according to Daniel Schafer, East Florida was "a promising frontier area with huge reserves of undeveloped land, but it was still dependent on black militia and Indian allies for security." Despite this virtually stateless reality, few scholars have extended their interpretations to understand the Creek and Seminole experiences and their centrality to the region.⁴

This essay explores how Muskogeans exacerbated this statelessness and insisted that they, and not their European or American neighbors, formed the core of Florida society. This experience contrasts sharply with the history of Georgia, where English and then American officials increasingly diminished the sovereignty of Indian neighbors.⁵

The frailty of Spanish authority in Florida frustrated colonial officials in the winter of 1783. That February, they attempted to

4. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 176; Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida Frontiers* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002), 206; Robin F.A. Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1988), 198; Daniel L. Schafer, "Zaphaniah Kingsley's Laurel Grove Plantation, 1803-1813," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, ed. Jane G. Landers (Gainesville, Fla., 2000), 100. Many historians have pointed to the play-off system whereby Indian nations played the European nations against one another. Few scholars, though, acknowledge that these negotiations took place without the existence of a centralized Indian nation; see, for example, James O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1973), 135; Green, *Politics of Indian Removal*, 33-36.
5. For discussion of decreasing autonomy of Indians in Georgia, see Piker, *Okfuskee*, 196-204; Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 67-110; Robbie Etheridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and their World* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), 175-241. For discussion of the Spanish and British states, see Kenneth J. Andrien, *Andean Worlds: Indigenous History, Culture, and Consciousness under Spanish Rule, 1532-1825* (Albuquerque, N.M., 2001); Jack P. Greene, "Transatlantic Colonization and the Redefinition of Empire in the Early Modern Era," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, ed. Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York, 2002), 267-82. For different experiences on the margins of the Spanish empire, see Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Indian Southwest, 1580-1830: Ethnogenesis and Reinvention* (Norman, Okla., 1999).

arrest Ambrose Brissert, an English-born man who had entered Pensacola "dressed and painted as an Indian." The issue of jurisdiction was obvious to the Spanish officials who had recently reclaimed Pensacola and the rest of East and West Florida from Great Britain. The Spaniards were also convinced that a crime had been committed. Brissert, whose identity as an Indian trader was well known, seemed to be wearing "a costume." His Indian appearance—fostered by facial paints, Indian-style clothing, and jewelry—broke an ordinance that banned men from donning disguises in the town. Consequently, he was arrested on "Suspicion of . . . being a Spy." Brissert's Creek wife and her Indian family, all members of the powerful wind clan, similarly rejected the verdict that Brissert was wearing a disguise or was hiding his true identity. They claimed that he *was* an Indian: he was an adopted member of a clan who had later married a Creek woman and lived by the customs and rules of her Fus-hatchee village. The paints and clothing that he wore were customary to his culture. Well-known Creek diplomat Alexander McGillivray voiced disapproval of the arrest and tried to get Spanish officials to explain their actions. In essence, village leaders insisted that their assessment of Brissert's identity was all that mattered.⁶

These initial Native protests hardly impressed Spanish officials who chose to ship Brissert off to New Orleans to be punished "with other English prisoners." After all, Brissert's behavior and appearance made it an open and shut case. As he sailed to New Orleans, Fus-hatchee villagers and wind clan Creeks vowed to cut off relations with the Spanish, threatened to trade with Americans to the north, and hinted that their warriors might take immediate retribution if the Spaniards did not promptly return Brissert. Commandant of Pensacola, Arturo O'Neill, took the threats seriously, and after some deliberation, he determined that he had no choice but to return Brissert. If the Creeks claimed that Brissert was one of their own, officials in Spanish Florida were in no position to disagree. In Florida, Creek custom overrode Spanish law.⁷

The dispute over Brissert's identity may have been unusual in late eighteenth-century Florida, but instances where village customs

6. Arturo O'Neill to Luis Unzaga, 16 February 1783, Lockey Collection, P.K. Yonge Library, University of Florida, Gainesville;

7. Ibid.; Alexander McGillivray to Arturo O'Neill, 10 March 1783; Arturo O'Neill to Luis Unzaga, 20 May 20, 1783; Luis Unzaga to Arturo O'Neill, 10 July 1783; Arturo O'Neill to Luis Unzaga, 21 August 1783, all in Lockey Collection.

and concerns trumped European law and policy were not. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Spanish, British, and American officials consciously chose not to enforce laws when a situation concerned Indians in Florida. Instead, they allowed Creek and Seminole Indians to define the laws of the land, or at least determine the extent of enforcement and European and American reluctance to punish Florida's Indians had many causes: they relied on Indian hunters to provide deerskins; they wanted allies to fight against other Indians and European rivals; they feared the repercussions of entering territory claimed by other European nations; they depended on Indian cooperation in returning runaway slaves and livestock; and they needed to preserve "peace with the numerically superior Indian towns."⁸

Perhaps most importantly, European and American colonists feared that the Indian custom of clan retribution, whereby members of a matrilineal clan avenged a death or wrongdoing to another member of their clan, would be meted out to them. In instances where colonial authorities did enforce laws, they created a cycle of violence more problematic than the original transgression. As a result, European agents frequently muted enforcement of their own laws in order to avoid Indian war. In 1768, fear of clan retribution shaped British reaction when Creek warriors killed two Englishmen in response to the whipping of a Creek man suspected of committing crimes in Georgia. British demands for punishment of the offending Indians went unheeded, and no further action was taken. Similarly, in 1788, Creek leader Alexander McGillivray successfully soothed the anger caused by the murders of two Georgians at the hands of Florida Indians. "No blame ought to be ascribed to the Nation in General," he explained. Instead, the killings were simply "satisfaction for two of our [warriors] killed by the Georgians" several months earlier.⁹ The cycle of violence ended when the United States chose not to pursue the matter any further.

8. Tanner, *Zespedes in East Florida*, 80.

9. John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York, 1970), 73-92; Thomas Gage to Lord Shelburne, 22 January 1768, in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1931), 1: 158; Governor Willie Blount to Secretary of War, 8 November 1792, in *American State Papers, Class II: Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (Washington D.C., 1832-1834), 1: 325-27; Alexander McGillivray to Andrew Pickins and George Matthews, 4 June 1788, Panton Leslie Papers, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, microfilm.

From 1750 to 1810, European and American officials rarely punished acts of clan vengeance. More often, they tried to convince Florida's Native Americans to end traditional forms of justice. Rather than demand arrest or punishment, for example, British Indian trader George Galphin urged village leaders in 1771 not to follow the tradition of clan vengeance. "If he should kill and White Man and take his goods," he pleaded "it would not bring his Kinsman to life again." Galphin understood that he could not obtain British-style justice, but he hoped to stop what he saw as an illogical alternative. Such cool-headedness to intercultural violence flew in the face of norms elsewhere on the southern frontier, where personal dishonor more often provoked vengeance.¹⁰

Spain's unwillingness to punish "Indian criminals" like Brissert as well as Great Britain's inability to secure justice for the murder of Georgians epitomized legal reality in Florida. Spanish and British officials returned accused Native Americans to their villages in return for promises of future good behavior and continuation of trade relations. In 1753, warriors killed two white South Carolinians and then retreated to their home along the Georgia border. Although the perpetrators were in Spanish Florida, British officials in South Carolina threatened to cut off trade and otherwise punish the Creeks unless the offending warriors were surrendered. Despite British demands for blood, the Native Americans refused to turn over the warriors and, instead, offered the Carolinians various gifts and promises that those who committed the murders would be punished. Governor James Glen reluctantly accepted "the satisfaction given" but declared that in "the future, nothing will be deemed a satisfaction for the lives of any of our people, but the lives of them who were guilty of the murder." Glen knew he lacked the authority to go into Florida villages to enforce his law, the diplomatic means to cut off trade, and the Spanish assistance to help him. In the following decades, British and Spanish officials repeatedly allowed Muskogee Indians to administer what the Indians thought was appropriate punishment. As a result, Europeans accepted a range of punishments that fell far

10. George Galphin to unknown, 12 September 1771, in Allen D. Candler, Kenneth Coleman, and Milton Ready, eds., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 32 vols. (Atlanta, Ga., 1904-1916), 12: 150; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1980).

short of turning over murderers. When Creek Indians from West Florida killed fourteen settlers after the 1763 Augusta Conference, fearful traders fled Indian villages, and the British realized that they had to accept that perpetrators would go unpunished.¹¹

Faced with timid and calculating imperial neighbors, Florida's Native Americans frequently defied Spain, Great Britain, and the United States by embracing fugitive criminals and other refugees. During the American Revolution, Loyalists and soldiers from Great Britain and the rebellious colonies found homes among and alongside Seminoles and Creeks in Florida. American settler Caleb Swan declared that "their country [in Florida] is a place of refuge for vagrants and murderers from every part of the nation, who, by flying from the upper and lower districts to this desert, are able to elude the pursuit and revenge of even indians themselves."¹²

Yet, these were the most well-known and well-analyzed groups. Hundreds of other fugitives found homes in Florida Indian villages as well. Sometimes their identities as well as their presence remained hidden from European authorities, and when exposed local villagers often protected them. Following the war, the confederation of American states, which had entered into a series of trade and diplomatic negotiations with the Creeks, demanded that the Indians turn over four Loyalists and a couple of Indian leaders who had fought with the British. The Creeks refused; the Loyalists had all married Indian women and now served village interests as traders and interpreters. The sovereignty of the village protected

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11. Speech of Governor James Glen to King Malatchi, the Red-coat King, the Wolf King, the Otaffee King, and the other Cheifs, Headmen and Warriors present, of the Upper and Lower Creeks in Number about 100, in *South Carolina Gazette*, 11 July 1753; Fabel, *Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783*, 52.
 12. Caleb Swan, "Position and State of Manners and Arts in the Creek, or Muscogee Nation in 1791," in *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared Under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior Per Act of Congress of March 3d, 1847*, ed. Henry R. Schoolcraft, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1855), 5: 260; Patrick Riordan, "Finding Freedom in Florida: Native People, African Americans, and Colonists, 1670-1816," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 75 (summer 1996): 24-43; Carole Watterson Troxler, "Refuge, Resistance, and Reward: The Southern Loyalists' Claim on East Florida," *Journal of Southern History* 55 (November 1989): 563-96. Too much is made of Spain's desire to attract runaway slaves to Florida. More often than not, Seminoles not Spaniards protected the former slaves from slave catchers; see Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, Ill., 1999), 29-59, 74-75.

fugitives. Likewise, as Swan noticed, Indians found refuge in villages, even when their actions defied the interests of local leaders. Throughout the eighteenth century, Creeks in Florida stole slaves, cattle, and horses from neighboring white settlers in order to resell them or demonstrate their warrior prowess. Village elders, who occasionally complained about the ramifications that such brazen acts could have, were often powerless to prevent them. When punishments occurred they followed village, not European or American, customs. Several treaties, including a 1784 agreement between Spain and the Talapuche Indians at Pensacola, attempted village protections, but rarely were they enforced. Few Native Americans, Europeans, or Americans had the ability to stop anyone who acted with Indian sanction.¹³

Perhaps the most well-known manner in which Indians defied European jurisdiction was in terms of runaway slaves. Although Creeks and Seminoles dealt with African Americans differently and inconsistently, they both ignored European American demands by stealing, protecting, enslaving, and adopting slaves from Georgia and the Carolinas. Although in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Spain proactively embraced these newcomers, this policy changed in the eighteenth century. Spanish West Florida Governor Juan Vicente Folch and other officials ordered dozens of unsuccessful expeditions into the Florida interior to track down runaway slaves. Even when Creeks stole slaves from plantations in Florida and southern Georgia, they successfully used village autonomy to dissuade slave catchers. Neither Europeans nor Americans could stop the out-migration of African Americans into Muskogee villages. After the Haitian Revolution in 1794, for example, many fugitive slaves found safe harbor in Florida despite European and American efforts to impede their arrival. Governor Folch arrested and exported several former slaves from Haiti, only

13. Benjamin Hawkins to Henry Dearborn, 1 February 1802, in *Letters, Journals and Writings of Benjamin Hawkins*, ed. C.L. Grant, 2 vols. (Savannah, Ga., 1980), 2: 433; John Linder to Capt. Favrot, 13 November 1786, in John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Okla., 1938), 136-37; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1830* (Lincoln, Neb., 1998), 123-24; "Articles of Convention, Treaty, and Pacification and agreed on by the Spanish nation with the Talapuche Indians, at the Congress held for this purpose in the Fort of Pensacola, the capital of West Florida, on the 31st day of May and 1st of June, 1784," *American State Papers, Class I: Foreign Relations*, 6 vols. (Washington D.C., 1833-1859), 1: 278-79.

to have countless others find refuge among local Indians. Ironically, several smugglers took advantage the fluidity of the Florida frontier to import African slaves into Georgia after the Atlantic slave trade ended in 1808.¹⁴

As Europeans tried to control Florida's Indians, they frequently called upon Indian intermediaries for assistance. These arbitrators usually pursued their villages' interests and their own. As a result, they were rarely as helpful as Europeans and Americans desired. Alexander McGillivray, whose appearance and behavior often led European Americans to perceive him as "civilized" and thus "trustworthy," frequently played the role of intermediary. He obtained positions in the British and Spanish militaries, and served essential roles in the British trading firm of Pantón, Leslie, Forbes, and Company. At times, he negotiated the return of runaway slaves, war captives, and European and American fugitives from justice. McGillivray, though, also represented the Creeks at treaties and organized war parties that threatened Spanish and American interests. In 1786, for example, Governor Vicente Manuel Zéspedes called upon McGillivray to track down warriors who scalped a young girl on the St. Marys River. He investigated, but the offending warriors were never turned over or punished. McGillivray was either not powerful enough or unwilling to take such actions.¹⁵

A lack of effective Indian intermediaries occasionally aided white criminals as well. In 1799, an escaped prisoner fled Spanish

14. Kathryn E. Braund Holland, "The Creek Indians, Blacks and Slavery," *Journal of Southern History* 57 (November 1991): 601-36; Daniel F. Littlefield Jr., *Africans and Seminoles* (Westport, Conn., 1977); Juan Vicente Folch to Arturo O'Neill, 22 September 1787, Archivo General de Indias: Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 52, P.K. Yonge Library, microfilm; Luis de las Casas to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 10 May 1794, East Florida Papers, reel 1, band 3A2, page 1355, P.K. Yonge Library, microfilm; Colonial Records of Georgia, 14: 332-33; David H. White, "A View of Spanish West Florida: Selected Letters of Governor Juan Vicente Folch," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (October 1977): 143; Jane E. Landers, "Rebellion and Royalism in Spanish Florida: The French Revolution on Spain's Northern Colonial Frontier," in *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*, ed. David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus (Bloomington, Ind., 1997), 156-71; Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, 173, 175-77.
15. Vincent Emanuel de Zéspedes to Bernando de Galvez, 16 August 1784, Lockett Collection; Secretary of War to James Seagrove, 31 October 1792, in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1: 259; Baron de Carondelet to Conde de Floridablanca, 22 March 1792, Pantón, Leslie Papers; Alexander McGillivray to Vicente Manuel Zéspedes, 3 August 1786, Pantón, Leslie Papers; Saunt, *New Order of Things*, 67-89; Green, *Politics of Indian Removal*, 54-55.

Pensacola and found refuge in a Lower Creek town. Governor Folch asked Spanish Indian agent Geonimo Yberes to track down the prisoner, but Yberes hit a diplomatic roadblock: village leaders protected the fugitive. Consequently, Yberes was powerless because, until the early nineteenth century, Europeans and Americans hesitated to impose their forms of justice within Indian villages, fearing repercussions. Still, they regarded such fugitives as their problem, and one best addressed through European and later American jurisdictions. In 1789, for example, a "Mr. Lawrence" from Georgia fled "with a price of four hundred guineas on his head and . . . settled among the Creeks" in northern Florida. After a generous bounty did not secure his return, Lawrence became more daring and further outraged white Georgians by joining a band of Tallapoosa Creek Indians who repeatedly crossed into southern Georgia to steal slaves and horses. After an extensive correspondence dedicated to finding Lawrence, Governor Folch sent a small militia detachment into what he called "Creek country." The posse found and killed the refugee in the Tallapoosa village. After the execution, McGillivray wrote to Folch demanding that such actions end. Too often, he claimed, colonists entered Creek villages to administer instant justice. Since Lawrence was an intermarried Indian trader who lived according to the norms of his Creek village, McGillivray claimed, he was subject to the regulations of his village and clan, not those of West Florida. Certainly, Lawrence should have been punished, but McGillivray warned Folch of allowing "assassins" to enter Creek villages again. The issue of jurisdiction, he insisted, was a serious one. "My advice," he continued, "is never to do the like to those who have passports, because the consequence may be dangerous." When other residents on the frontier followed the militia's example and took matters into their own hands in a similar dispute a month later, McGillivray wrote Folch to impress upon him the importance that all persons guilty of such outrages "should be brought to tryal." The cycle of violence ended when Folch restricted white vengeance.¹⁶

16. Juan Vicente Folch to Geonimo Yberes, 6 August 1799, Archivo General de Indias: Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 52; White, "Indian Policy of Juan Vicente Folch," 260-75; Alexander McGillivray to Juan Vicente Folch, 14 May 1789, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 231-32; Juan Vicente Folch to Alexander McGillivray, 14 June 1789, in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 237-38.

In contrast to Europeans and Americans who frequently swallowed their pride rather than risk an Indian war, Florida's Indians were rather confident in their ability to enforce cultural norms on the frontier. For example, white Georgians often found themselves pleading for the right to punish fellow Georgians for offenses against Florida's Indians. After capturing some horse thieves, Georgia Governor James Jackson begged the Cheehaw King to "be quiet, and not take a horse from the innocent which may prevent their making bread for their families." He promised compensation "at a reasonable price" if the horse taken from the Cheehaw village was not returned in "two weeks." As Jackson explained, "I will pay for him rather than the chain of friendship which is now bright would be mad, rusty, and the mad people on both sides would do mischief." Despite his pleas, Cheehaw warriors took retribution according to their tradition. Local Indian custom again trumped European concerns.¹⁷

The centrality of Indian villages extended beyond issues of law and jurisdiction. It also shaped the deerskin trade, one of the most important economic activities in the southern interior. Controlling the trade was a near obsession for Spanish, British, and American officials in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Only a secure trade, one that meant more than exchanging goods but also created social influence and political loyalties within Indian villages, could lead to diplomatic security. As a result, imperial powers set up systems of passports, licenses, and laws specifically designed to regulate Indian traders. Yet, these regulations proved quite useless in Florida, and "illegal trade" repeatedly occurred. Complicating matters, eighteenth-century competition for deerskins resulted in Spain, Great Britain, and even South Carolina and Georgia offering licenses to nearly all applicants wanting to trade with Florida's Indians. As British Superintendent of Trade John Stuart complained, "each Governor of the several Provinces can grant a License to any person to Trade indiscriminately to all the Indian Nations." Armed with licenses, traders freely moved across geopolitical borders and entered Florida. Even during the American Revolution, Great Britain could not prevent American traders from entering Indian villages and interfering with British

17. James Jackson to Cheehaw King, 7 February 1779; James Jackson to Executive Department, 9 March 1799, both in *Governors Letter Books*, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

activities. "The Rebels," he explained from Pensacola, "have their Emissaries in all the Indian Nations . . . which gives the Rebels an Opportunity of sending their Emissaries under the Character of Traders, Packhorse Men or Servants without Danger of being detected, by such means the Rebel Agents have gained over some of the Creeks to their Interest."¹⁸ Disloyal traders, Stuart believed, threatened the balance of power among the Indians and hurt Great Britain's southern strategy.

Although European powers could not regulate Florida's deer-skin trade, Muskogee Indians could. In particular, village leaders used marriage to regulate traders' behavior, to varying degrees of success. Muskogeese expelled traders for fraud, demanded that colonial governments revoke licenses, and occasionally killed with impunity those whose actions deviated too far from acceptable behavior. Marriages to Indian women proved the best, and sometimes the only, way for European and American men to obtain Native sanction and remain among Florida's Indians. Native wives performed essential functions such as soliciting business from fellow clan members, interpreting the Muskogee language, tanning deerskins, and forging political connections. More importantly, marriage provided traders with a way to live in matrilineal Indian villages. On several occasions, Creek and Seminole village leaders evicted traders who lacked Indian wives, and they killed a few unmarried traders for their abusive behavior toward Indian hunters and women. In 1752, several village leaders responded to a series of misbehaving traders by demanding that the British punish citizens responsible for "debauching their Wives." If the King would not comply, the Creeks promised that "the injured Persons would certainly put their own Laws in Execution." To prevent further outrages, they evicted "all the strowling white People that are not employed in the Indian Trade."¹⁹ In this case, as in many oth-

18. Vincent Emanuel de Zéspedes order, 26 October 1789, Panton, Leslie Papers; John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 14 March 1766; John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 19 December 1766, both in Gage Papers, American Series, William Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Gage Papers; John Stuart to General Augustine Prevost, 24 July 1777, 30/55/6/629; John Stuart, "Observations on the Plan for the Future Management of Indian Affairs Humbly Submitted to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," 1 December 1763, 323/19, both in Public Records Office, Colonial Office, P.K. Yonge Library, microfilm.

19. Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln, Neb., 1993), 30, 121-38; Thomas Bosomworth in the Coweta Town in the Creek Nation, 11 October 1752, in

ers, clan connections and Native wives proved essential to avoiding such evictions. Licenses or other vestiges of the imperial state, in contrast, were useless.

Control and regulation of trade largely took place in the context of local villages. To enter villages, traders frequently married Indian women and formed relationships largely controlled by women and their clans. Marriages between Muskogee Indians and whites followed Native customs and rarely adhered to the religious or social expectations of European powers. As a result, the children of intermarriages almost always lived as other Indian children did. In the matrilineal Creek and Seminole societies, paternity did not determine the identities of children and the children of intermarriages were most likely raised by their mothers and their maternal uncles. They learned to hunt, speak Muskogee, dance at the Green Corn Ceremonies, and otherwise act like a Creek or Seminole. In short, they grew up in a village and lived according to the social obligations of their clan. Although some intermarried men tried to socialize their children, they did so with the oversight of their wives' clans. These marriages rarely had legal or religious sanction from the European perspective, and were often derided as "left-handed" weddings or "marriages of convenience." Nevertheless, Europeans and Americans frequently acknowledged their existence and their sanctity. Although polygamy was illegal in Georgia and the Carolinas, several intermarried traders referred to multiple Indian and non-Indian wives in their wills. Custom required that whites recognize the marriages, and the American courts had little precedent to deny them.²⁰

Local sanction provided by intermarriage explains how the Pantan, Leslie, and Forbes Company, a British trading firm, survived the transfer of Florida out of British hands in 1783. Almost

Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750-August 7, 1754, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia, S.C., 1958), 2: 306; Wilbur Jacobs, ed., *Indians on the Southern Colonial Frontier: The Edmund Atkin Report and Plan of 1755* (Columbia, S.C., 1954), 39; James Glen to Duke of New Castle, 1 December 1748, in "Letter Book of James Glen," Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.; James Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, Scotland, 1833), 2: 134.

20. George Galphin's will, 6 April 1776, in "Creek Indian Letters, Talks and Treaties, 1705-1839," ed. Louise Frederick Hays, Georgia Archives of History, Atlanta, typescript; Benjamin Hawkins to William Eustis, 27 August 1809, in *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 1: 307-308; Andrew K. Frank, *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln, Neb., 2005).

immediately after the 1783 Treaty of Paris, Spanish officials sought a way to cut into the profits enjoyed by the British company. Governor Vicente Manuel Zéspedes and others tried to appoint new traders, evict Pantón's agents, and forge new trading arrangements with Florida's Indians. Their actions proved unsuccessful: the Indians in northern Florida rejected them. Even men with "favor and leverage with the Spanish government," historian Susan Parker explained, were "not able to gain entrée into the Indian trade." Instead, the Muskogees made it clear that they did not want trade disrupted. Those near Pantón's store in St. Marks, for example, threatened that replacing Pantón's company could lead to war. "The store was Settled there by the desire of this [Creek] Nation," Alexander McGillivray asserted; "Messrs. Pantón & Co . . . Cannot [be] removed without giving the Indians Some reason for it." Elsewhere, Indians declared that their traders were members of their communities and needed neither passports nor Spanish permission to reside in the villages. Zéspedes and other Spanish officials concluded reluctantly that if they desired peace with the Indians, they had to work with the Pantón Company. As a result, the governor decided the company could remain in Florida if it and its participants pledged allegiance to the Spanish Crown. Zéspedes considered his efforts a failure because the Indians preferred English goods, because Pantón had personal influence with Creek leaders, and because no Spaniards had enough economic resources to compete. This may have been true, but the Indians also resisted efforts to replace Pantón's traders because they were intermarried and intimately connected to the villages and clan structures of Indian society. Pantón's Company maintained its centrality to the deerskin trade, and the company needed to abide by the rules of the new colonial authorities. But Spanish, British, and American authorities had no choice but to use the network of intermarried traders that Natives had already sanctioned.²¹

Trader marriages did not always ensure sufficient supplies in Indian villages, and throughout the eighteenth-century, Indians in Florida required outside assistance. Even in these instances,

21. Susan R. Parker, "Success through Diversification: Francis Philip Fatio's New Switzerland Plantation," in Landers, ed., *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, 78; Alexander McGillivray to Arturo O'Neill, 26 March 1784, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago; Vincent Emanuel de Zéspedes to Esteven Miro, 9 March 1787, Pantón, Leslie Papers; Vincent Emanuel de

however, Natives acted from positions of strength. Large groups of Muskogeans visited Florida's governors to receive customary gifts. Zéspedes repeatedly complained that Indians came five times a year, with demands for presents and without invitations. At other times, Natives used their diplomatic power to demand supplies and other gifts. In November 1779, as the Revolutionary War disrupted trade in British-controlled Florida, the Creeks were in a "Distress[ed] Situation" because of their inability to sell deerskins and thus obtain necessary trade goods. The Tallassee King called upon American trader George Galphin to act upon the reciprocal relationships that had guided American behavior in the past. Galphin accepted a gift of a "white winge and a String of Beads with a Twist of Tobacco" in exchange for promises that the needed goods would arrive soon from the United States. This act of Native diplomacy determined that "the path may be perfect Clain and white from heare." Galphin, however, did not receive assurances that the Creeks would exclusively ally with the United States. Instead, the Tallassee King told Galphin that the Creeks had given the "Same Talk . . . this Day to the French and Spaniards at St. Marks at East Florida with a white wind and Beads." The United States, then, was expected to provide gifts because that would ensure neutrality. Only months earlier, the Creeks on the East Florida border had similarly used their position of strength to reject attempts to determine the Florida-Georgia border because it would artificially divide Indian villages. Mithlogee made the Indian frustrations and threat clear: "I am authorized to declare that it is the sincere desire of all my Countrymen to live forever in peace with the people of the United States and they wish that every difficulty and misunderstanding may be removed that is likely to disturb the peace or happiness further." Despite overtures of peace, Mithlogee asserted the power of his village. "I am bound to declare that unless I can carry back to the Nation a satisfactory explanation of matters," he declared, "that in ten days after my return, I think it will be impossible to prevent mischief being done." The Tallassee

Zéspedes to Bernando de Galvez, 16 August 1784, Lockey Collection. For a standard history of the Pantón, Leslie Company, see William S. Coker and Thomas D. Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Pantón, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Gainesville, Fla., 1986).

King and three hundred warriors were already prepared to enter war.²²

After Spain regained "control" of Florida in 1783, former Maryland Loyalist William Augustus Bowles began a campaign to unify the Seminole Indians, reduce the power of the Panton, Leslie, and Forbes Company, and otherwise return British rule to the region. Bowles attracted young Seminole supporters as well as deserted soldiers, black slaves, fugitive criminals, and other "Thieves & Vagabonds." As a result, he faced opposition from each imperial power in the region. In 1791, many Creeks, Seminoles, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Americans committed to stopping and capturing Bowles. Spain exiled him, only to see him return to the region by 1799. Recognizing the lack of a centralized Indian polity, Bowles declared himself "Director General and Commander-In-Chief of the Muskogee Nation" and remained a thorn in the side of the imperial powers. He attacked and captured several of Panton's stores, declared war on Spain, threatened the United States, alienated the British, and otherwise infused chaos into the Florida interior. When the Seminoles agreed to a peace with Spain in 1802, a disgruntled Bowles opposed the treaty and remained committed to a sovereign Seminole nation. His rare combination of actions managed to unite European, American, and Native powers against him. Still, the determination of some Indian leaders protected him. Although Native and European American authorities wanted him apprehended, with the assistance of a handful of local Indian leaders, Bowles managed to avoid being captured until May 1803.²³

Placing late eighteenth-century Florida into a global context does not necessarily present a flattering view. As much as Florida was connected to the wider Atlantic World, the territory was typically an under-funded and over-hyped afterthought in the plans of European and American powers. Rather than a central player or place of great concern, Florida served as a pawn in a trans-Atlantic

22. Vincent Emanuel de Zéspedes to Alexander McGillivray, 22 May 1786, Panton, Leslie Papers; "Talk Delivered at Silver bluff the Third Day of November 1779 to George Galphin Esqr Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Southern Department by the Tallassee King," Ayer Collection; Mithloggee [Creek Indian] to James Seagrove, 14 June 1799, Ayer Collection.

23. Robert Leslie to unknown, 22 March 1792, Ayer Collection; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens, Ga., 1967)

struggle over power, wealth, and religion. Its inhospitable environment, unclear geopolitical boundaries, and economic struggles prevented the European powers from investing sufficient men or money in the colony. Florida was repeatedly ceded through treaties, and its isolated populations rarely felt the effects of the centralized governments that claimed them. Although European colonists inhabited St. Augustine, Pensacola, and some forts and missions, most of Florida remained up for grabs. Colonial powers played a role in shaping Florida, but the key to understanding diplomacy, trade, law, culture, and economics in early Florida is found inside local and semi-autonomous Native villages like Alachua, Fus-hachee, and Tallassee. As a result, between 1750 and 1810 dozens of semi-autonomous Indian villages controlled the region, and Florida remained Indian country.

The St. Augustine Hurricane of 1811: Disaster and the Question of Political Unrest on the Florida Frontier

by Sherry Johnson

“On the 5th of October a violent hurricane hit this city, It caused terrible damage to the houses in town The destruction is so great that these poor people are entirely ruined.”¹

So wrote Spanish East Florida’s interim governor Juan José de Estrada on December 5, 1811. The hurricane could not have occurred at a more inopportune time. During the previous three years, Spain had suffered an unprecedented series of catastrophes. In 1808, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded the country, usurped the monarchy, and placed his brother Josef on the throne, thus creating a crisis of legitimacy throughout the Spanish empire. Political confusion led to economic uncertainty as revenues from Spanish America to the metropolis were halted. At the same time, aggressive American expansionism encouraged attacks

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1. Juan José de Estrada, interim governor of East Florida, to Marqués de Someruelos, captain general of Cuba, St. Augustine, 9 December 1811, legajo 1570B, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (hereafter PC), Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Seville, Spain.

along the border between the United States and the Spanish colonies. One such invasion was the attempted seizure of East Florida by General George Mathews and his followers in March 1812.² Within the chaos of the Spanish empire and threatened with invasion from Georgia, the October hurricane had the potential to be the last straw in a series of misfortunes that swayed popular sentiment in favor of the invaders.

This article studies the sequence of political events leading up to the invasion, focusing on Estrada's interim administration. During the last decades of the eighteenth century, Spanish Caribbean officials developed policies of disaster mitigation, and by 1811, Spanish subjects had come to expect certain responses from the men in charge. Estrada's political behavior and especially his response to the crisis caused by the hurricane will be used as a benchmark to evaluate the refusal of East Florida's citizens to rally to Mathews's cause.

In the years following Hurricane Andrew's strike upon South Florida in 1992, scholars' observations regarding political, economic, and social behavior have produced a body of literature about the aftermath of disaster and its ramifications. Once the danger had passed, people emerged from their shelters, thankful to be alive, and then asked, "Who is in charge and will they provide what I need?" These needs varied from life-saving measures to providing food and water to maintaining order by stopping looting and lawlessness in the political vacuum after the storm. Such research also produced some fundamental premises about the effect of catastrophes on human behavior. First, disaster has a "leveling" effect. Surrounded by death and destruction, social distinctions evaporate in the struggle for survival. In addition,

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2. John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808* (Oxford, Eng., 1989); Raymond Carr, *Spain: 1808-1939* (Oxford, Eng., 1966); Josep Fontana, *La crisis del antiguo régimen, 1808-1833* (Barcelona, Spain, 1979); Gabriel H. Lovett, *Napoleon and the Birth of Modern Spain* (New York, 1965); Charles J. Esdaile, *Fighting Napoleon: Guerrillas, Bandits and Adventurers in Spain, 1808-1814* (New Haven, Conn., 2004); Timothy E. Anna, *Spain & the Loss of America* (Lincoln, Neb., 1983); David Ringrose, *Spain, Europe, and the "Spanish Miracle," 1700-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); John R. Fisher, *Commercial Relations between Spain and Spanish America in the Era of Free Trade* (Liverpool, Eng., 1985); idem, "Imperial 'Free Trade' and the Hispanic Economy," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 13 (May 1981): 21-59; James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003); Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens, Ga., 1954).

disaster contributes to and/or heightens a “we-they” mentality. This sense of solidarity can be anything from neighbors banding together to protect their neighborhood from looters to a feeling of privilege and exclusivity for years afterward as fellow survivors of a traumatic event.³

Scholars also found that a strong causal relationship exists among the demands of the population, inadequate governmental response to the crisis, and political unrest. On one hand, if the community’s needs were met, the reaction would be cooperation, gratitude, and strong feelings of loyalty to the existing regime. On the other hand, indifference and incompetence fostered resentment, resistance, and/or revolt. Disaster, then, allowed certain groups to press their advantage with the authorities while hostile elements often seized the opportunity and fostered rebellion.⁴

Using disaster studies as an analytical tool also forces the researcher to approach evidence from a different perspective.⁵ Familiar chronologies must be discarded because disaster does not conform to historically-imposed frameworks. Quite to the con-

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3. Walter Gillis Peacock, Betty Hearn Morrow, and Hugh Gladwin, eds., *Hurricane Andrew: Ethnicity, Gender, and the Sociology of Disasters* (New York, 1997); Eugene F. Provenzo Jr. and Asterie Baker Provenzo, *In the Eye of Hurricane Andrew* (Gainesville, Fla., 2002).
 4. Richard Stuart Olson and Vincent T. Gawronski, “Disasters as Critical Junctures? Managua, Nicaragua 1972 and Mexico City 1985,” *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 21 (March 2003): 5-35; Richard Stuart Olson, “Towards a Politics of Disaster: Losses, Values, Agendas, and Blame,” *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 18 (August 2000): 265-87; Richard Stuart Olson and A. Cooper Drury, “Un-Therapeutic Communities: A Cross-National Analysis of Post-Disaster Political Unrest,” *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 15 (August 1997): 221-38; A. Cooper Drury and Richard Stuart Olson, “Disasters and Political Unrest: An Empirical Investigation,” *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 6:5 (September 1998): 153-61.
 5. Recent scholarship on the impact of hurricanes includes 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; idem, “Hurricanes and the Shaping of Circum-Caribbean Societies” *Florida Historical Society* 83 (spring 2005): 455-82; Sherry Johnson, “The Rise and Fall of Creole Participation in the Cuban Slave Trade, 1789-1796,” *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos* 30 (1999): 54-75; idem, “Climate, Community, and Commerce among Florida, Cuba, and the Atlantic World, 1784-1800,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 80 (spring 2002): 455-82; Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Winds of Change: Hurricanes and the Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); Ted Steinberg, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disasters in America* (Oxford, Eng., 2000); Matthew Mulcahy, *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624-1783* (Baltimore, Md., 2005).

trary: more often than not, the disaster was *the* contributing factor that set political and economic processes in motion.⁶ Yet, even when disaster was not a catalyst for political change, historians can infer much about community values by the *absence* of an identifiable political shift.

Such was the case in East Florida, notable because of Mathews's failure to rally Spanish subjects to his cause. The general and James Monroe's disingenuous administration expected that the crisis in East Florida would encourage residents to rise up and welcome Matthews's Georgians as liberators. As historian James G. Cusick ably demonstrated, however, this was not the case; instead the province degenerated into factional warfare among the Georgians, people living in Florida who supported or were forced to support them, and residents who were steadfastly loyal to Spain. Cusick's study is a major contribution to a recent genre of revisionist scholarship about the Second Spanish period. Long characterized as a destitute backwater, Florida has been the subject of an ever-growing body of literature that is gradually redefining the importance of the province within the context of a wider Atlantic world.⁷

6. Richard Lobdell, "Economic Consequences of Hurricanes in the Caribbean," *Review of Latin American Studies* 3 (1990): 178-96; Virginia García Acosta, "Introduction," *Historia y desastres en America Latina*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1996), 1: 15-37.
7. Cusick, *Other War of 1812*. For examples of historiographic attention to Florida in the Atlantic world, see Jane G. Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, Ill., 1999); idem, ed., *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 2000); Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York, 1994); Patricia Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans in Florida, 1764-1783* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1991); Ligia María Bermúdez, "The Situado: A Study in the Dynamics of East Florida's Economy during the Second Spanish Period, 1785-1820" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1989); James G. Cusick, "Across the Border: Commodity Flow and Merchants in Spanish St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (January 1991): 277-99; Susan R. Parker, "'Men Without God or King': The Rural Planters of East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (January 1991): 3-25; 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*, eds. Mark D. Greenberg, William Warren Rogers, and Canter Brown Jr. (Tallahassee, Fla., 1997), 1-13. *El Escribano: The Journal of the St. Augustine Historical Society* (1988) was dedicated to the different cultures that vied for existence during Florida's Second Spanish period (1784-1821).

Drawing upon the foundation provided by disaster, climate, and environmental studies, this article evaluates events in East Florida within a transnational context. It establishes the continuity of Spanish government and society by situating events on the Florida frontier within the wider context of political processes in the Hispanic Caribbean from the 1760s through the Estrada administration, proposing a direct correlation between government responses to disaster in Florida to those during similar, earlier periods of environmental stress in Cuba in the 1760s, 1770s, and 1790s.⁸ The point of congruence is the experience of royal officials who were in charge of implementing imperial policies of disaster mitigation. Juan José de Estrada represented a long line of men who were the first responders to disaster for fifty years. The strategic decisions that he made before and after the hurricane reassured citizens of East Florida that, even in a world gone crazy, familiarity and continuity would prevail.

According to scientists who study the history of climate, the long-term conditions that set the stage for the hurricane of 1811 began in the mid-eighteenth century. Climatologists have determined that the earth cycles through warm and cold periods. One such cold period, termed the Little Ice Age, began around 1550 and concluded circa 1850. Around 1750, an anomaly lasting approximately fifty years caused an upward spike in the earth's temperature, leading in turn to certain global weather consequences. Among these consequences were increased El Niño activity.⁹

Until the winter of 1983, when devastating floods hit northern Peru, an El Niño was unknown to all but a small group of scientists and geographers. The phenomenon begins with a warming of

8. Sherry Johnson, *The Social Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Cuba* (Gainesville, 2001); idem, "El Niño and Environmental Crisis: Reinterpreting American Rebellions in the 1790s," paper prepared for the Third Biennial Allen Morris Conference on the History of Florida and the Atlantic World, February 2004, Tallahassee, Fla.; James Gregory Cusick, "Spanish East Florida in the Atlantic Economy of the Late Eighteenth Century," in Landers, ed., *Colonial Plantations*, 168-88; idem "The Impact of the Spanish American Liberation Movements on the Inhabitants of Spanish East and West Florida (1808-1814)," paper presented at the Southern Historical Association Conference, Memphis, November 2004.

9. César N. Caviedes, *El Niño in History: Storming through the Ages* (Gainesville, Fla., 2001), 146-50, 201; idem, personal communication to author, 24 October 2000. It is increasingly clear that the climate in the 1760s through circa 1800 was exceptional. Climatologists have verified a minute upward

tropical Pacific waters that leads to torrential rainfall along the Pacific coasts of the Americas. Scientists quickly realized that El Niño events were recurring and their effects not limited to the Pacific region. Other tropical zones—including Mexico, the Caribbean, and sub Saharan Africa—were hit by severe and prolonged drought. Worse still, the end of an El Niño event did not relieve environmental stress. Researchers discovered that El Niño has a malevolent twin sister, La Niña, that follows her destructive brother in the form of increased hurricane activity in the Caribbean and Atlantic basin. In some ways La Niña is worse because it affects tropical regions already stressed from El Niño events.¹⁰

The combined effect of the heightened El Niño/La Niña sequence is ecological crisis in the Caribbean, and the consequences transcend political boundaries, even in the contemporary United States and Europe. The significance of this series of ecological disasters cannot be overstated as no aspect of life is unaffected. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, political, economic, social, religious, and cultural institutions came under assault as the environmental crisis took its toll. All European imperial powers struggled to cope, but Spain was particularly hard hit because its empire extended over such a large area. Mercantilistic economic policy demanded the empire be self-sufficient, but the system broke down when one cog in the wheel, Mexico, suffered extensive severe drought and could not provide sufficient food for fortified Caribbean cities.¹¹

spike in the earth's temperature in scientific sources such as deep-core samples of glaciers, soil samples, and dendrochronology; see S. Huang, "Integrated Northern Hemisphere Surface Temperature Reconstruction"; W.H. Quinn and V. T. Neal; "The Historical Record of El Niño Events in Climate since AD 1500," in R. Bradley, "Climate Since AD 1500 Database," both available through Paleoclimatology Program, World Data Center for Paleoclimatology, Boulder, Colo., 1992, National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration's Paleoclimatology website at <http://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/paleo>. See also NOAA's website on historic hurricanes based upon José Fernández Partagás's lifelong dedication to collecting such data at <http://www.nhc.noaa.gov>.

10. In his chapter entitled "Altered States: From El Niño to La Niña," in *El Niño in History*, 146-71, Caviedes described the correlation between El Niño and La Niña, originally termed "anti-niño."
11. Sherry Johnson, "El Niño, Environmental Crisis, and the Emergence of Alternative Markets in the Hispanic Caribbean 1760s-1770s," *William & Mary Quarterly* 62 (July 2005): 365-410; Enrique Florescano, *Precios de maíz y crisis agrícola en México (1708-1810)* (Mexico City, 1969), 60, 72-75.

From the 1750s through the early 1780s, Spain was obliged to develop a coherent metropolitan policy to respond to repeated environmental crises. In the beginning, government officials in a disaster-stricken area intervened and initiated recovery efforts instead of doing nothing or relying upon the church to take care of victims, as it had in the past. Faced with food shortages, Spain gradually abandoned mercantilism and increasingly came to rely upon North Americans, particularly Philadelphia merchants, for provisions. Trade regulations were set aside to help residents recover, and victims of hurricanes received concessions ranging from cash payments to relief in the form of a moratorium on taxes and tithes. Areas of the empire that escaped devastation were expected to contribute to recovery elsewhere.¹²

As metropolitan disaster relief policy evolved over a fifty-year period, local authorities learned the best way to respond to a hurricane through trial and error. It was beneficial, then, that by the time the Floridas returned to Spanish dominion in 1784, the men who governed the province had accumulated decades of experience in formulating and implementing disaster mitigation policy in the Caribbean. Prominent among these future leaders was career officer Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, who became the first governor of East Florida in the Second Spanish period. When the Floridas were ceded to Great Britain in 1763, Zéspedes had been serving in Pensacola. Recalled to Havana, he became commander of the Third Battalion of the fixed regiment of Havana, a post he held until he was reassigned to Santiago de Cuba as interim governor in the 1770s. In the 1780s, he received promotion to the post of Inspector General of Troops of the island before being named governor of East Florida in 1784. Zéspedes's successor, second governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, served for years in the Caribbean prior to his appointment in Florida. Among Quesada's first assignments was the lieutenant governorship of Puerto Príncipe (modern-day Camagüey) during the early 1780s. He went on to become governor of Honduras, a particularly difficult position that required constant

12. Ibid. This article is part of my larger study that ties together the significance of these phenomena, *El Niño's Atlantic World Repercussions in the Age of Revolution* (in progress).

vigilance against repeated British encroachments to cut logwood. He succeeded Zéspedes in 1790. The highest ranking military officer who served under both Zéspedes and Quesada was the commander of the Third Battalion of Cuba, Bartolomé de Morales. A native of Algeciras in southern Spain, Morales arrived in Havana in the 1760s and subsequently was posted to Santiago de Cuba. In the 1770s, he was selected by the captain general of Cuba, the Marqués de la Torre, to transfer to Havana and take a position in governmental administrative offices. Morales's long career in the Cuban theater included service in Florida from the 1780s through 1801.¹³

With the cession of Florida to Britain in 1763, Florida's military families had evacuated to Cuba. Florida-born infantry officer Diego de León, Colonel Alvaro López de Toledo, and his son Antonio were inducted into the fixed regiment of Havana immediately upon arrival in Havana in 1764. There they joined other officers under the command of Vicente de Zéspedes. In the 1770s, one of Florida's senior officers, *ayudante mayor* (adjutant major) Francisco de León became commander of one of the forts that guarded Havana, the Castillo de la Punta. Artillery members Sergeant Bernardo Pérez and Corporal Salvador de Porras were transferred into the Artillery Corps of Havana and settled in the southern portion of the town, where most artillerymen and their families resided. After serving sixteen months in Florida, the Compañía de Fucileros de Montaña de América remained virtually intact in its new posting in Puerto Príncipe, where Juan de Quesada served as commanding officer in the 1780s.¹⁴

One of the most visible examples of continuity between the Floridians and the command structure in Cuba was the mounted cavalry unit, which did not exist until the Florida unit was transferred to Cuba. Captains Antonio Fernández and Lorenzo José de León, and Lieutenant Ildefonso Sánchez Casahonda retained positions in the newly-created Mounted Cavalry of Havana. They served under the command of one of Cuba's most celebrated officers, French-born Antonio de Raffelín, a veteran of many

13. Johnson, *Social Transformation*, 39-96.

14. Idem, "Casualties of Peace: Tracing the Historic Roots of the Florida-Cuba Diaspora, 1763-1800," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 10 (winter 2002): 91-125.

European campaigns and one of the most capable and trusted officers in the Caribbean.¹⁵

Through continued service in Cuba, the Floridians came to the attention of superiors whose patronage could do much to further a man's career. When an anchorage was authorized at Batabanó in the 1770s, Antonio López de Toledo was chosen to lead the garrison and militia unit that guarded the new port. At the far western end of the island, a watch tower arose to provide advance warning against the approach of an enemy fleet. Floridano Antonio Fernández headed the detachment of mounted cavalry and served as lieutenant governor of a post that became even more important after Spain's entry into the American Revolution in 1779. At the other end of the island in Baracoa, the crown relied upon Floridians such as José Horruytiner, who by the 1780s, served as lieutenant governor of that remote town.¹⁶

It was only natural that many sons followed their fathers' and grandfathers' footsteps in military service. In August 1764, two of the four López de Toledo brothers, sons of the captain who became the commander of the outpost at Batabanó, were inducted into the newly-created Noble Corps of Cadets of Havana. The brothers were joined by Juan and Joaquín de Landa, sons of Diego de Landa, who also transferred from St. Augustine in 1764. Similarly, the children of Raymundo de Arrivas, a captain of the infantry from Arévalo in Spain, and wife Ursula de Averó, widow of peninsular Captain Diego de Repilado and from a family of long standing in Spanish Florida, perpetuated the familial tradition. Like the López de Toledo and Landa brothers, son Francisco de Arrivas and stepson José de Repilado, from Ursula's first marriage, were immediately inducted as cadets into the fixed regiment of Havana.¹⁷

Joining the military community in Havana were several extended family networks who had provided goods and services to the garrison. Contrary to popular belief, the majority of Floridians

15. Idem, *Social Transformation*, 57, 71-84, 89, 113. Raffelin's service to the Spanish crown dated to the 1760s when he participated in European campaigns. In 1763, he was emissary to Jamaica where he worked out the details of the British departure from Havana; see "Empleos . . . Colonel D. Antonio Raffelin," Havana, 31 December 1786, cuaderno 13, legajo 7259, Guerra Moderna (hereafter Guerra), Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS).

16. Johnson, *Social Transformation*, 71-84.

17. Ibid.

were not resettled in Ceiba Mocha and left to an uncertain fate. Instead, the Sánchez, Rodríguez, Gonzáles Montes de Oca, Cordero, Espinosa, Hita y Salazar, and Ruíz del Canto families, among many others, relocated in the villages and *barrios* (neighborhoods) in and around Havana where they prospered in spite of being exiled from their homeland. Floridanos Antonio Marín, Lorenzo Rodríguez, and Miguel Chapúz regularly visited a settlement of Minorcan Catholics south of St. Augustine at New Smyrna. These men carried messages back and forth, thus providing information about the status of the British garrison in St. Augustine and about the conditions of family properties to the former owners in Cuba. Ships' captains Francisco Ruíz del Canto and Joaquín Escalona, members of a complicated kin network formed among Floridanos in Havana's Santo Angel parish, served both as agents and ambassadors by promoting contact and commerce with Florida's west coast Indian groups.¹⁸

The floridano officers and countless men of lesser rank served in the army in Cuba for three decades under commanders such as Zéspedes, Quesada, Raffelín, and Morales. They were in the vanguard when Spanish forces under Bernardo de Gálvez recaptured Pensacola from the British in 1781.¹⁹ When Florida returned to Spain, these men were logical choices to make up the contingent of troops whose task it was to return the province to Spanish rule. Floridanos who had left as junior officers in 1763 combined their service assignments and returned as the commanders of several regiments on the first fleet of ships. For example, Antonio López de Toledo, whose father Alvaro had relinquished at least three town lots, returned as a lieutenant colonel and the head of the

18. Idem, "Casualties of Peace," 91-125. For Ruíz de Canto, see Francisco Ruíz del Canto, "Relación . . .," Havana, 6 April 1779, legajo 1242, PC, AGI. For a discussion of Ruíz del Canto's successful reconnaissance missions, see Cummins, *Spanish Observers*, 96-98.

19. Among the Floridanos who participated in the Pensacola expedition were Antonio de Toledo, son and grandson of the distinguished military family; Antonio Fernández, former lieutenant governor of Nueva Filipinas; Manuel Castilla, son-in-law of Antonio Fernández; and Pedro Caxne and Pablo Catafal, sons-in-law of Raymundo de Arrivas; see "Empleos, Antonio de Toledo," 31 December 1788, folio 50, expediente 2; "Empleos, Antonio Fernández," 31 December 1786, folio 4, expediente 13; "Empleos, Manuel Castilla," 31 December 1788, folio 60, expediente 2; "Empleos, Pedro Caxne," and "Empleos, Pablo Catafal," 31 December 1788, Expediente 1, all legajo 7259, Guerra, AGS. See also, Johnson, *Social Transformation*, 37-96.

Fixed Regiment of Cuba. Antonio Fernández, former commander of the strategic outpost at Nueva Filipinas and participant in both Pensacola expeditions, headed the Mounted Cavalry. Youngest son of the Arrivas family, Tadeo, received a position in the treasury. Men with maritime experience in guiding ships over the sandbar in St. Augustine's harbor were in great demand, and the families of ship captains Diego de Miranda, Antonio Marín, Joaquín Escalona, Lorenzo Rodríguez, and Miguel Chapúz were among the first to return. Ship's captain José Bermúdez profited from his knowledge of the Florida waters on both sides of the peninsula. Civilians such as Tomas Cordero, Lucía Escalona, and Juana Navarro all journeyed to St. Augustine upon the retrocession of the city to press their property claims.²⁰

The significance of these vast interconnected family networks with personal and professional obligations goes beyond the obvious. In every case, these families had strong and unbreakable ties to Florida that extended far beyond the narrow and isolated world so often envisioned by scholars of the Second Spanish period. They were also creatures of their environment; military tradition, honor, loyalty, and family were of paramount importance. Decades of experience in Cuba meant that these men and women were prepared to weather the political intrigues that accompanied change in monarchy in 1788 and the economic crisis that plagued the Spanish empire after 1790. Their decades in Caribbean service also meant that they were well aware of how the metropolis chose to respond to disasters. Not only had they survived two decades of inordinately severe hurricanes, they were part and parcel of creating the policy that sought to mitigate disaster and minimize the possibility of political unrest. Fortunately for Florida, they brought their experience with them.²¹

Twenty-seven years later, on April 13, 1811, amid political uncertainty and economic chaos, the man who had succeeded Juan de Quesada as governor in 1796, Enrique White, died. The rules of emergency succession established that the senior ranking military official, Estrada, take control of the province. The choice was auspicious. Juan José de Estrada came from one of the most

20. Johnson, "Casualties of Peace," 121-24.

21. Idem, *Social Transformation*, 164-80. For an examination of the impact of hurricanes in the first years after Spain regained East Florida, see idem, "Climate, Community, and Commerce."

distinguished families in military service in Cuba. His father, Pedro de Estrada, was among the senior leaders defending against the British siege and occupation of Havana in 1762. As was customary, Juan José and his brother Ignacio followed their father and grandfather into military service. Maintaining the tradition of extending family influence within the ranks, their sister Barbara married Colonel Antonio de Raffelín. In doing so, the Estrada family became inextricably linked to the Florida exile community because Raffelín commanded the mounted cavalry company that included so many Florida soldiers.²²

Estrada was aided by a cadre of experienced and competent subordinates. Chief engineer Manuel de Hita y Salazar was from a notable floridano family whose service to the Spanish crown went back several generations. The commander of the post at Fernandina, Justo José López de Toledo, was the youngest son of the family that had evacuated in 1764. Too young to join his brothers when the Noble Corps of Cadets was formed, young Justo José subsequently was inducted into the cadet corps, and by 1811 he, too, held a position of prominence in the Spanish imperial army. The civilian community was strengthened by second and third generations of Floridians, many of whom had intermarried with prominent Minorcan families.²³

22. Idem, *Social Transformation*, 159-69; White Deaths, 13 April 1811, reel 284L, Cathedral Parish Records (hereafter CPR), Diocese of St. Augustine, microfilm copies in P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; Amalia A. Rodríguez, ed., *Cinco diarios del sitio de la Habana* (Havana, Cuba, 1963), 238; Celia María Parceró Torre, *La pérdida de la Habana y las reformas Borbónicas en Cuba (1760-1773)* (Madrid, Spain, 1998), 162-64; *Conde de Macuriges v. Ignacio de Estrada*, Council of the Indies, Madrid, 1 July 1786, expediente 15, legajo 1141, Audiencia de Santo Domingo (hereafter SD), AGI; "Matrimonios de Españoles," 5 October 1773, Libro 7: 1771-1794, S.M.I., Catedral de San Cristóbal de la Havana, Havana, Cuba; Relación por antigüedad de la oficialidad, sargentos y cadetes del Esquadrón de Dragones de America Fijo de esta Plaza . . . , Havana, 31 December 1786, cuaderno 13, legajo 7259, Guerra, AGS. Raffelín, Antonio Fernández, Ildefonso Sánchez, and Ignacio de Estrada all served together in this unit.

23. Manuel de Hita y Salazar to Enrique White, 1 November 1803, bundle 171B14, reel 74, East Florida Papers (hereafter EFP), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, microfilm copies in P.K. Yonge Library; "Regimiento Infantería de la Havana, Indice General . . . , Havana, 31 December 1786, cuaderno 12, legajo 7259, Guerra, AGS; Census Returns, Census of 1786, Census of 1793, bundle 323A, reel 148, EFP. See also, Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach*; idem, "Blue Gold: Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna Plantation," in Landers, ed., *Colonial Plantations*, 39-68.

Being surrounded by colleagues with considerable talent and experience worked in Estrada's favor because his ascent to the governorship was not without challenge. When White died in April, ranking military officials and bureaucrats in the province convened a *junta de guerra* (war council) to legitimate Estrada's succession as interim governor. Although in 1794 the Ministry of the Indies had specifically mandated that the line of succession went to the ranking military officer, nonetheless, on May 14th a dispute broke out among the principals of the *junta de guerra*: Manuel de Hita, chief of the engineers; Ignacio Salem, chief of the artillery corps; and Manuel López, the chief treasury official. López (not related to the López de Toledo family) opposed Estrada's control of the treasury since his experience was limited to military matters, but the two officers voted against the bureaucrat, and Estrada assumed the full responsibilities of his position.²⁴

The question of access to treasury funds was particularly urgent because, by 1811, Florida faced the same dismal and uncertain economic future as the rest of the empire. Ever since Josef Bonaparte had usurped the Spanish throne, Mexican silver remittances had been suspended to deprive the usurper access to the main source of Spanish revenue. As a consequence, the financial crisis extended throughout the Spanish empire. In some cases, Florida's soldiers and contractors who supplied the garrison had not been paid for several months, and Estrada begged the captain general of Cuba, the Marqués de Someruelos, to send Florida's annual *situado* (subsidy) to relieve the "utter misery" of the residents.²⁵

The one bright spot in the economy was the booming lumber and cotton business in Fernandina, yet many of the prominent families who lived in the northern town held their land under very tenuous circumstances. Faced with few options, Estrada devised a solution to fill East Florida's empty treasury that would also serve as a conciliatory gesture to the frontier residents whose loyalty was questionable. His idea was to revive the liberal immigration policies of the 1790s when widespread land grants attracted hundreds of settlers from the southern United States. In June, Estrada wrote to Someruelos suggesting that he be allowed to sell some of the

24. Estrada to Someruelos, 14 May 1811, St. Augustine, legajo 1570A, PC, AGI.

25. Bermúdez, "Situado," 39-59, 66; Cusick, *Other War of 1812*, 44-45; Estrada to Someruelos, 19 June 1811, St. Augustine, legajo 1570A, PC, AGI.

extensive lands held by the crown to "suitable people" in the hope of remedying the "miserable state of the province." While Estrada waited for a reply from Havana, his plan attracted considerable attention from another quarter: that of General Matthews, camped across the St. Mary's River in Georgia. In July, word reached St. Augustine that the enemy leader has issued a proclamation offering to give every white man fifty acres of land once his conquest of the province was accomplished. The general also promised that those who joined his cause would be assured of the enjoyment of their religion and the protection of their private property.²⁶ Although the settlement plan is usually attributed to Mathews, the original idea belonged to Estrada, and Mathews's proclamation was an undisguised effort to counter its effect and attract supporters among rural East Florida's settlers.

By the end of July, the situation in St. Augustine was deteriorating. Expecting an attack at any time, Estrada desperately tried to convince Someruelos of the gravity of the situation. St. Augustine's troop salaries were months in arrears, and the units were seriously undermanned. Making matters worse, Estrada's best officers had been allowed to stay in Cuba on temporary assignment. One of them, Manuel de Castilla, the son-in-law of Antonio Fernández, took advantage of his family's influence and extended his "medical leave" in Havana where he had been since 1808. Former governor White had not pursued the issue, possibly since the situation in Florida was less volatile than in Cuba or other areas such as Mexico, but by 1811, Estrada could no longer ignore the threat that gathered across the border. Still, the silence from Cuba was deafening, and once again, Estrada wrote to the captain general asking that Castilla and three other senior officers be returned to Florida. At the least, he stressed how desperately he needed reinforcements. Again, the captain general failed to respond to Estrada's request, so the governor tried new tactics. He went over Someruelos's head and wrote directly to the Viceroy of Mexico asking that Florida's *situado* be sent to the province. In addition, Estrada decided to send an emissary to plead his case with Someruelos in person. Engineer Manuel de Hita had been assigned to a new position in Santo Domingo. En route, he had to

26. Cusick, *Other War of 1812*, 44-46, 62-63; Estrada to Someruelos, 19 June 1811, St. Augustine, legajo 1570A, PC, AGI; John Houston McIntosh to William Craig, St. Mary's, 23 July 1811, bundle 147D12, reel 61, EFP.

pass through Havana, and he took Estrada's ominous warning to the captain general. The message was brutally honest: "If you do not make all haste to find a way to contain the intrigues and seductions, and if you do not send me enough money to pay the troops and royal employees who are growing increasingly disgusted because they have not been paid in so long, I fear that His Majesty will lose this very important part of the empire."²⁷

Among the intrigues Estrada needed to contain were Mathews's attempts to befriend Seminoles in the interior of the peninsula. As the crisis deepened on the frontier, Estrada made some strategic choices with the few resources available to him and, beginning in July, began to distribute the annual gifts to nine Seminole villages. The cost of providing presents such as cloth, tobacco, powder and flints, farming and hunting implements, and liquor, was an expenditure that Estrada could ill afford, but the loyalty of the Seminole tribes was vital to Spanish victory. The main Seminole settlement in Alachua under the leadership of Chief Payne could mobilize 125 *guerreros* (warriors); Bowlegs's village, Guacapote, had 32 *guerreros*; and that of Onosquy in Mosquitos could provide 35 men if they decided to join the Spanish effort. Even if the Seminoles remained neutral, it would be preferable to them joining the enemy. Estrada had already decided to begin the annual distribution—undoubtedly with supplies furnished on credit from St. Augustine's merchants—when a welcome surprise arrived from Cuba. At the beginning of September, twelve thousand pesos arrived on the ship from Havana. While hardly sufficient to compensate for the deficit in Florida's *situado*, the payment was better than nothing, and if spent strategically could convince the Seminoles of their goodwill. The coming months would prove the money to be well spent.²⁸

27. Estrada to Someruelos, 14 May 1811, St. Augustine, legajo 1570A; Estrada to Someruelos, 4 July 1811, St. Augustine, legajo 1570A; Estrada to Someruelos, 1 August 1811, St. Augustine, legajo 1570A, all in PC, AGI; Larry R. Jensen, *Children of Colonial Despotism: Press, Politics, and Culture in Cuba, 1790-1840* (Tampa, Fla., 1988.), 37-40; José Luciano Franco, *Política continental americana de España en Cuba, 1812-1830* (Havana, Cuba, 1947), 11-27; Cusick, *Other War of 1812*, 76-77; Matthew Childs, 'To End this Empire of Tyranny': *Slavery, Rebellion, and Identity in the Cuban Aponte Conspiracy of 1812* (forthcoming 2006) promises to be a welcome addition to the historiographic literature.

28. "Estado de los Yndios que han percivido Regalo en el año de 1811," St. Augustine, 14 September 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, EFP; Estrada to Someruelos, St. Augustine, 16 September 1811, legajo 1570B; Estrada to

Yet, the arrival of part of the annual subsidy also came with disappointing news. Someruelos refused to allow Estrada to sell land to American settlers. Recalling that the generous land grants in the 1790s had reaped nothing but ingratitude and rebellion, the captain general reminded Estrada that a Royal Order of 1804 prohibited United States citizens from residing in East Florida. A follow-up order issued in 1806 was even more specific: “no continuen por ningun pretexto las ventas de tierras a extrangeros” or “under no circumstances [may you] continue to sell land to foreigners.” Citing both orders, Someruelos told Estrada that he had no choice in the matter as it had been settled by the Ministry of the Indies years before.²⁹

Amid the threat of invasion and financial crisis, on October 5th, St. Augustine was struck by a violent hurricane. From all accounts, it is probable that the storm made landfall from the east during daylight hours. It seems to have been a fairly compact storm since the worst destruction was confined to St. Augustine and the city's surrounding area. The greatest damage was caused by flood water, a killer wave known in modern terminology as the storm surge, that rose over a community that was especially vulnerable since it was built on low-lying land and surrounded by water. As the hurricane intensified, the Matanzas and North Rivers that make up Matanzas Bay combined with those of Maria Sanchez Creek, creating a wall of water laden with debris. Fueled with the wreckage of houses and other buildings that fronted the bay, the storm surge was transformed into a battering ram that even the most substantial structures could not withstand. Small boats and dinghies broke away from their moorings and floated through the streets and in the main square, the Plaza de Armas. As the waters continued to rise, “the residents fled from their homes in fear for

Someruelos, St. Augustine, 2 September 1811, legajo 1570B, both in PC, AGI. The latter letter acknowledged the arrival of the money “with extreme gratitude.” For background, see Richard K. Murdoch, “Indian Presents: To Give or Not to Give: Governor White's Quandary,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 35 (April 1957): 326-46. On pages 336-37, Murdoch reproduced the list of the types of presents distributed to chiefs, warriors, women and children. The Seminole villages had 326 men who were potential warriors, 337 women, and 385 children. See also Cusick, *Other War of 1812*, 213-25; James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville, Fla., 1993), 28-35.

29. Someruelos to Estrada, Havana, 14 September 1811, legajo 1570B, PC, AGI.

their lives looking for any secure place to save themselves.”³⁰ At the height of the storm, land and water would have been indistinguishable.³¹

Only the oldest residents of St. Augustine recalled the previous hurricane that hit the province directly in 1775 when the city was a British possession. In the 1780s, hurricanes grazed the Florida coastline, but none directly damaged the city or its dwellings. The men in royal service, however, had lived in Cuba when the island suffered sequential, devastating storms. As soon as the immediate danger passed, Estrada and a contingent of troops went out into the streets to evaluate the damage and render emergency aid. Among his first acts was to contact four *comisarios del barrio*, chosen before the disaster for their competence, judgment, and standing in their community, who were responsible for patrolling the streets and maintaining order in their neighborhoods. Among these four men were José Sánchez and Juan González Montes de Oca, comisarios of barrios Yglesias and Castillo, respectively. Both were old Floridanos who had lived in Cuba as children and returned to St. Augustine in 1784. Joaquín Sánchez, comisario of barrio Contaduría, had also lived in Cuba and arrived with the return of Spanish rule. Gaspar Papy was a respected senior member of the Minorcan community and was the comisario of barrio Cuarteles. Estrada met each man and ordered him to implement emergency post-hurricane procedures.³² Then, aided by regular troops and militia members, their job was to visit every household in their area, inspect property damage, evaluate losses, and turn in a report that would begin the process of recovery.

30. Estrada to Someruelos, St. Augustine, 6 December 1811, legajo 1570B, PC, AGI. Justo López wrote to Estrada from Fernandina two days after the hurricane relating how the strong storm had caused significant flooding. He did not include any reports of damages or casualties, which suggests that the northern town received the outer bands of the hurricane where the intensity would have been minimized; see Justo López to Estrada, Fernandina, 7 October 1811, bundle 147D12, reel 61, EFP.

31. The similarities between the St. Augustine hurricane and the deadliest hurricane in United States history, the Galveston hurricane in 1900, are striking. The major difference is the number of casualties in the Galveston storm, obviously because the Texas town had so many more people; see Nathan C. Green, *The Story of the 1900 Galveston Hurricane* (1900; reprint, Gretna, La., 2000); Isaac Monroe Cline, *Storms, Floods and Sunshine: An Autobiography* (Gretna, La., 2000); Casey Edward Greene and Shelly Henley Kelly, eds., *Through a Night of Horrors: Voices from the 1900 Galveston Storm* (College Station, Texas, 2000).

As the four comisarios spread out to check on their neighbors, the magnitude of the destruction became evident. The greatest damage occurred on the streets fronting the harbor, Calle de la Marina (Marine Street) and portions of Calle San Carlos (Charlotte Street) where virtually every household reported total damage. Spaniard Gerónimo Alvarez, who was the royal baker, lost seven houses valued at three thousand pesos that he owned free and clear in the southern portion of town in the barrio Cuarteles. The loss represented his life's savings. He had arrived as a single man and royal employee with the first returnees in 1784. In his nearly three decades of residence in St. Augustine, he had married into the Minorcan community, raised a family and prospered, but by the evening of October 5, all that he and his family had worked for was damaged or destroyed. His neighbor, José García, also lost everything when the flood waters carried away his residence and the greater portion of his store. Reports from the other end of town in the barrio Castillo echoed the reports of total destruction. Among the casualties were three contiguous properties on the waterfront owned by Manuel Fernández Bendicho. Even though it was not directly on the waterfront, a substantial two-story stone house on St. George Street owned by María Castañeda, widow of the royal caulker Juan Sánchez, was seriously damaged; her losses were calculated at 575 pesos.³³

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32. William Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram*, ed. Mark Van Doren (1928; reprint, New York, 1955), 311; Griffin, "Blue Gold," 39-68; Johnson, "Climate, Community, and Commerce," 455-65; Gaspar Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811; Joaquín Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Yglesias," St. Augustine, 15 October 1811; José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811; Juan Gonzáles Montes de Oca, "Relación . . . Barrio Castillo," St. Augustine, 21 October 1811, all bundle 198C16, reel 84, EFP. Two hurricanes that struck Cuba from 1766 through 1804 were similar to the St. Augustine storm. The 1772 triple hurricanes in Santiago de Cuba caused the island's largest river to flood for almost the entire winter of 1772-1773. Rainfall from the June 1791 hurricane in Havana caused mudslides and flooding in the Chorrera (today the Almendares) River to the west of the city, claiming over three thousand lives.
33. Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Census Returns, Census of 1793, 3, 62, 123, bundle 323A, reel 148; Store Licenses, St. Augustine, 7 September 1790, bundle 180A14, reel 77; de Oca, "Relación . . . Barrio Castillo," St. Augustine, 21 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, all in EFP; Mariano de la Roque, "Descripción del Plano de la Ciudad de San Agustín" typescript copy in P.K. Yonge Library, 87, 88, 89, 237, 252.

Another particularly vulnerable area fronted the Plaza de Armas in the center of town where houses and business establishments were directly exposed to the rising waters of the bay. The mercantile house of Forbes & Company lost commercial effects valued at seven hundred pesos, and a neighboring store and counting house were totally ruined. The house that served as Governor Estrada's residence sustained considerable damage, and its private well was contaminated. Merchant Bernadino Sánchez's house and store, located on Calle San Carlos, sustained a loss of six hundred pesos in damage to his house, household, and commercial goods.³⁴

The force of the storm surge and the speed with which it overwhelmed the city is evident in the graphic testimony of the victims. Bartolomé de Castro y Ferrer told comisario Joaquín Sánchez that his house and outbuildings in barrio Iglesias "were inundated by the bay waters and immediately everything was carried away." Before the storm, Rafael Diaz owned a *casa de mampostería* on Marine Street, a house made of stone and rubble construction. When the water retreated, all of Díaz's property was gone including his house, clothing, lumber that he had stored for building, and all of his professional tools. Master carpenter Martín Hernández and his family lost half of their wharf and all their household furnishings valued at 2,250 pesos. At the other end of the town, the dock belonging to María Coruña washed away along with her orchard and the fence surrounding it. Wooden structures such as houses, storehouses, and docks were particularly vulnerable, and if located on or near the water, their destruction was almost universal.³⁵

34. José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, EFP; Joaquín Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Yglesias," St. Augustine, 15 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, EFP; Roque, "Descripción del Plano" probably 146 and 147, both listed as Sánchez family properties. Joaquín Sánchez reported that "the residence of governor Estrada belonged to María del Carmen Sánchez," which suggests that Estrada was not living in the governor's official residence, possibly because he knew his tenure as governor was temporary.

35. Joaquín Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Yglesias," St. Augustine, 15 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Census Returns, Census of 1793, 103, bundle 323A, reel 148; José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, EFP; Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, all in EFP. Castro y Ferrer's many properties were valued at 3,500 pesos. For example, in Barrio Cuarteles, one owner alone Carlos de Ceta lost eight

Moving away from the waterfront, the nature of damage changed. In the western blocks of the city, the fences and *cercas* (walls) around properties sustained the most damage, reflecting the storm's progress and the city's topography. Since the storm approached from the east, the blocks closest to the bay flooded first. Although most of St. Augustine lay at sea level, there was an almost imperceptible rise in elevation towards the center of the town.³⁶ The streets nearest the water (Marina and San Carlos) were at sea level while the entire length of St. George Street was between six and eight feet higher. Thus, structures along St. George Street were spared while waterfront properties were destroyed. In addition, accumulated debris from the destroyed structures probably piled up at the high water mark against *cercas* and fences in the western blocks and buffered homes in the interior of the city. Among the many residences that lost fences were those occupied by Antonio Royo in *barrio Cuarteles*, and Pedro Cosifacio in *barrio Contaduría*. Nonetheless, homes and properties farther inland did not escape damage altogether as hurricane force winds destroyed what flood waters spared. Windows in the governor's house, rare because they were made with glass panes, were shattered by wind and flying debris. Several blocks in *barrio Cuarteles* at the south end of town may have suffered a tornado or a microburst. There a cluster of homes in close proximity belonging to Bartolomé Suárez, Martín Odeir, and Magdalena Mestre, and three additional houses belonging to priest Miguel Crosby lost chimneys in the storm.³⁷

wooden houses on Calle de la Marina valued at 3,000 pesos; see Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, EFP. The authoritative work of St. Augustine construction is Albert Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine, 1565-1821* (1962; reprint, Gainesville, Fla., 1992), 62-73. In all cases, definitions are taken from this seminal work.

36. Carl D. Halbrit, "New Evidence of St. Augustine's 16th-Century Cultural Landscape," paper presented at the 55th Annual Meeting of the Florida Anthropological Society, Tallahassee, 2003. For the importance of enclosures see Manucy, *Houses of St. Augustine*, 128-31, 155.
37. Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Joaquín Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Yglesias," St. Augustine, 15 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, all in EFP. Additionally, for Suárez, see Census Returns, Census of 1793, 94, bundle 323A, reel 148, EFP. For the importance of enclosures see Manucy, *Houses of St. Augustine*, 128-31, 155.

The hurricane spared no one, regardless of race, status, or wealth. Close to the cluster of houses that lost their chimneys lived several free families of color, including morena Ana who told comisario Gaspar Papy that she lost her wooden house and the fence surrounding the property. Her moreno neighbor Antonio lost part of his "tiny wooden house" and its enclosure, and moreno Abraham's house was spared even though he lost his kitchen. Another neighbor, Andrés, was lucky that he only lost the fence around his property, and pardo Benjamín Seguí, an officer in the free black militia, had serious damage done to his house and enclosure. Another cluster of homes that sustained extensive damage was located within the Minorcan quarter near the Castillo de San Marcos. Properties belonging to Juan Gianopoly, Pablo Sabate, and Andrés Llopis, among many, suffered losses worth hundreds of pesos.³⁸

Not only was a large sector of the community left homeless, but an immediate problem arose in finding food. The wind stripped fruit-bearing trees owned by petty farmers and producers west of town who provided foodstuffs for the city. One of many examples was widow Magdalena María who reported that winds destroyed a large quantity of her oranges valued at fifteen hundred pesos. Several households reported damage to gardens and planting grounds, exacerbating both immediate and long-term problems with the food supply. Manuel Solana's losses included his buildings, fruit trees, and crops valued at twelve hundred pesos. His barrio Cuarteles neighbor Antonio Canovas also lost fruit trees and crops. Similarly, Francisco Triay and his stepson José Bayao

38. Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, Bundle 198C16, reel 84; Census Returns, Census of 1813, bundle 323A, reel 148, both in EFP; Cusick, *Other War of 1812*, 232. Juan Gianopoly's loss was 480 pesos, Pablo Sabate's was 400 pesos, and Andrés Llopis's was 275 pesos; see de Oca, "Relación . . . Barrio Castillo," St. Augustine, 21 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, EFP. For background on the Minorcan community, see Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach*. Whether the free moreno Abraham who lived in town in 1811 and the famous Seminole advisor to Micanopy are the same person is unclear; see Jane G. Landers, "Free Black Plantations and Economy in East Florida, 1784-1821," in Landers, ed., *Colonial Plantations*, 128; Brent R. Weisman, "The Plantation System of the Florida Seminole Indians and the Black Seminoles during the Colonial Era," in Landers, ed., *Colonial Plantations*, 136-49, and especially the portrait on page 144. Unlike the myriad definitions used to classify non-Europeans on the Spanish mainland, racial classification of people of African blood in Cuba and Florida was a tripartite system: pardo/parda (light skinned or mulatos); moreno/morena, (literally "brown") darker in color but not black; and negro/negra (black).

reported that their fence and fruit trees were down, but also that a quantity of boniato was destroyed by flooding. In addition, hogs, chickens, ducks, and geese perished at a considerable loss to their owners, including Bartolomé Lleonardy who reported the loss of his "animales de pluma," along with clothing and crops.³⁹

In the aftermath of the hurricane, the necessities of life such as bread became difficult to obtain as both the supply of flour and the kitchens and ovens to bake the bread were destroyed. Juan Poma placed great value on a half-barrel of spoiled white flour, while Juan Gornier reported that his oven was damaged along with the total loss of his house. Many of the petty shopkeepers in town who sold imported comestibles saw their businesses ruined as rain and wind destroyed their inventories and stores. For example, in addition to his house Estéban Benet lost sugar, tobacco, and other valuables for a total loss of one thousand pesos, and Rafael Andreu's tobacco and liquor was valued at forty-five pesos. Several of these small shops belonged to women such as Mariana Sanz, the widow of Antonio Berta, who owned a shop on Marine Street that she and her late husband had operated for years. She calculated over five hundred pesos in damage to her store, garden, and furniture. Ynés Ginerino, widow of Mariano Lasaga, lived in one of the flooded properties near the Plaza de Armas. Her residence survived, but her commercial establishment suffered the loss of twelve boxes of expensive white sugar and a barrel of coffee. Ginerino's neighbor Susana Connor received extensive damage to her wooden house, and she also lost a cask of vinegar and a cask of aguardiente.⁴⁰

39. Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Census Returns, Census of 1793, 45, bundle 323A, all in EFP; Roque, "Descripción del Plano," 175-79, 185, 243, 259, especially 215, 260-61 for properties owned by Roque Lleonardy in 1788. In barrio Contaduría, Pedro Trope lost fence, trees, and animals worth 150 pesos; see José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, EFP. All of this damage was in the southern part of town.

40. José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Census Returns, Census of 1793, 27, 49, bundle 323A, reel 148; Store Licenses, St. Augustine, 7 September 1790, bundle 180A14, reel 77, all in EFP; Roque, "Descripción del Plano," 97.

Those who survived the storm's horror and the dreadful aftermath, faced a rebuilding process hampered by a lack of supplies and implements. Before the disaster, many households piled lumber in yards that they intended to use to expand houses or make repairs. Five hundred feet of freshly cut lumber belonging to Francisco Marin became part of a wall of debris. Comisario José Sánchez took time out from his duties of helping his neighbors to enumerate his lost lumber, his fence, and his fruit trees at 840 pesos. In addition to her house, Madgalena Mestre lost a large quantity of lime that was the basis for masonry construction. By the 1780s, the once-plentiful lime had become a scarce commodity. The productivity of the town was also seriously hampered for weeks to come. Luis Gernaiz lost the tools of his trade as shoemaker, and the royal armorer, Benito Reynal, no longer had a building in which he fabricated armor and weapons for the troops. Another of St. Augustine's primary jobs was fishing, and almost universally the storm swept away boats and dinghies docked along the waterfront, including those belonging to Pedro de Cala in barrio Cuarteles and Gabriel Perpall in barrio Contaduría.⁴¹

Gathering such detailed data had been standard operating practice since 1768 when a very destructive hurricane hit Havana. Part of the evolving policy of disaster mitigation was prompted by Enlightenment initiatives to gather as much imperial information as possible, but the quest for knowledge was also a part of a comprehensive defense strategy inaugurated after 1763. In case of an enemy attack, all able-bodied males between the ages fifteen and forty-five were required to present themselves for militia duty.⁴² This policy was simply incorporated into post-hurricane relief

41. Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, Bundle 198C16, reel 84; José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, Bundle 198C16, reel 84, "Census of 1793," 11, bundle 323A, reel 148 both EFP. For the importance of lime as a building material, see Manucy, *Houses of St. Augustine*, 20, 44, 66-67.

42. *Estado que comprehende las desgracias que causó el huracán el día 15 de octubre en la ciudad de la Havana* (Cádiz, Spain, 1768); *Estado que comprehende las desgracias que causó el huracán el día 15 de octubre en la ciudad de la Havana* (Madrid, Spain, 1769), legajo 1594, SD, AGI; Manuel Casado Arbonés, "Bajo el signo de la militarización: las primeras expediciones científicas ilustradas a América (1735-1761)," in *La ciencia española en Ultramar* (Madrid, Spain, 1991), 19-47; Manuel Lucena Salmoral, "Las expediciones científicas en la época de Carlos III (1759-1788)," in *La ciencia española en Ultramar*, 49-63; Allan J. Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1808: Crown, Military, and Society* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1986), 24-49; Johnson, *Social Transformation*, 38-48, 60-70.

measures. Once Estrada announced a state of emergency, militia members joined regular troops from the Castillo de San Marcos, fanning throughout the town to clear debris, recover bodies, and render aid wherever necessary.

Women, children, and the infirm were exempt from such obligations. Instead, they received special consideration. The reports submitted by four comisarios demonstrate sensitivity and compassion to the less fortunate members of the community. In *barrio Castillo*, comisario Juan González Montes de Oca identified Domingo Marin—single, poor, and blind—and Francisco Arnau Jr., who was “demented” and lived in poverty with his wife and six children. Living in *barrio Contaduría*, Antonio Montes de Oca had a son in his household who was paralyzed, thus less would be required of him than other men. Enumerators were especially thorough when tabulating the losses of widows, particularly poor widows with daughters or minor children to support. Antonia Fornaris listed as “a poor widow with a daughter who is also a widow living with her,” lost her house, fruit trees, and vegetable crops valued at two hundred pesos. Mariana Tudorina and her three grandchildren survived the storm, but her stone house, store, inventory, and fruit trees did not.⁴³

Two of East Florida’s oldest families resided in the most dangerous zone near the water; their homes were devastated by the violent storm. José Maria Gómez, who returned from Cuba, and his son and daughter lived on San Carlos Street. He lost his house, all of the family’s clothing, and trees around the property, leading comisario José Sánchez to describe the family as being “comparatively poor.” Gómez’s daughter Brigida lived in a contiguous property with her eight children—two boys and six girls—and their house suffered a similar fate. Within the space of a few hours, twelve people were homeless and penniless. Gómez’s cousin, Luisa Ruíz del Canto, was also among the victims. Like her cousins, Luisa was from one of the most distinguished families in St. Augustine. Her father, Francisco Ruíz del Canto, played a pivotal role as a messenger during the American Revolution between Florida Indians and Spanish authorities in Havana. Because of his

43. de Oca, “Relación . . . Barrio Castillo,” St. Augustine, 21 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Papy, “Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles,” St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; José Sánchez, “Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría,” St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, all in EFP.

bravery, Bernardo de Gálvez could count on Indian allies in 1781 when he defeated the British at Pensacola. In 1797, Ruíz del Conto married Lieutenant Juan de Pierra from the Third Batallion, but the couple's license limited her ability to receive a widow's pension. The hurricane, then, was a devastating blow, and in the aftermath, she begged to be granted a pension based on her father's and husband's services. With six minor children and all of her dowry spent on trying to cure her husband of the numerous illnesses that plagued him during his service in East Florida, Ruíz del Conto suddenly became one of the neediest residents of St. Augustine.⁴⁴

Given reactions to previous hurricanes in Cuba and Louisiana, it is safe to speculate about St. Augustine in the hurricane's immediate aftermath. As soon as the storm passed, Estrada was out among the victims, giving orders to the four comisarios del barrio to begin emergency measures. Regular military and militia assembled in work groups to recover and bury the dead, and to begin clearing the debris and fallen trees. All men—white, free colored, and slave alike—joined in the tasks at hand. Simultaneously, messages would have been sent to the interior, Mosquitos, and Fernandina to determine the extent of the damage in those places. Farmers with undamaged crops gathered provisions and shipped them to St. Augustine as quickly as possible. Food became one of the most important commodities, but palmetto thatch to repair roofs also would have been in great demand. After forty years of refinement, the relief process worked like a well-oiled machine. Within one day, the leader of the military garrison at Fernandina, Justo López, wrote to Estrada describing the minimal damage there. Given López's experience in Cuba, he already gathered supplies to send south to St. Augustine. Although the hurricane surge had created a sandbar that blocked the mouth of the St. Mary's river, smaller boats could still navigate an open channel and sail to the stricken city.⁴⁵

44. José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Census Returns, Census of 1793, 28, 69, 93, bundle 323A, reel 148, both in EFP; Johnson, "Casualties of Peace," 118-19; idem, *Social Transformation*, 150-51; Estrada to Someruelos, St. Augustine, 6 December 1811, legajo 1570B, PC, AGI.

45. Justo López to Estrada, Fernandina, 7 October 1811, bundle 147D12, reel 61; Justo López to Estrada, Fernandina, 28 October, 4 November 1811, bundle 147D12, reel 61, both in EFP.

The death toll appears to have been surprisingly low given the intensity of the hurricane; the *comisarios'* reports identify only three men who died in the storm. José Dulcet, Salvador Martín, and Antonio Mestre lived in the most dangerous zone, in *barrio Cuarteles* close to the waterfront. While listed in reports as "deceased," curiously their names do not appear in corresponding parish records, strongly suggesting that they drowned in the storm surge and their bodies were never recovered. Without proof of death and burial, no entry would appear in parish records. Both sets of records are also frustratingly vague about the post-disaster fate of José and María Buchany, two orphaned minor children who seemingly lost their guardian and their home.⁴⁶

All in all, the hurricane inflicted monetary damages totaling more than 65,000 pesos. Individual damage estimates ranged from thousands of pesos to a mere eight-peso loss for used clothing. *Barrio Cuarteles* reported the largest amount: 23,963 pesos. Losses in *barrio Contaduría* were 21,210 pesos. *Barrio Iglesias* suffered damages estimated at 11,045; and *barrio Castillo* reported the smallest loss at 9,323 pesos. Not surprisingly, homes and businesses near the waterfront suffered catastrophic damage while modest houses near the western edge of the town more successfully withstood the wind and water. Nonetheless, as Estrada poignantly wrote about all of the residents: "because of their poverty . . . these poor people . . . are entirely ruined."⁴⁷

In better times, damage reports would be sent to Havana and then on to Madrid where they would be examined by the king's ministers in order to recommend fair and adequate assistance. Such compensation could be monetary, but more often it came in the form of lowered taxes or a moratorium on paying certain obli-

46. Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, both in EFP. Neither White Deaths, 1809-1882 nor Colored Deaths, 1784-1821 (both reel 284L, CPR) lists any deaths that may be attributed to the storm from the time it hit on October 5 through the early months of 1812.

47. Papy, "Relación . . . Barrio Cuarteles," St. Augustine, 26 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; José Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Contaduría," St. Augustine, 23 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; Joaquín Sánchez, "Relación . . . Barrio Yglesias," St. Augustine, 15 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84; de Oca, "Relación . . . Barrio Castillo," St. Augustine, 21 October 1811, bundle 198C16, reel 84, all in EFP; Estrada to Someruelos, St. Augustine, 9 December 1811, legajo 1570B, PC, AGI.

gations to the royal treasury. Wealthy residents who contributed to the relief fund could expect concessions, such as a government position for themselves or a family member. But times were not good anywhere in the Spanish empire in 1811. Since 1808, the treasury had been bankrupt, the *situado* had not arrived for years, and it was hopeless to believe that the tight-fisted captain general would be forthcoming with relief to meet such extraordinary expenses. Again, Juan José de Estrada devised a solution: he requested that the merchants of Fernandina donate to the recovery. In times of emergency, royal officials routinely asked wealthy people and those who escaped harm to help out and alleviate the misfortune of the fellow citizens. Although some degree of coercion was almost always imputed in government requests for “voluntary donations,” also implicit in the request was that those who stepped forward to help in times of trouble could expect some reward in the near future.

This implicit reciprocity was the case in the aftermath of the St. Augustine hurricane. Estrada requested immediate help from the surrounding areas, and simple humanitarianism, family ties, and friendship between the residents of Fernandina and St. Augustine encouraged the northern townspeople to help their fellow Floridians. To no one’s surprise, barely three weeks after emergency supplies arrived in St. Augustine, twenty-three merchants from Fernandina petitioned Estrada and treasury official Manuel López about how business had suffered because of high taxes. “To avoid the ruin of the commerce of the port,” they suggested a reduction in the amount paid to conduct business. The list of names included prestigious men of Spanish, Minorcan, and Anglo origin, among whom were Pedro Cosifacio, Juan Rafo, Fernando de la Masa Arredondo, Bernadino Sánchez, Bartolomé de Castro y Ferrer, and Gabriel Perpall—all had also lost property

48. Justo López to Estrada, Fernandina, 25 November 1811, bundle 147D12, reel 61; Estrada to Justo López, St. Augustine, 27 November 1811, bundle 147D12, reel 61, both in EFP. The complete list of names includes Felipe Roberto Yonge, Guillermo Lawrence, Santiago Cashen, Juan Kiehn (Kean?), Carlos Seton, Samuel Betts, George Cook, Archibald Atkinson, Pedro Cosifacio, Juan Rafo, Fernando de la Masa Arredondo Jr., Fernando de la Masa Arredondo Sr., Josef Hernandez, Jorge Atkinson, Bernadino Sánchez, Bartolomé de Castro y Ferrer, Francisco Rovina, Bernardo Segui, Gabriel Perpall, James Lee, and Anastazio Hull; see Merchants of Fernandina to Estrada, Fernandina, 26 October 1811, legajo 1570B, PC, AGI.

in St. Augustine. Still, original relief efforts were not enough, and a month later, residents of St. Augustine remained in dire need. In November, Fernandina commandant Justo L6pez wrote the governor relating that, on their own initiative, he and Fernando de la Masa Arredondo had solicited donations to continue helping hurricane's victims. Estrada's words brimmed with gratitude as he sent his most sincere thanks and closed his letter "that he would do everything" to support the donors in Fernandina, and that they would "always be worthy of my greatest esteem."⁴⁸

In December, Estrada put together a package of letters bound for Cuba that would be forwarded on to Spain. At the top after his report about the hurricane was the petition from Fernandina's merchants along with Estrada's personal expression of gratitude and his recommendation that their request be granted. A letter from Luisa Ru6z de Canto asked for a pension and was accompanied as well by a supportive letter from the governor. Finally, Estrada included his summary of the consequences of the storm: "The losses that the residents suffered according to the evaluations that we made immediately after the hurricane will top 65,000 pesos." An astute and experienced royal official, he knew that the treasury was bankrupt, so he justified his decision to accept relief from the merchants, writing that "I have done everything possible to get what is necessary to console these poor people." His explanation also reinforced his recommendation that the generosity of Fernandina be generously rewarded. Finally, Estrada commented on the character of East Florida's residents: "[they] are entirely ruined but [they] have managed to survive with a great deal of patience."⁴⁹

One of the greatest enigmas of the Second Spanish period is the unwavering loyalty of the majority of the population. What could have been—indeed, what *should* have been—a total breakdown of civil and military society in Spanish Florida after the hurricane of 1811 did not happen. Conditions were ripe for rebellion *if* rebellion and independence from Spain really were desired by the populace. By January 1812, two choices faced East Florida's residents: on one hand, General Matthews's invasion force awaited across the St. Mary's River, with only previous experience as their guide; on the other hand, they could compare the general's prom-

49. Estrada to Someruelos, St. Augustine, 9 December 1811, legajo 1570B, PC, AGI.

ises with the recent actions of their Spanish governor. Even before the storm struck, Estrada had offered conciliatory measures to both Anglo settlers and Seminole tribes. In the aftermath of the hurricane, it was clear that emergency measures included everyone. No one was excluded from the responsibility to help or from sharing in the generosity of their neighbors: neither rich nor poor, nor invalids, free people of color, women, or children. Estrada's response continued the policies of previous decades, and in so doing, the positive governmental response sustained Spanish Floridians' feelings of community and loyalty to the empire.

The Sporting Set Winters in Florida: Fertile Ground for the Leisure Revolution, 1870-1930

by Larry R. Youngs

Maurice Fatio made his first visit to Palm Beach, Florida, at the height of the social season in February 1923. The young Swiss architect planned on trolling for business among the resort's elite guests, hoping to supplement his New York City firm's clientele. The pace and nature of the Palm Beach scene, however, caught him by surprise. In a letter to his parents written on the fourth day of his visit, he exclaimed, "I have never led a more intense life." Describing a typical day, he explained that "one gets up at 10 o'clock to play tennis; at noon one bathes at a splendid beach . . . golf in the afternoon . . . and the day ends with magnificent balls in private homes which are veritable palaces." While he admitted that he "had not yet had time to attend to his business," the exhausting lifestyle made him "feel physically marvelous."¹ Fatio's letter hints at the central role sport and outdoor recreation played in shaping everyday activities and the sense of place that helped define wintering in Florida.

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1. Maurice Fatio, Palm Beach, Fla., to Marguerite and Guillaume Fatio, Geneva, Switzerland, 15 February 1923, in *Maurice Fatio: Architect*, ed. Alexandra Fatio (Stuart, Fla., 1992), 33, facsimile.

The Palm Beach scene Fatio experienced has long served as an icon of conspicuous consumption for America's upper classes. In his 1904 book, *The American Scene*, novelist Henry James culminated his critique of American society by reflecting on Henry Flagler's St. Augustine and Palm Beach resorts. He observed that visitors to these winter enclaves came "from 'all over,' . . . converg[ing] upon Palm Beach from every prosperous corner of the land." Eight decades later, historian Donald Curl described this "play ground of the elite" as "the winter capital of American high society." Yet, beyond the reflection of economic excess and cultural flamboyance, the Palm Beach resorters should also be understood as members of Florida's sporting set and, more importantly, as part of an on-going leisure revolution that took on trans-regional, even transnational, dimensions.²

Scholars have typically glossed over the historical significance of the winter sporting experience. On the one hand, those interested in Florida history acknowledge that resorters engaged in various forms of outdoor recreation and sport, but they marginalize the participants' and spectators' actual experiences by treating each activity simply as one of an assortment of available pastimes. While recognizing that Florida's winter visitors spent time hunting and fishing, bathing and motoring, or playing tennis, golf, and polo, little effort has been made to analyze the meaning of such choices for those involved or for the manner in which sport shaped the state's development. On the other hand, sport historians have contributed a steady stream of new research over the past few decades that offer intriguing insights into the role recreation and sport has played in American society, but along with scholars interested in tourism and vacationing more generally, they largely ignore the south Atlantic states, including Florida. Yet, Florida played a crucial role in the sporting revolution that began in England, moved to North America, and subsequently spread into certain regions in the Caribbean, and around the world.

Development of Florida between 1870 and 1930 can be seen partly as a consequence of the emerging significance that industrialized nations' business and professional classes placed on sport

2. Henry James, *The American Scene* (New York, 1967), 453; Donald W. Curl, *Palm Beach County: An Illustrated History* (Northridge, Calif., 1986), 59. Historian Dale A. Somers offered an early analysis of what he termed a "leisure revolution" in America's cities in "The Leisure Revolution: Recreation in the American City, 1820-1920," *Journal of Popular Culture* 5 (January 1971): 125-47.

and outdoor recreation. Having acquired the necessary time and disposable wealth, certain affluent men and women put increasing value on the quality and meaning of their time away from work and home. They began extending summer-time activities year round by spending part or all of the winter in Florida, and later in the Carolinas, Georgia, the Bahamas, and Cuba.³ Such people increasingly embraced the idea that participating in outdoor recreation, including certain competitive sports, helped to immunize against the unhealthy aspects—both mental and physical—of modern urban life, especially life in an industrial and capitalistic society. While a majority of Florida's sporting set traveled southward along railways or steamship lines from the nation's northern cities—as did much of the seasonal workforce—the Americans' ranks were swelled with visitors from other nations, including Canada, Scotland, England, Cuba, Argentina, and even Japan. Activities of this international sporting set marked temporal and geographic shifts in the manner and style in which certain members of industrialized nations, and the upper classes of less developed nations, incorporated sport and outdoor recreation into their lives.

Florida's sporting scene also shaped, and was shaped by, the state's permanent residents. Beginning during Reconstruction, as escalating numbers of invalids, tourists, and sportsmen traveled to Florida during the winter months, the state's natives, residents, and newly-arrived immigrants gradually took on the task of accommodating the seasonal visitors. In 1886, for example, visiting fisherman James A. Henshall seemed relieved to discover "plenty of boats and experienced boatmen that can be chartered to convey parties . . . to any portion of East Florida." He characterized the boatmen as "intelligent and accommodating," further describing them as "a peculiar and unique combination of sailor, fisherman, hunter, guide, cook, woodsman, and philosopher." As F. Campbell Moller advised readers two years later, "unless well acquainted with the region," bird hunters visiting Florida should

3. Stephen Hardy, *How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation, and Community, 1865-1915* (Boston, 1982); Steven Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana, Ill., 1991); Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People*, vol. 2: *From the Ending of Slavery to the Twenty-First Century* (Athens, Ga., 1998); Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln, Neb., 1997); Louis A. Perez, *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999).

hire "a driver and guide, be he 'Cracker,' 'Nigger,' or 'Indian.'"⁴ Wherever fishermen and hunters traveled in the untamed regions of Florida, there seemed to be locals able and willing—for the right price—to aide the visiting adventurers. Gradually, individual and informal relations between residents and travelers developed into a thriving industry.

Before the turn of the twentieth century, northern business men stimulated southern tourism by creating independent and self-contained resorts designed to cater to the sporting set, among others. These seasonal sanctuaries thrived until Florida's real-estate collapse in the late 1920s. The Great Depression and World War II continued the industry's temporary decline and stagnation.

This essay focuses on the nexus between the "production" of Florida's sporting enclaves in terms of the built environments as they were conceived, constructed, and promoted, and the "consumption" of these technological systems by each resort's clientele.⁵ It also makes reference to the complex network of resort employees who earned their livelihoods by realizing entrepreneurs' visions and fulfilling visitors' expectations. Developers commissioned architects, engineers, and landscape artists to design the resorts; they hired masons, carpenters, electricians, and other craftsmen and laborers to construct and maintain the facilities; they employed chefs, caddies, waitresses, and maids to serve hotel guests; and they retained musicians, actors, and athletes to entertain the resorts' patrons. Thus, this complex cast of historical characters—seasonal visitors, year-round residents, entrepreneurs, and local and migrant workers—all participated in the social construction of sporting lifestyles that emerged and endured at Florida's winter enclaves.

Before the resort industry took root, the state remained an enigma to most Americans as well as to foreigners. Initially, northerners, particularly people in search of a climate that cured consumption, ventured into Florida to escape the long, frigid winters

4. James A. Henshall, "Sport in Florida," *Outing* 8 (April 1886): 57-61; F. Campbell Moller, "Winter Shooting in Florida," *Outing* 13 (March 1888): 542.

5. The definition of technology "as discrete commodities, such as radios and flatirons, but also as technological systems, such as hotels, experienced by consumers as environments or services" comes from Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun, eds., *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998), 1.

of New England or the Midwest.⁶ Other inducements for wintering in the south Atlantic states included fashionable tourists' quests for picturesque and novel destinations,⁷ the romance and nostalgia identified with notions of the "Old South,"⁸ the search for "Arcadian" values inherent in the "back-to-nature movement,"⁹ the challenge and adventure associated with the Florida frontier,¹⁰

6. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the term "consumption" usually meant tuberculosis. Experts, both authentic and self-proclaimed, carried on a heated public debate over the nature of the disease, whether its victims could be cured, and if so, how. Many early Florida travel guides addressed the issue; see for example, Daniel G. Brinton, *A Guide-Book of Florida & the South: For Tourists, Invalids, and Emigrants* (1869; reprint, Gainesville, Fla., 1978), 115-36; Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves* (1873; reprint, Gainesville, Fla., 1999), 116-36; Sidney Lanier, *Its Scenery, Climate, and History* (Philadelphia, 1875), 210-18.
7. For scholarly treatments of "fashionable" touring during the nineteenth century, see Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington D. C., 1995), 15-40; Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York, 1999), 86-100; Charlene M. Boyer Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society at the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860* (Charlottesville, Va., 2001).
8. Traditionally, scholars have focused on northerners' romantic notions about the South's antebellum culture. For an insightful analysis on the influence that ideas about the Old South had on northern tourism in the post-Reconstructed South, see Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 66-92. For an analysis of how northern writers of fiction and non-fiction helped shape the northern public's romantic and nostalgic notions about the "lost civilization" of the Old South, see Anne Rowe, *The Enchanted Country: Northern Writers in the South, 1865-1910* (Baton Rouge, La., 1978).
9. Unlike traditional agrarianism—turning back to the land—the "back-to-nature movement" involved the search for "Arcadia," defined by nineteenth-century social reformers as a "scene of simple pleasure and untroubled quiet"; see Peter J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (1969; reprint, Baltimore, Md., 1990), xix.
10. For a scholarly analysis of Florida as a last frontier, see Floyd Reinhart and Marion Reinhart, *Victorian Florida: America's Last Frontier* (Atlanta, 1986). From the perspective of early Florida settlers, see Charles W. Pierce, *Pioneer Life in Southeast Florida*, ed. Donald W. Curl (Coral Gables, Fla., 1970); Julia Winifred Moseley and Betty Powers Crislip, eds., *"Come to My Sunland": Letters of Julia Daniels Moseley from the Florida Frontier, 1882-1886* (Gainesville, Fla., 1998). From the perspective of contemporary male sportsmen and travelers, see Charles Hallock, ed., *Camp Life in Florida: A Handbook for Sportsmen and Settlers* (New York, 1876); Whitlaw Reid, *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1865-1866*, ed. C. Vann Woodward (New York, 1965), 158-88; Brinton, *Guide-Book of Florida & the South*. For a perspective of a woman who wintered annually in Florida during the post-bellum era, see Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves*. Other women who wrote about their travels to the Florida frontier include Margaret Deland, *Florida Days* (Boston, ca. 1889); Helen K. Ingram, *Tourists' and Settlers' Guide to Florida* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1895); Abbie M. Brooks [Silvia Sunshine], *Petals Plucked from Sunny Climes*, 2d ed. (Nashville, Tenn., 1883).

and the interconnected intellectual currents that swirled around the notions of neurasthenia and faith in therapeutic activities designed to serve as antidotes to modern living.¹¹ The authors of travel guides attempted to unravel this confusing array of motives by offering potential visitors advice about where one should go, what one should do, and why a winter sojourn was worth the time and money. This prescriptive aspect of southern travel literature linked wintering in Florida to upper-class Britons' and Americans' well-established practice of taking summer vacations, and to their long tradition of relying on advice literature when making the Grand Tour in Europe or New England.¹² Each of the motives travel authors employed in enticing would-be visitors to the South—health, fashion, nostalgia, nature, adventure, and therapy—were ultimately adopted by Florida's emerging sporting set.

Only four years after the Union's defeat of the Confederate States of America, Union army surgeon Daniel Garrison Brinton published *A Guide-Book of Florida & the South: For Tourists, Invalids, and Emigrants* in his hometown of Philadelphia. Writing for a northern audience without a hint of animosity toward the citizens of the former Confederacy, Brinton's detailed description of the south Atlantic states, especially Florida, read at times like an adventurer's trek into an untamed and exotic wilderness. For the hardy adventurer, advised Brinton and his fellow travel authors, the

11. Concerning neurasthenia, see such contemporary works as George M. Beard, "Causes of American Nervousness," in *American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences* (1881), reproduced in Henry Nash Smith, ed., *Popular Culture and Industrialism* (Garden City, N. J., 1967), 57-70, facsimile; "Diagnosis of Neurasthenia," *Current Literature* 29 (August 1900): 433-34; "Nervous Century," *Era* 12 (July 1903): 257-59. For scholarly works on neurasthenia, nervousness, and the search for therapeutic remedies to modern living, see John S. Haller Jr. and Robin M. Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America* (Urbana, Ill., 1974), 4-53; Tom Lutz, *American Nervousness, 1903: An Anecdotal History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago, 1981); Silber, *The Romance of Reunion*, 68.

12. On the general pervasiveness of advice books in the lives of Victorian Americans, see Haller and Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America*, x. The establishment of the summer vacation as a middle-class institution is analyzed thoroughly in Aron, *Working at Play*. Concerning European guidebooks, see Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915* (New York, 1997), 69-74, 253-55. On British vacationing, see John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History, 1750-1914* (New York, 1983). On guidebooks about New England travel during the early nineteenth century, see Brown, *Inventing New England*, 28-33, 51-52, 61-62.

Florida frontier offered sportsmen marvelous opportunities to hunt and fish. In 1876, Charles Hallock, editor of the gentlemen's sporting magazine, *Forest and Stream*, compiled a collection of essays entitled *Camp Life in Florida: A Handbook for Sportsmen and Settlers*. Hallock's book provided a wealth of information that he and his colleagues had gathered while making two excursions into the least developed areas of the state. His book aimed to serve a wide range of sportsmen, from those wishing to rough it by living in tents while exploring Florida's uncharted regions to those interested in a bit of hunting and fishing while touring in more comfort and style.¹³

Travel writers carried on a lively debate over the propriety and etiquette of tourists hunting and fishing while on the Florida Tour. It was a discussion that was often divided along gender lines: travel guides make repetitive references to an on-going dispute between men and women over the issue of shooting Florida wildlife, especially alligators, from steamboats while cruising on the St. Johns River. This clash reinforces the assertion made by historian Patricia Cline Cohen that "travel offered a cultural space for interactions that reflected negotiations in the power relations between men and women, even as it offered opportunities for some women and men to explore alternative behaviors and identities." Most male travel authors treated hunting and fishing as harmless diversions. As simple matters-of-fact, Brinton, Sidney Lanier, and Hallock each pointed out several locales where sportsmen would find game and fish plentiful. Brinton informed travelers that "Florida is the paradise of the sportsman, and those who are able should not omit to have a 'camp hunt' while there." Lanier described the joy of eating at a boarding house that had prepared "fresh fish of one's catching and game of one's own shooting."¹⁴

13. Brinton, *A Guide-Book of Florida & the South*, 11; Hallock, ed., *Camp Life in Florida*.

14. Patricia Cline Cohen, "Women at Large: Travel in Antebellum America," *History Today* 44 (December 1994): 50; Brinton, *A Guide-Book for Florida & the South*, 11; Lanier, *Florida*, 12-13. Susan A. Eacker discovered that out of 106 single-authored travel guides on Florida published between 1865 and 1900, only thirteen were written by women. She argued that women like Stowe, who wrote about postbellum Florida, "attempted to develop not only an alternative gendered narrative of travel but also an alternative gendered space: the constructed and experienced Florida in a manner distinct from male writers"; Eacker, "Gender in Paradise: Harriet Beecher Stowe and Postbellum Prose in Florida," *Journal of Southern History* 64 (August 1998): 497 n 13, 511.

In an article in Hallock's *Camp Life in Florida*, Dr. Charles J. Kenworthy, writing under the pseudonym "Al Fresco," enthusiastically endorsed the sport of alligator hunting. Recounting an elaborate method of capturing the animals at night by "baiting a shark hook with a coot, or some other bird" and tying the line to a flexible tree, he assured his readers that the "sportsman" was sure to have his prey the next morning. Of course, he also explained that "to get your hook, after you are done playing with him [the alligator], you must shoot him." In another article in Hallock's book, L.A. Beardslee wrote about a cruise up the St. Johns River where "countless alligators dozing upon the banks furnish rare sport to the sportsman." As he and his fellow hunters "eagerly shot" at the "great monsters," he confessed that

at first the more timid of our lady companions objected shrinkingly to our firing from their midst, but after a few palpable misses they became convinced that our rifles were not dangerous, even to the game, and from protesting against it became rather fond of the sport; and they all forgot that it was Sunday till a sharp rain drove us in and broke up the shooting match; then they expressed themselves!

The male and female travelers may have shared the same space while cruising up the St. Johns River, but women typically seemed to see no point in men's desires to shoot Florida's wildlife; nor, apparently, were the females reluctant to criticize their companions' behavior.¹⁵

Female travel authors consistently questioned the "sport" of killing alligators and other game. While on her first tour up the St. Johns, Stowe complained that "one annoyance on board the boat was the constant and pertinacious firing kept up by that class of men who think that the chief end of man is to shoot something." Describing the popular sport of hunting game at night, Abbie Brooks wrote sarcastically that "the deer hunter is in for his share of amusement: he loves to camp at night, and, when he can 'shine the eyes' of the unsuspecting animal, send a bullet with unfailing certainty through its head." Perhaps Margaret Deland best expressed her bewilderment about the act of killing animals simply for the fun of it when she wrote,

15. Hallock, ed., *Camp Life in Florida*, 87, 99.

A man's desire to kill a snake never leaves him. Here, paddling noiselessly up the creek, so steeped in the wonder and beauty of the woods and water that he cannot even remember the bitterness and passion of yesterday, a man will suddenly and violently fling himself out of Nirvana, because he has caught sight of a moccas[i]n. To kill the pretty creature, sunning himself on a cypress knee, quite harmless, at least for the moment, because entirely out of the track of the traveler, he will leave Paradise. And he is aware, too, of a new, unwonted cruelty in his soul. That the snake slips into the water, his glossy back cut and broken, with hours of agony before death comes, does not distress him at all; his only regret is that his paddle was split in the encounter, and the canoe has to be pushed from a mud-bank on which it is grounded. Of course, this blind rage which kills the cold and gliding outcast to the swamp has nothing to do with the passion of the sportsman. In that there is a generous appreciation of the prey.

Deland, like other female travelers, clearly distinguished between hunting as sport and arbitrarily killing animals, a difference that was apparently unappreciated by many male travelers.¹⁶

Fishing, in contrast, provided common sport as well as good eating for members of both sexes. Although Harriet Beecher Stowe chose not to fish herself, she described with enthusiasm her young, female companions' fishing expertise. While on an afternoon excursion with her neighbors, the sudden excitement of others catching fish roused her to write,

There!—a cry of victory is heard from the forward boat; and Mademoiselle Nelly is seen energetically working her elbows: a scuffle ensues, and the captive has free berth on a boat, without charge for passage-ticket. . . . And now Elsie in our boat; and all is commotion, till a fine blue bream, spotted with black, is landed. . . . Each fisherwoman has her fish to exhibit, and her exploits to recount; and there is a plentiful fish-breakfast in each of the houses.¹⁷

16. Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves*, 258; Brooks, *Petals Plucked from Sunny Climes*, 304; Deland, *Florida Days*, 164-65.

17. Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves*, 75, 86.

Although Stowe winced at the idea of killing for food (she claimed to “pity” the poor fish), she rationalized the practice as being natural. And like Brooks, she described in detail a method of preparing the fish in the wild that entailed building a fire, wrapping the freshly-caught fish in palmetto leaves, burying them in hot coals, and finally savoring the moist and tender meat. Male travel authors, even the contributors to Hallock’s *Camp Life in Florida*, neglected to recount such personal details. Clearly, men and women both enjoyed the sport of fishing, but the experience tended to hold distinctive meanings for members of each gender. While male authors focused on the trappings of a fishing adventure, describing in detail the types of boats, tackle, and bait most suited for Florida fishing, female authors emphasized experiences associated with catching, preparing, and eating the fish. Regardless of the gender-specific ways that travel authors related their fishing experiences, for male and female readers sitting in their parlors in the bitter cold of a New England winter, the idea of catching fish in the Florida sunshine must have kindled many a desire to head southward.

Other publications also contributed to the public discourse defining sport as an integral aspect of wintering in Florida. A survey of the premiere sporting magazine of the era, *Outing: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Sport, Travel, and Recreation*, helps contextualize Florida within the expanding leisure revolution. Published in London and New York, *Outing* treated sport in transnational terms. During a single decade in the late-nineteenth century, for example, an array of articles appeared that included such titles as “A Reindeer Hunt in Iceland,” “A Wolf Hunt in France,” “Sturgeon Fishing in Russia,” and “Bear Hunting in Japan.”¹⁸ At the same time, the magazine increasingly identified Florida as a worthy destination for sportsmen seeking authentic experiences in the wild.

During the 1880s, hunters and fishermen wrote numerous articles characterizing the state as “wonderfully weird and beautiful” and as “strange and desolate.” No one wrote of a hunting experience anywhere in the world in more romantic and exotic

18. William Lee Howard, “A Reindeer Hunt in Iceland,” *Outing* 10 (August 1887): 466-71; “Zu Befehl, “A Wolf Hunt in France,” *Outing* 17 (February 1891): 381-83; Robert F. Walsh, “Sturgeon Fishing in Russia,” *Outing* 21 (November 1892): 157-60; ‘Rellin,’ “Bear Hunting in Japan,” *Outing* 26 (June 1895): 221-23.

terms than Maurice Thompson's Florida adventure, "Three Weeks of Savage Life." He began by revealing that he "had longed to hunt with a native Indian archer." Describing his initial encounter with his guide and hunting partner, Tommy the Seminole, Thompson wrote, "Imagine a great square-shouldered, half-nude savage, whose features betokened stolidity, cruelty, cunning, and maybe dishonesty, if nothing worse." Still, Thompson confided that he "recognized Tommy as my master in the noble science of archery, and I labored hard to win his approbation by some achievement worthy of his notice." He accomplished as much, and the two men bonded after sharing in the kill of a "yearling panther." While Thompson proudly admitted using a long bow manufactured in London and arrows handcrafted by Boston woodturners and blacksmiths, Tommy demonstrated his superior skills using only the most crudely-fashioned weapons. As Thompson confessed to his readers, "Here was a triumph of savage cunning and skill over enlightened science and art." After returning home from his Florida adventure, Thompson reflected, "It was a short, deep draught of the kind of life I had so often dreamed of and longed for. I became a savage of the purest type."¹⁹

The sporting world and the state of Florida were changing rapidly, however. Only one year later, in "Tarpon Fishing in the Gulf of Mexico," Thomas C. Felton observed that "birds and game can last but a short time longer" because "hunters of Florida, Cuba, and the tourist 'sportsmen' of our northern and western cities have made short work of them." "Thanks to railroads and steam vessels, and good hotels . . . at intervals along the shore," Felton predicted an "onslaught of hordes of sportsmen." Trumpeting the joys of tarpon fishing along Florida's gulf coast, Felton advised residents and sportsmen to join in passing "restrictive laws" to protect the tarpon from the inevitable fate of Florida's game.²⁰ Yet, by the beginning of the twentieth century, fishing and, to a greater extent, hunting declined in popularity among Florida's changing sporting set. Visitors quickly became interested in a new array of recreational activities and sports.

19. 'K'noo,' "Lake Okeechobee, Florida," *Outing* 7 (October 1885): 88; Thomas C. Felton, "Tarpon Fishing in the Gulf of Mexico," *Outing* 11 (January 1888): 332; Maurice Thompson, "Three Weeks of Savage Life," *Outing* 8 (June 1886): 205-209.

20. Felton, "Tarpon Fishing in the Gulf of Mexico," 331-35.

In 1905, the national periodical *Harper's Weekly Advertiser* published, "Where Shall I Spend the Winter?" The article surveyed the south Atlantic states' premiere winter resorts, announcing that "outdoor recreation is becoming a necessary part of our modern life, and nowadays, those who are fortunate enough to spend their winters under genial skies are enabled to enjoy the full pleasure of field shooting, golf, tennis, bathing, and kindered sports." During the final decade of the nineteenth century, a new generation of winter resorters began seeking out retreats that met their particular notions about the meaning of leisure and sport. Simultaneously, entrepreneurs such as Henry Plant and Henry Flagler stepped in, each motivated by desires to create the most popular resort.²¹

In effect, consumers and producers negotiated in creating a thriving new winter-resort industry with sport at its core. Entrepreneurs like Flagler and Plant scrambled to keep pace with the public's demand for novel outdoor recreation and sport that emulated the practices of the English gentry. Tennis represented an early example of the type of sport that certain northern urban dwellers began playing at elite summer resorts and country clubs, and subsequently brought to the South for the winter. By 1887, a small contingent of winter visitors in St. Augustine organized the inaugural Tropical Tennis Championship on the privately-owned court of Franklin W. Smith. *Outing* claimed that among the tournaments of the Southern Lawn Tennis Association, "enthusiasm reached its highest point in the St. Augustine tourney." Quick to capitalize on this latest fad, Flagler sponsored the 1888 Championship after building asphalt courts at his Alcazar Hotel and offering a "beautiful and massive sterling trophy" to the winner. Describing Flagler's facilities for the second Championship, the Tennis Editor of *Outing* reported, "Its environments are all that luxury, good taste, and refinement can require." In comparison with Maurice Thompson's celebration of "savage liberty" while

21. "Where Shall I Spend the Winter?" *Harper's Weekly Advertiser* 49 (7 January 1905): 28. On the ideologies of middle- and upper-class attitudes about sports, see Riess, *City Games*, 27-30, 46-47, 60, 92; Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940* (Gloucester, Mass., 1963), 182-247. On the changing attitudes toward youth sports, see Benjamin Radar, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Televised Sports* (Lincoln, Neb., 1999), 146-73. Concerning attitudes about leisure in general, see Aron, *Working at Play*, 5-8, 34-36, 146-49, 181-82.

hunting with Tommy the Seminole, *Outing's* appraisal indicated a dramatic change in the meaning of sport among Florida's visitors. St. Augustine's tennis tournament was so popular among the Newport set that the Tropical Championship became part of the emerging tennis circuit. *Outing* applauded St. Augustine for "attracting players from both sides of the Atlantic."²²

Soon tennis was being played at all Flagler's resorts, as well as at many other locales throughout Florida. By the early twentieth century, well-maintained tennis courts and regularly-scheduled tournaments became integral amenities for any first-class winter resort. Tennis had become part of wintering in Florida. In 1920, for example, *Palm Beach Life* proudly announced the upcoming Florida Championship, commenting that "with such players as Ichiya Kumgae, the Japanese star, leading the field the week is sure to give patrons of the sport some great matches to watch." Fans were not disappointed. Not only did Kumgae capture the singles title, but he and his partner, Seiichiro Kashio, won the doubles matches. On the women's side, reported *Palm Beach Life*, "Mrs. Frederick Singer, formerly singles champion of France, was one of the leading contenders." Clearly, Florida had become one of the winter destinations for the finest tennis players in the world.²³

Tennis was only one of a novel array of sports that resorters embraced. By the turn of the twentieth century, Royal Poinciana's *Daily Program* listed an assortment of new "diversions" guests might enjoy as participants or spectators, including going for a "dip in the surf," playing a round of golf, or watching a baseball game between waiters from the Royal Poinciana and Flagler's second Palm Beach hotel, the Palm Beach Inn. Because swimming had become such a popular activity among his guests, Flagler constructed a bathing casino on the Atlantic side of the island, just south of the Palm Beach Inn. Guests staying at the resort could enjoy a plunge in the casino's sea-water pool or frolic along the resort's private beach. In 1903, the owner and editor of the resort weekly, *The Tattler of Society in Florida*, Anna Marcotte observed that "ocean and pool bathing is perhaps the most characteristic and popular of Palm Beach sports." But swimming was only one of many fashionable diversions. Within a decade of the Royal

22. "Lawn Tennis in the South," *Outing* 12 (August 1888): 496; "St. Augustine Lawn Tennis Tournament," *Outing* 16 (August 1890): 180-82.

23. *Palm Beach Life*, 17 January 1920, 13.

Poinciana's opening, Flagler had indulged his guests' demands—as spectators, players, and competitors—for such recreational and sporting activities as fishing, sailing, shooting, baseball, motoring (in boats and automobiles), bicycling, tennis, and golf.²⁴

Still, he did not give in to every demand. Although sportsmen flocked to Flagler's resorts to enjoy a range of recreational amenities, Flagler remained stubbornly defiant of his clientele's desires for changes that he believed compromised his principles. For example, when he closed all sporting and recreational facilities on Sundays, many guests complained. According to his most-recent biographer, Edward Akin, Flagler responded to the criticism by stating that "If they do not like it they need not come, I am not asking their opinion in this any more than I consult them about my other affairs."²⁵ He also forbade horses on the island, requiring enthusiasts of equestrian sports to go elsewhere to enjoy their favorite pastime. Until his death in 1913, Flagler continued to oblige his affluent visitors, but without surrendering his sense of control.

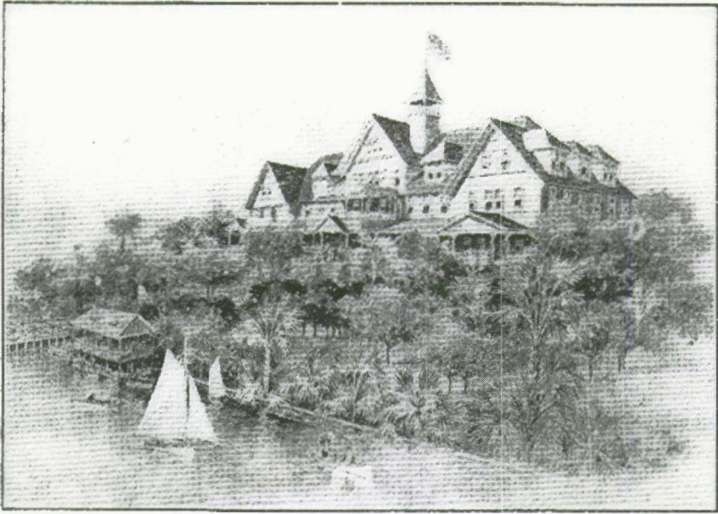
Anna Marcotte's *The Tattler* offered keen insights into the relationship between Flagler, the management of his various Florida and Bahamian resorts, and their clientele. Intuitively, she appreciated how specific resort environments, natural and built, shaped the social patterns of the people who congregated there. In fact, the distinctiveness of a particular resort is what attracted particular guests. She explained how, "at Nassau (in the Bahamas) the official society of the Colonial Government is naturally dominant—everyone hopes to be entertained at 'Government House.'" Emphasizing Nassau's distinctiveness, she explained that "a social function is scarcely a function at all unless some representative of the Government is there, 'a condition' that is scarcely possible in this country, even in Washington, but very charming and attractive withal."²⁶

One of the most distinguishing characteristics of any resort, however, concerned the emphasis that developers and guests placed on particular sports. In Aiken, South Carolina, locals called the members of the winter colony "the horsey set" because of their

24. *Daily Program*, 9 March 1904, 1; *The Tattler of Society in Florida*, 16 March 1903.

25. Edward N. Akin, *Flagler: Rockefeller Partner and Florida Baron* (Kent, Ohio, 1988), 156.

26. *The Tattler of Society in Florida*, 31 January 1903.



HOTEL ROYAL PALM, Fort Myers, Fla.

BOATING, FISHING, SHOOTING, GOLF.

This advertisement reflects the changing nature of the sporting scene in Florida. Instead of roughing it on hunting and fishing excursions into a tropical wilderness, visitors began enjoying a variety of recreational activities amidst luxurious accommodations; *The Pinehurst Outlook*, 10 December 1910.

passion for equestrian sports. Thomasville, Georgia, became famous for its quail plantations; Daytona, Florida, capitalized on its wide, packed beaches used for racing the latest automobiles from Germany, France, and the United States; and Pinehurst, North Carolina, became internationally recognized for its golf courses. At each of these resorts, annual visitors arrived from scores of distant locales. In typical fashion among the many resort weeklies published in the south Atlantic states, *Palm Beach Life* listed the names and hometowns of visitors arriving at Flagler's resort hotels. A representative sample of arrivals in Palm Beach during the 1909-1910 season reveals that guests came from ninety cities in twenty-five states and three foreign countries.²⁷ The enduring success of the resorts, and their significance within the broader leisure revo-

27. My survey of twelve hundred two arrivals was gleaned from a representative sampling of *Palm Beach Life* from 1910 to 1911. A complete run of *Palm Beach Life* (1907-) can be found at the Historical Society of Palm Beach County, West Palm Beach, Fla.

lution, rested on their ability to foster a familiar sense of place and temporary camaraderie—a virtual community—among their diverse clienteles. The common denominator, the magnet that drew certain people to particular resorts, was the resorters' shared passion for a sporting lifestyle.

No activity offers a better example for understanding the complex interactions at work in defining the winter scene in Florida than golf. In 1895, *The Tattler* first mentioned the game being played in Florida on a three-hole course in St. Augustine. Only two years later, Flagler commissioned Scottish golfer Alexander Findley to lay out a crude nine-hole course in Palm Beach. The golf links took center stage at the resort, stretching between the grand Royal Poinciana on Lake Worth and the more modest Palm Beach Inn on the Atlantic Ocean. Astutely recognizing the popularity of this novel sport, Flagler hired Findley to oversee the "planning, constructing and operating" of golf courses at all of his resorts. Not to be outdone, Henry Plant hired his own Scottish professional, John Duncan Dunn, to plan, build, and operate courses owned by Plant's Florida West Coast Railroad.²⁸

Only ten years earlier, no officially recognized golf course existed in the United States. In 1888, William H. Morse, M.D., penned "The American Naturalization of Golf," for *Outing*. He informed readers that golf had been the Scots' "national pastime" for five centuries, and that golf clubs appeared "wherever Scots gather." What seemed to bother Morse was that the game was "gaining favor in England" and that Canadian sportsmen had claimed the game for themselves. His reaction was to challenge his fellow countrymen to "make [golf] ours." Likewise, reasoned Morse, "given our interpretation, combined with Scotch zest, and feast, and fun, and golf will not only be a pastime to be appreciated, but it will be a true American game." He could not have anticipated the rapid success of his own formula. By 1895, novice American golfers had established seventy-four golf courses in nineteen states. Then during the last three years of the nineteenth cen-

28. *The Tattler of Society in Florida*, 2 March 1895; Geoffrey S. Cornish and Ronald E. Whitten, *The Golf Course* (New York, 1987), 181, 187. The modern use of the term "links" usually refers to a golf course located near an ocean and similar in design to courses in Scotland. According to Robert Browning, *A History of Golf* (New York, 1955), and Cornish, *The Golf Course*, the origin of the term refers to the particular land on the Scottish coast, called "linksland," where golf was first played.

EAST COAST OF FLORIDA

GOLF TOURNAMENTS

Season 1924

AT ST. AUGUSTINE St. Augustine Links, Par 73
 Wilfred E. Retzl, Professional
 Championship of St. Augustine.....Jan. 22-26
 Eighth Annual Spring Tournament.....Feb. 19-23
 Women's Third Annual Tournament.....March 4- 8
 Winter Championship of Florida.....March 18-22

AT ORMOND Beach Golf Course, Par 75
 Wm. Potts, Professional
 Ormond Beach Championship.....Feb. 18-23
 Women's Championship.....Feb. 27-March 1
 Championship of Volusia.....March 10-16

AT PALM BEACH Arthur Fenn, Professional
 Palm Beach Country Club, Par 68
 Palm Beach Golf Club, Par 69
 Lake Worth Tournament.....Jan. 21-23
 South Florida Championship.....Feb. 4- 8
 Women's Championship.....Feb. 11-13
 Championship of Palm Beach.....March 3- 7

AT MIAMI Miami Country Club, Par 72
 Mike Brady, Professional
 Annual Mid-Winter Tournament.....Jan. 21-25
 Championship of Miami.....Feb. 11-25
 Women's Championship of Miami.....Feb. 18-21
 Annual Spring Tournament.....March 10-14

PALM BEACH TENNIS TOURNAMENT
CHAMPIONSHIP OF FLORIDA.....Feb. 25-March 7
 Women's Singles and Doubles.....Feb. 25-March 1
 Men's Singles and Doubles.....March 3-7
 No mixed Doubles unless Committee arrange.

Write for full information and booklet
 containing complete list of all events.

FLORIDA EAST COAST HOTEL CO.

(Flagler System)

2 West 45th St., New York
 Telephone, Murray Hill 4411

General Offices
 St. Augustine, Fla.



St. Augustine Links

By the 1920s, golf and tennis enthusiasts could plan on a variety of regularly scheduled tournaments at Florida's premiere resorts; *Golf Illustrated* 20 (December 1923): 3.

tury, as the American economy rebounded from the depression that began in 1893, the number of golf courses and players skyrocketed as Americans formed clubs throughout the nation. By 1900, according to golf historians Geoffrey Cornish and Ronald

Whitten, "the number of golf courses multiplied to 982, with at least one course in all forty-five states."²⁹

By necessity, playing golf in the North was a seasonal activity. In a 1900 article for *Harper's Weekly* titled "The Rise of the Country Clubs," E.S. Martin wrote, "There are days in the spring and again in the fall when all rightly constituted persons feel that they must get into the country." Martin advised such people to join a country club. Between the end of fall and the beginning of spring, however, how could the "rightly constituted persons" fulfill their desire to enjoy the benefits of the great out-of-doors? For more and more people, the answer was to spend time playing golf in the warmer climates of the South. Winter resort developers responded by building golf courses, an economic windfall for a cadre of Scottish golfers newly immigrated to the United States. In 1899, John Duncan Dunn published "Winter Golf in Southern Sunshine," in *Outing*. The article chronicled his tour of resort courses in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida. As the grandson of the famous Scottish champion, Willie Dunn, and the son of the prolific golf course designer, Tom Dunn, John Duncan's opinion carried considerable weight. His tour ended in the sunshine state where he claimed, "I never knew what winter golf in idealic [*sic*] winter was until I made the acquaintance of Florida." This international publicity from a member of one of golf's great families marked the beginning of the game's profound and lasting effect on Florida's development.³⁰

At the winter resorts, golf gradually took on greater cultural significance than being just another sport or recreational activity. Over the first three decades of the twentieth century, as the popularity of the game escalated, entrepreneurs expanded most existing golf courses from nine to eighteen holes, built additional courses, and continually improved course conditions and golfing facilities. They also introduced tournament play, built luxurious and elaborate clubhouses, supported the formation of private clubs, and used the game as a marketing tool for soliciting would-be visitors and as an inducement for real estate development.

29. William H. Morse, M.D. "The American Naturalization of Golf," *Outing* 11 (January 1888): 285-90; Cornish, *The Golf Course*, 44.

30. John Duncan Dunn, "Winter Golf in Southern Sunshine," in *Outing* 38 (February 1900): 486-95.

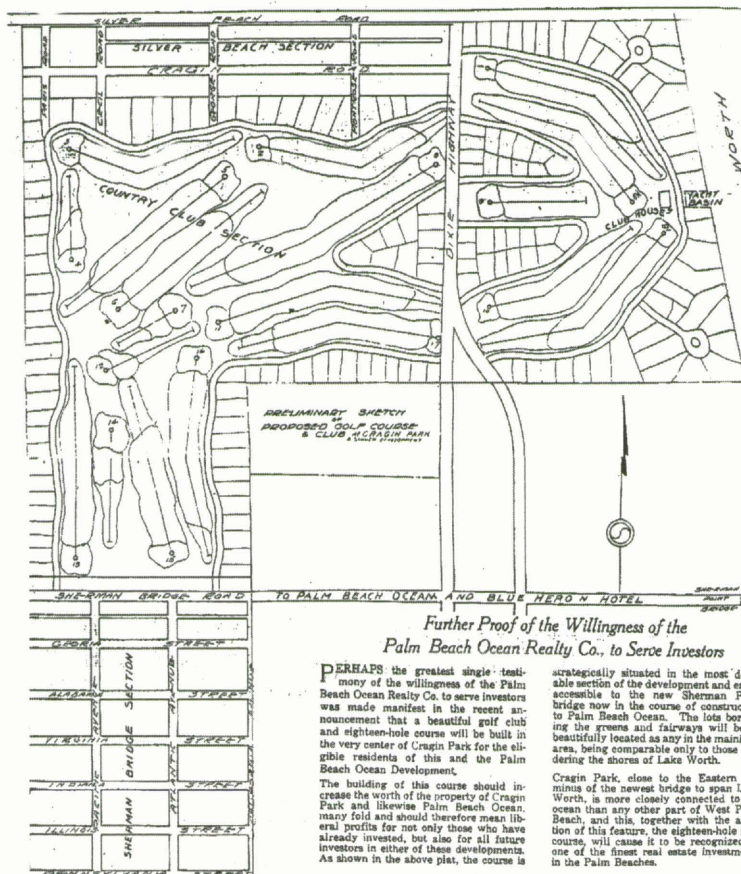
Because the vast majority of golf courses built in the United States before World War II were created for the use of members belonging to private country clubs, many contemporary observers and scholars understandably have treated the rise of American golf as synonymous with the emergence and proliferation of these clubs. However, the development of golf at the winter resorts helps to place the game within a broader context. Spatially, golf played at the winter resorts loosened the game's dependence on city and suburb; temporally, playing winter golf in southern climes allowed enthusiasts to enjoy the game year round; and culturally, the winter resorts provided public arenas at which men and women from local clubs participated in socially constructing a national, even transnational, community of golfers.

In the article "Gold Mines Buried in Golf Courses," published in 1916 in *The Pinehurst Outlook*, A. Linde Fowler claimed that "There never was a time when golf and country clubs were more ready to go deep into the exchequer to provide a first-class golf course than is the case today." This certainly applied to the East Coast Hotel Company and its new Palm Beach Golf Club, paid for at a price of more than one-half million dollars. The investment proved to be sound as America's entry into World War I marked an unexpected period of change in the resort activities in Florida, the Bahamas, and Cuba. Change did not occur as a result of sacrifices and hardships but as a consequence of growing demands from an increasing number of visitors. The booming wartime economy of the United States and the restricted travel opportunities to Europe translated into a thriving and expanding business for winter resorts.³¹

After the war, as the Florida land boom gained momentum in the early 1920s, developers chose golf to symbolize the lifestyle that prospective visitors, winter residents, and potential investors could expect in the sub-tropical paradise. In a 1924 issue of *Outlook*, J. Lewis Brown claimed that without golf "the South would have been

31. A. Linde Fowler, "Gold Mines Buried in Golf Courses," *The Pinehurst Outlook* 19 (winter 1916): 7; *Palm Beach Post*, 23 January 1916, 1. World War I also marked the expansion of tourism in Cuba, especially for the sporting set. Rosalie Schwartz argued that World War I stimulated the tourist industry as developers realized that "The island possessed the potential to compete favorably with Europe for the luxury tourist trade, with California for adventurers, with Florida for golfers and boaters, with Saratoga for horsemen, and with New York for entertainment"; Schwartz, *Pleasure Island*, 15.

"Watch Palm Beach Growing North"
 18 Holes of the Sportiest Golf in Florida at
CRAGIN PARK



*Further Proof of the Willingness of the
 Palm Beach Ocean Realty Co., to Serve Investors*

PERHAPS the greatest single testimony of the willingness of the Palm Beach Ocean Realty Co. to serve investors was made manifest in the recent announcement that a beautiful golf club and eighteen-hole course will be built in the very center of Cragin Park for the eligible residents of this and the Palm Beach Ocean Development.

The building of this course should increase the worth of the property of Cragin Park and likewise Palm Beach Ocean, many fold and should therefore mean liberal profits for not only those who have already invested, but also for all future investors in either of these developments. As shown in the above plat, the course is

strategically situated in the most desirable section of the development and easily accessible to the new Sherman Point bridge now in the course of construction to Palm Beach Ocean. The lots bordering the greens and fairways will be as beautifully located as any in the mainland area, being comparable only to those bordering the shores of Lake Worth.

Cragin Park, close to the Eastern terminus of the newest bridge to span Lake Worth, is more closely connected to the ocean than any other part of West Palm Beach, and this together with the addition of this feature, the eighteen-hole golf course, will cause it to be recognized as one of the finest real estate investments in the Palm Beaches.

Like many other developers during Florida's land boom, Paris Singer promoted his Cragin Park development with a series of advertisements using golf to sell property; *Palm Beach Times*, 20 December 1925.

just an attractive winter resort vying with winter sports and the allure of European travel. With golf the South has proved the annual [M]ecca." In fact, argued Brown, because Florida made the game a year-round sport, "golf may be said to making the South." Overlooking Brown's excessive claim, advertising demonstrated the perceived importance of golf in selling Florida real estate. By the mid-1920s, a flood of newspaper and magazine

advertisements touted the wonders of winter golf in Florida, featuring existing courses as well as courses “soon to be built.” Richard Tufts, owner and operator of Pinehurst, the premiere golf resort in North Carolina, complained in a letter to his associate Donald Ross that “Florida spends \$10 for every \$1 we do in advertising.”³² Florida’s advertising campaign reflected two simultaneous phenomena: the mass influx of northerners and the continued link between golf and selling property

As an article in a 1926 *Outlook* stated, “in recent years the greatest contributions to golfing welfare in the winter playgrounds have been the realtors, who have literally shoveled in money.” The article concluded with the observation: “That these courses in many cases have been laid out as bait for the Northern lot buyer is of no moment.” For golf enthusiasts, the end justified the means: many new courses were being built. For the developers, the end also justified the means: if building golf courses helped sell property, the investment paid off. Even better, however, if simply promising to build a golf course sold property, developers could postpone construction, save their own capital, and later build the course with investors’ money. As professional golfer Walter Hagen stated in the “Florida Boom” chapter in his autobiography, “all real estate development operators were basing their promotions strongly on the golf course they planned to build.” This marketing technique proved quite popular, especially for such developers as Paris Singer, Addison Mizner, Harry Kelsey, and Maurice Fatio to name but a few. Even prospering cities such as West Palm Beach invested heavily in developing a country club community to attract “the best class of people” and the “foremost citizens.” By the time the boom in Florida turned to bust, the state’s realtors and developers had permanently established the idea of associating golf with the Florida lifestyle.³³

For six decades beginning during Reconstruction, men and women traveled to Florida each winter to pursue summertime

32. J. Lewis Brown, “Why Men Migrate,” *Outlook* 138 (17 December 1924): 642-43; Richard Tufts, Pinehurst, N. C., to Donald Ross, Boston, Mass., 26 June 1925, Donald Ross Collection, Tufts Archives, Pinehurst, N. C.

33. “Golf in Winter Quarters,” *Outlook* 139 (3 March 1926): 353; Walter Hagen, *The Walter Hagen Story: As Told to Margaret Seaton Heck* (New York, 1956), 117; *Palm Beach Times*, 15 February 1926, 13. In *Islanders in the Stream*, 326, Craton and Saunders discussed a 1960s developer’s technique of building “an eighteen-hole golf course that would, Florida-style, raise the value of surrounding real estate.”

recreation and sport. Along with certain accommodating residents, ambitious entrepreneurs, and local and migrant workers, members of the sporting set participated in the social construction of lifestyles that placed increasing value on sport in their lives and, consequently, in the development of Florida. This essay has offered a mere sketch of this complex phenomenon—more suggestive than comprehensive certainly. Hopefully, other scholars will join in the effort to better understand Florida's role in the global leisure and sport revolution still underway.

Coming North to the South: Migration, Labor and City-Building in Twentieth-Century Miami

by Melanie Shell-Weiss

Over the past decade, scholars have worked to develop a rich array of transnational and global theories to better explain the cultural, social, and demographic processes that take place within nations, and which transcend them. As Shelley Fisher Fishkin reminded us in her presidential address to the annual meeting of the American Studies Association last year, "As the transnational becomes more central . . . we are likely to focus not only on the proverbial immigrant who leaves somewhere called 'home' to make a new home in the United States, but also on the endless process of comings and goings that create familial, cultural, linguistic, and economic ties across national borders." The need for historical study of these processes, however, remains.¹ While

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1. Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Crossroads of Culture: The Transnational Turn in American Studies—Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, November 12, 2004," *American Quarterly* 57 (March 2005): 22; Linda Basch, Nina Glick-Schiller, and Cristina Szanton-Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Langhorne, Penn., 1994), 5-10. The need for historical study is underscored and developed in Michelle A. Stephens, "Black Transnationalism and the Politics of National Identity: West Indian Intellectuals in Harlem in the Age of War and Revolution," *American Quarterly* 50 (September 1998): 592-608.

these processes may have deepened in contemporary times, for many migrants and border communities, transnationalism has long been a way of life.

Nowhere is this clearer than in Miami. Through the 1920s, Miami was home to a greater percentage of foreign-born black persons than any other city in the United States. Most of these migrants hailed from the Bahamas. Bahamian men working as carpenters and common laborers cleared the city's roads and built many of its homes and hotels between 1896 and 1920. Bahamian women staffed the city's growing number of hotels and service industries. Patterns of movement between Florida and the Bahamas remained relatively fluid. Simultaneously, in the streets, churches, on the job, and in the restaurants of Miami, West Indians and native-born African Americans began to forge a shared sense of identity as black Americans, over this early part of the twentieth century.² The legacy of these transnational ties shaped traditions of protest and political activity for generations to follow. How these patterns of movement and Miami's international black community developed is the focus of this paper.

By the turn of the twentieth century, North Americans were more geographically mobile than any earlier generation. Urban residents left cities across the East and upper Midwest and moved to newly developing farmlands in the West. Others sought livelihoods and greater in those same cities. International migration from China and Japan to the West Coast, from Canada, Mexico and Eastern Europe to the East and Midwest, accounted for some of the most important sources of urban population growth. By 1890, international migrants formed the majority population of most urban areas across the continental United States. Historians have estimated that by 1900, 87 percent of Chicago's population, 80 percent of New York City, and 84 percent of residents in Milwaukee and Detroit were foreign born. This movement coincided with an increasing interest—military, financial, and cultural—in life beyond the United States' borders. But this outward focus exacerbated inequalities within the Western Hemisphere, and beyond as well. As writer William Dean Howells observed in 1902, "The whole present tendency of American life is centrifugal.

2. An important note on terminology. Unless otherwise specified, the term "African-American" is used to refer to native-born black Americans. "Bahamian" refers to first- and second-generation Bahamian migrants.

I do not attempt to say how it will be when, in order to spread ourselves over the earth, and convincingly to preach the blessings of our deeply incorporated civilization by the mouths of our eight-inch guns, the mind of the nation shall be politically centered at some time."³ In Florida, the incorporation and development of Miami was both an unintended outcome and natural consequence of this new internationalism.

Located on the southern tip of the Florida peninsula, Miami developed in the early twentieth century as a border community. Separated by less than one hundred miles from the Florida Keys, Bahamian islanders traveled to Florida much the same way that they traveled between Nassau and the Bahamian Out Islands of Bimini, Abaco, Eleuthera, and Harbor Island.⁴ Bahamian seamen salvaged treasures from sunken ships brought down by the treacherous Great Florida Reef. Others, primarily men, were drawn by seasonal work opportunities in the pineapple, lime, and citrus groves. Because the climate, vegetation, and topography of South Florida so closely resembled that of the West Indies, Bahamian migrants had a real advantage over Europeans and labor migrants from elsewhere on the United States' mainland. Florida's proximity, combined with its familiar climate and job opportunities, made it a logical destination for an already highly mobile Bahamian population.

In the late nineteenth century, however, both the frequency and duration of these visits increased. Over-farming and several harsh winters seriously undermined the Bahamian pineapple industry. Without a crop to export, this economic downturn reverberated across the nation's shipbuilding and carpentry industries as well. By contrast, Florida's booming cigar industries, open land, successful agricultural ventures, building boom, and growing range

3. William Rossiter, "Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-1920: A Study of Changes in the Population of Divisions, States, Counties, and Rural and Urban Areas, and in Sex, Color, and Nativity at the Fourteenth Census," *Census Monographs* (Washington, D.C., 1922): 76-83; William Dean Howells, *Literature and Life: Studies* (New York, NY, 1902): 3. For a detailed discussion of these transformations, see Thomas Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History* (New York, 1983); Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 1990).
4. James McElroy and Klaus de Albuquerque, "Migration Transition in Small Northern and Eastern Caribbean States," *International Migration Review* 22 (autumn 1988): 30-58; Howard Johnson, *The Bahamas from Slavery to Servitude, 1783-1933* (Gainesville, Fla., 1996); Ministry of Education, "The Bahamian American Connection," (Nassau, Bahamas, 1991).

of service industries created a demand for both male and female worker that seemed unlimited by the early twentieth century. Florida also offered the possibility of a regular wage, rather than pay via a "truck" or piece system, which was often irregular. And growth in the region showed no sign of slowing. "Miami, 'the coming Metropolis of South Florida,' the marvelous city only six months old with a population of over 2,500, with brick business blocks and mammoth hotels . . . already has a waterworks system and nearly ten miles of paved streets under way," the *Miami Metropolis* boasted in October 1896. Stories of Bahamians teaching European and North American settlers how to live with the heat and mosquitoes, which fruits and vegetables they could and could not eat, and how to clear and work with the tough Florida pine, peppered the memoirs of Miami's pioneers. By 1900, Miami was home to a higher concentration of Bahamians than any city outside of the Bahamas.⁵

Using migration as a primary family economic strategy was not peculiar to Bahamians. Many Caribbean scholars and historians have noted that labor migrations within the Caribbean basin were commonplace through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. West Indian labor migrants, most of them black or mulatto, formed the core workforce on banana, coffee, and sugar plantations across the Caribbean and Latin America. Cuba's cigar industry also drew a large number of workers from Haiti, Jamaica, and the West Indies. Other migrants worked to construct a military base in South Carolina in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁶

5. Ministry of Education, "The Bahamas in the Late Nineteenth Century, 1870-1889," (Nassau, Bahamas, 1987); Howard Johnson, "'A Modified Form of Slavery': The Credit and Truck Systems in the Bahamas in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (October 1986): 729-43; *Miami Metropolis*, 23 October 1896, Florida Collection, Miami-Dade Public Library, microfilm; Ralph Munroe and Vincent Gilpin, *The Commodore's Story* (New York, 1930); Arva Moore Parks, *The Forgotten Frontier: Florida Through the Lens of Ralph Middleton Munroe* (Miami, Fla., 1977): 111; George E. Merrick, "Pre-Flagler Influences of Lower Florida East Coast," *Tequesta* vol. (March 1941): pgs. The significance of Florida as a receiving area for Bahamian migrants over this period has been well documented; see Paul Albury, *The Story of the Bahamas* (London, Eng., 1975); Michael Craton, *A History of the Bahamas* (London, UK, 1962); Jack Harewood, "Introduction and Background: Population and Migration" in *Contemporary Caribbean: A Sociological Reader*, ed. Susan Craig (St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, 1981); Louis Diston Powles, *The Land of the Pink Pearl: Recollections of Life in the Bahamas* (London, Eng., 1888).
6. Richard Bonham, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1983); S. Lieberman, *A Piece of the Pie: Black and White Immigrants since 1880* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980); Velma Newton, *The*

What made the Florida case unique was both the large number of women who formed the core of these migrations and the types of work they were doing. Wage work for women was particularly plentiful across the city's service professions. These job opportunities increased as the number of hotels and the city's tourism industry developed over the first decades of the twentieth century. For the native-born and Bahamians alike, these jobs were the primary source of wage work for black women in Miami through the 1920s. In the first decade of the twentieth century, such job opportunities seem to have drawn nearly as many women as men. Unlike the city's white immigrant community, where men outnumbered women by almost two to one in 1900, in Miami and Coconut Grove, Bahamian women and men appeared to be working in the area in relatively equal numbers.⁷

The experience of Isaac and Maria Roberts provides but one example of these early mobility patterns and migration strategies. Isaac Roberts came to the United States from the Bahamas for the first time in 1886 when he was 19-years-old and worked as a common laborer, most likely in the building trades. Martha, however, had been in the United States since she was a very young child. The two were married in 1891, when he was 24 and she was 18 years of age. All of their five children, including one son and four daughters, were born in Florida. Although no occupation is listed for Martha in the census, it is likely that she did some kind of paid labor within her home such as taking in washing, mending, or doing period domestic work in one of the nearby white homes.

Silver Men: West Indian Labor Migration to Panama, 1850-1914 (Mona, Jamaica, 1984); Malcolm J. Proudfoot, *Population Movements in the Caribbean* (Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1950); Jerome McElroy and Klaus de Albuquerque, "Migration Transition in Small Northern and Eastern Caribbean States," *International Migration Review* 22 (autumn 1988): 30-58; Rosina Wiltshire, "Implications of Transnational Migration for Nationalism: The Caribbean Example," in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, eds. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton (New York, 1992): 180-81.

7. This estimation is based on both quantitative and anecdotal evidence; see 1900 U.S. Census Manuscript, Coconut Grove, Precinct 4 and Miami City, Precinct 7 (Washington, D.C., 1904); Thelma Vernell Anderson Gibson, *Forbearance: The Life Story of a Coconut Grove Native* (Miami, Fla., 2000); Louise Stirrup Davis, Kate Stirrup Dean, and Lillian Stirrup Mason, interviewed by Harvey and Mary Mae Napier, Sam Bolldrick, and Arva Moore Parks, 29 May 1973, Oral History Transcripts, Charles Tebeau Library, Historical Museum of South Florida, Miami.

Occupations were listed for very few women in Dade County's census manuscripts, and when an occupation was listed, it differed significantly across ethnic and class lines. For middle- and upper middle-class white women, their occupation was most often listed as "keeping house." This designation was rarely used for black women, native- or foreign-born. In some cases, women are listed as laundresses, nurses, or maids, particularly after 1910. But in earlier periods, it was more common to have "occupation" left blank. Anecdotal evidence tells a different story, however. Most of Miami's early residents remember women working long hours, either alongside their husbands in the fields or taking in laundry or mending in their homes.⁸ This pattern is the direct result of the dual-wage economy that developed and persisted for white women and women of color across the United States over the early twentieth century.⁹ Even at a time when cultural prescriptions assumed men to be the primary breadwinner, because most jobs for black men were limited to service sector or low-paying "unskilled" jobs, it was very difficult for black men, foreign- and native-born alike, to support families on a single wage. Thus women's wages were often essential to family survival in the United States.

Men primarily worked in the construction trades or as fishermen, wreckers, or spongers. As one early South Floridian recalled, "All our heavy laborers were Bahamian negroes." Work on the Florida East Coast Railroad also proved a major draw despite Henry Flagler's own reluctance about depending on black labor. According to one Miami newspaper, Flagler even went to far as to

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8. Kate Stirrup Dean, interviewer unknown, Oral History Transcripts, Charles Tebeau Library. Reporting of married women's wage labor increased in the Census of 1900 and 1910 as a direct result of new qualifications given to enumerators that "[t]he occupation, if any, of a child, of any age, or by a woman is just as important, for census purposes, as the occupation followed by a man. Therefore, it shall never be taken for granted, without inquiry that a woman or child has no occupation"; U.S. Census Bureau, *Twenty Censuses: Population and Housing Questions 1790-1950* (Washington, D.C., 1979): 43. Conflict over this language caused it to be dropped in 1920.
 9. For an extended discussion of these patterns and occupational reporting, see Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Cleaning Up/Kept Down: A Historical Perspective on Racial Inequality in 'Women's Work,'" *Stanford Law Review* 43 (July 1991): 1337-38; Elizabeth H. Pleck, "A Mother's Wages: Income Earning Among Married Italian and Black Women, 1896-1911," in *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women*, ed. Nancy Cott and Elizabeth Pleck (New York, 1979), 367.

fire all black laborers in 1904, with the hopes that he could replace them with Italian workers who he planned to recruit by opening offices in Chicago and New York City. By 1906, the influx of new European workers was being felt in many corners of the young city. As one journalist noted, "With the large importation of labor from the north, a good clear Irish brogue is becoming the language of Miami streets." Others complained that Greek was the language now heard most often in the city's courts. Overall, however, these attempts to replace native-born African-American and Bahamian men with European immigrants appear to have been largely unsuccessful. By 1910, European immigrants still made up only 6 percent of the total population in all of Dade County, a decline from 8 percent of first- and second-generation European immigrants who were reported by the census in 1900.¹⁰ The largest numbers of foreign-born persons in Miami remained non-white immigrants from the Caribbean.

Between 1896 and 1924, more Bahamians traveled to South Florida seeking work than to any other location, with the number of migrants who chose Miami as their first destination only accelerating after its port opened in 1905. By 1910, more than 35 percent of Miami's residents were African-American; of those, roughly one-third was from the Bahamas or elsewhere in the West Indies. Some reports estimated that as many as two to three thousand migrants arrived in the city each year through the late 1900s and early 1910s. Residents of Miami compared these waves of migrants to "waves rushing upon the shore." Small schooners, "so crowded with people that there was barely standing room on their decks," arrived with fifty or sixty people at one time. Through the 1910s, black West Indians comprised nearly one-quarter of the city's pop-

10. Thelma Peters, *Biscayne Country, 1870-1926* (Miami, Fla., 1981), 229; *Miami Evening Record*, 27 October 1904, quoted in Henry Marks, "Labor Problems of the Florida East Coast Railway Extension from Homestead to Key West: 1905-1907," *Tequesta* 32 (1972): 30. This debate about the dependence on black labor also occurred across Florida over this period; see George Pozzetta, "Foreigners in Florida: A Study of Immigration Promotion, 1865-1910," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 53 (October 1974): 153; *Miami Evening Record*, January 8, 1906, Miami Herald Collection, Charles Tebeau Library; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, Vol. II: Population 1910: Reports by States, with Statistics for Counties, Cities and Other Civil Divisions: Alabama-Montana (Washington, D.C., 1913), Table I: Composition and Characteristics of the Population for the State and for Counties, 320-21.

ulation, making it home to the largest percentage of black immigrants than any other city in the United States.¹¹

Once in Miami, Bahamians played a central role in shaping the city. As lines of segregation hardened over the early twentieth century, most Bahamians had little choice but to settle in the city's designated "colored districts." The largest of these was "Central Negro District," known locally as Overtown and located in the heart of Miami's downtown. By one historian's estimation, Overtown made up roughly 15 percent of Miami's original area and, through the 1920s, was home to more than 25 percent of the city's population, making it among the city's most crowded areas.¹² Others settled in Coconut Grove, one of the oldest neighborhoods in the area, located just to the south of central Miami on the opposite side of the Miami River. Coconut Grove had the highest concentration of Bahamians, dating back to the 1880s. While some Bahamians also chose to live in Lemon City, the vast majority settled in Coconut Grove or Overtown through the 1920s.

Proximity to jobs was likely the biggest reason for these settlement patterns. Both Coconut Grove and Miami originally developed outward from the major hotels: the Peacock Inn and Flagler's Royal Palm, respectively. Thus, for laundresses and domestics, as well as a range of service and construction workers, living in these areas put them close to their jobs as well as city services. By 1900, Overtown boasted a range of black-owned businesses and services including six restaurants, five barbers, carpenters and dressmaking shops, four groceries and meat markets, ice wagons, blacksmith shops, two firewood contractors, fisheries, mechanics, a bicycle repair shop, cigar maker, fruit stand,

11. Albury, *The Story of the Bahamas*; Craton, *A History of the Bahamas*; Harewood, "Introduction and Background: Population and Migration"; Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants*; 1910 United States Census of Population by State (Washington, D.C., 1913), 301; Table 1: Composition and Characteristics of the Population by County; *Miami Metropolis*, 12 June 1909, quoted in Raymond Mohl, "Black Immigrants: Bahamians in Early Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65 (January 1987): 271-97. Calculations based on 1910 United States Census Manuscript, Dade County, Precincts 8 and 9; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, Vol. 2: Population 1910: Reports by States, with Statistics for Counties, Cities and Other Civil Divisions: Alabama-Montana (Washington, D.C., 1913): Table 1: Population of Minor Civil Divisions: 1900, 1910 and 1890, 303-304.
12. Paul S. George, "Colored Town: Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (April 1978): 432-47.



Historic Overtown Street Scene Circa 1915. Courtesy of the Black Archives and Research Foundation of South Florida Inc., Miami.

plumber, and tailor. Two boarding houses helped to meet housing needs in this growing community while organizations including the Eastern Star Lodge, the Masons, the Elks, the Odd Fellows, the Love and Charity Lodge, the Heroines of Jericho, the Friendship Garden and Civic Club, the Algonquin Club, the Collegians Club, the King of Clubs, the Egelloc Civic and Social Club Inc., also were at the center of Overtown's community life.¹³

Coconut Grove boasted a range of similar services and today bears the most lasting imprint of its Bahamian pioneers. Migrants in the Grove built several churches, including St. Agnes and Christ Episcopal. Through the 1920s, membership in both congregations remained almost exclusively Bahamian. Thus, they were commonly referred to as "Nassau" churches rather than "Episcopal" or "Baptist." Housing styles in Coconut Grove also provided a constant reminder of the strong ties between Miami and the Caribbean. Built in the style of their homeland, Bahamians' homes were distinctive single- and double-story structures made from Florida pine, with horizontal siding and elevated

13. Marvin Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century*, 88.



Bahamian community in Coconut Grove, taken in front of the boathouse near the Peacock Inn in the mid-1880s. Courtesy of the Ralph Middleton Munroe Collection, Charles Tebeau Library, Historical Museum of South Florida, Miami.

on stilts. Through the 1910s, some homes also had windmills. These structures helped to pump water for washing, since few homes in any of the city's black neighborhoods had indoor plumbing until well into the 1920s or later.¹⁴

Bahamian families in Florida also frequently assisted extended kin and lodgers. Since all members of the household worked, including children, money was pooled to support those living in Florida, with additional funds set aside to send back to the Bahamas as remittances. This was an excellent strategy for family survival, but it also could be a source of tension, particularly for young men and women who hoped to save their own wages to buy their own property. Such was the case for Ebenezer Stirrup. "[My father] said that what happened was . . . if you made a dollar and you were a young man, then fifty cents had to be left with someone

14. Gertrude Sampson Pratt, interviewed by Dorothy Fields, n.d., Oral History Transcripts; Marvin Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville, FL, 1997): 112; Davis, Dean, Mason interview.

at home," his daughter, Kate Stirrup Dean recalled; "So my father said he didn't like that, so he left Key West to come to Miami."¹⁵ While familial and migration networks were important sources of support for new migrants and extended kin both in Florida and the Bahamas, they lost their usefulness for those who chose to remain in Florida over time. For those new migrants who became more settled, many wanted to pursue perceived economic opportunities and accumulate enough money to be able to set up their own households.

Lodgers were an important income source as well and provide yet another glimpse into the fluidity of movement and importance of transnational migrant networks within Miami's early Bahamian and native-born African American communities alike. Through 1910, 20 percent of Miami's black households had boarders. Roughly 40 percent of Bahamian households included boarders compared to 15 percent within native-born, black households. Joseph Portier's household provides one illustration. Portier was 24 years of age at the time of the 1900 census and worked as a "boater." Although Joseph was born in Florida, both of his parents were from the Bahamas. After his father died, his mother came to live with him in Miami where she worked as a washerwoman. To supplement their income, they also took in lodger Emma Whittaker, who worked as a cook in the city. Whittaker was 22 years of age, and although she had been married for one year, her husband was not living with her at the time of the census. While most lodgers were single men, in some cases single or unaccompanied women like Whittaker rented rooms for themselves and their children. The majority of lodgers in Miami's Bahamian community were unmarried and without children through 1920. Most were also recent arrivals from the islands or seasonal laborers.¹⁶

The practice of taking in lodgers was commonplace in both immigrant and African American communities throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and has been well documented through a wealth of historical studies of the United

15. Davis, Dean, and Mason interview.

16. Tabulation based on 1900 and 1910 U.S. Census of Population, by State, Miami City, Precincts 4, 7, and 8 (Washington, D.C., 1912, 1922); Wava Rowe Wright, "1900 Census of Dade County, Florida with Index Added," (Washington, D.C., 1902), Microfilm Publication Dade T-623, Roll No. 167, transcription, in Florida Collection, Miami-Dade Public Library, 134-35.

States and Caribbean alike.¹⁷ Although in the first years of Miami's development, it was relatively unusual for Bahamians to live as boarders in African American households or vice versa, as lines of segregation grew more rigid the divides between foreign- and native-born Black residents appeared to break down. In the city's earliest days, black residents lived in the same area, but restrictions were primarily informal although, by the 1920s, an elaborate set of legal regulations set curfew times and designated housing types. Streets within the city's black neighborhoods remained unpaved. Sanitation and indoor plumbing were rare or nonexistent.

The city's all white and predominantly native-born police force did little to prevent crime within the city's black neighborhoods, and instead were a source of consistent harassment and fear for black residents, native- and foreign-born alike. "Where I was born policemen were dressed in immaculate uniforms, carried no deadly weapon save a billy; here, shirt-sleeved officers of the law carried pistols, smoked and chewed tobacco on duty," one Bahamian man recalled of Miami in the 1910s. Another early migrant recalled how by the 1920s, members of the Ku Klux Klan rode through the center of town on their horses, cracking whips and threatening to beat any black man, woman, or child who dared to cross their path. Another second-generation migrant recalled how the angry native-born whites burned a cross in front of her home when she and her father, a prominent minister, registered to vote.¹⁸

Yet, Bahamians continued to assume the social cost of this migration to Miami in order to achieve higher economic standing

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17. E. Franklin Frazier, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Negro Family in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 53 (May 1948): 435-38; Sandra Gunning, "Nancy Prince and the Politics of Mobility, Home and Diasporic (Mis)identification," *American Quarterly* 53 (March 2001): 32-69; S.J. Kleinberg, "Children's and Mother's Wage Labor in Three Northeastern U.S. Cities, 1880-1920," *Social Science History* 29 (spring 2005): 45-76.
 18. Paul S. George, "Policing Miami's Black Community, 1896-1930," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (1979): 434-50; Ira De A. Reid, *The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937* (New York, 1939), 189; Margery Wake, interviewed by Dorothy Jenkins Fields and broadcast as part of "In the Beginning," Program 1, *Legacy Project*, Black Archives History and Research Foundation of South Florida Inc. and Dade County Cable Vision Project (Miami, Fla., n.d.); Irene Sampson Pratt, interviewed by Dorothy Jenkins Fields n.d., Oral History Transcripts.

and stability. Increasingly, social ties among Bahamians and African Americans strengthened as well. Whereas, in 1900, it was relatively unusual to find examples of intermarriage or shared living arrangements among Bahamians and native-born African Americans, by 1920 roughly one-third of households with boarders included both native-born African Americans and Bahamian migrants. Rates of intermarriage increased as well. Of the 382 Bahamian households living in Miami's Eight Precinct (which included Overtown) in 1910, 12 percent represented unions between Bahamians and African Americans from Florida or neighboring states. In nearly three-fourths of all marriages among Miami's Bahamians and African Americans, the women were Bahamian and their husbands were native-born. While some historians have suggested that men's greater mobility resulted in a significant undercount of Bahamian men in the census findings, the high rates of women in these inter-ethnic marriages are consistent with recent findings by sociologists Zhenchao Quian and Daniel Lichter, whose studies of contemporary immigrants to the United States found that among immigrant racial minorities, women are somewhat more likely than men to marry outside of their group.¹⁹ These Bahamian migrants then joined an international black community and forged new ties with other native- and foreign-born black residents alike as they negotiated the cityscape.

Of all the organizations and institutions founded in Miami by Bahamian migrants, one of the most striking was the Miami

19. Tabulation based on 1910 U.S. Census of Population, By State, Miami City, Precinct 8 (Washington, D.C., 1922). On patterns of marital assimilation among foreign and native born, see Guillermina Jasso, Douglas Massey, Mark Rosenzweig, and James P. Smith, "Assortive mating among married new legal immigrants to the United States: evidence from the new immigrant survey plot," *International Migration Review* 34 (winter 2000): 443-59; Zhenchao Qian and Daniel Lichter, "Measuring marital assimilation: intermarriage among natives and immigrants," *Social Science Research* 30 (winter 2001): 307-308. Bahamian migration to Florida and the United States has generally been understood as a primarily male phenomenon, where men migrated first and worked predominantly in agricultural work between October and March, before returning to the Bahamas; see Howard Johnson, "Bahamian Labor Migration to Florida in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *International Migration Review* 22 (spring 1988): 93; Raymond Mohl, "Black Immigrants: Bahamians in Early Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 74 (spring 1996): 284.

Chapter of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Originally established in Jamaica by Marcus Garvey in 1914, the UNIA's national headquarters was relocated to New York City in 1918. Although the organization remained an almost exclusively urban movement, through the 1920s, local chapters of the organization were established across the United States, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. Their primary focus was on developing a range of black-owned and black-operated business enterprises, including a shipping company called "The Black Star Line" which the UNIA hoped would facilitate economic ties between the United States, the Caribbean, and West Africa. The organization also had a special interest in the Bahamas. Although few of these plans became realities for the organization, in the early 1920s, the "Black Star Line" tried to establish a regular shipping route between Nassau and South Florida. In 1921, the UNIA also formed a Bahamian Rejuvenation League to improve education in the islands.²⁰

Miami's black communities, both native- and foreign-born, had long practiced Garvey's doctrine of black self-help and economic and political independence. But the UNIA's more explicitly political and race-conscious stance helped to bridge some of the divides that had separated the communities along lines of class and nativity. As violence against black residents accelerated, Reverend John A. Davis from the Ebenezer A.M.E. Church and Reverend Robert Burns Brookings, presiding elder of the Florida District A.M.E. Church, attended the August 1920 UNIA National Convention in New York City. Both ministers were native born. Davis was appointed as Miami's district organizer. Upon his return to Miami, he quickly worked to set up the first UNIA meeting in the city on September 16 in an Overtown church. Two

20. E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison, Wis., 1955), 221-22; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York, 1967), 489-92; Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Westport, Conn., 1976); Theodore Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972); Theodore Draper, *The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism* (New York, 1970), 48-56. There has been surprisingly little scholarly attention given to UNIA activities in Miami. To date, the only other published work on Miami's UNIA is Kip Vought, "Racial Stirrings in Colored Town," *Tequesta*, 60 (2000): 56-76.

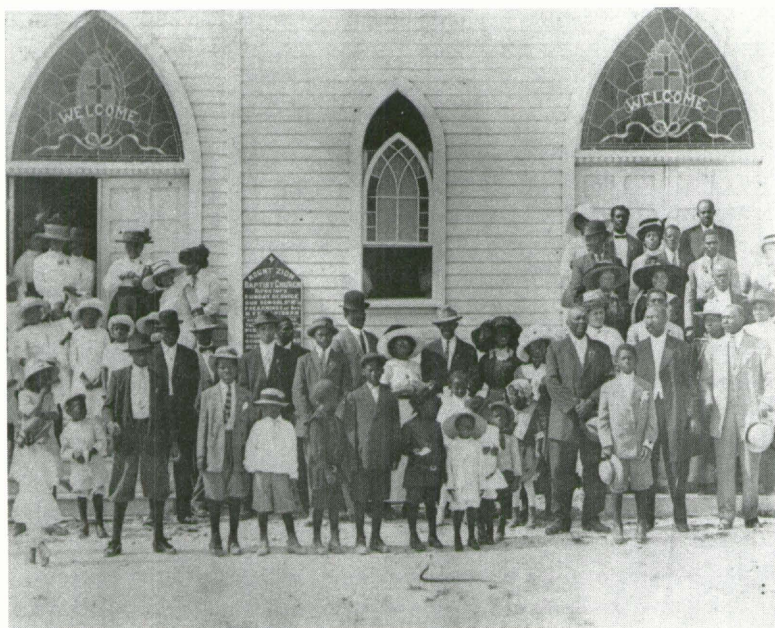
months later, Miami's black residents voted to officially establish a Miami UNIA Chapter.²¹

From its first organization meeting on November 14, Miami's UNIA chapter brought together a range of international black leaders. Percy Styles, a Bahamian and prominent businessman in Overtown, called the meeting to order and was appointed as Traveling Organizer. Dr. Alonzo Potter Burgess Holly, a Haitian-born doctor who lived and practiced in Overtown, gave a "fiery speech concerning the revolutionary activities" taking place in Haiti. Other leaders at the meeting included Reverend J.H. LeMansley, minister of the English Wesleyan Church, who "outlined some of the wrongs to the negroes," and Reverend George Emonei Carter, an African-American from the northern U.S. who served as secretary of Miami's black Y.M.C.A. and a member of the Colored Board of Trade. Two women, identified as Mrs. S. Johnson and Mrs. Maud Farrington, were also listed as being instrumental to the founding of Miami's UNIA Chapter.²² Many more women were soon listed among its leaders. By 1921, the organization was meeting in its own building, in Overtown's Liberty Hall.

Membership grew quickly. By December 1920, four hundred members were meeting in a Baptist church in Overtown. The chapter attracted ever more attention from the Federal Bureau of Investigations. Within less than six months after it was founded, the FBI had appointed a separate agent whose sole responsibility was monitoring the chapter's activities. Within less than a year after its founding, membership in the organization had grown to more than one thousand members. While Bahamians and other

21. "Opening of UNIA Convention: International Conventions of Negroes Opens in Blaze of Glory," Liberty Hall, New York, 1 August 1920, in Robert Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 12 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 2: 476-87; "Reports by Bureau Agent Leon E. Howe," Miami, Florida, 6 July 1921, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 3: 514, 515 n 2. Because Howe was primarily concerned about working with Immigration Authorities to deport black radicals, his report carefully distinguished which leaders of Miami's UNIA were "aliens" and noted all exceptions, including Davis whom he identified as "American." This distinction, however, may still have pointed to citizenship rather than ethnicity, but he repeatedly identified Davis as being "African American" rather than "Bahamian" or "West Indian" throughout his report.

22. "Report by Bureau Agent William C. Sausele," Jacksonville, Florida, 22 November 1920, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey Papers and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 3: 91.



Miami's black communities outside the Mt. Zion Church in Overtown, 1915. Courtesy of the Black Archives and Research Foundation of South Florida Inc., Miami.

Caribbean-born black immigrants still made up the bulk of the members, an important core of native-born African Americans joined the organization as well.²³ This balance of foreign and native-born members remained true throughout the life of Miami's UNIA, unlike other chapters across the country like those in New York and Los Angeles.²⁴

23. Leon E. Howe, Special Agent, Bureau of Investigation, Miami, Florida to Howard P. Wright, Special Agent in Charge, Jacksonville, Florida, 22 November 1920, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 9: 42 n 1, 42 n 2. Howe was the investigative agent in Miami through 1926; see "Reports by Bureau Agent Leon E. Howe," 3: 513-16. According to Howe, native-born African Americans made up only about one quarter or less of the members in the Miami Chapter, although many of these individuals were in leadership roles. Membership information cited in FBI surveillance reports remain the only surviving source which describes who made up the Miami UNIA Chapter. The source for this information, of course, makes the numbers subject to some question. Given the FBI's interest in deportation and using citizenship as leverage, it seems like the numbers of foreign-born would have been exaggerated rather than underreported.

24. In contrast to memories of those like W.E.B. DuBois, who wrote that "Garvey established a little group of his own Jamaican countrymen in Harlem and

The Miami Chapter of the UNIA served a variety of community functions. Like other branches around the country, the Miami Chapter sold Black Star Line stock. Members paid dues of around thirty-five cents a month, ten cents of which was sent to the UNIA headquarters in New York City. The remainder was added to the local treasury and used to rent meeting space, pay speakers' fees, and support local activities. From their New York City headquarters, chapters could buy copies of the UNIA constitution, songbooks, photographs, flags, uniforms, and *The Negro World*, a newspaper published by the organization. Meetings usually began with prayers and songs, such as the "Star Spangled Banner" and religious hymns. In Miami, some Bahamian songs were usually sung as well. A series of talks and musical performances usually followed.²⁵

Like other chapters, Miami enjoyed a separate Ladies Auxiliary, headed by Lily Farmington and Nettie Troublefield. Although in the context of the U.S.-based UNIA this was not unusual, in many of the Caribbean branches of the organization—including those in the Bahamas—women did not hold such central leadership roles. For Bahamian women, then, the opportunity to gain political leadership and organizing experience through Miami's UNIA paved the way to future activism and benevolence work in the islands. Frances "Mother" Butler and Lettie Tinker, for example, returned to Nassau after living in Miami for several years and founded the Bahamian "Mother's Club" in 1920. Although the organization was founded to aid hurricane victims, it soon became permanent, extending its mission to collecting used clothing and furniture for the needy and the aged. By the 1930s,

launched his own program," most scholars have argued that by the 1920s, the UNIA was almost entirely native-born; see W.E.B. DuBois, "Back to Africa," in *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa*, ed. John Henrick Clarke (New York, 1974): 109; E. Franklin Frazier, "Garvey: A Mass Leader," in Clarke, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa*, 237; D. Cronon, *Black Moses*, 42; "Editorial," March 1925, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 6: 128 n 4.

25. "Reports by Bureau Agent Leon E. Howe," Miami, Florida, 6 July 1921 and 12 August 1921, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 3: 515, 656-57; Judith Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey* (Baton Rouge, La., 1991), 223-26; Emory Tolbert, *The UNIA and Black Los Angeles: Ideology and Community in the American Garvey Movement* (Los Angeles, Calif., 1980); Howard P. Wright, Bureau Agent in Charge, Jacksonville, Florida, to Lewis J. Baley, Miami, Florida, 11 March 1921, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 3: 244-47.

the "Mother's Club" also played a role in the blossoming trade union movement within the Caribbean.²⁶

The chapter also had an active Juvenile Division that focused on the teaching of Africa but also emphasized teaching the history of the Caribbean and Bahamas. With the purchase of a motion picture machine in 1921, the Miami Chapter began to show films as well.²⁷

While the chapter's membership may have started out as a "who's who" of Miami's black leadership, within a few short years, the organization had attracted a growing number of working-class members as well. Most notable was Bahamian labor leader James Nimmo who, in the 1940s and 1950s, became well known for his role in organizing Miami's black porters and cleaners through the International Laundry Workers and Transportation Workers Union. The tremendous participation of women in Miami's UNIA Chapter was also striking.²⁸

The political alliances forged among Miami's foreign- and native-born black residents in the early 1920s, however, soon broke down in the face of increasing harassment by police and federal agents, growing immigration restrictions, and deepening divisions within the leadership of the UNIA itself. In July 1921, hooded white thugs kidnapped, beat, and threatened to lynch Reverend Reggie Higgs, a Bahamian and minister of Coconut Grove's St. James Baptist Church. Later that month, Archdeacon Philip Irvin, an Irish minister at Saint Agnes Episcopal Church in Overtown, was also kidnapped and nearly lynched by a white gang. Both ministers were ordered to leave town and immediately stop encouraging black residents to get better jobs and teaching "Negro members contempt for American institutions." At first, this brutality only served to strengthen the Miami chapter's membership. Nationwide, however, the UNIA continued to hear complaints that West Indians were shown favoritism within the ranks. Although the organization committed to promoting the leadership of

26. Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People*, 2 vols. (Athens, Ga., 1992), 2: 256.

27. "Reports by Bureau Agent Leon E. Howe," 6 July 1921, 3: 514-15.

28. Life Notes on James Bertram Nimmo, Marcus Garvey Collection; James Bertram Nimmo, interview with Marvin Dunn, quoted in Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century*: 124; Alex Lichtenstein, "'Scientific Unionism' and the 'Negro Question': Communists and the Transport Workers Union in Miami, 1944-1949" in *Southern Labor in Transition, 1940-1995*, ed. Robert Zieger (Knoxville, Tenn., 1997): 63.

"American Negroes," particularly in the American South, Garvey's 1922 decision to meet with white supremacist and Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard Edwin Clarke in Atlanta, and his praise of Jim Crow and racial purity, upset many of even his biggest supporters within the UNIA.²⁹ Garvey's 1923 conviction of mail fraud and subsequent jail sentence in 1925 further undermined organizing efforts at both the local and national levels. A financial debate within Miami's chapter about UNIA-owned rental properties created further divides.

In 1927, however, it looked as though Miami's chapter was going to enjoy a revival. In March, Laura Kofey spoke to a crowd at Miami's Liberty Hall; it was one of her first speeches in the American South. Kofey identified herself as an African princess from the Gold Coast, a daughter of King Knesiphi. She said she was inspired to come to the United States by Garvey's editorials in the *Negro World*. A charismatic speaker, Kofey soon attracted larger and larger crowds across Florida. Division reports told of how she kept her audiences spellbound for hours. "Garveyism is spreading like wildfire down here in Miami," one individual wrote to the *Negro World*; "Mrs. Coffey [*sic*] is marvelous." Over eight hundred new members joined the Miami chapter in a single week. Crowds of thousands gathered on the grounds of Liberty Hall for a June meeting where Kofey was scheduled to speak. In Tampa, Jacksonville, and St. Petersburg, local communities had a similar response to her message and her presence.³⁰

29. "Report by Bureau Agent Leon E. Howe," Miami, Florida, 22 June 1921, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 3: 244-45, 494-95; *Miami Herald*, 2 July, 30 July 1921; "Enclosure," Miami, Florida, 11 March 1921, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 3: 247 n 3; "Report by Bureau Agent Leon E. Howe," Miami, Florida, 12 August 1921, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 3: 656-57; "Report by Special Employee Andrew M. Battle," New York, New York, 22 August 1922, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 4: 949.
30. Marcus Garvey to J.A. Craigen, Atlanta, Georgia, 29 September 1927, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 6: 594-95, 594 n 1; *Negro World*, 4 June, 2 July 1927, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., microfilm. For a discussion of Kofey's impact on the UNIA nationally, see Richard Newman, "Warrior Mother of the Africa's Warriors of the Most High God": Laura Adorker Kofey and the African Universal Church," in *Black Power and Black Religion*, ed. Richard Newman (West Cornwall, Conn., 1987), 131-45; Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey*, 144-45. One Jacksonville reporter described how "the princess speaks every night in the week and twice on Sunday . . . at every meeting she holds, there are from four to fifty-two persons added to the UNIA"; see *Negro World*, 21 May 1927.

Yet, the national UNIA leadership was deeply suspicious of Kofey, particularly as she developed plans of her own to purchase ships and develop African saw mills—ideas that had not originated with Garvey or been approved by the UNIA national headquarters. On the local level, Kofey also came under fire from Florida chapters concerned about the large crowds drawn to her Sunday meetings. While Liberty Hall had long been a popular meeting place on Sunday afternoons, Kofey's meetings quickly became more like revivals and were all-day affairs. The larger her crowds, the fewer members attended Overtown and Coconut Grove's churches. This rankled many Miami ministers. Questions about Kofey's background, including skepticism about whether or not she indeed came from Africa, grew more direct. By late September, Garvey himself wrote directly to Florida UNIA chapters reminding them that he "would not be responsible for her activities" and had given her no authority to make her claims. "If people are so dense as to not be able to protect themselves I can do no more," Garvey wrote in one letter to the representative of Jacksonville's UNIA Chapter. A further notice forbidding any UNIA division or chapter from entertaining Laura Kofey; an ad demanding that division members have her arrested should she solicit funds ran in the *Negro World* in October. One year later, 8 March 1927 while speaking in Overtown's Liberty Hall, Kofey was shot and killed. No one was ever convicted of her murder. Although an organization called "The Garvey Club" resumed meeting through the 1930s, it never gained the membership or the popularity of the UNIA.³¹

31. Marcus Garvey to J.A. Craig, Atlanta, Georgia, 20 September 1927 in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 6: 594, 598, 599; *Negro World*, 22 October 1927; Marcus Garvey to Norton G. Thomas, Atlanta, Georgia, 10 October 1927, in Hill, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 6: 599 n 2; Life Notes, Marcus Garvey Collection; Newmann, "Warrior Mother," 140-41; Vought, "Racial Stirrings in Colored Town," 70-76. Claude Green, a native-born African American and president of Miami's UNIA Chapter, and James Nimmo were arrested and charged. Green was charged with being the triggerman, while Nimmo was charged with aiding and abetting before the fact. Witnesses at the trial, however, claimed that Nimmo was the triggerman, while Green gave the orders. Both men were acquitted on July 10. Nimmo returned to the Bahamas for a time to avoid Kofey's local supporters. He returned to Miami a few years later. Most of Kofey's followers joined the African Universal Church, which continues to have several small congregations across South Florida; see "Souvenir Program," African Assembly of 1931, Jacksonville, Florida, 8-15 March 1931, Black Archives and Research Foundation of South Florida; Newmann, "Warrior Mother," 140-141.

By the mid-1920s, Bahamian migration to and from Florida had also slowed. Federal immigration restrictions, including a rigid quota system, severely limited how many international migrants could cross into the United States each year.³² Literacy tests and more extensive processing further discouraged prospective migrants. At the same time, job opportunities in the Bahamas increased, thanks in part to the birth of tourism, supported in no small part by Prohibition in the United States. If, prior to 1920, Bahamians were most likely to travel to and from the shores of the United States, after 1920, Americans were more likely to travel and from the Bahamas.

The legacy of these migrations remains a critical part of Miami's history and its present. As the experience of its international black communities makes clear, Miami has always been a transnational city, even if it only recently has become a global city. From housing, to economic and political organizing, ties across lines of nativity and ethnicity were central to the African American experience. As historian Benjamin Brawley wrote in his 1921 work, *A Social History of the American Negro*, "other races have come . . . but it is upon this one that that country's history has turned as on a pivot."³³ Miami provides but one example.

32. As British citizens, Bahamians were not subject to migration restrictions as limiting as those experienced by Asian or Central American migrants; see Robert Zeidel, *Immigrants, Progressives, and Exclusion Politics: The Dillingham Commission, 1900-1927* (DeKalb, Ill., 2004), 9, 47, 122-23; *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd session, 18 and 19 April 1912, 4966-76, 5017-33.

33. Saskia Sassen and Alejandro Portes, "Miami: A New Global City?" *Contemporary Sociology* 22 (July 1993): 471-77; Benjamin Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro* (New York, 1921), 3-4.

Commentaries

Jack E. Davis, with Thomas Castillo, Jay Clune, James M. Denham, Russell D. James, Alex Lichtenstein, Dave Nelson, Joshua Parker, and Lee L. Willis III

Comments on Andrew Frank's "Taking the State Out of Florida"

Professor Andrew Frank's "Taking the State Out of Florida" represents an exciting and challenging project. Using historian Daniel Richter's suggestion that "facing east from Indian country" will change our perspective on familiar events and processes, Frank proposes to re-write the geographic and chronological foundations of Florida's history by "look[ing] outward from settled Indian villages and into settling and often struggling colonial outposts." Native peoples and local places, Frank rightly argues, must move to the center of our narratives if we are ever to understand the complicated reality of early Florida's history. Such a perspective is a critical one for a forum of this sort. A global perspective on Florida's past must acknowledge that world-wide forces were refracted through—and therefore experienced within the context of—local realities; an internationalist's interest in European empires must not be allowed to obscure the agendas and values of Florida's still powerful Indian peoples. As disorienting as it may be to de-emphasize St. Augustine and imperial officials in favor of Alachua and Native headmen, Frank is certainly correct that such a strategy presents early Florida "in terms that its inhabitants would have understood best."

As Frank moves forward with this project, I urge him to further develop the implications of his evocative phrase "Taking the State Out of Florida." More specifically, I hope that he will work to

make clear that “state” has two meanings relevant to his project. “State” could, of course, mean “Florida,” the geographic entity which we know today. Frank’s project will take the state out of Florida by re-casting our understanding of Florida geography so as to include Indian country and the margins of various European empires. “State” could also, though, mean “nation-state,” a type of socio-political organization, a system for organizing loyalties, marshalling resources, and exerting power. Frank’s discussion of the relative weakness of European imperial power in Florida shows that he is intent on removing this sort of state as well. In doing so, however, Frank should acknowledge that Florida was a “power vacuum” for Indians as well as for Europeans. None of the traditional Native power centers in the eighteenth-century Southeast had much influence in Florida. The Creeks and Seminoles who moved into Florida were thus every bit as much “on the margins” as British, French, or Spanish colonists. In other words, Native “states” need to be taken out of Florida’s early history as well. In Florida at least, Indian country and zones of Euro-American occupation were both “stateless” territories.—*Joshua Piker, Oklahoma University, “Symposium Week 3: Comment,” in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 20 October 2004.*

“In short, the lack of clear geopolitical boundaries in eighteenth-century Florida provided opportunities for sustained Native autonomy rarely found in North America.” This statement by Andres Frank is true, and he best expounds on it by bringing Panton, Leslie, & Co. into the picture. The trading firm had a definite monopoly in most of East and West Florida in its commercial ventures. A short history can demonstrate: the firm was run by Scots with British citizenship who spoke English, French, Spanish, and, in some cases, Portuguese, not to mention Native languages. The firm’s partners worked under Spanish, British, and American rule in Florida and were friendly with colonial governments of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Danish, as well as others.

I believe the reason Panton, Leslie, & Co. influenced the Indians was not because of their monopoly or business practices, but because they broke down the language barrier. A Creek or Seminole chief or clansman could come to Pensacola or St. Augustine to trade furs for processed goods and be assured he could speak to a person in company management (or even lower) who spoke the language(s) that the trading Native American

spoke. This fact made it possible for neighboring villages with separate influences from Spain or Great Britain to trade with one single company.

Although I have a limited familiarity with the many Panton, Leslie, & Co. papers located in special collections in the South and elsewhere, I have read enough of the original documents to have seen John and James Innerarity mediate disputes between Creeks, between Seminoles, between the French and Seminoles, or the Spanish and Creeks. The firm of Panton, Leslie, & Co., broke down the language barrier experienced in other regions (Old Northwest, Mississippi River Valley) as the geographical area passed from ownership of one European nation to another. When Florida passed from Spanish to British or British to Spanish, the company's trade with the Natives survived and flourished. With this influence, it mattered not in Florida who controlled the land through divine kingship ownership, only that one company could be trusted and traded with continuity.—*Russell D. James, "Symposium Week 3: Comment," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 20 October 2004.*

Author's Response:

Piker is quite right in pushing me to explore both aspects of "the state." Clearly, there is a double meaning in my title, and this was intentional. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Florida was a largely stateless society, both from a Native and non-Native perspective. Too often scholars have assumed a powerful and centralized Spanish, Creek, British, or Seminole presence. The play-off system employed by some Creek leaders, for example, has been posited as a means for the Creek nation to survive and thrive in a tumultuous era. Creek and then Seminole survival, however, was more localized and village-oriented than we have been led to believe. The play-off system was equally local, as it resulted in the uneven presence of trade goods and power in Florida villages. Perhaps this is one of the many reasons for the controversies surrounding William Augustus Bowles and Alexander McGillivray.

At the same time, I hope that Florida historians will begin to downplay the geographic boundaries that have defined Florida. Because the region was relatively stateless in the political sense, few traders, diplomats, or warriors abided by the dividing line that sep-

arated Georgia and Florida. Many of the disputes of the era resulted from this lack of regulation and constant movement across the dividing line. Georgia, Great Britain, and the United States (and residents from all three) had active roles in the shaping of Florida even while Spain claimed the territory.

James's comments about the Panton, Leslie, and Forbes Co. were equally insightful and useful. He is quite right to point to the statelessness of the company and its history. The importance of "breaking the language barrier" was indeed an essential component to keeping the Indian trade. Yet, at the same time, I think that we can slightly modify or extend James's insights. Yes, the ability to speak Muskogee, Alabama, Spanish, French, and English were essential traits for the factors. When chiefs, warriors, and traders came into Spanish, British, and American territories, good interpreters were mandatory, and the Panton Leslie Company employed many. Yet, if we look at this history from the Native vantage point, it is clear that most if not nearly all of the traders were employed within Indian villages, not within European/American territory. They lived in Indian villages, married Indian women, and lived according to the rules of Creek/Seminole society. Rather than interpreting their experience from the European vantage point, the key is to see their experience from the Indians' perspective. Rather than examining Pensacola and St. Augustine, we must examine Alachua and Tallassee. Scholars have overemphasized the importance of European sanction (passports); not enough has been said about the importance of clan and village sanction. The story of the Panton, Leslie Co. can be best understood in this light. The enterprise survived the transfer of power between Spain and Great Britain because its resident traders had the sanction of clan and village leaders. Thus, the permanence of the company had its roots and authority from within Indian villages.—Andrew K. Frank, "Symposium Week 3: Response," in *H-Florida* [*H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu*], 26 October 2004.

Comments on Sherry Johnson's "The St. Augustine Hurricane of 1811"

Having recently come through Hurricane Ivan, I feel somewhat qualified to comment on the psychological implications of a hurricane, if not the social, cultural and political. As my expertise is in West Florida, I will address Professor Johnson's excellent abstract on the 1811 hurricane from that perspective. Along these

lines, my first reaction was to question whether hurricanes facilitated communication between East and West Florida? Sherry Johnson discusses the sister colonies of Louisiana and Cuba in terms of the domino effects of a disaster. What of West Florida? Was Pensacola simply oriented toward Louisiana to the degree that Mobile came to its aid in the aftermath of a disaster?

My next reaction, however, was to appreciate the thought-provoking, creative and interdisciplinary questions that Johnson raises for this reason. West Florida had an equally stormy colonial history, but the enduring impacts of hurricanes on the political, social, cultural and economic development of this region is a question no historian of West Florida has asked. Some impacts are well known: in 1559 a hurricane destroyed Tristán de Luna's fledgling settlement on Pensacola Bay; in 1752 a storm destroyed the Santa Rosa Island settlement; and in 1780 a storm frustrated Bernardo de Galvez's attempt to capture Pensacola. There are some two dozen or so lesser-known storms documented in eighteenth-century West Florida. What impact did these storms have on historic processes along the northern Gulf coast?

To get at the heart of her argument, Johnson's adaptation of political science theory to gauge the impact of a natural disaster is just the kind of interdisciplinary inquiry in which historians should be engaged. Political science theory would suggest that the storm of 1811 gave East Florida residents the perfect opportunity to throw off the yoke of Spanish control. That they did just the opposite in fending off the "Patriots" suggests, perhaps, that the storm forged in residents a stronger connection to an empire in which they were firmly socially, culturally, and religiously situated. I was reminded of the contributions of a colleague in psychology who, in the aftermath of Ivan, explained that large natural disasters, such as hurricanes, often forge a stronger sense of community with fellow victims, an enhanced sense of a shared burden. Did the hurricane of 1811 forge a stronger sense of community, one that emboldened residents of East Florida to fend off the Patriots rather than to foment rebellion? Can the discipline of psychology, like political science, contribute to our understanding of how disasters impact historic processes?

In the end, Johnson left me with more questions than conclusions, but that is what an excellent, creative, essay should do.—Jay Clune, *University of West Florida*, "Symposium Week 4: Comment," in *H-Florida* [*H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu*], 17 October 2004.

Author's Response

I appreciate Jay Clune's perceptive remarks about my attempt to link the aftermath of hurricanes to political processes. First, I must apologize that I seemingly omitted West Florida in my analysis. No insult was intended. My desire to concentrate on the Hurricane of 1811 came because of the enigma of the residents' loyalty to Spain, even when the confusion of the crisis should have provoked them to rebellion if they were so inclined.

I also knew there was a sufficient archival base in the East Florida Papers in P.K. Yonge Library in Gainesville, and also that I would find material in the Fondo de las Floridas in Cuba. Although I did not include them in this article, Pensacola and Mobile were part and parcel of this evolving process from the 1750s onward. For example, the hurricane in 1766 off Mobile blew the *situado* ships off course and forced Antonio de Ulloa to compensate for the loss of revenue in Louisiana. In 1802, like what happened in St. Augustine in 1811, Havana shifted money to Pensacola to compensate residents' for their losses after a hurricane came ashore there. Both areas are addressed in my larger work, but for brevity, I chose to focus this research on one instance in East Florida.

Professor Clune's question about the psychological impact of hurricanes and other disasters is well taken. After hurricane Andrew, there were several studies undertaken in psychology and sociology to this end. Disaster in its many forms does have a "leveling" effect, and it heightens a "we-they" mentality. But following closely on the heels of the sociologists, the political scientists found that if victims are displeased with the way the government treated them, the "we-they" dichotomy shifted to a "we the victims" and "they the authorities" conflict. The classic example cited is the blatant theft of relief supplies after the Managua, Nicaragua, earthquake by the Somoza government in 1975. The other case, of course, was that South Florida's residents were also very displeased by the Bush administration's slow response to the crisis after Andrew. What my research sought to do was to take these ideas and apply them in historic context. It helped, of course, that at the same time I began my research, scientists and climatologists were finalizing their conclusions based on data that demonstrate that after 1750, the Caribbean suffered six decades of environmental stress because of the El Niño/La Niña sequence.

So I began to look for hurricanes and their consequences after 1750 throughout the Spanish Caribbean, from Puerto Rico to Tampico, and I found incontrovertible evidence for a change in approach by the Spanish crown. The process began as early as the 1750s and the 1760s, and gradually they “got it,” that is, they figured out that it was their responsibility to respond to hurricanes. The most pressing problem was food, and they relaxed the restrictions on importing provisions after every hurricane, finally leading to a complete reorganization of provisioning networks in 1773. They also looked around at other islands, even in the 1760s, and found that unhappy residents invariably rebelled against colonial rule. For example, they learned a valuable lesson from the Louisiana rebellion in 1768. The reign of Charles III in Spain (1759-1788) was responsible for this change in policy, and the three governors in my study—Zéspedes, Quesada, and Estrada—all came up through the ranks during this learning period. But after Charles III died in 1788, the administrators during the reign of his son, Charles IV (1788-1808)—Las Casas in Cuba and Carondelet in Louisiana—forgot their lessons and consequently had a very hard time trying to govern. In the case of Juan José de Estrada, his decades of service in the Spanish military and his experience in government meant that he understood what could happen in the volatile situation on the Florida frontier. His response forged a “we-they” response in St. Augustine’s residents, with General Matthews and his Georgians clearly identified as the outsiders. This was later reinforced by Sebastián de Kindelán when he refused to allow the non-Spanish residents to vote for electors under the Constitution of 1812.

Finally, I think my research dovetails nicely with Dr. Frank’s revisionist work. For nearly twenty years, I have been hoping to take the state, specifically the United States, out of Spanish Florida’s history. I cannot agree, however, that Florida in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was “stateless.” True, the form and execution of Florida’s government under Spanish rule was different, but it was not necessarily less effective than that of the United States, especially vis-à-vis the native peoples. The Seminoles, like the acknowledged Spanish residents, prospered under Spanish rule; witness the success of the Seminole “Old Fields” around Tallahassee. The Spanish form of governance incorporated the indigenous peoples rather than removed them, and in this respect, Spanish rule did not change during the Second

Spanish Period. Certainly, the Seminoles were aware of the fact; after all, it was they who turned the tide and defeated the Georgians in the countryside. For fifty or more years, historians have been erroneously characterizing Spanish East and West Florida as backward, a failure, tearing itself apart, and other pejorative descriptors. But our panel is a good start—we're finally "getting it."—*Sherry Johnson, "Symposium Week 4: Response," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 31 October 2004.*

Comments on Larry Youngs's 'The Sporting Set Winters in Florida'

Youngs's study offers opportunities for examining and exploring an important and understudied facet of Florida's social history. His focus on golf as a way to explore the "international network of sportsmen, spectators, and entrepreneurs" that visited and eventually did business in Florida has great potential for a fuller understanding of the social and economic development of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Florida. While golf and tennis (and polo) among elites in Palm Beach, Miami, and the greater Gold Coast area are obvious foci to explore, I would encourage Youngs to cast his net more widely to include other regions and other outdoor recreational activities. Surely not to be overlooked are coastal areas on the Gulf. Edison and Firestone's Fort Myers lured sportsman from all over the world eager to slay monster tarpon. Tampa Bay, St. Petersburg, and Clearwater developed resorts of their own where golf and tennis attracted participants and spectators. While they make modern eyes cringe, photographs of proud hunters and their "cracker" guides, posing in front of Florida panthers strung up on poles after long safari-like hunts in the Lower Peninsula, are but one example of the enthusiasm that elite visitors shared for exploring and exploiting one of America's last frontiers.

What of the interaction between visitors and natives (guides)? Did natives watch in awe or did they merely tolerate these fancy exotics as odd curiosities? These hunting and fishing expeditions led visitors from the North and abroad to a clear understanding of Florida's economic potential which led to the development of the state's coastal areas and interior sections. Phosphate strikes in Alachua, Hillsborough, and Polk Counties lured English entrepreneurs to Florida to exploit the important mineral. English remittance men were soon to follow. By the 1890s in Fort Meade, for

example, polo, horseracing, and cricket games enlivened the social scene and altered social and economic systems, bringing interior Florida into a world economy. The degree to which these cultural introductions altered our economic and social landscape are important for fuller understanding of Florida history.—*James M. Denham, Florida Southern College, "Symposium Week 2: Comment," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 15 October 2004.*

I'd like to echo Mike Denham's endorsement of Professor Youngs's fascinating and important topic. Sport played (and continues to play) an important role in Florida society in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and should accordingly have a prominent place in the historiography. I also agree that hunting would be a worthwhile addition to the project, not only in the lower peninsula but in the panhandle as well. The cypress and yellow pine industries attracted businessmen from Western Europe and the Northeast alike. In turn, travel writers from national outdoor magazines also visited the wild environs of northwest Florida, making striking observations of the people and landscape. (In some instances their parties wantonly shot scores of alligators from steamboats not unlike the slaying of buffalo from railroad cars in the West.) A comparison of the panhandle/lower peninsula hunting trips versus the East Coast country club experience may indeed be worthwhile.

I also find Youngs's statement that international visitors to sporting enclaves "interacted in formulating individual and group identities based on an amalgam to values, ideas, and activities" a convincing observation, but I wonder how this amalgam functioned specifically. The scope of the proposed study, 1870-1930, encompasses sweeping social changes: Gilded Age excess, progressive reform, and the tightening vise of Jim Crow, to name a few. How did this international enclave affect movements such as prohibition, for example? Or more specifically, as Florida's counties went dry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, did their values, ideas, and activities comport with the wets or the dries? Did their mores shape the way that South Floridians thought of vigilantism?

I look forward to following the development of this project. It promises to yield valuable insights into Florida's society and culture.—*Lee L. Willis III, Florida State University, "Symposium Week 2: Comment," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 17 October 2004.*

It is exciting to see historians finally beginning to examine Florida tourism. Recently, for instance, Susan Braden looked at Flagler's resort architecture and Patsy West traced Seminole tourist traditions. Now, Youngs has proposed a unique perspective that moves beyond the Sunshine State's borders into a transnational world. By addressing the sporting culture of the early 1900s, Youngs attempts to move the discourse into heretofore unexplored areas of Florida's resort era.

In Florida and southern historiography, a recurring question is the "southern-ness" of Florida. Is Florida a part of the Old/New South? Or is it a separate culture that developed with the influx of Northern temporary and retired residents as well as migratory seasonal workforce? For instance, was the emerging sporting culture of the early 1900s transplanted intact by international visitors to Florida—or was there a Florida/Southern influence upon it? In turn, does the presence of this sporting set affect Florida's "native" culture in any significant way? For instance, did other non-Flagler resorts or communities begin courting this sporting culture? Another theme in twentieth-century Florida studies, especially in connection with tourism, is Florida's image. Often portrayed as an exotic locale and a paradise, Florida represented for many visitors an encounter with a safe "other" world. Several studies have addressed the development and use of this image. As for Youngs's study, did that tropical image attract the sporting communities? Or did that tropical environment create a unique, geographically-specific version of the more general international sporting culture? Or did the culture simply exist parallel to the rest of Florida's tourist scene? In other words, cultural trends flowing into Florida may have been as important as those coming out of Florida.

Youngs stated goal to trace the construction of a lifestyle and culture by transnational visitors to Florida follows a third long-time theme in Florida studies. From Hernando De Soto's Fountain of Youth to the antebellum planter's Old South cotton culture to Henry Flagler's and Florida Seminoles' winter playgrounds, Florida has been remade several times over by newcomers. By placing the early 1900s sporting set within that tradition of re-imagining and re-constructing Florida (by both the merchants and the consumers), Youngs's study will make a valuable contribution to the ongoing studies of Florida's malleable image.—*Dave Nelson, Florida State Archives, "Symposium Week 2: Comment," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 18 October 2004.*

Author's Response

I thank James Denham for his helpful and encouraging comments concerning sport's impact on the economic and social landscape of Florida history. Because my larger work analyzes the emergence and development of the winter resorts in Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas, early on I limited (for practical reasons) my research to Florida's Atlantic coast. I have done some research on golf along the Gulf Coast, and I have read a good bit about hunting and fishing in Florida in contemporary travel guides and the popular press.

I would, however, like to take Denham's suggestion to heart and broaden my understanding of sport's impact throughout the state. I would be especially interested in sources that would help me answer Denham's question: "What of the interaction between visitors and natives?" The viewpoints of locals are always insightful although difficult to find, particularly those of African Americans who worked directly for the resorts or who lived in what I call the "shadows" of the resorts. Seasonal workers from the North or from the Caribbean are equally difficult to locate historically.

I also thank Lee L. Willis III and David Nelson for their thoughtful comments and questions. First, I see Florida visitors' hunting and country club experiences as indicators of a cultural shift at work. Early on, northerners were especially attracted to Florida as one of this country's final frontiers. Upper-class males especially embraced "roughing it" as part of "camp life" and the wilderness experience. As increasing numbers of people traveled into Florida, however, popular perceptions of nature shifted. Female travel-guide authors, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe and Abbie Brooks, advised their readers to immerse themselves in Florida's bucolic setting without disturbing the environment. Both writers forcefully criticized what they saw as the wanton and unnecessary slaughter of animals like the alligator. Sidney Lanier, a Southerner writing for a Northern audience, suggested a more passive and contemplative encounter with Florida's natural beauty. By the 1890s, the introduction of golf into the United States and Flagler's development of Florida's Atlantic coast coincided to create a winter Mecca for the emerging country club set. Less interested in the challenges and discomforts of the wilderness, certain upper-class men and women gravitated to Florida each winter expecting (even demanding) to find familiar levels of comfort and

convenience, and a “natural” environment tamed by the hand of man. Like the “didactic landscapes” of early nineteenth-century cemeteries and urban parks, Florida’s sporting environment (especially golf courses) provided Northerners an “antidote” to the industrial city.

Second, concerning the scope of my research (1870-1930), it will require a book to adequately address the evolving individual and group identities that resorters constructed during this period. The historical actors involved in my original narrative included Southern whites (both directly and indirectly associated with the winter resorts), Southern blacks who created year-round communities in the shadows of the resorts, Northern white workers who migrated annually from summer resorts in the North to winter resorts in the South, Northern and Southern entrepreneurs who often played leading roles in the creation and development of the resort scene, and, always at the center of the story, the tourists and seasonal residents who made wintering in the south Atlantic states a permanent part of their lives. I am broadening my analysis by including workers, resorters, and entrepreneurs from outside the United States.

Third, in describing the effect that resorters had on local, state, and national politics, on social movements like prohibition, or “the tightening vice of Jim Crow,” historian T.J. Jackson Lears’s phrase “evasive banality” comes to mind. The resorters’ winter colonies were in the South, but they were not of the South. They consciously constructed their seasonal lifestyle to insulate themselves from the realities of the larger society.

Fourth, members of the sporting set found answers to questions of individual and group identity in the mutuality they constructed after (not before) their lifestyle enclaves were formed. Southern and Northern developers competed vigorously in attracting members of the sporting set. Also, certain Southern communities were more willing and successful in accommodating outside visitors. Together, Floridians and their visitors cooperated and competed in creating the winter sporting scene.

Fifth, images of Florida were in a constant state of flux throughout the period under study, often with multiple images simultaneously at play. Images of Florida as an exotic symbol of “the Old South,” as this country’s final untamed wildernesses, as a natural sanitarium, as a picturesque and bucolic paradise for sightseers, as a luxurious haven designed for conspicuous consumption,

as an opportunity ripe for ambitious entrepreneurs, and as an exclusive setting for an international sporting set each attracted distinctive groups of visitors at different times. Thus, Florida's image and the manner in which people re-imagined and re-constructed Florida serve as the primary threads that hold my narrative together.—Larry Youngs, "Symposium Week 2: Response," in *H-Florida* [*H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu*], 21 October 2004.

Comments on Melanie Shell-Weiss's "Coming North to the South"

I think Melanie Shell-Weiss is on to something very promising here. We should rethink the history of Miami by drawing on models from immigration history, and the history of Miami can, in turn, force us to reconceptualize those models in a very fruitful way. However, I do not find her current model for taking up this task entirely persuasive. She claims "Miami is not a new immigrant city"; but I disagree. I think she vastly overstates the significance of foreign immigration to the city's political economy and culture during the first half of the twentieth century. Notwithstanding the important presence of Bahamians, what makes the city interesting is the dramatic shift it underwent from an urban area defined by internal migration prior to World War II to its status as a city defined by foreign-born migrants in the second half of the twentieth century.

First, let's do the numbers. The population of Dade County in 1900 stood at 6,245. Of those, not even 600, or less than 10 percent, were foreign-born whites, and about 1,200 were "Negro." The census data shows 237 persons born in the West Indies, though we do need to ask if Bahamians fell into this category or that of "Negro." (Later census years count "white" West Indians; historian Marvin Dunn gave the 1900 figure of 212 Bahamians). It is worth noting that there were exactly four Cuban-born people residing in Dade County in 1900.

Two decades later, the population of the county had swelled to 42,663, an increase of nearly 700 percent. The vast majority of this increase was native-born white. In 1920, only 3,300 foreign-born whites appeared in the census. Blacks, however, now made up almost 30 percent of the county's overall population, as they did in many Southern cities at the time. Even if we reduce our unit of analysis to the city of Miami, we find a total population in 1920 of 29,571, of which 7,398 (25 percent) were foreign born. Prior to 1960, this figure would mark the apogee of immigrants in the city.

It appears, however, that about 5,000 of those counted by the 1920 census as "black" were in fact foreign born, probably from the Bahamas. Over half of them had arrived after 1914, in a Caribbean version of the Great Migration. What we badly need in terms of research is a close analysis of "non-white" immigration to Florida in the 1900-1920 period, since the census is often quite confusing in its approach to this category. It would also be nice to know more about the relationship between native-born blacks and West Indian newcomers in this era, especially in light of developments in the post-1980 period. But in any event, the 1920 figure of 5,000 foreign-born blacks only increased to 5,500 by 1930, and declined thereafter until the period of more recent immigration.

By 1930, Dade County's population had reached 142,955. Only 10,900 were foreign-born white, and of these, 1400 alone were born in England. Only 266 were born in Cuba. When added to the 5,512 foreign born blacks, the total number of immigrants was only 11.5 percent of the population.¹

Although an exceedingly diverse lot, it appears that many of these immigrants were "old stock" in the nineteenth-century meaning of the term. In other words, with the important exception of the Bahamian presence, Miami in 1930 looked a bit like Milwaukee in 1880. Of the 30,000 blacks in Dade County in 1930 (21 percent of the population), it appears that one-sixth were born in the West Indies; it seems likely that much of the enormous immigration of blacks to Miami in the first three decades of the century came from the rural South, and did not, in any case, keep up with white in-migration.

By 1940, the population had nearly doubled again to 267,000. Of these, nearly 200,000 were native-born whites, and nearly 50,000 were black. In 1950, of the 500,000 residents of Dade, only 10 percent were foreign born; however, the black population of 64,000 now made up a smaller percentage of the overall total, a significant trend.

Then, if we jump to 1960, the total population was 935,000. Now, 112,000 were of foreign birth, and 265,000 of "foreign stock."

1. In descending order, the origins of these immigrants were: the Bahamas 5512; Canada 1788; England 1400; Germany 1220; Soviet Union 778; Scotland 491; Sweden 459; Italy 411; Irish Free State 333; Cuba 266; Austria 248; Poland 230; Norway 192; Rumania 167; Palestine 157; France 154; N. Ireland 133; and Czechoslovakia 97.

Strikingly, only 137,000, or less than 15 percent, were black. And a mere 28 percent of the county's native-born population was born in Dade county.

Twenty years later, in 1980, 35 percent of Miami's population was foreign born, the highest of any urban area in the nation. Currently, that percentage is well over 50 percent. Although the sources of this new "new immigration" were profoundly different, at the end of the twentieth century, Miami had taken on the characteristics of Chicago or New York or Cleveland of 1900.

We can draw a few interesting conclusions from this rough statistical sketch. First, by no stretch of the imagination could Miami be described as a city significantly shaped by foreign immigration prior to 1960. Between 1900 and 1950, the percentage of foreign-born residents in Dade County never exceeded 20 percent (or 25 percent if we measure Miami city alone), and we know far too little about that spike, which occurred in 1920. Moreover, no single group of immigrants ever exceeded 5,500 people until the Cuban exodus of the 1960s. At the same time, the city did experience incredibly rapid growth due to in-migration. The characteristics of that in-migration need to be closely examined, but my guess is that prior to 1940 a large proportion of it was rural and Southern, both black and white; after the war, many more urban Northerners relocated to Miami. The other notable feature is the rapid decline of the proportion of the black population, native and foreign-born, from 30 to 15 percent, in the very decades that legal and cultural changes made an assault on Jim Crow possible. Thus, when the "new immigration" of post-1960 remade the face of the city, native-born blacks (and second-generation West Indians) found themselves in a relatively weak position to shore up their own position in the urban geography, labor market, and struggle for political power that ensued. At the same time, between 1980 and 2000, the city did become "blacker"—but from the influx of Afro-Cubans, Haitians, Jamaicans, and other West Indians and/or South Americans of African descent.

Thus, I would suggest, an agenda for researching a new "grand narrative" of urban, ethnic, and labor history with Miami as a case study might consider some of the following dynamics. First, what happens when a city that grows on a "Southern" pattern overnight, with an influx of native-born whites and blacks from the rural South, experiences new forms of in-migration, both Northern and foreign-born? Secondly, we should investigate the turmoil at the

bottom of the city's labor market during the 1960s. This was a moment in which Miami's African Americans had gained the legal and political tools to advance themselves beyond the very bottom of the labor market, only to be confronted with a whole new population competing for those positions: Cuban immigrants. The same question goes for the political reconfigurations of the city in the decades following the Cuban exodus; the matter of ethnic-based machine-building and political patronage would seem key here. Third, as Shell-Weiss notes, Miami offers a unique laboratory for examining the meaning of "race" in American immigration history. On the one hand, the first wave of Cuban immigrants understood themselves as "white", but the arrival of the Marielitos in 1980 considerably complicated the racial definition and identity of Cuban immigration and created a bi-racial immigrant community. At the same time, African-descent immigration has raised profound questions about Pan-African American identity. This was an issue confronted, in a minor way, in the city's early history in the relationship between Bahamians and African Americans, but writ large over the past two decades. This is especially true because language now separates the new African-descent immigrants from the native-born black population (including descendants of the Bahamian community).

In short, I think Shell-Weiss needs to distinguish sharply between the pre- and post-1960 eras, and explore how patterns set in the first period created a context that affected the dynamics of the past of forty years, as Miami has indeed been transformed into an immigrant city. Finally, I take exception to her assumption that Miami is not exceptional. In some important ways—the very early in-migration of African-descent immigrants; the sudden influx of a large group of immigrants from one place, linked directly to U.S. foreign policy in the 1960s; the huge number of black immigrants; the initial Southern pattern; the sharply declining demographic significance of African Americans—the city's history may be exceptional, though possibly a harbinger of things to come elsewhere. At the very least, the unique and typical factors of these patterns need to be investigated and compared with other places. And Miami is exceptional, Shell-Weiss suggests, in the balance it has maintained between foreign-born men and women, a striking pattern that can cast light on gender roles, the gendering of labor markets, and family economic strategies, as she points out.

Shell Weiss's abstract has raised a host of provocative issues and reminded me just how little we still know about some basic features of Miami's urban and ethnic history. This should serve as an excellent prod to further research.—*Alex Lichtenstein, Rice University, "Symposium Week 1: Comments," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 4 October 2004.*

Author's Response

A hearty thanks to Alex Lichtenstein for his detailed and insightful response, which also provides me the opportunity to clarify a few of my main arguments. First, I agree wholeheartedly with Lichtenstein that it is the contrast between the pre- and post-World War II eras (or pre- and post-1960 eras) in Miami that prove most insightful. This is how I have framed the organization of my current manuscript project. And, as the numbers that Lichtenstein provides makes clear, Miami's transformation from a city with some foreign-born persons to a city with more foreign-born than native-born residents is, indeed, what makes it such an exciting model for thinking about twentieth- and twenty-first-century patterns of urbanization, industrialization, and migration. Thus, I think his question, "[W]hat happens when a city that grows on a 'Southern' pattern overnight, with an influx of native-born whites and blacks from the rural South, experiences new forms of in-migration, both Northern and foreign born?" is particularly apt. He and I also share an active interest in the labor turmoil of the 1960s which underpins my work on the city's garment and domestic service industries of this period.

We differ, however, in the importance we attribute to these "first wave" migrants of the early twentieth century. Yes, it is abundantly clear that regional migration dominates the first four decades of Dade County's growth. The number and percentage of trans-Atlantic migrants is small compared to that of Chicago or New York over the same period. But because Miami's and Dade County's regional migrants include both those who are traveling southward from the Southern United States as well as those who come northward from the Caribbean, it provides an important case study in just what is meant when we speak about "regional" migrations. The benefit of such a perspective is that it helps us to overcome the balkanization of studies of immigration and migration as well.

Lichtenstein writes that "with the important exception of the Bahamian presence, Miami in 1930 looked a bit like Milwaukee in 1880." But it is precisely this exception that I believe makes all the difference. Miami's international black community is what makes it so different from Milwaukee in 1880 or in 1930. The particular living and working conditions experienced by these communities also were very different than that experienced by migrant black workers in New York, Chicago, and Detroit. But their history is no less important. Rather, my argument is that because Miami experienced such significant waves of black migrants, both national and international, it provides us with an important opportunity to revisit how we write and think about the history of American immigration and to revitalize this critical field of historical study. This means recognizing the importance of voluntary black migrations and the international character of African American history in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries as we do other ethnic groups. To borrow a phrase from Chicana historian Antonia Castañeda, "In the battle over history, which is fundamentally about who gets to define the stories being narrated, will the defining come from the realities of lived experiences . . . or will it come from the abstract principles that have ordered and organized U.S. history to date?" Rather than a separate issue, the experience of black migrants in Miami, foreign- and native-born, is, I believe, central to the city's transformation from "an urban area defined by internal migration prior to World War II to its status as a city defined by foreign-born migrants in the second half of the twentieth century."

Unlike these other cities, early twentieth-century Miami did not do very well when it came to recruiting European laborers, although the Board of Trade and several of the area's big industrialists (including Henry Flagler) tried. In 1906, the *Miami Evening Record* boasted that "a good clear Irish brogue" was becoming "the language of Miami streets." But as Lichtenstein notes, the number of Irish (or Greek, Italian, Polish or Austrian) residents in Miami remained rather paltry well into the 1930s. Despite these recruitment attempts, the percentage of Europeans in Dade County fell from 8 percent to 6 percent between 1900 and 1910.

By contrast, Bahamian migrants arrived in large numbers. Black Bahamian men formed the core of skilled construction laborers within the city. Black Bahamian women were considered among the most desirable employees for domestic service jobs.

Local observers compared the huge influx of Bahamians through the late 1900s to waves crashing upon the shore. Others noted that Miami had become to “the Bahamians seeking a livelihood, what Mecca is to the religious Moslem [sic] world.” In 1911, 3,200 Bahamians—more than in any other single year—arrived in the city. Increasingly, these new arrivals were men, where prior to 1910, men and women had moved in relatively equal numbers. This movement was important for Miami, but it also was important for the Bahamas. British officials worried through the early 1920s that the “islands would soon be denuded of young men.” The “Dudes from Dade” became a flashy symbol of wealth gleaned abroad across the islands and served to further entice more prospective migrants to follow in their footsteps. As the numbers of Bahamian residents grew, however, within certain circles of Miami’s community their migration became increasingly contested. In 1914, Miami’s Board of Trade began to debate whether there were “too many Nassau Negroes in Miami.”

Meanwhile, the increasingly racial violence and deteriorating living conditions faced by Miami’s black citizens grew worse. As one Bahamian migrant described to sociologist Ira Reid: “Colored Miami was certainly not the Miami of which I heard. It was a filthy backyard to the Magic City.” Perceptions of Bahamians by native-born white Americans also changed. Where in 1908, Bahamian workers were described as “joyful and always singing,” to quote one native-born white employer, by 1920 Bahamians were viewed with increasing fear and suspicion. Bahamian men, as in the well-publicized case of Herbert Brooks, were charged with raping white, native-born women and lynched. Because few relinquished their British citizenship, Bahamians who were the victims of police brutality appealed to their vice counsel, an option not available to black United States citizens. Such interventions, however, held little sway in Miami.

Instead, by 1920, fewer and fewer Bahamians began coming to Miami. In part, their movement was restricted by the implementation of federal literacy tests, implemented in 1917 and strengthened through the early 1920s. But others either chose alternate destinations such as Cuba or New York or remained in the Bahamas. Fewer native-born African Americans also chose to move to the city. And others who were living in Miami left. The result was both a lower percentage of foreign-born persons, and a lower percentage of black residents in 1930 than Miami had expe-

rienced in the years since its incorporation. (In 1910, 35.1 percent of Miami's residents were black, including both foreign- and native-born persons. By 1920, only 29.7 percent of its residents were black. Native-born white residents also formed the majority of residents for the first time in 1920.)

My intention here is not to quibble over numbers but to emphasize the importance of these larger patterns. By any measure, the percentage of foreign-born in early-twentieth-century Miami is far below that found in many nineteenth-century industrial cities. But I don't think numbers are what make this early-twentieth-century history so important. Miami itself is, after all, little more than a struggling "frontier" town through the first decade of the twentieth century. Even now, its population falls far behind that of New York, Los Angeles, or even Indianapolis. What makes Miami important is that it is the central gateway for black Caribbean migrants. The racial character of its early twentieth-century immigration debates, and how these early-twentieth-century debates and patterns shaped the post-1960 migrations, is what necessitates that we take its history seriously in the context of state, national, and regional histories alike.

This is not unlike arguments made by scholars of Angel Island's history who have noted that while the numbers of foreign-born who passed through Angel Island may pale in comparison to that of Ellis Island, its comparatively brief history is critically important to understanding the experience of early-twentieth-century Asian migrants. So, too, Miami offers unique insights into the history of Caribbean, and especially its black migrants, both before and after 1960.

There is no doubt that Miami is a special and unique urban place. But its role as a harbinger of future trends and issues, as well as the window it provides onto historical events is no less important. Nor did these transformations that reshaped Miami over the pre- and post-1960 periods occur in a vacuum. The problem with "exceptionalism" is that it also marginalizes the questions raised by Miami's history and the central place of its black workers, immigrant and native-born. Although they may be relatively few in number compared to their European counterparts, they play a central role in "making" Miami and shaping the debates over labor, international movement, and patterns of residential settlement throughout the first three decades of the city's formation. And, like Angel Island, Miami offers critical insights into early-

twentieth-century immigration debates as well.—*Melanie Shell-Weiss, "Symposium Week 1: Response," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 5 October 2004.*

Further Comments

I would like to thank Melanie Shell-Weiss for her spirited and clarifying response to my initial comment. I think she does a great deal to show what sort of new questions in labor, immigration, and urban history we can ask when we focus on "the international character of African American history in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries," an effort that I applaud.

I also agree completely that we should quickly move beyond a quibble about mere numbers and begin to consider what sort of cultural, geographic, and political impact Bahamian migrants might have had on the city. To put it another way: given that the arrival and presence of a substantial group of Bahamian-born migrants encompassed a mere decade of Miami's history, what kind of imprint did their presence leave on the city? Did Bahamian cultural influences, living patterns, social institutions, and ethnic networks take root, or were these migrants just passing through the Miami "gateway"?

This, not sheer numbers, becomes the essential question. To answer it, we need to look for Bahamian distinctive neighborhoods, occupational enclaves, social and political organizations, newspapers, foods, architecture, styles, music, religious practices, and so on, and examine the durability of these institutions and practices. For any visitor to Miami today, it does not take long to see the Cuban imprint on the city, or the Haitian one, for that matter. One has to look only a little deeper to find the telltale signs of Peruvian, Colombian, and Brazilian communities. Much of the impact of these migrations, of course, depends on successive waves of migrants—something relatively absent in the Bahamian case. My guess is that, in the Miami of 1930, the visible imprint of the Bahamian contribution was limited, but I would be happy to be proved wrong.

In cautioning against an over-emphasis of the impact of this early wave of migrants, I do not intend to be dismissive of its significance. I think the questions posed by Shell-Weiss are just the sort we need to ask. But we also might ask precisely why this early wave of immigration left such a faint imprint on the city compared to the postwar migrations. Here we can fruitfully return to

"debates over labor, international movement and patterns of residential settlement throughout the first three decades of the city's formation." We need to ask why so many Bahamians chose not to stay, and why they stopped coming when they did, relegating Miami to the status of "gateway" for another three decades.—*Alex Lichtenstein*, "Symposium Week 1: Comments on Response," in *H-Florida* [*H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu*], 6 October 2004.

I appreciate Shell-Weiss's vision of connecting Miami history with the larger narratives of U.S. history. What we find, I believe, is the potential for new ways to think of those larger narratives—reminding us, of course, of the tight bonds between microhistory and macrohistory. Having said that, I agree with Lichtenstein's comments, but I do not think that diminishes the possibility of an immigrant-centered narrative of the entire 20th century, at least in a few senses. Given the large numbers of migrants to the city, careful analysis of their identities need evaluation, as for example how many were second-generation immigrants. While this may be outside the immigrant study paradigm to some extent, the model to think of here is the process of becoming and being American in the context of a city connected to a larger Caribbean. Key questions to ask include: What were conceptions of whiteness or Americanness in a city selling itself as a playground for leisure and fun in the context of the Caribbean? Or put another way, how are we to understand identity in a city linked so closely to the Caribbean and Latin America, and that clearly had all kinds of ties to these places? I am thinking of not only the actual people who moved to Miami but also the number of tourists from these regions and from the other parts of the United States who visited the city and created demands regarding expectations and performance. Since at least the 1920s, newspaper advertisements and announcements appeared of daily trips by ship (and later by plane) to Havana. So one may even add, what was newspaper coverage of these different regions like? How and why did it change? In summation, what exactly were the social and cultural connections between Miami and the Caribbean and Latin America before the watershed of 1960?

The cultural links are important to evaluate but not because it adds spice to the city's history. Rather, locating whiteness and nationality in particular places and times helps define differences in experience. This will help get at the root of how Miami is different—from other parts of the South, from the Caribbean and

Latin America, and from other parts of the United States in general. I am arguing that we make careful evaluation of the construction of space and identity. The case of Miami may add to our understanding of the grand narratives of modern American history. To get there we need an exploration of how Miami as place was imagined and how it was experienced.

Studying work and play in the city will, I believe, unpack these larger questions of identity as linked to space. If I am correct, Shell-Weiss is interested in the question of identity. However, I would suggest that we broaden our understanding of identity to include a narrative that goes beyond race or ethnicity and starts with political economy. I envision a Herbert Gutman and E.P. Thompson community study kind of approach for the 20th century, something similar to what Becky Nicolaides has done for Los Angeles in *My Blue Heaven* (2003) where she traces the development of one working-class suburb between 1920 and 1965. The difference between Los Angeles and Miami, it seems, is the central place that tourism played in the latter city. It's my guess that the nature of hierarchy of class and its connections to service work and leisure and recreation took on a particular form in Miami. What form is the key question, and one that goes far in defining how exceptional or unexceptional Miami is.

Such analysis will also aid in situating Miami as part of a larger conception of the Sunbelt. Several characteristics define the Sunbelt: it entails the post-1945 period; tourism; location (South and West); favorable climate; links to federal largess; rapid increase of economic growth in the twentieth century; the key role of extractive industries, new technologies, and service occupations to the area's economic profile; large population growth, including urban and suburban sprawl; high degrees of segregation; and growing ethnic and racial diversity. I believe we can locate the forming of a different South before 1945, one that challenges the periodization of the Sunbelt. Miami's history will demonstrate how it was different, and this entails defining Miami's brand of Southernness.—*Thomas Castillo, University of Maryland, "Symposium Week 1: Comments," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 6 October 2004.*

Author's Response

Many thanks to both Tom Castillo and Alex Lichtenstein for their detailed and thought-provoking comments. There is no

doubt in my mind that this work will be stronger for their input. Their perspectives have certainly encouraged me to explore many of the issues they raise more fully. Their questions also help point the way to what I hope will inspire more scholars to turn their attention to Miami's history and that of its immigrant communities. Both expressed an interest in learning more about the "visible imprint" of Miami's early-twentieth-century immigrants on the city. Castillo's reminder of the importance of "locating whiteness and nationality in particular places and times" is also especially valuable. I am equally grateful for his insightful and thought-provoking question about class and Miami's political economy, and agree fully that class hierarchies do indeed play as central a role in the Americanization process as that of race or of ethnicity. His thoughts on the differences between Los Angeles and Miami are important as well.

While post-1960 Miami has attracted the attention of a wide variety of scholars, the literature on pre-1960 Miami remains much more scant. This is another sense in which Miami and Los Angeles are different. And it is my hope that by highlighting the questions that make Miami's history both intriguing and important in local, state, international, national, and regional contexts alike that more scholars might turn their attentions to the city and its communities as well.—*Melanie Shell-Weiss, "Symposium Week 1: Final Thoughts," in H-Florida [H-Florida@h-net.msu.edu], 14 October 2004.*

Comments on the SHA Panel

These four essays are of particular interest to me because I come to them as a historian who has written on race, the environment, sport, and Florida, and who offers courses in these areas and has taught others on ethnic history and Native American history. Florida's history, of course, lends itself uniquely to looking beyond a given place's shores and borders—geographic and political—to flesh out and sort out its rich past. Mostly, however, and there are some fine exceptions, historians have confined their inquiries to conventional models, exploring Florida as they might Massachusetts or Mississippi or Idaho. The developers of the panel should certainly be congratulated, as they have been repeatedly, for taking a fresh organizing theme—the global perspective of Florida history—and identifying scholars of different research interests to offer a colloquium dealing broadly with methodolo-

gies, heuristic questions, and interpretive insights. The result is a collection of illuminating ideas and initiatives that has been enlarged by insightful responses from H-Florida members.

Let me follow the order in which the essays were presented online and start with Miami. It is interesting that while a community like Natchez, Mississippi, where the population has never peaked above 25,000, has been the subject of ten scholarly books, and yet only four academic books, by my count (and two of them biographies), have focused on Miami. We therefore look forward to Dr. Shell-Weiss's book adding to the scholarly understanding of one of the most dynamic cities of the 20th century.

The issue that dominated the discussion of Shell-Weiss's abstract was generated by Alex Lichtenstein and centered upon whether Miami could properly be called a new-immigrant city. By my reckoning, I'm not sure that we help ourselves by trying to fit a place into an arbitrary category. Not only do we find ourselves arguing over whether the city fits into that category, we must agree on a definition of that category. I've always thought of new immigrants as those who came from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Lebanon in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Lichtenstein wants to add Bahamians and Cubans to that list, with the low immigration of the former demonstrating that Miami did not meet his new-immigrant-city status until that latter group arrived en masse after 1959. But in terms of origins and culture, those two groups represented African and British and aboriginal in the first instance, and Spanish and African and aboriginal in the second. I see no new immigrant in the mix. That said, if we're trying to determine whether the city was "significantly shaped by foreign immigration," I think that we have to understand census records for what they are—unreliable and biased. As historian Ray Mohl reminds us in his work on black Bahamians, for example, a sizeable number of Bahamians who worked, played music, sang, engaged in sporting activities, cooked food, and worshipped were seasonal migrants who the census would not have counted. Furthermore, one has to wonder how many permanent residents of Bahamian origins might have eluded census takers, intentionally and otherwise. Another group who was not counted with the Miami population, but certainly asserted itself in the local economy and culture, as historians Harry Kersey and Patsy West have shown, was Indians of the Everglades, still known collectively in the early 20th century as Seminoles.

The development of a local or regional society and culture is a dialectical process, as anthropologist Clifford Geertz told us long ago, between indigenous and foreign forces, and so instead of just working our way forward from numbers, perhaps we should also be dialectical in our approach and simultaneously start with what the community is and work our way back to its demographic and cultural foundations.

Shell-Weiss is turning her focus to origins south of Miami, to the Caribbean and Latin America, to explore Miami's global context, and Lichtenstein suggests she conceptualize international influences as they impinged upon a city that grew on what he calls a "southern' pattern." Shell-Weiss has embraced this suggestion. But again, we have a problem with labels. What is a "southern pattern"? Do we simply assume that Miami was initially a southern city? Yes, Miami remained rigidly segregated by race well into the 1960s. But who was running Miami, and who was condoning the racial status quo? Yankee transplants. Furthermore, studies conducted in the 1940s demonstrated that Northern cities were very nearly as segregated, by de facto conditions, as Southern ones.

Our historical image of Miami is clearly informed by a contemporary idea of Miami as a city of immigrants, or exiles as Castro-era Cubans prefer to call themselves. Perhaps we need to recognize that presentist bias. While we have rushed to explore Miami's immigration experience, and we ask for more studies on the subject, we have yet to see a good study on the subject of internal migration: how white northerners and white southerners shaped that city, how regional identities were forged and re-forged, how indeed the idea of regionalism played into the development of Miami, how regional white attitudes on race meshed or clashed in a regionally-mixed community. Before we can fully measure the impact of immigration on Miami, we first must know what Miami was. Moreover, before we can highlight its distinctiveness by comparing it with other Southern cities, which Lichtenstein and Shell-Weiss agree is useful, we must recognize the cultural diversity of those other cities. Historians don't normally regard the South as a land of immigrants, but tell that to the Italians, Sicilians, Greeks, Irish, Lebanese, and Chinese, and the German, Alsatian, Polish, and Russian Jews who settled the rural and urban South beginning in the nineteenth century . . . and some of them before then. All of these groups in their own way shaped Southern cities, and all negotiated the definition of white-

ness. They did not, if I may add a brief clarification to Thomas Castillo's comments, simply try to fit into a pre-existing identity of whiteness.

Larry Youngs is interested in the transnational formation of identities among Florida's leisure set in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sport history is an under-rated field, even though sporting traditions have always been central to American life. With the rise of the middle class and corporate and urban America, and with American democracy redefined by mass consumption, sport acquired an integral place in the American economy, education, social relations, and in race and class, if not political, identities. And in late-19th century, Florida sport represented a meeting ground between foreign and domestic cultures through members of a common social class. In commenting on Youngs's work, I would like to focus on nature, which was touched on a bit in the online discussion.

Nature, or what I call the living aesthetic, was Florida's original tourist attraction: not the beaches, but the reasonable climate, which some northern physicians described and prescribed as medicinal. In addition to climate was Florida's wildlife, its exotic flora and its abundant and extroverted fauna. As Ann Rowe points out in her book *The Idea of Florida in the American Literary Imagination* and Eliot Mackle in his unpublished dissertation "The Eden of the South," national magazines, travel books, and well-known authors of the day were fascinated by wild and beautiful Florida. Was there publicity of this sort circulating around Britain and Europe that might have attracted the international traveler? I wonder what else Florida's visitors were reading, especially the leisure set who had access to liberal or classical educations and any books they wanted, and who had the time for leisurely reading. In Florida, were they encountering, as did Henry James, the bucolic nature they found in Virgil, Edmund Burke, Byron, Cooper, Whitman? Had they, like Buckingham Smith, a Harvard-educated lawyer living in St. Augustine, read William Bartram?

Were the steamboat excursions up the St. Johns and the Ocklawaha rivers to Silver Spring equivalent to the African safari? Were the leisure activities and choices for people like Charles B. Cory, for example, influenced by European traditions? At the same time, what were the connections of the men of Florida's leisure class, who liked roughing it in the backcountry, to

Theodore Roosevelt's strenuous life concept and to the calls of Horace Greeley, Thomas Hart Benton, John Louis O'Sullivan, and others who encouraged America's men to go west rather than abroad to affirm and reaffirm their manhood? Were European men, coming from countries whose male leaders many Americans regarded as effete, responding to similar motivations? Was there an empire experience for European men and women equivalent to the wilderness experience of American men and women that Florida satisfied? Was there a specific gender component in nature that attracted American and European women to Florida?

Related to that idea, I would be careful not to read Harriet Beecher Stowe's opposition to the pot shots taken against wildlife from the decks of river boats as evidence of a shifting attitude toward nature. Stowe was no conservationist or environmentalist. She was not opposed to proper sport hunting or commercial hunting. The growing number of people coming to Florida may have brought in a broader spectrum of attitudes, but benign attitudes toward nature were pre-existing. If they had not been, the mass advertising of Florida's bucolic nature would not have been successful, and ultimately promoters were creating an image that conformed to the American wilderness ideal.

Americans had begun developing an aesthetic attachment to natural places in the early 19th century. What they preferred above all, even Henry David Thoreau, was the pastoral, nature that was not so threatening and that had been tamed somewhat by humans, which raises the question of whether European tourists and Americans defined the pastoral setting differently. Moreover, at the very moment that the leisure set was indulging itself at Henry Flagler's and Henry Plant's palaces, commercial hunters were gorging themselves on Florida wildlife to feed a lucrative trade in novelties of natures, which were on display for sale to tourists in storefronts in Jacksonville and elsewhere. The women of the leisure set, who set the latest trends in fashion by wearing feather-adorned hats, fed the destruction of Florida's plume birds, a destruction driven by profit and vanity that was equivalent to that of the bison on the western plains. Despite the organization of Florida Audubon in 1900 and the passage of protective legislation, those who sought to stop the slaughter of plume birds failed. A change in fashion and changing market demands ultimately saved the birds, but the alligator, not a sympathetic creature, was not saved from a similar slaughter. In short, nature was still subdivid-

ed into categories of good and bad, beautiful and ugly, defined in part by the leisure set and destroyed for profit, power, and vanity.

A stranger to vanity, Andrew Frank has much to contribute to the study of colonial, Native American, and Florida history, and his book promises to be a wonderful addition to the literature. He is certainly correct to argue that, in studying early Florida, scholars should take the state out of Florida. But I disagree with his argument that "Too many scholars have assumed a powerful and centralized Spanish, Creek, British, or Seminole presence." I think he may be trying to make hay from straw here, if that's the expression, by overemphasizing an interpretative flaw. I know of no serious Florida scholar who doesn't understand that centralized control over Florida was often unstable and ephemeral, that power was constantly shifting from one group to another and from one place to another, that political boundaries were perpetually ambiguous and virtually meaningless, although perhaps more important to runaway slaves than anyone. To paraphrase historian Richard White, white conquest of natives and the geography was not inevitable.

That said, Frank is definitely on solid ground when he argues that traditional focus on the European and American cities, towns, and outposts, and the tradition of tracking down the most accessible sources thanks to Europhiles like Buckingham Smith, has denied historians a fully objective perspective of colonial and territorial Florida. This is what makes Frank's study so exciting. By going to the villages rather than the cities, he promises to bring to the chaos greater order . . . or perhaps greater chaos. I'm curious to know how Spanish-Indian relations in Florida compared with those in the Southwest. I would also like to know more about the role and direction of assimilation as natives and whites searched for common ground. And to whom was common ground more important, and when and how was it defined, and what purposes did it serve? Additionally, I think scholars should give more attention to the role that Indians asserted in foreign relations between two or more countries, and perhaps at times played countries against one another. Perhaps, Florida was not so much a refuge of Spanish making for Indians and runaway enslaved blacks, but one of Indian making.

And while examining cultural exchanges, we should not forget our lessons from historian William Cronon. If colonial and terri-

torial Florida were to a large extent controlled by natives, and the Seminole Wars represented the struggle between whites and natives for control, then we need to understand Indian ecological relationships which were constantly in flux. Whoever controlled the land controlled the province, and perhaps that is one way Frank might measure the power of each group—by measuring the stability of ecological relationships. Seminoles were no native ecologists in the 18th and 19th centuries, although their relationship with the environment was certainly different than that of Euro-Americans. But I suspect that the impingement of Euro-American culture, in many various forms, altered their relationship with the land and thus their ability to sustain themselves and changed their social relationship with whites.

But back to social history. I know that Frank probably plans to tell us, but I should raise these questions anyway: Where do women fit in this new borderless Florida history? Did they, for example, serve as cultural intermediaries in Florida as they did elsewhere on the Southern frontier? Finally, in arguing his point to take the state out of the state, Frank might at the same time emphasize how Americans were uncomfortable with the amorphous state. To feel secure and to understand their world and how to function in an international context, they needed the familiar, well-defined structure of the traditional state. That Seminoles, black and native, created the urgency Americans felt to take preemptive measures in fact put the state into the state.

Johnson's work is indicative of the creative, fresh approaches to Florida history that the papers on this panel as a whole represent. She was fascinated by hurricanes long before our most recent stormy season, and the work she has done with climatic events and history is model scholarship. Hurricanes, if you will, are conveyors of global history. They have long been a part of Florida history, but they are not simply a Florida phenomenon. They come from somewhere distant, do their damage, and then move on to some other place. And yet, while they blow things away, they also bring things with them. Many of Florida's tropical plants and some of its fauna came from somewhere else, swept on winds or seas to the peninsula from across the Caribbean. European diseases likely touched land before the Spanish did. The hills of Tallahassee were chosen as the territorial capital in 1823 in part because hazardous weather impeded travel by members of the ter-

ritorial council when the capital alternated between St. Augustine and Pensacola. Indeed, one council member drowned at sea while traveling.

Johnson draws on political science theory to help address a historical problem. I'm all for borrowing from other disciplines, but in our own backyard, environmental historians have been making a case, often to deaf ears, for the historical agency of nature since the 1970s and not just in the context of disasters. Consider the counterfactual: If Florida had been mountainous instead of flat, dry instead of humid, landlocked instead of sea-locked, and cold instead of warm, its history would have followed a vastly different course. Historian Fernand Braudel showed us more than fifty years ago in his book *Mediterranean* how to bring together social, economic, political, cultural, and environmental forces into a causal substructure to historical events. But, interestingly, social historians who have claimed to feel his influence, crediting him and Annales scholars with revolutionizing the study of history, typically ignore environmental factors. Braudel also warned of the intellectual hazards of drawing analytical boundaries at political borders, which were forever changing. The great sea, he said, was not an autonomous place, neither geographically nor culturally.

Returning to the subject of hurricanes, I have a few questions. Did Euro-Floridians see hurricanes as acts of God, as did many Americans of the time and later? If so, when responding to a hurricane, did Spanish officials deploy religious meaning, language, or rhetoric that may have elevated their image in the public eye? Johnson has pointed out that the organized response to hurricanes, evolving through trial and error, was a creation of the New World experience. Were there other environmental conditions in Florida or other parts of the New World that in a similar way forced them to make adjustments in provincial affairs that perhaps anticipated their aggressiveness in hurricane relief? Had they learned anything from the way they dealt with disasters in the Old World? Or had lessons simply not been heeded? Finally, in keeping the historical record of the Floridas, did the Spanish themselves, by chance, recognize the casual power of hurricanes?

I would like to close with a couple observations about the global perspective of Florida history. First, I think that the forthcoming works by these authors demonstrate that historical scholarship of no other state is as diverse, drawn from so many disciplines, cre-

ative, refreshing, and sophisticated as that of Florida. And, second, while we are viewing Florida's past from a global perspective, we might also ask where Florida fits in global history. What contributions did it make—socially, culturally, economically, ecologically—in the historical developments of the larger western world. We all know how the traditional narrative of the American experience ignores the Florida variable. Well then, perhaps as the fields of world history and Atlantic world history expand, we can elevate the importance of Florida history. And then, perhaps, we can slip Florida through the back door and into the national narrative.—*Jack E. Davis, University of Florida, presented at annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Memphis, Tenn., 2004.*

Book Reviews

Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America. By Joshua Piker. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004. xi, 270 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion: "The Friends of the Tallapoosie," notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

In the eighteenth century, the Creek Nation was a congregation of towns and villages. No one knows how many, but estimates generally agree on a range from fifty to eighty. Towns tended to be larger than villages, the most important distinction between them being that towns had square grounds for summer activities and enclosed meeting houses for winter. Leaders and officials met in these locations to discuss matters of interest and import to the residents, and the many rituals that composed the ceremonial calendar were celebrated there as well. As residential places that did not have square grounds or meeting houses, villages were ceremonially and politically incomplete. They were formed by people from towns who, for whatever reasons, set out to live in a different place. Physical separation was not political or spiritual separation, however. Residents of villages remained citizens of their towns of origin and returned there for public purposes.

Students of Creek history have always been aware of this organizational phenomenon. Our debates over what to call the Creeks—a Nation or a Confederacy—are rooted in our understandings of the towns. Our efforts to document the evolution of a centralized political organization hang on our thinking about town autonomy, jealousy, and ambition. But even as we recognize towns as a central principle of Creek social, economic, and political organization, Joshua Piker is the first historian to attempt to write a history of one of them.

Okfuskee was a big town in the eighteenth century, both in population (at 1500 in 1763, it held about 10 percent of the total number of Creeks) and prominence. Its civil leaders played important, sometimes controlling, roles in the complex economic and political relations of the Creeks with South Carolina and Georgia. Its military leaders commanded respect and attention. For these reasons, Okfuskee appears in the historical record frequently enough to permit a patient, diligent, and imaginative scholar like Piker to weave the pieces together into a fine new book.

Piker divided *Okfuskee* into two parts. Part One deals with Okfuskee's relations with the outside world. Two chapters explain its diplomatic connections with Charles Town and Savannah and center on the role of Fanni Mico, the title/name of an official whose role was to represent the interests of an outside group, in this case Charles Town, in Okfuskee and Creek councils. Scholars have known of the institution among the Chickasaws and Choctaws but before Piker not among the Creeks. Piker uses the Fanni Mico to interpret Okfuskee's role in Creek-Carolina relations. The Fanni Mico is an interesting twist on a pretty well-known story, however, and I do not think Piker was altogether successful in his efforts to explain Okfuskee's role in a century of complicated diplomacy in terms of the Fanni Mico.

The third chapter in Part One uses Daniel Usner's interpretive model of a "frontier exchange economy" to explain Okfuskee's economic relationships with its non-Indian neighbors. Frontier exchange economy describes the wide range of informal exchange relationships between different groups of people, and in Piker's hands it works well to explain Creek-settler interactions in the woods. Understanding the features of this set of exchange relationships also enables Piker to chart their decline, which he locates in the 1760s and 1770s, a critical period for political relations as well.

In Part Two, Piker describes "The Town and Its People." Here he shines in chapters on the domestic economy (farming and hunting), the trade economy, and on gender and generational matters. There is really good stuff in these chapters, too much to delineate in this review but, for example, Piker tackles one of the most difficult and persistent questions in Native American history—how, when, and under what circumstances did Indians become dependent on trade goods and what were the implications

of dependency? Part of the answer lies in the politics of the market. Neither England nor the United States permitted Indians to profit through land speculation. Instead, they could sell only to government officials under tightly controlled conditions and with no power to negotiate price. The imperial market denied the Indians, owners of the most valuable commodity in North America, the right to profit from their land. Furthermore, the Indians were victimized by the manipulation of credit and debt. Imperial and settler governments insisted on defining personal debt as tribal debt and then refused to admit tribes into a credit system that could keep them afloat in the market. As Piker points out, we need to focus more on the politics of political economy.

Piker's emphasis in this book is on political and economic history, and I think a deeper discussion of social history would have improved it. For example, he does not put the Creeks' kinship system into the center of his story, where I think it should be, and as a consequence he does not show how the rules of kinship informed both the domestic and foreign worlds of the Okfuskees. Despite that, this is an excellent new book by a most promising young student of Creek and Native American history.

Michael D. Green

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The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763. By Steven C. Hahn. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xii, 338 pp. Acknowledgments, Series Editors' introduction, introduction: "The Question of the 'Creek Confederacy,'" epilogue: "The Legacy of the Imperial Era," notes, bibliography, index, map. \$59.95 cloth.)

In *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763*, Steven C. Hahn argues that the policy of neutrality the leaders of the town Coweta pursued between 1718 and 1763 laid the foundation for the creation of the Creek nation in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Hahn's ethnohistorical exploration of Creek origins is precise and persuasive, and the research is outstanding. Just as Claudio Saunt used Spanish sources in his book, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (1999), to open another side of Creek history in the late eighteenth century, so too does this book for the first half of the century.

The book is important for several reasons. First, Hahn's study foregrounds other work in Creek history by such scholars as Michael D. Green, Kathryn E. Holland Braund, Joel Martin, and Saunt because of the way it bridges the historic, protohistoric, and prehistoric eras. As well, Hahn builds on recent work by Greg O'Brien and Joshua Piker to point out that colonial diplomacy reflected clan- and town-based alliances and antagonisms more so than the workings of any kind of centralized authority or nation. In particular, Hahn focuses on the town of Coweta and the cluster of towns that came to be called Ochese to track the population movements and alliances of the early contact period that culminated in the formation of what we know today as the Lower Creeks.

The fractured nature of the Creeks' origins led to a fairly fragile political system in which towns and clans often competed against one another for closer ties to the Spanish, English, and French. In the early part of the eighteenth century, however, a leader named Brims crafted a careful policy of neutrality to check imperial ambitions and to coordinate broader diplomatic and trade relations with the colonial powers. His success enabled him for a brief period to transcend the local divisions of town politics and to be recognized as an "emperor," but Brims fell as quickly as he had risen when rival town leaders struck their own alliances with their preferred European trading partners.

Brims's kinsman Malatchi resurrected his ambitions in the 1740s and 1750s when he struggled to build a new kind of identity based on resistance to English expansion. Where other scholars have located the origins of the Creeks in the leadership of Alexander McGillivray or in the creation of the national council in the early nineteenth century, Hahn names Malatchi as "the first to give a definite shape to the idea of a Creek Nation (190)." Later leaders, like McGillivray, elaborated upon this nascent nationalism as they sought to save their land and to forestall their removal.

As important as *The Invention of the Creek Nation* is in terms of piecing together the Lower Creeks' complicated origins—and we still do not know nearly as much about the Upper Creeks—Hahn also hints at the nation's historiographical origins which are equally important. He explains that only the English ever spoke of Creeks while the Spanish and the French referred to the same people by the names of their towns and town clusters. When Hahn argues then that the nation was a product of contact, it is worth also asking how our modern use of "Creek" is implicated in the history

we write. Hahn dates the origins of the nation to the mid- to late eighteenth century, Malatchi's time, and while he takes great pains to use town identities where possible, he nonetheless also speaks of Creeks and the Creek nation in the early eighteenth century. The problem of how to discuss these people across time without lapsing into anachronisms like Creek and Creek nation that can distort their history is formidable. Indeed, the great value of his research into original Spanish sources and his inclusion of the French exposes how each empire's understanding of these people shaped its relations with them. In this way, I wonder if being Creek involved playing a role at first—fast friend of the English. Their adoption of the term was thus particular and strategic and, Hahn concludes, provided an intellectual framework that, when blended with common cultural practices and widespread networks of kin, transformed a specific diplomatic identity into a living and breathing nation once the Spanish and the French vanished from the scene.

James Taylor Carson

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Florida's Lost Tribes. By Theodore Morris, with commentary by Jerald T. Milanich. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. 70 pp. Suggested readings, illustrations. \$29.95 cloth.)

Florida's Lost Tribes is a collaborative work showcasing the artwork of Theodore Morris, a talented painter and graphic designer, and the "commentary" of Jerald T. Milanich, an archaeologist and prolific author of numerous books on the Indian peoples of Florida. The result of their combined efforts is an excellent text by Milanich that succinctly and clearly synthesizes the latest archaeological discoveries concerning the pre- and proto-historic cultures of Florida's native peoples, and fifty-eight beautiful color reproductions of Morris's work intended pictorially to bring these tribal peoples "back to life."

Milanich should be congratulated for clarifying for a general audience the oftentimes confusing geographically- and archaeologically-defined cultures of pre-Columbian Florida and their relationship to historic tribal societies. His contribution in this book goes far beyond mere "commentary" and actually reads better than his *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present*. My only criticism is that he occasionally assumes such continuity over millennia that he is willing to read back into ancient cultures the historical-

ly-documented social patterns of their descendants where the evidence seems to be lacking. For example, trade relationships can be clearly demonstrated by artifacts; assumptions concerning matrilineal organization and exogamous marriage patterns are harder to document on the basis of archaeological evidence. Theodore Morris's portraits of "Florida's Lost Tribes" follow in the tradition of Karl Bodmer, George Catlin, and other nineteenth-century artists who set out to document the lives of North American Indians before their cultures "disappeared." One important caveat, however, is that Morris's paintings are not made from life studies. Rather, he has based his meticulously detailed and ethnographically-accurate "reconstructions" of their material culture on historic accounts of the native peoples left by European colonizers as well as from information and artifacts unearthed by professional and amateur archaeologists.

In the book's introduction, Milanich explains why there is a need for Morris's images since the supposed "first-hand" paintings produced by Jacques Le Moyne, a documentary artist and Huguenot colonist in the 1560s, have survived—albeit one-step removed—in the form of Theodore de Bry's engravings from the 1590s. As Milanich points out, however, numerous scholars (including Carl Sauer, Christian F. Feest, William Sturtevant, and most recently John Faupel) have discovered serious ethnographic errors in the de Bry engravings, have called into question the idea that they were copied from Le Moyne's original paintings, and have even challenged the authenticity of the sole surviving painting of Florida Indians attributed to Le Moyne. Milanich persuasively suggests that the de Bry engravings may have been based on nothing more than the printed historical accounts of sixteenth-century French expeditions to Florida and quotes Sturtevant in declaring that "none of the ethnographic details portrayed in the de Bry engravings can now be accepted at face value" (7-9). After disputing the authenticity of the sixteenth-century images, Milanich claims that Morris's twenty-first-century renderings better contribute to the legacy of Florida's lost tribes by "creating a pictorial record through paintings, drawings, and research" that is "more accurate" on account of being "based on solid research" in the field of archaeology. He also praises Morris for creating "realistic" rather than "romantic" images that "demonstrate a sensitive understanding of their way of life" (1, 11). It is to this latter claim that the remainder of this review will address itself.

Certainly, the images Morris has created are compelling works of art, and he has obviously "done his homework" in getting the ethnographic details right. The painting "Nature's Bounty," for example, vividly demonstrates just how much of the Jeaga tribes' material culture derived from the "plentiful" deer populations they hunted. But if the Le Moyne/de Bry images must be discounted as products of the sixteenth-century European artistic imagination rather than as images documenting the "reality" of Florida's Indians, then Morris's portraits (despite their attention to ethnographic detail based on "solid research," excavations, and study of archaeological artifacts) must also be seen as products of artistic imagination—this time imbued with twenty-first-century notions of what Shepard Krech III has aptly called the myth of the "Ecological Indian."

Virtually all of Morris's images evoke a strong sense of "Paradise Lost"—so much so that one might easily mistake them for the wonderful (but highly romantic) works produced by the nineteenth-century artists of the Hudson River School. Unfortunately, in intentionally depicting his subjects as pristine "children of nature," Morris has implicitly deprived them of their "cultures" and their distinctive relationships with their environment. While each of Morris's titles identifies the tribe and its associated archaeological culture designation, his own interpretive biases are evidenced in his captions and imagined imagery. In "Child with Scrub Jay (Ocale tribe)," for example, a "happy child" is portrayed "feeding a friendly scrub jay" perched on her fingers in the foreground of a beautiful misty morning landscape; another image entitled "Cypress Hunt (Tocobago tribe)" depicts an Indian hunter dwarfed by a "cathedral-like setting" of cypress trees intended to "depict Florida's natural beauty and man's place in it." "Old Friend (Jeaga tribe)" highlights the "close connection between Florida Indians and their environment" by combining "harmonious colors to suggest the ties between people and the creatures with which they share their world." Other paintings and captions similarly reveal the artist's intention of capturing the Florida Indians' "reverence for the natural forces of daily life," and to "show the Indian's humility before nature and to suggest the confluence of here and hereafter." In "Panther Warrior (Timucua tribe)" a Saturiwa warrior wearing a panther headdress has been rendered in such a way as to "imply a direct connection between animal and man." All of Morris's images demonstrate his consid-

erable skill as an artist but also reveal his romantic tendencies in preferring to portray "pristine" Nature and "Noble Savages" rather than less-idyllic environments and flesh-and-blood human beings.

Problematically, the vast majority of the Indians portrayed in his artwork are young and impossibly handsome or beautiful. While most of Morris's male Indians have Asiatic features and the proper amount of wrinkles for their age—see, for example, his "Apalachee with Bear Robe," "Potano Male," "Panther Warrior," "Chief Outina," and "Apalachee Warrior"—several of the portraits of native "maidens" seem to have fallen into Disney's Pocahontas syndrome. Many images downplay the Asiatic high cheek bones in favor of Europeanized facial features or favor light brown over black hair; most have been given such impossibly-beautiful countenances and bodies as to render them less plausible as representations of real women; for example, "Tribal Woman," "Old Friend," "The Consort," and "Moon Dance Women". Still, Morris certainly deserves some credit for trying to humanize his imagined subjects as members of specific tribes. In his "Bride of Conflict," the young woman's beautiful face has at least been made to look pensive and apprehensive with down-turned mouth as she contemplates her fated marriage to a conquering chief in accordance with a Calusa custom designed to cement alliances and maintain order.

In spite of the artist's acknowledgement of the important role that elders played in Indian society as custodians of culture and teachers of the future generations, very few of the fifty-eight color portrait paintings depict elderly individuals, and when they do, all the images are males. The absence of elderly women seems a strange omission for an artist attempting to represent pictorially matrilineal peoples. It is interesting that even one of these exceptional portraits of an aged Indian portrays the individual as wearing a vulture feather in his hair to "reinforce the theme of death and ruin" that resulted from the "European diseases" that unhappily arrived and "decimated his people" in the post-contact period. While disease and death certainly followed in Columbus's wake, this obvious symbolic device paints too stark a contrast with the young and happy and beautiful faces of the pre-contact peoples of his "Paradise Lost."

In his attempt to capture "pristine" Nature and Indian cultures yet "uncorrupted" by European contact, Morris has implicitly, if unconsciously, made post-contact Florida Indians less worthy of

representation. My hope is that in the future, this extremely talented artist will use his considerable skills and ethnographic sensitivity to depict not only those "pristine" primitives "living in harmony" with nature but also to portray Indians of the post-Columbian world interacting with the various peoples of European-origins who invaded and colonized their lands. Until then, scholars looking for illustrations to represent the contact and early colonial period will have to continue to use the admittedly inaccurate and much maligned de Bry images.

Francis X. Luca

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The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800. Edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. xx, 324 pp. List of maps, list of tables, acknowledgments, notes on contributors, preface by Bernard Bailyn, introduction, afterward: "Atlantic History: A Circumnavigation" by J.H. Elliott, notes, further readings, index. \$75.00 cloth, \$23.95 paper.)

The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800 is an ambitious title. Edited volumes on the Atlantic World typically address specific topics, such as Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling's *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender & Seafaring in the Atlantic*, or Barbara Solow's *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*. Ambitious in time and space, yes, but these volumes rely on sharper topical focus than David Armitage and Michael Braddick's attempt to capture something of the whole range of British involvement in the Atlantic over three centuries. The book brings together a set of papers which developed out of Harvard's 1997 International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, organized in part by Bernard Bailyn. Bailyn conceives the British Atlantic distinctly from the British empire in the Atlantic. The British Atlantic allows one to study how "Britain was part, and an increasingly important part, of the entire Atlantic system . . . and we will understand it best within that large inter-hemispheric, transnational perspective" (xvii). While the volume contains many fine essays, as a whole it never manages to fulfill Bailyn's promising agenda. This is a book very much about the British empire in the North Atlantic, particularly the British archipelago and the Thirteen Colonies, and much less about the interactions of Britons with the greater Atlantic World.

One does find some outstanding, dense surveys that deftly negotiate great swaths of time and space. Armitage's own "Frameworks" essay offers one of the first and thus invaluable maps to the historiography of Atlantic history over the past century in Britain, America, and beyond. As for the topical essays, Alison Games's study of migration perhaps best captures a history of British involvement in an Atlantic system. She circulates the reader among four continents over two centuries. This readable yet expansive essay concisely summarizes much of her recent book by the same name and deserves to find a place on the reading lists of undergraduate classes on immigration, U.S. colonial, British, and Atlantic history. Similarly, Elizabeth Mancke explores three hundred years of European imperial politics with insight, avoiding the dual temptations of teleology and revolution. In this important essay, a fine example of an "inter-hemispheric, transnational perspective," Mancke offers creative new suggestions about understanding the intertwined development of empire, statehood, and international, as well as local, law.

Otherwise, one does not find enough engagement with areas possessed by or critically important to the British outside the Thirteen Colonies or, to a lesser extent, the Caribbean. Such short- or long-term British colonies as Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Quebec, Guyana, and East and West Florida rarely get mentioned, and in many essays, not at all. As critical sites of contest with rival powers, these should be fruitful places to study British intellectual, commercial, and political interconnections with the greater Atlantic system. One wishes, for example, that Carla Pestana in her essay on religion, pushed her insightful analysis beyond the Thirteen Colonies to show how Britons in Newfoundland dealt with faith, or how conquered Catholics reacted to British rule, or how conquered Britons reacted to Spanish and French rule. War with rival empires, after all, formed one of the greatest constants of British participation in the Atlantic. Moreover, while several contributors grapple with the history of slavery in productive ways, in a disappointing surprise, no essay focuses on British interactions in war and peace with aboriginals. Readers of Michael Braddick's essay on material culture and authority, for instance, could benefit from explanations of how British colonists adapted the material cultures of aboriginal peoples to confirm and challenge authority, and of how aboriginal peoples used British goods to contest British authority.

In his constructive afterword, J.H. Elliot notes some of these concerns and also highlights another: determining just where the Atlantic ends. He questions if the Great Plains, or Peru, despite their remoteness from Atlantic shores, actually formed vital parts of the Atlantic system? Some authors in the volume follow these types of leads as far abroad as India, while most do not. Its nebulous quality makes the Atlantic a powerfully attractive organizing idea, but Bailyn, Armitage, and Elliot correctly propose that historians need to become more careful in describing just what they mean by "Atlantic." Providing a multifaceted summary of many of the ways in which core North Atlantic areas of the British empire developed together makes this volume conveniently useful. More attention to Bailyn's vision of charting the significance of Britons, not just within, but outside their empire, would have realized a greater ambition.

Jonathan Eacott

University of Michigan

A Fierce and Fractious Frontier: The Curious Development of Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1699-2000. Edited by Samuel C. Hyde Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2004. 232 pp. "Louisiana's Florida Parishes: A Sense of Place and History" by Hodding Carter III, acknowledgments, introduction: "Discovering a Neglected Southern Subregion," contributors, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.)

The sub-region known as the Florida Parishes of Louisiana remains a place that has largely escaped the analysis of historians of either state. For historians of Florida, it is likely that this area has been neglected because of its relatively brief period as a part of West Florida. For historians of Louisiana, the neglect stems from an intense focus on New Orleans rather than the many distinct cultures that developed outside of the Crescent City. This volume brings together ten essays from various historical angles as well as other disciplines, and though the editor notes that this book is not intended to be the final word on the area's history, these works contribute to the understanding of these parishes and the South as a region, and provide a foundation for further historical inquiry.

The first segment focuses on the "convoluted colonial identity" of a region that shifted hands between the French, British, Spanish, and the United States from the 1760s through the first

decade of the nineteenth century. The first two of these essays, by Charles N. Elliot and Robin F. A. Fabel respectively, focus on French and British attempts to secure dominion with Native Americans as either allies or competitors. Elliot's essay discusses the allegiances between the French and various Native Americans to protect access to the Mississippi River by either the British or hostile Indian Nations. Fabel's work is a condensed version of his earlier work on West Florida and particularly its place within the broader context of British colonial and commercial expansion. Both essays inspire questions as to how Indian Nations influenced identities in the region rather than simply military or commercial strategy. The third offering in the section by Gilbert C. Din examines the changes to slavery that occurred when these parishes shifted from French to Spanish law. In keeping with the work of Kimberly Hanger, Din notes that the Spanish looked for partners when they took over, not only among the elite but among all social strata, including the enslaved. To that end, the Spanish granted more rights to slaves, including the ability to complain about treatment, which did not exist under the *Code Noir*. How slaves were able to use this new system to their advantage and how they dealt with the loss of these rights after the United States took over Louisiana would make an interesting conclusion to this work.

The second segment uses the Florida Parishes as a local study to make sense of broader historiographic problems, and while the junction of these varied topics and approaches is vexing, it is the most likely to appeal to those not specifically interested in the history of the Gulf South. While the claims of the first two essays focusing on military actions in this sub-region seem to promise more than they deliver (i.e. that the loss at the battle of Lake Borgne allowed Jackson to win in New Orleans later, or that the whites of the Florida Parishes might have continued to fight the Civil War through guerilla tactics in the manner of the VietCong), they do effectively place this region into the larger military history of the South. Richard H. Kilbourne Jr.'s contribution examines the post-bellum economic crisis through the lens offered by the Florida Parishes. This essay makes a compelling plea to recast the historiography by looking at the importance of credit and its relationship to labor as opposed to older explanations of racial exploitation, at least in regions with similar demographic and economic compositions to the Florida Parishes. The final essay in this section by Latimore Smith offers a history of the pine forests and

an appeal for their conservation, though not an environmental history, which may have been more in keeping with the goals of the book.

Bill Wyche offers a more direct historical analysis of the interaction between humans and the environment in the final section of the book in his study of African American lumber workers. The lumber industry, Wyche argues, was not only an engine for economic change in the region but also social change. Through participation in lumbering, whites and blacks challenged racial attitudes by working with one another and, on at least one occasion, by banding together as workers in a strike, abandoning the separateness of racism. Using a text produced in 1934-1935 by African American historian Horace Mann Bond, Adam Fairclough makes a similar observation as Wyche, that is, that this sub-region contained communities that defy standard perceptions about race and racism within the South. In examining Bond's study of Washington Parish, Fairclough notes that blacks were able to found strong communities with father-centered families, which interacted at least in some cases on an equal footing with local whites. The concluding essay, by Paul H. Templett, is a study seeking to disprove the notion that economic development and environmental quality are necessarily opposed to one another. This contribution takes the study up to the year 2000, but fits much more closely with Smith's essay than those in this last section.

These essays make it clear that generalizing about the South, and even specific sub-regions within it, can distort the complex nature of cultures and communities that make up the many "Souths." While the organization of these essays can be frustrating to the reader, taken as a whole, these essays fulfill the hope of its contributors in bringing attention to an understudied area and suggesting new directions for research.

Timothy R. Buckner

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Hunted Like a Wolf: The Story of the Seminole War. By Milton Meltzer. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 2004. 183 pp. Bibliography, index. \$16.95 hardcover.)

"It began with Christopher Columbus" (1). Thus does Milton Meltzer introduce his story of the Seminole struggle for freedom against the Euroamerican "reign of terror" (167). As the language

suggests, *Hunted Like a Wolf* is an earnest tale, an activist's tale, and the lines of moral responsibility are drawn very clearly. There are some drawbacks to this approach: Meltzer does not provide citations; his bibliography is limited, and not much larger than that in his first edition (1972). Yet, culpability for the removal of the Seminoles is about as clear as it can ever be. As history, Meltzer's is a balanced narrative: the years before the first major U.S. assault in 1817, those between that war and the "Second Seminole War," and the two major phases of the second conflict (1835-early 1838, and from then to mid-1842) receive equal notice. Perhaps the greatest strength of *Hunted Like the Wolf* is its attention to divisions among the hunters. Apart from World War II and the Korean War, every American war that has lasted more than a few months has stirred significant dissent, and the Second Seminole War (like the first) shows that this was just as true of "Indian" wars as of "conventional" ones. Meltzer therefore provides a dual political-military narrative of operations in Florida and debates in Washington and farther north: see especially his quotations from the Downing-Wise debate in the House of Representatives in early 1838 (130-34).

Meltzer's story tends to read as oppression after oppression, with whites as the chief actors, but he provides several insights into the Seminoles. None of these are entirely new, but Meltzer is trying to reach a wider audience than academic historians, who have already come to the conclusions, both general and specific, that he emphasizes. Divisions among the Seminoles were as extensive as those among whites, with Seminoles who had gone west returning as early as the fall of 1836 to help guide the army against their fellows. There are three points about which to elaborate: first, that Seminole divisions were in large part opened by white wedges; second, that white divisions ultimately made little difference (raising the question of the efficacy of dissent over war and international relations in U.S. history, and the reasons for its ineffectiveness); and third, that the Seminoles who returned to guide the army probably did so not for pay or revenge against tribal enemies but because they had made a difficult decision that removal was the best deal they could get given the ineffectiveness of white dissent against the war. This is very much worth noting because the success of U.S. strategy in the second phase of the war (from early 1838 to its "conclusion" in mid-1842) depended as much on Seminoles persuading their brethren to go west as it did on mili-

tary operations per se. Indeed, once military pressure led the Seminoles to disperse—and once military seizures of Seminoles negotiating, however desultorily, under flags of truce had diminished the Seminole force by at least 50 percent—U.S. strategy usually combined, or alternated between, sending large numbers of small patrols to find and attack Seminole fields and villages, and sending Seminoles who had moved west to persuade their kin to follow them.

In this context, Meltzer's emphasis on war leader Coacoochee's role in sustaining Seminole resistance after his escape from imprisonment is valuable, though I would like to see more attention from scholars of the Seminole Wars to Arpeika or Sam Jones, the Mikasuki prophet, by far the longest-lived and most elusive leader of the resistance to American aggression. The roles of Coacoochee and Arpeika suggest three further points about persistence in the Seminole struggle: first, Meltzer repeats the insight that many Seminole youths grew to adulthood during the seven-year war, producing a harder, more elusive core of resistance; second, he notes that some people of African descent remained among the Seminoles until 1842, if not beyond; and third, he does not carry his story beyond 1842. Both the first and second issues need elaboration: how did the young women and warriors adapt to the end of overt hostilities? How did their adolescence shape the majority, who went west? Which people of African descent remained with the Seminoles and Mikasukis in Florida, and why?

The third point, that *Hunted Like a Wolf* does not go beyond 1842, is surprising given the lessons Meltzer clearly wants to impart. Although the removal of most Seminoles effectively opened Florida to white settlement after 1842, the story of the last (saving?) Mikasuki-Seminole remnant, including Arpeika who never left Florida, needs more substantial attention from scholars. Neither Joe Knetsch's *Florida's Seminole Wars* (2003), John Missall and Mary Lou Missall's *The Seminole Wars* (2004), nor Virginia Peters's *The Florida Wars* (1979) explore the "third" Seminole War (1855-58) in any depth, and James Covington's *The Billy Bowlegs War* (1982), a detailed narrative of events in that war, has never received the attention its deserves.

That being said, *Hunted Like a Wolf* accomplishes its author's objectives. It is readable, concise, and nicely illustrated. Though not explicitly analytical, it is a pretty comprehensive survey, with

examples and quotations that very effectively highlight Meltzer's points. It suggests divisions on both sides, and the possible salience of the Second Seminole War to the formation of the second party system (the Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs). And, above all, it directs our attention to larger issues that still tear at us today: "[The Seminoles] made America pay a heavy price for its racism—a price we still pay in many ways. What conquering the Indian did to us as a people and a nation we are only beginning to understand. That process of fraud, corruption, trickery, violence, spread like a sickness through all the American body politic, and those methods are often the methods used still in settling political, social, and international problems." (167)

Samuel Watson

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Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier. By Carolyn Earle Billingsley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004. xi, 215 pp. List of figures, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, appendix, notes, bibliography, index, credits. \$19.95 paper.)

This book makes two main arguments, one more successfully than the other. It maintains that academic historians have a blinkered understanding of the concept of kinship which, properly understood, possesses as much explanatory potential as race, class, gender, or other constructs. The less compelling argument concerns the book's subject, the Keesee kinship group of Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas (but not, it should be pointed out in this journal, Florida). Billingsley argues that her examination of this family contradicts interpretations of antebellum southern migration patterns that emphasize the individual and nuclear family nature of interregional movement. In making this case, *Communities of Kinship* caricatures the views of other historians. It is also not clear that the Keesee family is representative of other southern families.

Communities of Kinship is an extended advertisement for the value of kinship studies. Billingsley concedes that historians have not exactly ignored kinship, but she demonstrates that they almost always employ it simplistically, which has led them to underestimate its usefulness. Employing genealogical methods that uncover extra-nuclear ties and anthropological insights that stress

environmental and historical definitions of effective family bonds, Billingsley demonstrates the untapped potential of kinship as a category of historical analysis. This book is particularly interested in proving the efficacy of kinship for altering our understanding of white society in the Old South. The descendants of Thomas Keesee Sr. were nearly all southerners and enjoyed variable levels of wealth and slave-ownership. Some served in public office, and most were church members. The family, Billingsley states, "can be seen as representational of antebellum southerners at large" (36). A study of this family promises to illustrate the merits of genealogical methods, since no manuscript materials or other personal records exist to flesh out the legal records and public documents on which genealogists depend. Examining migration patterns, religious affiliation, economic and political power, and post-bellum developments, Billingsley argues that kinship was the central institution in the Old South, rendering it sharply different from white society in the North and West, where well-developed institutions such as banks, public schools, and courts supplanted families.

Billingsley argues that kinship governed white migration across the southern frontier in the antebellum period. Families like the Keesees and their circle moved in search of fertile, market-accessible land on which to put their slaves to work growing cotton, and they did so in family groups, not as isolated, alienated individuals or nuclear families. Kinship also shaped the religious choices made by members of this family. Sacred and secular kinship overlapped; church membership, she argues, represented a form of fictive kinship nearly as powerful as blood ties. Kinship bolstered political and economic power. The members of the Keesee circle who attained public office did so with the support of their kin group, and the acquisition of land, credit, and slaves was facilitated through the family circle instead of through institutions such as banks. The power of kinship declined after the Civil War. Abolition, strengthening institutions, and wartime deaths loosened family ties and diminished southern distinctiveness.

This book is full of insights. Billingsley's rehabilitation of genealogical methods is as passionate as it is convincing. It allows her, for example, to offer a compelling challenge to the conventional planter/yeoman distinction by showing variable rates of slave-owning in the Keesee family depending on life cycle, familial relation, time period, and other factors. And her insistence on the centrality of kin relations to the process of migration is consistent

with Edward E. Baptist's *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War* (2002).

But there are serious defects as well. In arguing that migration was a kin operation, Billingsley crudely takes issue with Joan E. Cashin and Jane Turner Censer, who documented the strains migration placed on kin ties. The processes of migration in the Old South were variable and complex, as James David Miller shows in *South by Southwest: Planter Emigration and Identity in the Slave South* (2002). For a book eager to accuse historians of oversimplification, *Communities of Kinship* is surprisingly unsophisticated in its own ways. The contrast it draws between North and South borders on caricature. Its interpretation of kinship and politics is neither new nor especially compelling; it has been documented far more fully, for example, in Christopher Olsen's *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi: Masculinity, Honor, and the Antiparty Tradition, 1830-1860* (2000). In the end, *Communities of Kinship* impresses the reader as much with the potential of genealogical methods as it does with its limitations. Studies depending on a single methodology are prone to offer up precisely the one-dimensional picture of their subject as the works they purport to critique.

Daniel Kilbride

John Carroll University

Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South. By Robert Pace. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. xii, 152 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

With *Halls of Honor*, Robert Pace seeks to uncover the values and experiences of antebellum college students. Throughout the volume, he charts the interplay between two central themes: adolescent development and the southern code of honor. His subjects, students at state universities and denominational colleges throughout the South, inhabited a youth culture between childhood and manhood. As they sought to affect the controlled comportment of gentlemen they also manifested the caprice of boys. According to Pace, the violence common on antebellum campuses derived from this interplay between youthfulness and honor. Boys routinely played tricks on one another. But if that mischief shamed a student, he felt honor-bound to defend his reputation. In this way, childish pranks could quickly escalate into duels. The

peer friendships that students formed and their reaction to school rules similarly reflected this relationship between boyishness and honor. In the end, Pace concludes that students used their college years to develop "a student peer-developed honor ethic" that allowed them to leave behind boyhood and become men (83).

The premium that southern elites placed on appearances is a recurrent and compelling topic in the book. Pace persuasively argues that gentlemen cared more about reputation than about reality. Protecting public image ranked paramount in the minds of antebellum southern elites, and Pace shows how boys learned the importance of putting on a mask of honor. Teenage students worked hard to build and protect their reputations. They worried endlessly about being embarrassed—about being unmasked as cowards or incompetents. And they dressed and spent money to project the proper image. On college campuses, these masks were not simply metaphorical, however. Inhabiting a raucous peer culture, these boys felt tempted to engage in pranks and violence, actions they enjoyed as boys but knew to be imperiling to their future reputations as men. Ever mindful of the call to manifest honor, boys often put on physical masks to cover their identities when they misbehaved. "Blackriding," riding on horseback at night in black masks, was a popular form of campus disorder. Pace fails, however, to explore the racial implications of this choice of mask. Indeed, the influence of race and slavery in the attitudes of these boys is under-analyzed throughout the book.

Pace's work reveals a good deal about youth culture at antebellum colleges. In many ways, these students replicated the values of their fathers. Students shared a zeal for oratory, for example, and they loved to drink, gamble, and socialize. Their literary debate societies played a central role in student culture and, with their emphasis on leadership, competition, and loyalty, replicated "the larger ethos that governed the ruling society of the region" (72). The peer group exerted terrific influence in the lives of college students. Boy relied on their classmates and friends for validation, support, companionship, and fun. The coming of war transformed this generation of men and their college culture forever. Pace explores the impact of the Civil War in his closing chapter.

In some instances, Pace leaves his reader eager for more clarity. In the first chapter, he indicates that students respected their teachers and that the image often projected by scholars of

obstreperous southern boys challenging their professors at every turn distorts the reality of the college experience. But in subsequent chapters he presents substantial evidence to the contrary. Boys broke schools rules prodigiously, ridiculed faculty members, and conspired to subvert the punishment of errant classmates. Pace's anecdotes on these scores reveal his adept archival research and should hearten current professors whose greatest worry is internet-driven plagiarism. One wishes also that Pace had confronted the growing historiography on masculinity and speculated on what his subjects' behaviors reveal about meanings of manhood. At times, Pace over relies on Bertram Wyatt-Brown's honor thesis to the exclusion of other works in southern history. Steven Stowe, for one example, does not make the bibliography, even though his *Intimacy and Power in the Old South* (1987) extensively and artfully explored education in the lives of the antebellum gentry.

Despite these matters, Pace has crafted an important, interesting, and very readable discussion of antebellum student life. He succeeds at placing the boys—not their parents or educators—truly at the center of his analysis. Readers learn about students' letter-writing practices, examinations, roommate and courtship travails, even their eating habits while gaining real insight into their emotional lives. Sometimes heartbreaking, sometimes exasperating, sometimes despicable—the boys appear, in Pace's rendering, always real. Historians interested in antebellum culture, early American education, and southern men will enjoy their journey through these *Halls of Honor*.

Lorri Glover

University of Tennessee

Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War. By Kirsten E. Wood. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xiii, 281 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

In *Masterful Women*, historian Kirsten Wood argues that between the American Revolution and the Civil War, a small but important group of women lived in the southeastern United States who were left with considerable economic and social resources following the death of their husbands. These women were not only powerful and independent, they survived and often thrived as

slaveholders and planters in the male-dominated South. Using the personal diaries, letters, wills, land deeds, estate, and legal records of slaveholding widows who resided in Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia, Wood traces the victories and travails of this tiny minority of female masters. Mastery commonly referred to a white man's "traditional prerogative" to govern his wife, children, and servants, but by the 1800s, slaveholders were calling themselves "masters" of their slaves, a term indicating something greater than mere ownership of chattel property. While married, a woman's legal and social identity was subsumed into that of her husband, and he had mastery over her. But upon her husband's death, a widow was no longer bound under the legal fiction of coverture. She became a free and independent entity. For the widows of slaveholding men, this meant that plantation mistresses were transformed into the masters of their households. Slaveholding widows were not masters in the same way that white men were, however, and they developed a "distinctive version of mastery," one that played upon the cultural stereotype of the defenseless, dependent woman and at the same time asserted their rights and privileges as land and slaveholders.

Widows could not practice all the forms of mastery that Southern society allowed to men. They could not vote, hold elective office, serve on a jury or in the militia, or participate in a duel. Nonetheless, slaveholding widows exerted mastery over their human chattel. They bought, sold, and punished their slaves as white men did, though they typically delegated the physical aspect of punishment to men and they rarely resorted to sexual violence as a mechanism of control. Slaveholding widows also managed their farms, hired and fired overseers, loaned and borrowed money, and participated in all of the commercial activities of the Southern economy. Wood disagrees with historians who have asserted that the plantation mistress could not even cook her own meals after her slaves ran off during the Civil War. There was more continuity between the duties of the plantation wife and the widowed slaveholder than has generally been recognized. Wood posits that plantation mistresses were not only managing their house slaves, but oftentimes worked alongside them in the kitchen and elsewhere out of necessity. She also disagrees that farms declined during the Civil War because women could not run them while the men were away fighting in the Confederate Army. She states instead that marauding armies, excessive demands for men

and materials, and the Union Navy's successful blockade of Southern ports, which made goods difficult to obtain and prevented the sale of cotton to overseas markets, were responsible for the decline. The war also disrupted the slave labor system upon which the Southern economy was so dependent. Every Southern household felt the effects of the war, including those run by men.

Most of the slaveholding women that Wood considered in the book successfully negotiated between the cultural construction of femininity and the reality of their mastery, which at least rhetorically were antithetical to one another. Importantly, Wood demonstrates that wealthy white men tended to support slaveholding widows in myriad ways and her evidence suggests that, at least among planters, class frequently trumped gender in the antebellum South, a finding that merits further examination. Wood succeeds in demonstrating that slaveholding women were generally successful masters and plantation managers, and that their mastery did take a different form than that of white men. Wood might have given readers a better sense of how many or what percentage of slaveholders widows may have actually constituted, but this book is a positive contribution to women's and Southern history for demonstrating the complexity between the reality of female lives and the rhetoric of prescriptive literature.

Mary Block

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Brothers One and All: Esprit de Corps in a Civil War Regiment. By Mark H. Dunkelman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. xii, 344 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Brothers One and All is Mark H. Dunkelman's third book about the 154th New York Volunteer Infantry, of which his great-grandfather was a member. Written with Michael J. Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment* was a fairly standard regimental history. *Gettysburg's Unknown Soldier* chronicled the living and posthumous career of Sergeant Amos Humiston, who became the regiment's most famous soldier after his death. *Brothers One and All*, by contrast, proposes to examine the evolution of *esprit de corps* in the 154th, which Dunkelman defines as "the common spirit existing in the members of a group, a spirit that inspires enthusiasm, devotion, and strong regard for the honor of the group" (5).

Dunkelman justifies his project, as historians must, by telling the reader what new ground it breaks. "Surprisingly little has been written about Civil War regimental esprit de corps," he writes before launching into an involved historiography of all that has been written (7). The related topics of unit cohesion and soldier motivation have been hot topics at least since James McPherson published *What They Fought For* in 1995. Regimental histories, meanwhile, are by now pretty thick on the ground. But *Brothers One and All* is the first work to examine esprit at the regimental level which, Dunkelman maintains, is the logical perspective from which to view the phenomenon. And in fairness to the author, "surprisingly little" takes on a different meaning when speaking of the Civil War, which has been the subject of countless thousands of books.

That *Brothers One and All* is not wholly *sui generis* does nothing to diminish Dunkelman's accomplishment. This is a terrific book, the culminating achievement of three decades of work. Its chief virtues lay not in its originality but in its thoroughness. Through the years, Dunkelman has contacted 900 descendants of members of the Hardtack Regiment and consulted some 1,300 letters and a couple dozen diaries. And he brings to his task the accumulated knowledge from having researched and written about the same group of roughly 2,100 men for thirty years.

Esprit was in some ways built into regiments because they were recruited from the same area. The members of the 154th, for example, all hailed from Cattaraugus County in upstate New York, thus ensuring a certain community-mindedness from the outset and making difficult shirking or deserting without bring lasting shame on oneself and one's family. During the war, the soldiers' connection to each other grew as they fought and suffered together at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Chattanooga, Chattanooga, and other battles. The men likewise grew closer to those who remained on the homefront in New York, and organized soldier aid societies and supported them in other ways. Tied to their home in a more meaningful way than before, many members of the 154th, including Dunkelman's great-grandfather, went on to become pillars of their community. These findings mirror those of G. Ward Hubbs, who documented a similar phenomenon in an Alabama town during the Civil War.

Military historians have in the past been too often seen as practitioners of an old and outmoded type of history by academics. Sometimes that can have its benefits. It is now military historians

like Dunkelman and Hubbs who, more than anyone, are fulfilling the promise of the new social history and the community studies of the 1970s and 1980s. The cutting edge of the discipline has long since moved on to "cultural" history which, in addition to other advantages, has the virtue of being a lot less work than finely grained community studies. *Brothers One and All* will certainly appeal to fans of the old "new social history." It should also find a wide readership among Civil War enthusiasts.

Chad Morgan

St. Andrews Presbyterian College

Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South. By Jonathan D. Martin. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. 237 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

In the vast literature on American slavery, in which seemingly every topic has been examined, revised, and revisited, it should surprise readers that no scholar ventured a full-bodied book-length study of slave hiring, even if only to describe that most fundamental practice . . . until now. Jonathan Martin has filled the huge chasm in our knowledge by writing a cogent, compelling, and almost comprehensive history of slave hiring from its roots in colonial America to its mature permutations by the mid-nineteenth century. In doing so, he especially reveals how the elasticity of slavery as an economic institution imposed strains on slavery as a social institution.

As Martin details, slave hiring was ubiquitous in the South. Slaves were hired to do all manner of work, from caulking ships, to manning river craft, to lading and hauling goods, to making barrels, to digging coal, to raising levees, to putting up buildings, and to bringing in and processing crops, and more. Hired slaves worked in cities and on farms; they bolstered changing economies in the tidewater and lowcountry areas and provided vital labor in the westward march of the cotton South. Slaves were hired on a yearly basis, a seasonal one, or for particular jobs. Slave hiring made slavery an adaptable, profitable, expansive institution. It also invested many whites in its fortunes. Non-slaveholders otherwise unable to buy slaves might hire them for specialized tasks, gaining seasonal and skilled labor and also social benefits as "masters," even if only for a time.

At the same time, slave hiring complicated and compromised slavery's hold on the enslaved and on those who would be their masters. Slave hiring divided the authority of the "master," for the slaveholder's interest in gaining profit from hiring slaves combined with his interest in protecting his slave from abuse or conditions that might cost him the health and loyalty of the slave. The hirer, in turn, wanted the full authority of the master in order to direct and exact as much labor from the slave as possible. The law favored the master's interest over the hirer's, but the actual arrangements varied according to the customs of the country, the personalities and interests of the principals involved, and the tasks at hand.

The slaves seized on the inherent tensions between the master's interests and the hirer's to negotiate their own best interest. At hiring fairs, slaves presented themselves in ways that influenced who bid for their labor, and on the job they played off the master against the hirer. If a hirer proved too demanding, abusive, or obnoxious, the slave might refuse to work for him again, thus putting the master in the position of having to decide whether the short-term gain from a hire outweighed the long-term prospect of an unhappy, unruly slave. Over time, slaves gained some measure of control over the terms of their hire, including the kinds of work they would do and visiting rights with family, for example, and habits of accommodation over time became "rights." Some slaves even hired their own time, acting as their own agents in making contracts and living apart from the master and the hirer. To some whites, such slaves seemed hardly slaves at all. Slave hiring thus opened up slavery to internal tensions that threatened its stability, even as it provided needed labor flexibility that ensured its viability.

Martin's book succeeds because he understands the contradictions the triangularity of slave hiring created and because he recognizes that, in the end, slave hiring was driven by market forces. Slave hiring, he concludes, forced slaveholders to individuate the slaves based on their value in the hiring market. All slaves, regardless of age, thus acquired some potential worth, in dollars. But that worth also hinged on what the slaves did, or refused to do. Therein was the dynamic that most distinguished slave hiring from slave holding. Martin is especially good at bringing the slaves' interests and actions into view, by drawing on frequent accounts of slave hiring related in slave narratives, American Freedman's

Inquiry Commission interviews, and WPA ex-slave testimony. Martin loses some clarity on the peculiar local variations of slave hiring by stretching his canvass across the whole South. He also cheats the complexity of the slave hiring story by slighting the extent to which white artisans, mechanics, and other skilled laborers, and immigrant workers of various abilities, protested slave hiring and became estranged from slaveholders' interests because of it. One wonders, too, if non-slaveholders who hired slaves later aligned themselves with slaveholders politically, in part because of their experience as "masters" for a day.

Martin closes his book by reminding us that, for all their "freedom" in manipulating masters and hirers to make the best out of a bad situation, hired slaves were still slaves, and they knew it. Violence and separation from family and community threatened them constantly, and in the end, their labor was not their own. Such a coda is necessary and refreshing in light of scholarly tendencies to ignore the horrors of slavery in giving the slaves so much agency in supposedly controlling their own lives and culture. And such a book as Martin's is necessary and refreshing by shining much light on an essential subject that heretofore remained on the margins of historical consciousness. Martin's book will cause us all to rethink the meanings of "mastery" and the dynamics of slavery.

Randall M. Miller

Saint Joseph's University

Echoes from a Distant Frontier: The Brown Sisters' Correspondence from Antebellum Florida. Edited by James M. Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004. xxxii, 325 pp. List of maps and illustrations, series editor's preface, acknowledgments, introduction, editorial procedures and policies, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Part of the series *Women's Diaries and Letters of the South*, this charming collection of letters chronicles the adult lives of the Brown sisters, Ellen and Corinna, from the 1830s when they moved from their childhood home in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to the frontier of Florida, until the 1850s when the sisters returned North. With a devotion to maintaining their strong family ties, the sisters and their three brothers stayed in touch over long distances

of time and place. Brothers Charles and George migrated to Florida, but their artist brother Mannevillette spent years in Europe and New York. Their extensive letters to him constitute the bulk of the book. Both sisters eventually married and some of the surviving correspondence between spouses is also included. Corinna married Edward Aldrich, a physician in the army and later private practice; Ellen wed army officer Willoughby Anderson. Both men served in the Seminole War; Anderson lost his life in the Mexican American War, leaving Ellen with three small children in a society that offered little help for single mothers.

This work gives a rare glimpse into life in territorial Florida during and after the second Seminole War. Visiting and living in many places in the state, the sisters provide portraits of several areas over time as well as insight into the attitudes of white settlers. With their early years in the territory punctuated by the war, the sisters showed little sympathy for the plight of the Seminoles. Through household servants, they became acquainted personally with the South's institution of slavery, accepting both ideas of black inferiority and supposedly beneficent white paternalism. Their prejudices also included poor Florida whites, to whom they referred as "crackers."

The Florida environment was strange and new to the Browns. In 1835, Ellen wrote to her brother: "I . . . am by no means in love with the place." A year after settling there, Corinna was still calling her new home a "wilderness." Adapting to the heat, storms, mosquitoes, and other challenges led to frustration and sometimes serious illness. The fragility of life in the face of microbes, climate, and hostile humans becomes clear through the sisters' writing, but their own adaptability and persistence also shows.

While valuable for its information on the development of antebellum Florida, the collection is equally significant for the insight it gives into the lives of women and their families. The letters reveal intelligent, well-read women, who easily and often eloquently expressed themselves. Phrases of French and Latin pepper their letters, as do references to the Bible, literature, and history. Knowledgeable and opinionated on the issues of the day, the Brown sisters considered themselves to be staunch Whigs in spite of their lack of voting rights. They discussed the foibles and virtues of politicians and military leaders at the territorial and national levels, and in their writings assumed that they should do so.

Although the sisters remained within acceptable gender roles, their writings show that they did not fully accept the cult of true womanhood. Corinna, although she originally did not intend to marry, was the first wed; she appears to have done so reluctantly. She made the decision, she wrote, after "[I] suffered myself unknowingly to be led from flower to flower accepting attentions that served but courtesy until I am completely sick of the path I inclined to pursue." After reflection on her "present dependent situation," she called her decision the "honorable course." But she made clear to her future husband that she had "no heart to give" (52).

Ellen was also outspoken on the subject of men and the role of women. She castigated her brother for writing that marriage was the "great aim" of women: "You must pardon my prolixity but I cannot suffer a brother of mine to entertain this absurd and . . . derogatory opinion." Ellen explained that men wanted marriage as much as women, but did not see it as their only goal; they saw marriage as women's only aim because "being their only publick act it strikes you as being their only act of interest" (59). In 1838, she spoke on the subject of love: "we are such betwixt and between half good, half bad, indifferent sort of creatures with just sense enough to make trouble for ourselves deserving after all more charity than censure. How can a person expect to find a being one could love? I hate to bring my imagination down the level of humanity. . . ." (79). Ironically, Ellen fell in love and the letters in the collection from her husband reveal a passionate, intimate relationship. After his death, the limited boundaries for women frustrated Ellen: "Bless my stars what a helpless individual a women is. . . . If it was not wicked I would wish myself a man. I would put my two legs into a pair of trousers and take the longest kind of steps, I don't know where" (266). Were the attitudes of the Brown sisters unusual for women in pre-Civil War Florida? Were they a function of the frontier society, their northern upbringing? A little more historical context on antebellum Florida women would be helpful.

James Denham and Keith Huneycutt have done a sound job of editing these letters, with extensive footnotes providing information on people, places, and events in the letters. The introduction provides genealogical and background information necessary to understand the lives of the Browns, while chapter introductions and editorial bridges between some letters fill in gaps in the correspondence, keep the reader informed of significant develop-

ments, and unravel the sometimes confusing movements of the various family members. The epilog satisfies the reader's curiosity about the post-Florida lives of the Brown family members. Photographs of the family portraits are also a welcome inclusion. The letters themselves weave a fine story, as readable as fiction, with all the elements of a good novel—humor, romance, grief, and tragedy.

Lee Ann Caldwell

Georgia College and State University

All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970. By Alan Scot Willis. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004. xiii, 260 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusion, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Alan Scot Willis begins his study of Southern Baptists missions with the professed aim of understanding ways in which religious beliefs shaped white Baptist views on race relations. Situated within the post-World War II American South, Willis's research explores Baptists' treatments of various dimensions of racism rooted in regional culture, national policy, and global colonization efforts. Willis suggests that World War II served as a discursive shift for a new version of "prophetic" Baptist theology which emphasized social reform and racial equality over traditional and more provincial religious dogmatism, placing Southern Baptists at the forefront of the Civil Rights movement. In their attempts to eradicate domestic racism as inconsistent with the teachings of Christianity, Baptist Convention leaders and missionaries in the mid-twentieth century faced resistance from local church congregations whose religious identities and perceptions were inextricably rooted in southern segregationist culture.

Through a thorough analysis of Baptist literature in the post-war period, Willis finds that Southern Baptist missionaries and their leaders "persistently challenged the prevailing views of race and dominant practices of their region" (5). Empowered by a "radical individualism" and beliefs in personal salvation, church members at the bottom levels did not always fall into line behind the renewed rhetoric of equality, integration, and Social Gospel advanced by progressive Baptists and missionaries at the top. The result was a divided organization, in which leaders struggled to chart a new course for their reluctant constituents. The path,

according to Willis, led to new ideas not only about domestic social relations, but also about revisions to international diplomacy and global missionizing efforts.

Willis's analysis is essentially organized into three sections. The first deals with the intersection of southern culture and Baptist theology, as the race question and issues of social reform increasingly distanced church leaders from their local congregations. At the center of the debate lay contested interpretations of biblical scriptures and the teachings of Christ. "Cultural Christians" in the South, Willis argues, justified the practice of segregation and the perpetuation of racist ideology by "divorc[ing] righteousness from politics and business and social life" (35). Progressive missionaries sought to repair that perceived chasm between theology and practice within the Southern Baptist church.

The second part of the book deals with mission work outside of the United States, particularly in regions of Africa where Baptists competed with Islam and atheistic communism for the hearts and minds (and souls) of local populations. In the context of the Cold War, Willis writes, Southern Baptist leaders critiqued the imperialism of colonial powers around the world and "saw evangelization as a key component of world peace." (65). Willis successfully illustrates how missionaries understood American racism to undermine conversion efforts abroad, thus provoking "prophetic" challenges to segregation and discrimination at home. Not surprisingly, it was at the height of the Cold War that Baptist missionizing efforts in Africa increased "more than tenfold" and a renewed emphasis was placed on conversion (91).

Fearing that post-war materialism and corruption would undermine Christian principles, Baptist missionaries also undertook renewed efforts to convert Native Americans, Latinos, and African Americans in the United States. Through such organizations as the Department of Language Missions and a program of "Negro Work," church leaders sought to improve both their domestic and international images by spreading the Social Gospel among American minorities. However, as Willis notes, "The missionary message was laced with cultural imperialism" and functioned to enforce an exclusively white Christian definition of "Americanism" (126).

While Willis's text is well researched and clearly argued, it could be strengthened in several respects. Foremost, his reliance on formal Baptist publications and written public exchanges is

problematic, for it represents only the formal public face of a presumably complex and potentially hostile process of negotiation and debate within church leadership and among their followers. Employing a largely institutional, top-down approach, Willis does not effectively acknowledge the unofficial business conducted outside of the public discourse. Such an approach lends itself to a conveniently dichotomized and perhaps oversimplified bifurcation between leadership (missionaries, Convention officials) and Baptist congregations at the local level. Finally, though he situates progressive Baptists at the forefront of the modern Civil Rights movement, Willis does not devote adequate attention to minority voices and responses. Some examination of the debate beyond the official dialogue would likely yield a more insightful and multifaceted discussion.

Overall, however, Willis makes a valuable contribution to discussions of religion, race, and culture in the American South. He does an excellent job of linking southern segregation to international missionizing efforts, effectively examining the conflation of culture, politics, morality, and theology among Southern Baptists. Willis provides an engaging and accessible study which raises important questions and merits further investigation of Southern Baptist missions in the South and around the world.

Jared G. Toney

University of South Florida, Tampa

Jacksonville: The Consolidation Story, From Civil Rights to the Jaguars.

By James B. Crooks. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. xx, 274 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, foreword, preface and acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95 cloth.)

In 1967, voters in Jacksonville and the suburban areas of Duval County supported a successful city-county consolidation that transformed Jacksonville into Florida's largest city. James Crooks's detailed study of Jacksonville prior to and after the consolidation provides a wealth of information and insight about the community. His analysis focuses on the role of municipal leadership in coping with a myriad of issues regarding race, urban development, and the environment. Crooks analyzes the successes, failures, and complexities in these policy arenas during the administrations of Hans Tanzler (1967-78), Jake Godbold (1979-1987), Tommy

Hazouri (1987-1991), and Ed Austin (1991-95). The author makes a useful distinction between the adoption of policies and their implementation, and illustrates that policies initiated by one administration often are not implemented until a later mayor takes office. Crooks also shows the important roles that federal and state policy played in influencing policy in Jacksonville.

W. Haydon Burns served as Jacksonville's mayor for five terms from 1949 to 1965 in an antiquated governmental structure that included a nine-person city council as the legislative arm and a five-person city commission as the executive branch, with the mayor being the "lead commissioner." Burns never tired of telling the "Jacksonville story" to out-of-town visitors, and the mayor and the city's boosters, primarily the leadership of the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce, boasted of "Jacksonville's Decade of Progress" from 1955 to 1965. True, developers built new buildings downtown, the Jacksonville Expressway Authority constructed needed roads and bridges, several insurance companies and banks built new offices in Jacksonville, and the port was improved. Still, Jacksonville at the time of the consolidation campaign was facing many of the same problems of most of America's central cities. Its historic downtown was losing much of its commercial base to the suburbs, middle-class whites were suburbanizing, racial tensions were high, the public school system was poorly funded, and government efforts to protect the environment were limited. The weak-governmental structure, along with what Crooks calls a "low-tax, antigovernment attitude," contributed to the inability of government to deal with some of Jacksonville's problems (56).

Major business and professional leaders in Jacksonville initiated the drive for the consolidation of the governments of Jacksonville and its suburban area. They were responding, in part, to their perception that outdated governmental systems in both the city and county were not responding to the needs of either Jacksonville or its suburbs. The fact that the city's population was over 40 percent African American might, according to Crooks, have been another motivating factor, because the charter movement leaders feared the city becoming majority African American. Crooks dissects why voters both in the city and county voted for the consolidation in 1967 that replaced the existing city government of Jacksonville and the county government with a new consolidated government. No one singular factor brought about the success, but certainly the fact that a grand jury uncovered rampant corrup-

tion in city government that resulted in indictments and convictions contributed to the desire of citizens for a change. The successful consolidation brought nationwide attention to Jacksonville. For example, the National Municipal League named Jacksonville an "All-American City" in 1969 in recognition of the successful consolidation.

Crooks provides a balanced account of the successes and failures of the consecutive administrations of consolidated government in coping with problems related to race, the environment, and economic development, and he does a good job of pointing to similarities and differences among the mayors and their administrations. For example, in assessing Godbold's time in office, Crooks notes that he supported some growth management and affirmative action initiatives, but would not challenge powerful interests that opposed these policies, such as the builders' opposition to strong growth management measures and the firefighters' opposition to affirmative action. By contrast, Hazouri was more willing to oppose established interests, and he was successful in persuading the city council to pass an odor ordinance that was opposed by some of Jacksonville's major business interests.

In the concluding chapter, Crooks provides an overview of consolidated Jacksonville. In addition to summarizing the observations of several actors who were involved with the transition to consolidated government, Crooks undertakes his own assessment of the impacts of consolidation. He generally concludes that consolidated government achieved its greatest success in environmental policy, its least success in race relations, and partial success in downtown development. In all these policies, Crook realizes that it is difficult to discern what policy differences might have resulted if consolidation had not been achieved. Still, he concludes that consolidated government was a positive factor for Jacksonville. In itself, consolidation was no panacea, but with wise leadership and an engaged citizenry, this structure was more likely to bring about better urban governance than the fragmented governmental structures that are common in many metropolitan areas.

Crooks's study of Jacksonville is a positive addition to the fields of urban history and politics and also contributes to the growing literature on Sunbelt cities. Crooks has much to say about urban leadership, governmental structure, and power relationships in urban governance, and his excellent discussion of environmental policy is relatively rare in studies of post-war urban politics and his-

tory. Crooks provides no simple answers regarding the complexity of governance and also offers no singular theoretical perspective in this book. Different readers are likely to come to different conclusions regarding the Jacksonville consolidation. Regardless, the time they devote toward studying this book will be time well spent.

Robert Kerstein

University of Tampa

The Mosquito Wars: A History of Mosquito Control in Florida. By Gordon Patterson. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. xviii, 263 pp. List of figures, foreword, acknowledgments, abbreviations, postscript, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

The Mosquito Wars is an examination of the relatively unknown and often unappreciated history of mosquito control in the formation of modern Florida. Gordon Patterson presents the story of the anti-mosquito workers who, with single-minded determination, went to war against both disease-causing and pest mosquitoes that thrived in Florida's environment. By attempting to limit or even eliminate these insects, they safeguarded not only the health of the state's residents but also the well-being of its tourist-driven, public-ity conscious economy.

The author has presented the topic with great energy and a prodigious amount of primary research that includes reports from anti-mosquito associations and mosquito control districts, as well as from public health documents and articles from contemporary medical journals. In addition, he has utilized the relevant literature concerning the new environmental history. The book is organized in rough chronological order from the 1880s to the present, but it begins with a brief and rather exotic tour of the history of insect control that reaches back to ancient Greece, Rome, and China, and even into the text of the Talmud.

Florida's mosquito control crusade starts in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century with the attack on the mosquitoes that carried yellow fever, malaria and dengue fever. It then moves into the 1920s with mosquito controllers facing governmental indifference and financial restraint in an era when the necessities of scientifically studying the mosquito and of educating the public about the insect began to coalesce. The Great Depression eventually led to New Deal funding that focused more

on ending unemployment in the state than on eliminating mosquitoes. World War II and its immediate aftermath enhanced the anti-mosquito movement as a result of the military's need to combat malaria and subsequent introduction of a seemingly remarkable pesticide called DDT. The post-war years witnessed the problems caused by DDT-resistant mosquito strains and the development of ditching and impoundments to eliminate salt marsh mosquito breeding places. The 1950s and early 1960s were, according to Patterson, the movement's "golden age," although it is not terribly clear why this period should rate such a designation. Perhaps the most interesting section of the study involves the decades following the 1962 publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* which criticized the use of pesticides and helped create the modern environmental movement in America. It also, however, led to another type of mosquito war, one that pitted two equally dedicated groups against each other. One believed in removing mosquitoes from Florida's environment, and the other saw the methods used to accomplish this help to destroy that same environment. The sense of betrayal that this created among anti-mosquito workers can be felt through their utter disdain for the environmentalists who attacked mosquito control for its use of insecticides and impoundment of natural wetlands.

Mosquito Wars, therefore has an important story to tell, but it tends to be lost in the style of Patterson's telling. The book falls into an older tradition of administrative history, one that is strung together from the available sources often consisting of reports from associations, committees, and government bureaus. It also insists on including the names (and brief biographies) of a very lengthy roster of mosquito "warriors" that covers a century. The major figures blend into the image of the selfless scientific hero. They are all driven to the point of obsession with killing mosquitoes, and all are deeply involved in a culture of mosquito abatement that had its own associations, publications, and agenda. Patterson describes their activities too often by the listing of objectives, tasks, or principles that seem to have been lifted directly from his official sources. Also, his text is littered with overdone superlatives such as "tremendous," "profound," and "astonishing," and the evolution of the mosquito control movement seems to have more "turning points" than a labyrinth.

The book could have been improved by a more thematic approach that focused on specific issues and then developed them

more fully. A number of topics could also have been examined in depth. For instance, it would have been useful to probe the tensions created between the localism that surrounded mosquito control districts and the advantages of having more state-run supervision and support. It was an issue that divided the mosquito workers themselves during the 1950s. Another topic that may have been worth exploring is the politics of mosquito control, especially during its "golden age" when one of its leaders routinely went to Tallahassee in order to influence policy through his network of friends and allies. Also, there are potential sub-themes involving ties, if any, between pesticide companies, land developers, chambers of commerce, and mosquito control, or over the ethics of having a paid public health official as leader of an anti-mosquito lobby group pushing for more government funding.

Perhaps the most important inquiry, however, is that dealing with the incessant need for mosquito controllers to educate and win over the public. This activity was believed to be crucial to the movement. One might legitimately ask that if the negative impact of mosquitoes on Florida was as obvious as Patterson and the mosquito men claimed, then why did such a public relations effort always seem necessary. It may be possible to suggest that Florida's population growth during the 1920s and the 1950s preceded serious successes in mosquito abatement instead of the other way around.

In the end, the reader comes away from this study with a great admiration for the effort and thoroughness that it displays and for the wealth of information that it provides. It is unfortunate that significant themes often get lost along the way. It makes one wish that the author and his editors had attempted one more rewriting in order to pull the themes out of the narrative and thus turn the book into a systematic and critical analysis of mosquito control within the context of Florida's modern historical development.

Eric Jarvis

King's University College

Politics and Growth in Twentieth-Century Tampa. By Robert Kerstein. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. xi, 440 pp. List of figures, maps, and tables, foreword, acknowledgments, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

In this well-researched and carefully reasoned book, Tampa University political science professor Robert Kerstein traces the

history of Tampa politics from the period just before the cigar industry moved to town in the mid-1880s through the end of the twentieth century. He tells which people and organizations were active and influential in the city's politics, and which were excluded. Thus, we learn of vigilante activity against Latin (Cuban, Italian, Spanish) labor activists, the disenfranchisement of African Americans for forty years after 1910, and omnipresent electoral corruption, but also of Latins winning political voice after the 1920s, civil rights progress in the 1950s and 60s, and the success of female political candidates in the 1970s.

In recounting these tales, Kerstein takes pains to distinguish his perspective from what he terms the "mainstream view" of political evolution in Sunbelt cities. The mainstream view he associates with the work of Earl and Merle Black, among others. In their overly linear view, writes Kerstein, the governance of Sunbelt cities by a commercial-civic elite gradually and decisively gave way to a more inclusive pattern of political participation. Only more recently, in this mainstream account, have Sunbelt cities become more conflictive, and then more inclusive, as the business community divided into central city and suburban factions, urban professionals developed an interest in quality-of-life issues, minorities gained political voice, and district elections replaced at-large ones.

Kerstein finds that Tampa experienced a more complicated pattern of political development than the mainstream view allows. Domination by a commercial and civic elite was not uniformly the case a century ago, he shows. Back then, ideological differences, divergent business interests, and competing political organizations fragmented the business elite. As well, cultural differences permeated the ranks of business. True, the traditionalist political culture emphasizing hierarchy and resistance to change that the Blacks associate with Southern cities existed in Tampa. Yet, it existed alongside an entrepreneurial political culture, embraced by some commercial elites, that welcomed growth and change irrespective of their potentially disruptive effects on society.

Kerstein likewise disputes the mainstream premise of steady progress from exclusion to inclusion in local politics. African Americans, women, Hispanics, and neighborhood and civic groups all strove for greater voice in Tampa's politics, yet no clear progression from oligarchy to pluralism occurred. "History can move backward as well as forward," he writes. Pointing to Atlanta, he notes that middle-class African Americans were included to

some degree in the governing coalition by the 1960s, while African Americans had little influence in Houston, even decades later.

In eschewing this mainstream perspective, the author lays claim to the regime-theory perspective in vogue among urban political scientists. This perspective, which emerged in response to the development-friendly analysis of Harvard political scientist Paul Peterson, understands that urban growth often harms as much as it helps (as we know in Florida). As presented in the work of Clarence Stone, this approach postulates that an informal coalition of public and private interests—the regime—governs the city, and that the character of the regime largely determines the nature of local policies. Consistent with this perspective, Kerstein asserts that business control of Tampa a century ago was incomplete (the regime had broader membership) and that minority participation in governance in more recent years has been discontinuous (it fluctuates with the power game).

He does not adopt regime theory entirely, however. For one, he observes that no discernible regime existed in some periods of Tampa's history, making this approach unusable for those periods. As well, he challenges Stone's perspective on power. Stone conceptualizes power as the "capacity to act," focusing attention on "power to" (e.g., the power to accomplish downtown renewal) rather than "power over" a person or group. Demurring, Kerstein finds ample evidence in Tampa history of "power over," as when economic elites turned vigilantes on labor activists.

Among political scientists, Kerstein's exposition on Tampa politics will be appreciated for his emphasis on choice and struggle. Reacting against meta-theoretical perspectives that emphasize the constraining hand of structural economic factors and the imperatives of globalization, he thinks that politics matters and cities have choices; thus, he urges re-attention to such factors as leadership, interest mobilization, and the struggle for power. Historians will appreciate this book not only for its carefully researched account of Tampa political history but also for Kerstein's devotion to the historian's craft. The process of urban growth and change is complicated, he writes; unraveling it requires close analysis of particular cities over a long time span.

Non-academic readers will appreciate this story, in particular, for its attention to the role of corruption in Tampa's political history. Certainly this Florida city has no monopoly on political corruption; but political ill-deeds loom large in its history—more than

in other Florida cities, excepting Miami. Stuffing ballot boxes, repeat voting, and kidnapping poll watchers influenced election outcomes for decades, and Tampa figured prominently in the Kefauver hearings on organized crime in the early 1950s. This pattern continued into the 1980s, when three of Hillsborough County's five county commissioners were indicted for bribe-taking and had to be replaced by the governor.

Readers uninterested in the changing trends of historiography and urban political theory may wonder what all the fuss is about. At times, the difference between Kerstein's historical perspective and the mainstream view seems more apparent than real; his view is simply more nuanced. The debate over regime theory may seem beside the point as well. It is not always clear what difference the regime makes; having a more inclusive political structure may not make a city more livable. Without these theoretical debates, *Politics and Growth in 20th-Century Tampa* would have less heft; at four hundred pages, including one hundred pages of endnotes, it would be much shorter but far less analytical.

Richard Foglesong

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Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South.

Edited by Glenn Feldman. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004. Acknowledgments, foreword by Patricia Sullivan, prologue, epilogue: "Ugly Roots: Race, Emotion, and the Rise of the Modern Republican Party in Alabama and the South," notes, contributors, index. \$27.95 paper.)

This set of essays contributed by civil rights scholars from around the world examines multiple varieties of civil rights organizing and white resistance in the 1940s and 1950s. Prominent historians and up-and-coming scholars created this geographically and methodologically diverse collection—Louisiana, as well as North Carolina and Florida gain a place in what is too often framed as a Deep South story. Biography, local study, and oral history are just some of the techniques used by these authors to deepen our knowledge of early civil rights activism. Although diverse, these essays are bound by a commitment to push the chronology of the civil rights movement backwards to the critical moment just after World War II. In this way, they join the general expansion of civil rights movement studies into what historian Jacquelyn Hall

has called "the long civil rights movement." Consistent with this desire to broaden not only the time frame but also the definition of "the movement," these authors challenge the dichotomies usually employed to explain civil rights.

Glenn Feldman's introductory essay emphasizes the interwoven and long-standing relationship between civil rights and white backlash—what he describes as "a two-sided coin." Civil rights activities at this time created and made possible the assault on segregation in the 1960s. The usual divisions between radical and liberal activists, pre- and post-*Brown* tactics dissolve as Raymond Arsenault traces continuities in leadership and the evolving ideology behind the little-remembered 1947 Journey of Reconciliation that served as the direct model for the 1961 Freedom Rides. The NAACP emerges in several of the essays as less stolid and unified than typically understood. Instead, its leaders work creatively within Cold War strictures of communist and un-American fears. While some of the contributors stress the youth of activists, other, older leaders, including T.R.M. Howard and Dorothy Tilly figure prominently. The study of Howard represents a challenge to the usual dichotomy of radical versus conservative civil rights activities; David and Linda Royster Beito take Howard's progressive work seriously, even as they explain his shortcomings and often accommodationist tactics. Likewise, in his excellent piece on Tilly and Methodist women's groups in Atlanta, Andrew Manis places a much-needed spotlight on the long tradition of women, both black and white, who organized through the churches for racial justice. These groups, as well as fraternal lodges and other African American community institutions, would be the vital framework that sustained the successes of the 1960s.

The 1940s and 1950s are often seen as a time of lost possibilities in southern history, a moment when an interracial labor movement created by the Depression and New Deal policies, as well as the engine of World War II, could have put an end to segregation but did not. Jennifer Brooks's piece on veterans returning to Georgia illustrates the ambiguous role of the war in advancing civil rights or solidifying white backlash—black and white veterans organized for change, just as other soldiers returned determined to defend Jim Crow. Union agitation and the labor movement are woven into these essays, showing, if not explicitly addressing, the complex and overlapping networks of radicalism that worked to expand civil rights in the postwar era. As Adam Fairclough's piece

assures us, there was no static racial status quo before *Brown*: activism, protest, white entrenchment, and backlash existed throughout this era. This fluidity allowed for "the rapidly changing terrain of race and politics in the South at mid-century," as described by Patricia Sullivan in the prologue.

The immediate post-war period would set the stage for the rest of the century in America and the South. The assault on legalized segregation began amidst rising suppression of dissent, an awareness of America's international image, as well as a long realignment of the national political parties on race that left the white South solidly Republican and the Democratic coalition weak. While these essays look toward the national civil rights movement and these kinds of broad implications, *Before Brown* does not evaluate success or failure. Rather we see a time of contested possibility and, in the words of one activist, "the flag-bearers of work for integration and for justice and for peace" whose efforts allowed the 1960s to blossom.

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The American South in a Global World. Edited by James L. Peacock, Harry L. Watson, and Carrie R. Matthews. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. 299 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction: "Globalization with a Southern Face," contributors, index. \$24.95 paper.)

Historians of Florida have long recognized the American South's rich global and multicultural history. Because of this consistently transnational past, however, Florida has often been pushed to the margins of U.S. Southern history—a field that has been particularized itself because of its own legacy of slavery, culture, and character. *The American South in a Global World*, edited by James Peacock, Harry L. Watson and Carrie Matthews, is thus a welcome volume.

Growing out of a series of institutes held at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill that were sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation between 1992 and 2005, the essays in this volume reflect a wide variety of interdisciplinary perspectives and questions. How immigrants are transforming southern industries and communities, identity and citizenship, and what these changes mean for activism and education are all explored. While the focus

of these studies lean heavily on the past twenty years, historians will also find the work thought-provoking. As the editors note, "Social and economic studies are not the end of analysis but the basis for further questions" (3). Reflecting a wide variety of perspectives, research methodologies and stages—from early and pioneering efforts by junior scholars to reflections by experienced practitioners—the essays pioneer new ground in the field of American Studies and compliment recent works like Leon Fink's *Maya of Morganton* (2002), Thomas Bender's edited collection *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (2002), and Miles Richardson's *Being-in-Christ and Putting Death in Its Place* (2003).

Although the essays cover a wide range of topics, North Carolina receives the lion's share of scholarly attention. Because these essays grew out of UNC's institutes, this is not entirely surprising. As one of the leading destinations for new arrivals from Asia and Central America, North Carolina is also among the southern states most significantly transformed by recent migrations. But the heavy focus on North Carolina is a bit of a disappointment to a Florida historian. Without question, the essays go a long way to address the perception of the American South as a "quintessential exception—a region all to itself, uniquely defined vis-a-vis the rest of the United States, with a distinctive heritage, history, and character—singular and locatable from its cuisine, race relations, manners, dialects, folklore, and customs," as David Nonini observes (248). But Florida, it seems, still remains on the margins of even these new global, Southern studies.

This is not to say that Florida is left out altogether. Florida's place in a "globalizing south" is mentioned on a few occasions through the "Tripartate Epilogue." It is also the primary focus of Paul Levengood's "Latino Migration to Miami and Houston: Transnationalism at Work in Two Southern Cities" which opens the collection and explores how specific ethnic groups can obtain political power in Southern cities. While Levengood primarily synthesizes existing secondary work, his comparative analysis yields important insights. Other essays focusing on labor practices at FedEx's world headquarters in Memphis, Tennessee, the globalization of West Virginia's coal industry, ethnic and class identity in an Arkansas chicken processing plant, global relations in Mobile, Alabama and the Latinization of Rome, Georgia, also extend beyond North Carolina to explore a range of settings, both urban and rural, across the U.S. South.

Several essays also deserve special mention. Thaddeus Countway Gulbrandsen's "Entrepreneurial Governance in the Transnational South: the Case of Durham, North Carolina" provides an especially thought-provoking look at the creation of "new governmental partnerships with private and nonprofit entities" and the central role played by politics in any economic transformation (94-95). Barbara Ellen Smith, Marcela Mendoza and David Ciscel examine how FedEx has used flexible labor as a new paradigm of work time. Their essay, "The World on Time" raises a fascinating set of questions about how information technologies and global demands are collapsing "the distinction between work and leisure, or work and life, by requiring infinite availability of labor" (35). Steve Striffler's description of fieldwork in a Tyson chicken-processing plant, "We're All Mexicans Here," focuses on the interrelationship between ethnicity and class, suggesting "that we should at least consider the possibility that transnational migration and the resulting experiences may make people question the very categories that borders support" (164).

This volume is not intended to be exhaustive. But it does provide a critically important start. As James Peacock concludes, "Within the world context, the globalization of the South is merely one of many Souths; within the context of the South, global impact is huge" (274). While this may not surprise Florida historians, it should inspire us to continue to forge new theoretical and methodological ground.

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Look Away: The U.S. South in New World Studies. Edited by Jon Smith and Deborah Cohn. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. 521 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, postdata, contributors, index. \$26.95 paper.)

One of the most exciting new directions in Southern literary studies over the past decade has been envisioning the U.S. South not in relation to the North or even to the rest of the United States (which, to many southerners, has always been simply "the North" as well) but rather in relationship to other nations and other regions which have shared, historically and economically, much in common with the South. In particular, scholars have examined the writings of the South in relation to those of Central and South

America as well as the Caribbean, other regions blessed (or cursed) with a warm climate which have also had a plantation economy based on slavery and which have experienced colonialism.

Historians have taken such a view of the South for some decades: they have suggested, for example, that Brazil's northeast bears many similarities to the U.S. South, not only slavery and a plantation past but also a one-crop economy (sugar cane instead of cotton), similar class anxieties, and a reputation as a cultural backwater. Non-U.S. writers have also seen the similarities: as Earl Fitz notes here, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, considering history, culture, and literature, has spoken of the southern United States "as constituting the northernmost reaches of Latin America." Others, then, have recognized the parallels, but not until Deborah Cohn and Jon Smith—along with a very few other scholars, most notably Barbara Ladd—have students of Southern literature turned their eyes even further southward. In this collection, Smith and Cohn have brought together a notable group of scholars of Southern and Latin American literature who give this approach to Southern studies its most thorough examination yet.

The title of the book plays, very cleverly, on "Dixie"—except this group of essayists (unlike the Southern Agrarians, who took their title for *I'll Take My Stand* from that same suspect Southern anthem) looks outward. Smith and Cohn place the essays in four sections, the most inclusive of which treats Southern ties to the Caribbean. Another section examines the U.S. South in relation to Mexico, and still another sees William Faulkner in relation to Latin America—since Faulkner is the Southern writer, the prominent Southern writer in any case whose work seems to find parallels most readily in Latin American fiction. (Wendy B. Faris discusses Faulkner in relation to Carlos Fuentes, and Dane Johnson finds parallels—as have other scholars—in Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!* and Garcia Marques's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. And Helen Oakley, in a fascinating piece, examines the marketing of Faulkner by the U.S. State Department, who sent him twice to Latin America as a sort of "cultural ambassador" whose presence could help "in a time of strained political relations.") A fourth section, "Rethinking Race and Region," is a somewhat less focused collection of excellent essays on such subjects as Richard Wright and Africa (by Richard King) and "California and the Contemporary White Southern Imagination" (by Robert Brinkmeyer and Debra Rae Cohen).

It is inevitable that several of the essays (most persuasively, John T. Matthews's) will see in the U.S. South what in many respects it is: a postcolonial region sharing many qualities of that condition with its neighbors to the south. The matter of the South and colonialism, of course, has always been complicated by the fact that Dixie is doubly postcolonial—white southerners in thrall to the dominant, moneyed Northeast (for which the South, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indeed served as a sort of colony), black southerners in thrall to southern whites. Thus, white southerners have been both colonized and colonizer, the oppressed and the oppressor.

Smith and Cohn fully realize the complexity of their subject, and one of the virtues of their book is that they do not claim too much. They recognize, for example, that the U.S. South, although belonging in part to that larger Caribbean/Latin American postcolonial region, belongs as well to mainstream Anglo-American culture, thus is First World (indeed, predominantly First World) as well as Third.. And they recognize as well that their model does not fit the entire U.S. South: "What role does Appalachia play . . . besides sharing in colonial exploitation?" (Indeed, it has always seemed to me that Appalachia is to the U.S. South what the South is to the rest of the country: the backward corner, even poorer, judged even more benighted—the South's South as it were.)

Look Away, to repeat, is one of the most stimulating books in Southern studies in recent years. It opens up the (U.S.) South to areas of inquiry that are fruitful and highly promising— and, indeed, at a time when the states of the "Late Confederacy" are assuming an increasingly Latin flavor, it looks not only "away" but also to the future.

Fred Hobson

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Book Notes

by Michelle Manns

Florida History from the Highways. By Douglas Waitley. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 2005. xiii, 370 pp. A Word, about the Organization of This Book, Acknowledgments, Chronology of Florida History, A Brief History of Florida, Bibliography, Index. \$18.95 paper.)

Florida History from the Highways is, just as its title indicates, a history of the state organized around the major sites, cities, and attractions accessible from the major state and interstate roads. Waitley begins the work with a chronology of events and a very concise history of Florida from pre-historic times to the present. The first section of the book discusses the cities of Orlando, Miami, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee. The second section examines specific sites along highways such as Florida's Turnpike, I-75, US 41, I-95, US 1, US 27, I-10, and US 98. Also included in the book are many photographs of historical locations and recent historical events. Researchers studying Florida history, specifically in regards to specific cities, may find the bibliography section helpful, and general readers will most certainly enjoy the straightforward manner in which Waitley presents the history of the Sunshine State.

The Lost Florida Manuscript of Frank Hamilton Cushing. Edited by Phyllis E. Kolianos and Brent R. Weisman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. xiv, 281 pp. List of Figures, Foreword, Preface, About This Volume, Introduction, Notes, References, Index. \$59.95 cloth).

Frank Hamilton Cushing, an anthropologist of the late nineteenth century, explored the Gulf Coast of Florida. This manuscript, heretofore unpublished, gives thorough descriptions of the Florida environment, plants, animals, and indigenous peoples as they existed during Cushing's time. He provides valuable information on the Hope and Safford mounds and the local inhabitants. On his second visit to Florida, he compares and analyses artifacts found during his initial visit artifacts found at Tarpon Springs. Cushing attempts to connect the major prehistoric civilizations of North and Central America, and is considered by many anthropologists to be very perceptive in his understanding of ancient peoples. The book contains many maps and sketches, and will be of interest to students and scholars of archaeology, anthropology, and Native American studies. It may also prove useful for understanding and analyzing nineteenth century archaeological methods.

The Florida Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing. Edited by Phyllis E. Kolianos and Brent R. Weisman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. xv, 161 pp. List of Figures, Foreword, Preface, Introduction, Notes, References, Index. \$49.95 cloth).

During his archaeological studies of Florida, Cushing not only compiled a manuscript intended for publication, he also compiled this journal of his personal observations. During the years 1895 and 1896, Cushing traveled the Gulf coast investigating cultures known for their mound-building. Cushing is highly regarded for his discovery of a muck pond called the "Court of the Pile Dwellers" (also known as the Key Marco site) in which a great many artifacts were found. The discovery allowed Florida archaeological endeavors to gain national attention. In this journal, Cushing also reveals his belief that all related ancient cultures shared a mysterious psychic bond. While it is unlikely that modern archaeologists would give much credence to this theory, for historians it does show him to be a man of his time, aware of and concerned with contemporary psychology. The work contains many drawings and sketches, quite a few of them originals drawn by Cushing himself. Historians will find the book useful for what it tells about nineteenth century science while archaeologists and anthropologists will find it helpful for its descriptions of methodology and theory.

Images of America: Barberville. By Benjamin D. Brotemarkle. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2005. 128 pp. About the author, acknowledgments, introduction. \$19.99.)

With the aid of roughly two hundred photographs, Brotemarkle takes the reader on a journey through the development of the Central Florida community known today as Barberville. He begins with a chapter entitled "Before Barberville." This chapter explores not only Barberville but the entire Central Florida region during the prehistoric period. Photographs show the fossilized remains of saber-toothed tigers, mastodons, and "armadillos the size of small cars." (7). The chapter also discusses native inhabitants of the region, first Ais Indians, then Timucuan, and lastly Seminoles. By the early 1800s waves of white settlers were pushing the Seminoles out of the area. "The Barber-Mizell Feud" recounts the deaths of eight people from the two feuding families and also reveals the origin of the name Barberville. James D. Barber named the town Barberville after himself, but before that time it had been known as Midway. "Building Barberville" discusses the influences such as the railroad, general store, and post office that led the community to grow. It also argues that the village school was a focusing institution uniting the agricultural community. "History of Racing" highlights the town's penchant for speed, from racing on dirt roads to racing on paved raceways. "Camping Traditions" links the community's pioneer spirit to the Florida Sheriffs Youth Camp which provides enrichment and leadership programs for troubled and gifted youth. The concluding chapter contextualizes Barberville as the crossroads of several neighboring Central Florida communities including Pierson, DeLeon Springs, DeLand, Ormond Beach, Daytona Beach, and Ocala, and Orlando.

Cold War in South Florida: Historic Resource Study. By Steven Hach. (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 2005. x, 102 pp. List of figures, figure credits, foreword, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. free at <http://www.nps.gov>).

Hach's report "provides a historic context for, and identifies, sites in south Florida related to the Cold War and U.S. relations with Latin America" (1). Hach specifically focuses on the role of

four national parks: Everglades National Park, Biscayne National Park, Big cypress National Preserve, and Dry Tortugas National Park. The report is divided into four sections. The first section is a broad introduction to the Cold War and a basis for contextualizing the sources introduced in the section two. Section two discusses the historic resources within the four aforementioned national parks. The author takes a balanced historical view, neither ignoring the negative aspects of the Cold War and regarding U.S. motives as entirely altruistic, nor taking a completely revisionist stance that focuses *only* upon the negative aspects of the period. Sections three and four will be useful for researchers. Section three provides a list of museums, archives, and other facilities consulted by the author. In his introduction he explains the importance of moving beyond strictly government generated sources because they “may not be the best place to look for documentation on negative, environmental effects, civil rights violations, or the true cost of a foreign policy that often did business with dictators and other questionable characters in the name of anti-communism” (2). Section four provides a bibliography of primary and secondary sources on the Cold War. The author offers a word of caution to Cold War researchers. Much information on the Cold War is dubious in nature and a researcher must be wary of hoaxes and conspiracy theories, especially when conducting research online. Teachers will find this resource helpful and students of the Cold War will find it fascinating.

High Seas and Yankee Gunboats: A Blockade-running Adventure from the Diary of James Dickson. By Roger S. Durham. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005. xvii, 185 pp. List of Illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth).

Durham uses James Dickson’s Civil War diary and other primary sources to reconstruct Dickson’s life as a blockade runner. Early in the Civil War, Dickson, a Georgia native, joined the crew of the *Standard*, a wind-driven brigantine. She set sail from New Jersey bound for Nova Scotia and then Georgia. The *Standard* carried merchandise, medicine, and other provisions. Though the ship was blown off of its heading after departing from Nova Scotia, she finally made port in Brunswick, Georgia after enduring more than a month in the storm-tossed Atlantic. Dickson’s diary records

the challenges the crew faced while at sea. Since Dickson's diary ends abruptly, Durham relies on other sources for the outcome of the journey. Ultimately, the *Standard* did accomplish its mission of transporting its cargo to Savannah, however, she was soon lost in an engagement with a Union vessel. Durham's historical reconstruction may be of interest to professors teaching undergraduate courses on the Civil War or the Confederacy, as it conveys more of a sense of immediacy to history than one might find in a monograph on blockade-running. The book will, of course, also be of interest to anyone who simply enjoys a historical adventure.

History News

In Memoriam

Samuel Proctor (1919-2005)

Regretfully, I share news of the death of Samuel Proctor, professor emeritus at the University of Florida and editor emeritus of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Born in 1919 in Jacksonville, he attended the University of Florida in the 1930s, graduating with a B.A. in 1941. He received his M.A. in 1942 with a thesis on Florida Governor Napoleon Bonaparte Broward. After serving in World War II, Proctor returned to the University of Florida where he began a teaching career that spanned over fifty years. In 1958, he completed his doctoral degree with a dissertation on the history of the university.

During his teaching career, he held the titles of distinguished service professor emeritus of history, Julian C. Yonge professor of Florida history emeritus, curator of history emeritus at the Florida Museum of Natural History, director emeritus for the Center for Florida Studies, and director emeritus of the Oral History Program. He initiated the university archives and served as the university's historian. He co-founded the university's Center for Latin American Studies, the Center for the Study of Southeastern Indians, the Center for Jewish Studies, and helped to found the Southern Jewish Historical Society. In recognition of his commitment to teaching, the Samuel Proctor Endowment was established in his honor for graduate students.

For decades, Proctor was a foremost scholar of Florida history. He edited the *Florida Historical Quarterly* for more than thirty years. "Who among us who raise pens or touch keyboards in service to

Florida history has not known his guidance, his encouragement, his persuasion, perhaps even his goading?" recalled Michael Gannon, distinguished service professor emeritus of history at the University of Florida.¹ Proctor published over eighty articles and essays, and dozens of books, including *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (1950). He was a pioneer in the field of oral history as well, establishing the oral history program at the University of Florida in 1967. He conducted more than 3,300 interviews with a cross-section of Floridians from Seminole Indians to senators.

Among Proctor's many honors was his inclusion among the "fifty most important Floridians of the twentieth century" by *The* (Lakeland) *Ledger*, his receiving the Florida Historical Society's Lifetime Achievement Award, and the naming of the Florida Historical Society's Samuel Proctor Oral History Prize for the best work on or in Florida oral history.²

Farewell

This is my final issue as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Over the past six years, it has been an honor to serve the membership of the Florida Historical Society and the citizens of Florida in this capacity. The state's peoples and their histories are incredibly diverse, and I hope that I have contributed to a greater understanding of their stories. In the final issue of each volume, I have thanked individuals who aided me each year in creating the work of the *FHQ*. I wholeheartedly thank them again. I also thank Ed Kallina, Dick Crepeau, José Fernandez, Kathy Siedel, and the Department of History at the University of Central Florida: its commitment to Florida's historical scholarship is evidenced through its financial and intellectual support of the editor and the *FHQ*. Finally, I thank Nick Wynne and the Board of Directors at the Florida Historical Society for their support and the latitude granted me as editor.

1. Quoted in Bob Arndorfer, "'Dean of state history' dies at Gainesville home," *The* (Gainesville) *Sun*, <http://www.gainesville.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20050711/LOCAL/207110320/1078/news>.
2. "Top 50 Most Important Floridians of the 20th Century," <http://www.theledger.com/static/top50>.

Introduction

Before I depart as editor, I would like to introduce Connie L. Lester, who has accepted a joint position as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and assistant professor in the Department of History at the University of Central Florida. Previously, Dr. Lester taught at Mississippi State University and Middle Tennessee State University. She has been active in both the Mississippi and Tennessee Historical Societies, having served as book review editor for the *Journal of Mississippi History* and as associate editor for the *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. Her book, *Up From the Mudsills of Hell: The Farmers' Alliance, Populism, and Progressive Agriculture in Tennessee, 1870-1915*, is forthcoming from the University of Georgia Press. A native Tennessean, she has two adult children and two very shy cats.

Call for Contributors

Irvin D.S. Winsboro is seeking contributors to a book tentatively titled *Old South or New South: Florida in the Civil Rights Era*, now under consideration by the University of Florida Press. The intellectual parameters of this book encompass most approaches to and variations on the issue and, in the process, add fresh insight into a critical aspect of Florida's history. For more information, contact Irvin D.S. Winsboro, Professor of History, African-American Studies, and Southwest Florida Studies, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Myers, FL 33965-6565; or contact Prof. Winsboro at (239) 590-7176 or iwinsbor@fgcu.edu.

Erratum

Our apologies to Jim Schnur, assistant university librarian at the Nelson Poynter Memorial Library, University of South Florida at St. Petersburg, whose last name was misspelled in Dan Bertwell's article on the Johns Committee.

The Florida Historical Society

The Historical Society of Florida, 1856

The Florida Historical Society, successor, 1902

The Florida Historical Society, incorporated, 1905



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Dating its origins to 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 Print Shoppe—a book and gift store offering over five hundred texts in Florida history.

The Society's official headquarters and the Field Library of Florida History are located in Cocoa's historic United States Post Office, built in 1939. The Society's research library houses over eight hundred rare maps, six thousand volumes of Floridiana, and an extensive collection of documents relating to Florida history and genealogy. Further information about the Florida Historical Society may be found on the internet at <http://www.florida-historical-soc.org>.

